



'Topographies of values': Urban transformation in East Germany

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Urban transformation in Europe has undergone a tremendous paradigmatic shift, not only caused by fundamental changes in technology and its effects on society, labour markets and culture but, above all, by changes in demography and in lifestyle. As global systems of ensuring social welfare weaken, demands to re-embed people and functions and to re-establish new local economies have arisen; people need to be stabilised in their living environments. However, these needs have to be met, at least in an East German context, in cities which have expanding suburbs but shrinking populations. Currently, the task of urban development is to respond to these tendencies by strengthening the existing 'topographies of values' within settled areas. The paper presents a method to identify and situate such 'topographies' appropriate for present and future qualification of urban living and working under conditions of population 'shrinkage'. It will refer to a research investigation into the urban profiles of the East German cities of Magdeburg, Halle and Dessau.

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Introduction

Urban changes and migration use to occur as a result of a redistribution of labour. Such global processes of transformation are accompanied by the need to counterbalance the social and economic disadvantages of those who have been left behind in terms of old age, social mobility and economic exclusion, vis-à-vis those who are privileged, have options and who are able to make choices about their future. Resulting changes in the spatial distribution of 'values of use' demand qualifying 'urban conditions' in the organisation of people's everyday lives in locally specific ways. Processes of de-valuation need to end and the impacts of the re-location of work places and of inhabitants need to be reversed in new initiatives.

Every urban transformation process is a challenge, when the number of inhabitants is 'shrinking'. Furthermore, it is a challenge to identify resources for social occupancy of space, to localise basic 'values of use' and to consider these values concerning their long-term importance for urban renewal. The potential of people and places to help counterbalance economic and social uncertainty needs to be re-discovered.

By creating locations to encourage small-scale spatial and individual approaches to urban renewal (and thus prevent de-valuation), and by supporting and building up patterns of urban development to integrate working and living, social, economic and spatial alternatives to obsolete industrial patterns of mono-function and of large concentrated investment may become apparent. Such an urban transformation might even introduce new forms of urban democracy.

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Linked to this understanding of guiding urban transformation, the complementary conditions of

'public and private' and 'built and lived' spaces are taken into consideration and are related to:

- The gradual exhaustion of the principles of the 'functional city', that is, the end of the industrial characteristics of concentration, separation, specialisation and finally, the breaking off of large-spatial mono-functions;
- The beginning of late-industrial renewal of urban spaces at 'mature' locations where new types of interconnections can be made and, thus, which carry the potential for renewal.

The history of such renewal is examined in relation to the results of a research-project: *The present and future of urban development in Saxonia-Anhalt; Magdeburg, Halle, Dessau, Perspectives and structural framework conditions for future development* (Haase, 2003) funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (www.stadtentwicklung-sachsen-anhalt.de). These three cities have suffered, like most of the towns in East Germany since 1989, from 'de-economisation' and 'de-socialisation', with severe effects on a decreasing number of inhabitants, mostly in inner urban areas, and especially in big multi-storey housing schemes. The effects of shrinkage, however, go hand in hand with continued processes of suburbanisation around the outer urban edges, reaching the former villages, especially around the cities of Magdeburg and Halle. There, associated with a strong central core, structural conditions for urban transformation through integrating a mixture of land use are factors of urban renewal, realised by private, individual initiatives attracting inhabitants into the suburban surroundings of de-centralized pre-industrially founded cores. The article reflects on these findings by:

- Introducing a multidisciplinary understanding of 'spaces of interconnection' as a basis for grounding 'topographies of value' as a focus for urban renewal;
- Presenting a brief overview of the major periods of historical change in West and East Germany, relative to the impacts of the economy, of politics and of society on urban space, applying the criteria of Lefebvre (spatial practice, representations of spaces, representational spaces; Lefebvre, 1991), in order to establish a basis for evaluating historical stages of urban development and their heritage in current situations;

- Considering 'spaces of interconnection' within the three cities under investigation by distinguishing 'inner' and 'outer' edges as those urban areas which carry the potential for transformation and renewal;
- Looking at existing socio-spatial conditions of tradition and change within the urban conditions of these cities, in order to identify the socio-economic bases for urban renewal through the interconnections that can be made in 'built and lived' spaces;
- Drawing conclusions about the conditions for interconnecting space and relationships by positioning the theory of Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1991) as a link between analyses and anticipation.

A wider contextual background to the above research project's findings is provided by some comparison with urban transformations in Britain, which reflect and are indicative of western influences since the end of the 1980s.

In Great Britain, the process whereby parts of the housing market have been allowed to fall into disrepair, has been going on for the last 30 years. It too is connected to the relocation of work places and inhabitants and is related to the transformation of the economy from a manufacturing base, to a service sector economy. In Britain, decline and renewal are spatially close to each other and considered to be part of an everyday reality. Societal transformation over the past 50 years, with longer life spans and rising divorce rates separating families and stimulating new household creation, has brought about an as yet unmet demand of 4.1 million housing units. Access to the housing market is ensured by existing property ownership; that is, the younger generation is only in the position to buy housing units by virtue of the houses of their parents, most of whose mortgages are nearly paid off. The land market still shows an increase in land values, especially in big cities and the surrounding conurbations. This increase is an additional important factor in financing the estimated housing demand.

However, the UK situation cannot be compared directly with East Germany. Here, factors such as the tendentious de-valuation of settled areas show a completely different distribution of property ownership, the result of a demographic shift

involving a dramatic decrease in birth rates and the emigration of younger people. In addition, the history of the planned economy of the GDR and the subsequent even more abrupt opening up of economic processes for the capitalistic market economy, have as yet not contributed to an increase in value for the whole spatial situation. Rather, they have prompted an entirely sceptical position to be taken relative to private investment in the land market. Ongoing processes of de-economisation and de-socialisation are reasons for this.

As a consequence of this massive economic and social shift, a change of paradigm, in terms of understanding socio-spatial processes of change, has been initiated in East Germany. In principle, this change could have been discussed as a response to the decline of industrial processes and to the breaking up of societal norms and certainties, since the beginning of the industrial crisis. Professional analysis by planners and sociologists has finally, although still hesitatingly, begun to grasp the extent of the challenge.

This new paradigm refers to the originally comprehensive, but as yet not fully implemented, understanding of urban development planning ideas of the 1960s and it includes perspectives applicable to social welfare tasks and to the establishment of working places. In addition, it discusses concepts of mixing living and working, while land resources continue to be sold to establish new mono-functions. As a first approach, it contributes to reversing an understanding of planning in Europe that is now obsolete and which has tolerated for too long functional concentrations, for example, of housing, even after the industrial crisis, and which has been oriented solely on solutions related to built form and function. At the same time, as a consequence of new funding modalities, barely comprehensible decisions have been taken about areas earmarked for demolition and their replacement by what are, essentially, scarcely different new built forms and open spaces.

Nevertheless, overall, social space and processes of strengthening or initiating socio-spatial identity at individual locations are, in a new way, highly prized, and 'interconnection' is suddenly understood by many professionals as a key issue for the embedding of economic and social transformation (see Figure 1).

Approach

On this basis of understanding current urban transformation, this paper examines two aspects relevant to guiding urban transformation by:

- Determining the structural appropriateness of urban spaces of different kinds and location, offering opportunities for change and qualification. This aspect refers to a discussion about material conditions for 'de-valuation' and 're-valuation' of space, from the long-term perspective of guiding global competition about users and working places to a regional focus ('inner and outer edges').
- Searching for common East- and West-German interests, in terms of holistic and local social significances for dealing with the influence of western logic on land markets and to counter-balance the social disadvantages resulting from land market changes. This aspect bridges the gap from everyday routines and milieus to general and regional aspects of renewing urban spaces as spaces for living and also as spaces, relevant entirely to the economy (tradition and changes).

Both aspects contain:

- An understanding of politics, which takes into account that in East Germany, inner urban areas have experienced a break in an otherwise continued renewal; and multi-storey buildings from the post-Second World War period, with improved technical standards, have carried social progress for a long time, while buildings from the pre-Second World War period had already become derelict during GDR times.
- An understanding of building space. This starts from the premise that 'private' spaces will have to evolve new social meanings in order to be protected (Figures 2 and 3), while 'public' spaces still carry as 'lived', open spaces invaluable traditions of social meanings from GDR times (eg the 'central place', sporting areas, riversides, allotments, see Figure 4).

Relative to the appropriateness of existing conditions for change, the subject is not only concerned with maintaining defined values but equally is about searching for innovative possibilities of use, their structural needs and their social and

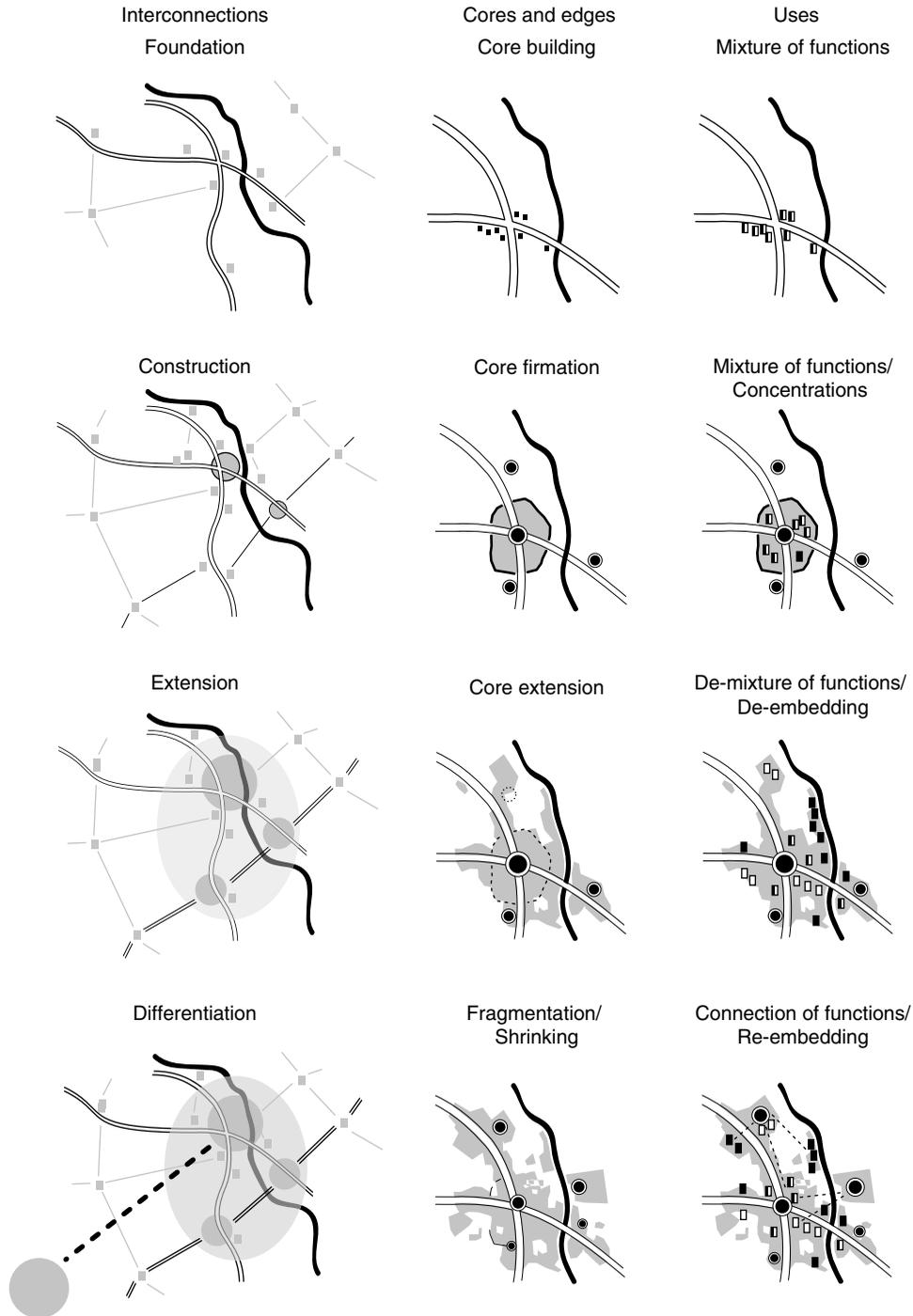


Figure 1. Model of the industrial course of development of towns, *Source:* Haase, 2003.

economic bases. The phrase, 'spaces of interconnection' encapsulates the contents of historically proven as well as new practices of urban renewal in East Germany, and links them to new needs for a socio-economic embedding of uses through interconnection.

The aforementioned research project has shown that, in particular, the extension areas of the pre-industrially founded cores (most of them from c1930) currently provide the greatest potential for interconnection. This is argued on the basis of a synthesis of equally weighed conditions of urban

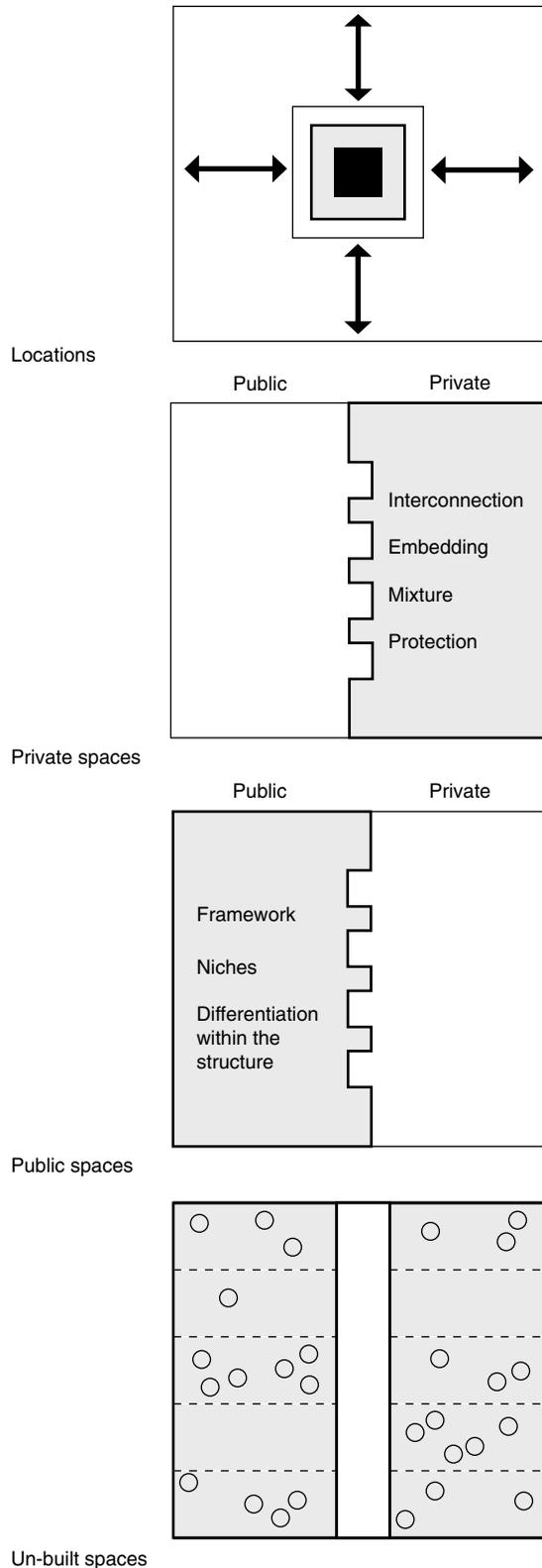


Figure 2. Places, private and public spaces, un-built spaces, *Source:* Haase, 2003.

spaces for usability, changeability and legibility. The results have been confirmed by interviews with key stakeholders and photographs of the various stages of urban renewal activity. The structural appropriateness of these areas for a new social mix of living and working, bound to the place of residence, can be regarded as a new urban quality, relative to the needs of time and place.

Space of interconnection – premises for renewal

The term ‘space of interconnection’ refers to ‘structure, substance, social meaning and the interlinked relationship between substance and people’.¹ Structure and substance include ‘public’ and ‘private’² as well as ‘built’ and ‘lived’ spaces, in terms of their complementary character.

Socio-spatial elements of structure and substance

- ‘Public spaces’ are the spaces of the streets and are characterised by the ‘staying’ qualities of such open spaces. Their continuous permeability to public access is a major characteristic for elements primarily connecting to ‘private spaces’ (see Figures 2 and 3).
- ‘Private spaces’ are spaces of built form and of other land use on private land. Built form and other land uses are understood as primarily space-building elements framing ‘public spaces’ (see Figures 2 and 3).
- ‘Public’ and ‘private’ spaces are, by definition, barely distinguishable from each other. Connections flow, relative to the permeability of views and of through-paths. The spatial form in between (separation and/or connection) defines the character spaces have, either for the protection of private uses or for public access (see Figures 2 and 3).
- ‘Built’ and ‘lived’ spaces are the expression of the material conditions of space on the one hand, and of the social experience of possible perception and occupation on the other, within the complementary structure of ‘public’ and ‘private’ spaces in time and place (see Figure 4).

¹s. Krätke (1995, p. 15).

²s. Arendt (1996, pp. 79–81).



Figure 3. Separation/connection of public and private spaces, example: Museum of Contemporary Art, Architect Jean Nouvel, Paris, *Source:* Haase, 2003.

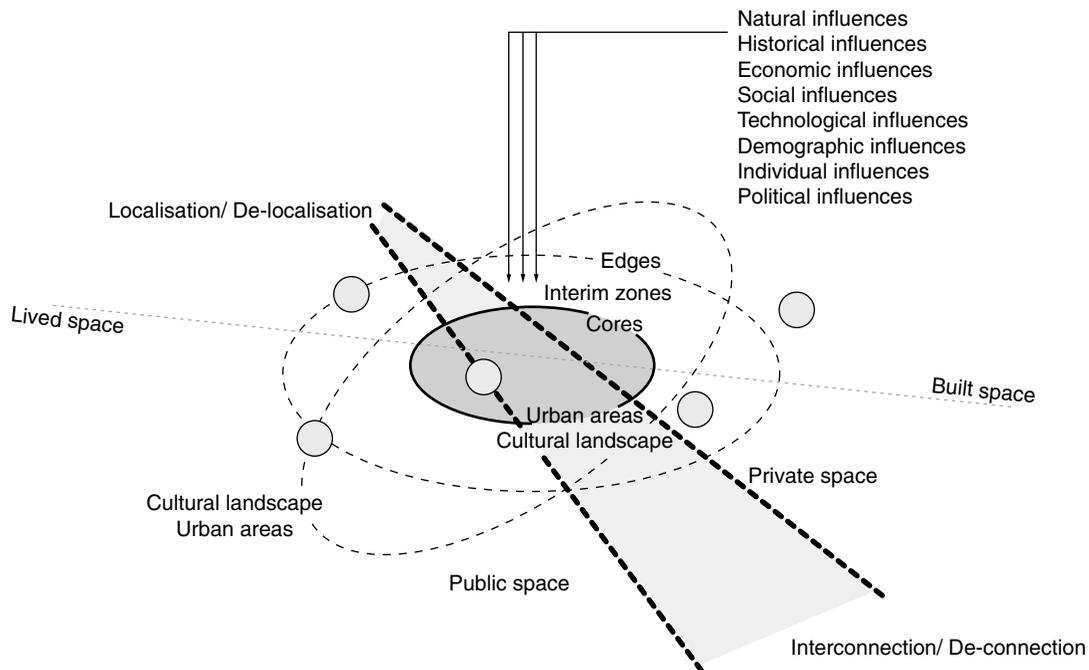


Figure 4. Structures of relationships: Built and lived spaces, *Source:* Haase, 2003.

Social meaning and the interlinked relationship between substance and people, reflect the tension between the meanings of a 'resource' for embedding social processes and economic functions, and of a 'product' of social importance and

economic influences, from the fields of production and product diffusion. In particular, the double meaning of 'resource' and 'product', makes a 'space of interconnection' become symbolically and spatially, the coordinating point for

processes of urban renewal – be it through initiatives of users, through market influences or through the political guidance of such influences.

‘Resource’ – structural conditions for social (re)-production

- Space is a living environment for the individual and the communal experience of everyday life – housing, working, spending time – and is of socio-economic importance, in addition to its material value.
- Relative to the abstract global worlds of systems (because of the capitalism of late-industrial influences and the counterbalances of the ‘social state’) space carries an essential importance for re-locating global functions into local conditions³ (see Figure 1).
- Space offers opportunities for interconnecting communication, services and the exchange of goods. This refers to different dimensions and serves to support and establish local economies.
- As a living environment, space carries and fulfils tasks of guaranteeing welfare. The housing unit (guaranteed as a minimum right of existence, besides education, health and the right of property ownership by the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany) becomes, for more and more people, a starting point for activities which also serves to support them in earning their livelihood.
- Space expresses in a specific way, the demands of time and of society. These are, in principle, determined by an increasing individualisation. However, in East Germany and in other East European countries, through re-vitalising common aims and values, these demands could be shaped by new ways of thinking and acting which could be influential throughout Europe.

‘Product’ – the result of the ‘production of space’

- Space is the outcome of competition about location within and among towns, cities and regions.⁴
- Space is the expression of the social and economic demands for land use.⁵

³s. Giddens (1996, 130).

⁴s. Krätke (1991, p. 13).

⁵Raumnutzung=spatial practices (Lefèbvre, 1991, pp. 33–39).

⁶Vorstellungsräume=representations of spaces (Lefèbvre, 1991, pp. 33–39).

- Space is the expression of social ideas about the spatial organisation of functions through concepts.⁶
- Space is a counterbalance, an expression of the unfulfilled desires of users and their images, as yet unmet within the rational framework of the economy and which might become realised through occupying space, as far as is possible, within the framework of the prevailing economic conditions.⁷
- Space has been dominated by the separation of functions since the prosperity of industrial development (c1910 in Europe). As part of the ‘functional city, it is reaching its limits of growth-oriented logic; the logic of the late capitalistic economy, which has determined that space has been left as fragmented pockets, where it re-receives significance for mixed use and for binding people to place.
- Activities of interconnection at and between locations support urban renewal, in terms of fulfilling time-related demands of the economy.
- Activities of urban renewal serve to create socio-spatial identities through realising processes of transformation; these processes open up comprehensive tasks of socio-spatial and economic guidance.

The appropriateness of spaces for transformation is significant, by virtue of the three meanings of space distinguished by Lefèbvre (1991), which bring together worlds of systems and people. These criteria help coordinating changes through individual images (‘representational spaces’ in Lefèbvre’s terminology) or through politics (‘spaces of representation’) with the structural factors of everyday life (‘spatial practices’).

These distinctions allow the levels of influence to become transparent, especially the ‘spatial practices’ meaning, which offers the possibility to identify and consider material conditions of change in relation to specific demands of usability for locally defined (eg economic) purposes and their social meaning.

In turn, this creates the possibility that the purely analytical distinction of conditions can be identified sociologically (eg habitus, *milieu*) and receive a methodological link to perspectives for the

⁷Darstellungsräume=representational spaces (Lefèbvre, 1991, pp. 33–39).

renewal of material, socio-spatial conditions and their locally specific demands for use. Again, this means that the potential for 'local cultures', in terms of initiating and embedding local economies in appropriate socio-spatial situations, can be looked for holistically, by applying Lefebvre's (Lefebvre, 1991) three levels of meaning.

Consequently, perspectives for urban renewal are seen as new syntheses of spatial practices, representations of spaces and representational spaces, implying the option of a far-reaching self-destination of occupying space, within the framework of local economic conditions, and relative to the new definition of spatial practices through working.

The 'space of interconnection' is, in a materially concrete sense, the dialectically working framework for 'habitus'⁸ and also for the relationship between milieus to their environment.⁹ The understanding is a framework of definition for different 'local cultures', which contributes in a new way to urban renewal processes through spatial practices, resulting in almost economically determined demands for representations of spaces and for representational spaces.

This in turn, builds on socio-spatial units of interconnection with the environment and, in this way, breaks free of the global marketing of culture, in terms of pre-determined branding and enriches it locally.

Structural opportunities for interconnection – three categories of urban renewal

- Spaces with a tradition of historically built and traditionally experienced identity are classified as having 'so-called 'caught' factors of locational advantage'.¹⁰
- Spaces with proven opportunities for renewal are regarded as spaces of 'continued renewal' (pre-industrial and industrial cores and quarters from around 1910 to 1930; also, sub-urban low rise areas with individual units of built form to be extended or altered, from 1950 to 1965).

⁸s. Bourdieu (2002, p. 31).

⁹s. Dürschmidt (2000, pp. 19–24).

¹⁰s. Messerli (2001, pp. 17–19).

- Spaces yet to be earmarked for renewal are classified as 'potential for renewal'. In western Europe, especially waterside areas are well known as so-called 'future locations' but in East Germany these locations are related to run-down former industrial sites, especially in between cities and to riversides or 'edge' landscapes).

The three categories are based on spatial practices of urban renewal. They stand for renewing the whole town or city as an economic focus for and location in the region, as well as for renewing individual areas as living environments. The evaluation of urban spaces is based on the distinction of structural conditions relative to their value for long-term renewal. It is supposed that 'spaces of interconnection' refers to all these classifications and is most appropriate for urban renewal, especially for individual or common private activities.

Production of space – a long-term historical view

The following outline, of the long-term view of Germany's history of 'built' and 'lived' spaces, applies Lefebvre's theory on the 'production of space' by identifying spatial practices, representations of spaces and representational spaces for West and East Germany from medieval times.

Both of the Federal Republics show long-term industrial paradigmatic change, from interconnection to separation, and back to interconnection, relative to their changing social, technological and economic influences. Perspectives for East German urban renewal, where industrial patterns have become obsolete in a dramatic way, are even more dependent on possible new syntheses of spatial practices, representations of spaces and representational spaces within the framework of local conditions and the re-embedding of global functions.

Medieval times

In this period, the social meanings of built and lived spaces were determined by local communities, their communication and their property relationships. They found expression in dense interconnections on the land and in parts of the

town, or in the whole urban area (spatial practices). The interconnection of spatial practices marked syntheses of spatial hierarchies and socio-spatial differentiation in the context of land use and built forms, within the overall framework of urban–rural contrasts.

Public space connected social spaces. Structural conditions were created for new syntheses of spatial practices and representational spaces in built and lived spaces, which are still valid today, relative to spatial hierarchies and possible new completions. Definite formations of separation/connection were important for interconnection, that is, for new definitions of representations of spaces and of representational spaces, within the small-spatial units of town ground plans.

Period from around 1850

The extension of towns and cities through industrial production and living (spatial practices), defined the whole and parts of new hierarchies of public and private spaces. As built spaces, chimney, factory-gate and factory-villa, as well as workers' settlements, received importance for large- and small-spatial differentiations of lived spaces within the arising agglomerations.

The rationality of street development and plot division for founders, banks and 'terrain-agencies' determined the syntheses of spatial practice, representations of spaces and representational spaces as units of land division. The distinction of representational spaces within urban areas created openness to the expression of socio-spatial differentiation within the more or less generously arranged private spaces of built forms and public, open spaces.

Public space, relative to the location, was space for transport and representation with profiles of trees and green spaces. Initially, space for vehicular traffic and pedestrians was still spatially integrated. The syntheses of spatial practices and representations of spaces with spatial differentiation of representational spaces have been maintained until today.

Restrictions, that is, spaces with renewal potential could be found where, originally, the massive provision of spatial practices had encountered a lack of investment in the lasting qualities of

spaces of representations and equally of representational spaces. This created the current process whereby sites fell derelict and thus allowed new syntheses of spatial practices, spaces of representations and of representational spaces and equally, in terms of changes to the originally established small-spatial hierarchies.

The spatially defined separation/connection of private and public spaces was basic to interconnection through spatial practices. Having prepared the existing representations of spaces, it provided for the framework of layouts, for example, in the form of the division of blocks. It established the basis for creating new representations of spaces, as well as new representational spaces, through new arrangements of open and built spaces. The rows of trees alongside the overland-roads from early industrial times are a reminder of the concept of framing roads and streets spatially. They are a highly valuable heritage for perceiving landscape in between urban areas. Maintained, they open up opportunities for the experience of time, distance and spatial nearness.

1920s

In this period, built and lived spaces coincided, in terms of the increasing importance of well-designed open spaces. They were part of an extension of settled areas, the infill of spaces between settlements. Spatial practice and representations of spaces were ruled by the influence of the 'social state', becoming implemented through guidelines about the beginning separation of functions.

Representations of spaces integrated spatial practices in systems of public-large and private-small-spatial open spaces. Vehicles and pedestrians were still equally integrated in street development. The separation/connection of public and private spaces also continued, by interconnecting built and lived spaces on a small-spatial scale. Edges towards landscape or to public parks were given a definite form, in most cases by public paths. Representational spaces became an expression of socio-spatial and socio-economic differentiation: the housing of workers in colonies (Ruhr-area); and in yards (big cities, like Vienna); townhouse residences and villas alongside the overland-roads.

A distinction of land use and of social classes occurred, relative to the land value of the locations in neighbourhoods. The value depended on the amount and type of integrated open spaces, the distance to landscape, access to green parks and the 'staying' qualities in public space, as well as to transport connections.

The surroundings of towns were well connected by trams; individual locations in the region became established meeting-points for a prospering industrial society, with the beginning of a distinction between work and leisure time (week/Sunday). Nature became – after the extension of the industrial city – a social item, part of the experience of cultural landscape. Occurring representational spaces referred to people's wish to escape from their living conditions in between the 'stones' of the towns. They also referred to and reflected the ideas of politicians to counterbalance health and social welfare needs.

Syntheses between spatial practices and representations of spaces (like thoroughly designed gardens and public spaces, whose values have been proven by generations of users) offered opportunities for use and interconnection, valid until today. They have been maintained and renewed as items of social demand. The representational spaces of this period expressed a richness of different kinds, in the layout of private built and open spaces.

1930s–1940s

The Third German Regime separated spatial practices and representational spaces within the framework of representations of spaces. The representations of spaces served, above all, to strengthen the national socialist government preparing for the Second World War. They manifested the structures of government and bound the individual to home and garden (*Scholle*).

From the 1920s, the connections between public and private spaces (having been open frameworks, even in terms of social conditions) became increasingly restricted by a centralised powerful, political elite, who created spatial, functional and politically isolated spaces in terms of private spaces for living (*Heimat*, associations and trusts), spaces for trade and industry, spaces open to the

public (*volksöffentlich*), and spaces for goods' production for the German people (military centres, *Waffenschmieden*).

The representational spaces of the 1920s became part of the national-socialist ideals of the public life of 'the people'. Individual spatial practices experienced massive restrictions through political control. Herewith, the premise was created for the social acceptance of the enforced separation of 'public' and 'private', 'built' and 'lived' spaces, within the high-rise flats of large settlements.

These conditions also introduced the functionality and spatial separation of transport (vehicles, cars, pedestrians) and prepared generally, the global interconnection of the 'functional city'. Local dimensions of interconnection were only supported indirectly, through the structural conditions of gardens on deep plots. However, this heritage has established very specific opportunities for syntheses of 'built' and 'lived' spaces in close correspondence.

1950s

The governments of both German Republics re-established urban conditions for spatial practices. Representations of spaces were determined by the re-construction of the substance of buildings by giving respect to 'modern' functional demands. The ground plans of towns and cities witnessed a setting back of building frontages to accommodate the dedication of public space to vehicular traffic. In addition, the design of 'private' open spaces, mostly arranged for communal use, built the inner urban scale for spatial practices and representations of spaces. Representational spaces were, above all, represented by public buildings and single-family houses in West Germany and by the centres of reconstruction in East Germany.

The modernisation of towns increased the separation of functions (large-spatially) and opened up landscape to weekend leisure activities. Representations of spaces for the car-biased city, split 'built' and 'lived' spaces massively (with a time lag in East Germany) and prepared the image for the functionality of spaces in East Germany. The creation of this image was economically based on the increasing regional disconnection of housing and working, factory and living areas.

The urban design competition, *Duisburg-Rheinhausen*, 1955, presented an idea of the representation of spaces, setting housing alongside a main traffic axis, easily accessible for commuters and with good connections to all sorts of services. Thus, the 'functional narrowness' of the early industrially established hierarchies of views and connections was reversed, and the ties to the local meeting points of factory gate and chimney were loosened. The chimneys still existed but the car now served for the representational space of escaping from the grey world of industrial work by Sunday trips into the countryside.

Spatial practices and representational spaces were influenced by leading images about the interconnection of landscape and town, through new representations of spaces and how they were experienced by car. Active movement through nature and meeting other people no longer solely determined the experience. Driving *through* nature defined spatial practices and, consequently, representational spaces, counterbalancing the narrowness of some socially specific living environments. However, town and landscape were still definitely to be distinguished as 'inner settled' and 'outer unsettled' areas.

For many people in East Germany, this distinction, whether experienced by car or on foot, is still a valid image for a representational space. The image is invested with its post-Second World War meaning, and has become enmeshed with the importance of individual freedom. In East Germany, the image co-incides with a relatively small density of population, with the still extant but no longer acknowledged value of the pavement of overland-roads, and with a relatively high number of villages within the urban surroundings (comparable to the situation of West Germany during the 1950s). These villages offer a tremendous potential for syntheses of spatial practice, representation of spaces and representational spaces.

1960s–1970s

The beginning of the industrial crisis in West Germany supported the dissemination of the image of 'urbanity through density', restricting spatial practices and representational spaces to the representation of minimising 'private' space and separating 'built' and 'lived' spaces. In East

German cities, in particular, the pre-Second World War tradition of 'built' and 'lived' spaces underwent a massive change as a consequence of the separation of functions.

The representations of spaces in this late post-war period traded the economic principles of a mass urban housing market, for the form of concentrated sub-urbanisation at the edges of towns and cities, under the banner of 'living in the countryside'. In this way, they reduced the images of representational spaces to 'driving-through' and to 'sleeping-in-the-country'. Spatial practices were, according to international economic demands, divided into 'inner' and 'outer' activities, relative to the different scales of the concentration of mono-function.

In West and East Germany, these representations of spaces became socially adopted representational spaces in different ways. In West Germany, they defined, above all, the establishment of the edges of urban areas by bridging the gaps through lowering the height of buildings (for elite locations of single-family housing) and by linking the surrounding landscape to 'inner' open spaces.

In East Germany, high-rise edges of settled areas were approximate boundaries of built forms facing the landscape. In addition, sub-urban forms of high-rise housing were also implanted into inner areas. The social meaning of these more comfortable ways of life was swayed by the technical advantages they offered. The material advantages within the closed units of flats, offering sanitary infrastructure and central heating, helped to introduce 'small-family privacy'. New spatial practices and representational spaces provided the incentives for 'socially acceptable behaviour' and confirmed, this way, the (national) representations of spaces.

In West Germany, 'living in the country' (where housing was divided, either in multi-storey or in single-family houses) realised social divisions relative to income. The image of multi-storey housing declined – in the united Federal Republic – relative to the social and economic reality of individual living conditions in urban spaces and the usability of built forms and open spaces.

The relevance of multi-storey settlements has continued to decrease, in terms of their importance as representational spaces. However, relics

of individually experienced niches within high-rise flats, on balconies and within areas of adjacent allotments still exist as representational spaces. Besides this, pre-Second World War built forms and open spaces re-gained political and social attention, especially from 1974, when the preservation of workers colonies and other collective-types of built forms and open spaces started to be viewed as 'values of use' for people. Long traditions of living in an area established representational spaces, building the ground for renovation and the modernisation of rented flats through private initiatives.

1980s–1990s

In West Germany, the industrial crisis drew attention to the importance of spatial qualities as locational advantages to be demanded for living and for the service industry. Representations of spaces maintained opportunities for spatial practices in close connection with representational spaces. In East Germany, old quarters were finally saved from demolition, with a 10-year time lag relative to West Germany, indicating that syntheses of values for use and form had begun there as well.

The break between 'built' and 'lived' spaces from the period around 1960, initially increased in East Germany through sub-urbanisation, from the time after the *Wende*, and through the subsequent massive spatial separation of living and working spaces. However, this break in social, family-related and economic connections caused new needs to emerge for interconnection and care of living environments, especially within mass housing. The new representations of spaces in East Germany built representational spaces of individualisation. Only gradually, new perspectives were adopted here through publicly funded pilot-projects initiated by the architecture, urban design and landscape architecture professions.

'Built' and 'lived' spaces in East and West Germany showed various differences, increasingly dependent on the income and social situation of users. Remigration into cities or migration to the edges of towns and regions existed side by side and reflected the post-Second World War tradition of classical western influences. The representations of spaces, as well as the representational spaces, complied increasingly with the

structural conditions for user-specific demands in spatial practices, relative to age and social situations. Representations of spaces started to reflect creative combinations of urbanisation and landscape design, in conjunction with memories of the tradition of communally used open spaces (lived spaces). Representational spaces became part of this again.

Representational spaces in East Germany also started to coincide with urban economic strategies, increasing the value of a town as an economic location within a region. Public spaces became differentiated in their hierarchies. Individual architectural forms set up symbols and opened up new perceptions of 'places', even, if the 'non-place' became a place. These symbols were much more strongly connected with each other within global information and communication technology networks than buildings ever had been connected previously through spatial experience alone.

The 'uniqueness' of a situation, in terms of its natural conditions and urban layout, is prior to its functional advantages of location and defines internationally representations of spaces, as well as representational spaces. In East Germany, this factor has as yet received hardly any attention except, for example for the restructuring of dockland and harbour areas. The massive investment needed for restructuring the relics of industry for an unknown future would not be possible without temporarily causing a conflict with the investment considered necessary for funding the housing agencies and their preservation of built form, and creating at least some material 'value' in the communal households.

'Inner' and 'outer' edges – the potential for renewal

Since the late 1980s, urban renewal strategies in Manchester, Liverpool and Glasgow have been indicative of massive financial investment and effort in re-structuring former industrial brown field sites and building housing in new mono-functional housing areas, as opposed to strategies which were oriented on de-central contexts and existing socio-spatial connections. This reflects the industrial patterns of large-scale mono-functional urban growth, of which there is also recent evidence in East Germany, for example, in the

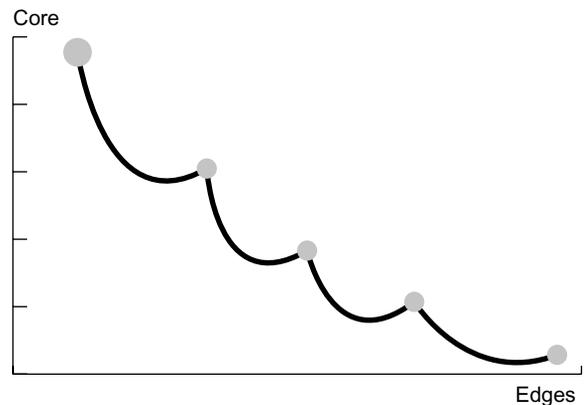
form of the re-structuring of former military sites. Large-scale spatial renewal in Great Britain still happens, before existing contexts of urban spaces are considered for repair, almost randomly. This is symptomatic of the fact that social and political thought has, even internationally, only begun to address the way to achieve the best mix of housing and working.

Within most of the towns in East Germany, there are locally specific processes of renewal and, at the same time, general tendencies. Meanwhile, most of the pre-industrially founded central cores have received no further analysis, in terms of the renewal of their city ground plan, their mixed use potential or the fabric of their old buildings. Edges still exist at different locations, depending on the historical phases of town extension, relative to mono-functional uses and the transition to green areas and brown fields. They provide the potential for spaces of interconnection, although it is much more difficult to identify their demands for qualification over the core ones.

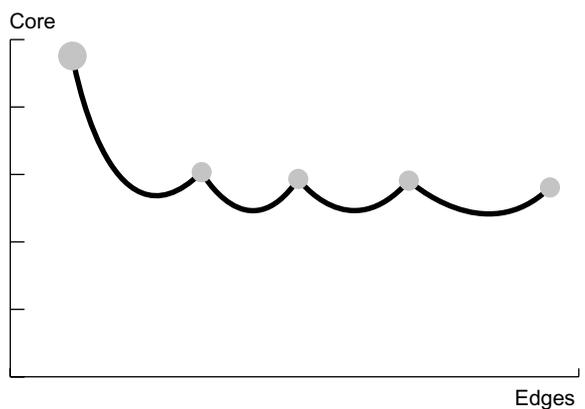
In order to remove the obsolete image – ‘the edge of the town is outside’, in East Germany, ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ edges are symbolically distinguished. ‘Edges’ are understood as transitions from undefined spatial situations to those contexts of ‘built’ and ‘lived’ spaces, which are definitively characterised by space-building elements and by land use. The demand for qualifying these contexts can only be determined in close relation to locally specific units of use and built forms, as well as to open spaces. A long-term departure from mono-functional structures would lead to a change of inner and outer edges and would create new urban conditions through the integration of new uses or through the expansion of un-built land within settled areas. A differentiation of uses results and is foreseeable in the differentiation of hierarchies of public and private spaces, which are generally to be distinguished by the respective urban structure of town and city and their stage of historical development (see Figure 5).

Large-scale spatial aspects: land use and urban structure

The research project *Urban development in Saxonia-Anhalt* has examined the processes of transformation at large and small-spatial scales in Magdeburg, Halle and Dessau for the periods:



Definitely dominating core -
Hierarchy of public spaces



Transformed, former dominant core -
Multi-core heterarchy of public spaces

Figure 5. Types of urban structure – hierarchies of public spaces: towards a differentiation of hierarchies, *Source:* Haase, 2003.

1940 (pre-Second World War); 1980 (pre-*Wende*); and 2000 (post-*Wende*), in order to base the typologies for specific characteristics of the looked for ‘topographies of values’ (and subsequent scenarios for the year 2050) on the historical knowledge of local specifics and time-dependent similarities.

The pre-industrially founded cores of the origins of settlements and their extensions have been considered as an appropriate structure for this investigation. At every stage of the investigation, there has been a discussion of the influences of industrialisation and their expression in the form of the ‘functional city’. Through literature and map analyses and by interviewing key persons, the ruling worlds of systems throughout history and the impact of influences on the spatial-structural characteristics of ‘spaces of living’ and of the economy have been investigated as a background to the existing conditions, using

literature and map analysis, and interviews with key personnel. The historical stages of function distribution show that in each of the three towns (relative to the locally specific profiles of the urban structures), the pre-industrially founded cores have been maintained as mixed use zones until today and that the industrially established zones surround them, but have not completely transformed them.

'Inner' edges are mostly located between parts of urban areas with different extension histories, between the edges of different cores from the same extension phase, in transition to riversides, parallel to dividing railway tracks and alongside post-Second World War roads as well as in between mixed and mono-functional areas. Often, roads from the post-war period have strengthened the development of the isolated, different character of areas. Equally, there are 'inner' edges with connecting characteristics of the utmost quality, as, for example, embankments, river valleys or allotments between contexts of built forms and uses of similar or different kinds. Small-scale spatial 'inner' edges have also been found in already developed individual plots or on brown-field sites, waiting for a more intensive use.

'Outer' edges are principally to be found in transition, between settled and un-settled areas. This distinction between the towns, however, can no longer be definitively made, as well as between the (incorporated) places and their extensions within urban structures. 'Outer' edges are, supposedly, able to be identified (often incorrectly), where larger contexts of landscape, wood or agricultural fields are situated between settled areas. Potential 'outer' edges can be found where large-spatial industrial sites, alongside rivers or railway tracks, have been abandoned.

Equally, new 'outer' edges have to be taken into view where mono-functions of any kind, such as housing, do not fulfil the demands of transforming space through the interconnection of uses. The resulting differentiation of public spaces is, from a long-term perspective, caused by structural characteristics, especially those of the 'functional city' from 1960 to 1990. This is the reason for the whole spatial scenarios projected for 2050 which will see the replacement of all mono-functions within the cities by un-built spaces, and will differentiate the

remaining contexts of use by enriching them through mixed usage.

Large-scale spatial aspects: typology of built-form arrangements

The typological analyses of built-form arrangements and their characteristics for renewal have also been investigated for the towns (see Figure 6). The search for 'topographies of value' has directed the attention of the investigation into those areas of future importance to the towns as economic locations and as living environments.

The appropriateness of conditions for renewal has been investigated by means of the equally relevant criteria legibility, usability and changeability. The criteria were determined after long-term scientific and planning-practical discussions of the 'functional city' by the author and included exercises about perceiving spaces with East German students from 5 academic years. In relation to the specific research on Magdeburg, Halle and Dessau, they have been the result of extensive multi-level discussions with research assistants who have been brought up in East Germany.

The typological analysis of situations following these criteria has included East German specifics of urban development as essential characteristics (eg front-side open spaces in multi-storey housing settlements and allotments) in order to avoid getting untypical structures of values which would not fulfil the criteria of locally specific conditions.

LEGIBILITY was determined following:

- the height and volume of built form,
- the framing conditions of public space and
- the orientation of built form with entrances alongside the main road.

USABILITY was determined following:

- the type of separation/connection between private and public space,
- the opportunities for car-access on private land,
- the permeability of built form for views and paths,
- the protection of private land use on back and side spaces,

		With orientation towards the main road		Without orientation towards the main road	
		without back-buildings	with back buildings	without back-buildings	with back buildings
1	Lone standing buildings				
	without front area				
2	Open built form				
	with front area				
3	half open built form				
	with front area				
4	Closed built form				
5	Completely covering built-form				

Figure 6. Typology of built-form arrangements, Source: Haase, 2003.

- the spatial zoning of backs through additional buildings, walls, etc and
- the arrangement of fronts to public and private open spaces.

CHANGEABILITY was determined following:

- opportunities for additional buildings or re-building,
- opportunities for subdividing the site,
- possible changes of access to the site and
- possible changes in the conditions for built form and open spaces.

The search for 'topographical values' had been identified individually by map-analysis for each town, building upon the basis of the typological analysis of private spaces (see Figure 6). The results of these analyses had been visualised and over-laid digitally and had been evaluated numerically to reach 'topographies of values'. On this basis, 'spaces of interconnection' had been determined for the two highest levels of the three values per town and had been brought together with the most important 'lived' spaces locally. The outcomes show the following hierarchy of values for interconnection relative to the typology of built-form arrangements:

Open built form

This includes all the former agricultural or early-industrial cores and their extensions up until 1930, characterised by groups of houses around yards using up the depth of the plots and receiving connection/separation with the public space of the street by walls and gates or by buildings. The highest values of this kind of built-form arrangement are reasoned by individual elements of built forms which can be re-structured for new individual use concerning the whole group of buildings, or even concerning contexts of more than one plot. In this way, the three criteria are equally fulfilled. There is a variety of options for using or dividing the plots and developing new uses and creating new car and pedestrian access within the framework of private and public spaces.

Open or partially closed built form

This includes transformed early-industrial cores as well as their later extensions in the form of

villas, townhouses, housing settlements, mostly from periods up to 1930. The highest values are accorded within all three criteria, although the changeability of built form on the backs is restricted by having to respect the framework of existing conditions of built form and density as defined by the legislative context for planning permissions.

Similar conditions can be found for the single-family settlements from the pre- or immediate post-war period. The deep and mostly wide plots evince well-integrated changes of use at their backs and in between buildings, relative to the clearly defined building facades. Legibility is not only defined by the facades, but also by trees on private and public space and is supported by smaller public places. Recently built, single-family houses, especially those built since 1990, are (distinct from allotments) excluded from the highest values, as they integrate in only a very limited way a variety of uses and changes of built form on minimised plots. Their differences in building substance, style, colours, material, over-dimensioned houses, garage-doors, as well as the incremental arrangements of their built forms without definition of public spaces, do not serve for legibility. A possible fulfilment of individual demands for use or a possible change of built-form elements, even relative to the option of integrating working uses, cannot be denied for them in principle.

Partially closed or closed built form

Essentially, this includes transformed early-industrial cores and built-form arrangements for housing and for industry from around 1870.

The built-form arrangements show a high degree of legibility, however, relatively little value in terms of usability and changeability. This is because the multi-storey built form defines already differentiated contexts of use on the plot and individual uses of open spaces are restricted by the limits of existing rights of shared buildings and common uses.

The degree of value decreases respectively for mono-functions of any kind with only minimal access and common public spaces. Exceptions are substantial industrial buildings with a high potential for sub-division and restructuring.

At the large spatial scale map overlays of 'spaces of interconnection' and of 'lived spaces' show that the social importance of central public spaces can support the intensity of interconnection in surrounding 'built' spaces, although the immediate surroundings of built forms do not have to fulfil high values of legibility, usability and changeability. However, in terms of the differentiation of public spaces away from the centre for supporting renewal and transformation, there is a definite need for additional local interconnections of communication and services in 'private' spaces as a basis for integrating new uses.

Small-scale spatial aspects: selection of areas of investigation

The research project has distinguished the following categories for further in-depth investigations of conditions for the continuation or beginning of renewal:

- pre-industrially founded central cores;
- industrially influenced overland-roads with industrial uses;
- industrial settlements beside former cores of villages from different periods, mostly pre-industrially founded and
- settlements of the 1920s.

These categories reflect those built-form arrangements which, for strategic reasons in terms of renewing existing values, have determined the current profile of the urban structures of the three towns. The layout of their streets and plot subdivisions have not yet been influenced by the use-separation of the 'functional city' and their main locations have been built for a structure of a possible heterarchy of 'public' and 'private' spaces in socio-spatial contexts.

The selection of categories is responding to the fact that the phenomena of de-economisation and de-socialisation demand serious consideration about the appropriateness of existing structures for transformation. Increasingly, that transformation can only be established by private means. The perspective of a new local embedding of functions has to be fulfilled spatially in a sustainable way, and therefore has to be related to individual units of built form and open spaces which prove to be appropriate for transformation.

The selected areas of investigation have included the settlements of the 1920s, as those show – despite their dominating function of housing – small-scale spatial niches for re-structuring on back sides, a definite significance of urban contexts and a continuity of connections between private and public spaces. In addition, their layout offers traditionally – at the entrances to the settlement or in their middle – opportunities for integrating mixed usage, for example, supply.

The selected areas have been considered as a focus for renewal because of their particular urban conditions and the fact that the integration of a variety of working uses is possible. Interviews with estate agencies have confirmed that these areas are highly in demand, especially, if there are shops and green parks available within a short walking distance of housing.

The investigations into existing urban renewal activities show the following results:

- Signs of continued and small-spatial renewal through individual initiatives have been identified, above all, where 'inner edges', in the form of small-spatial niches, have offered opportunities for an intensification of uses over time (see Törten – Dessau, architect: Walter Gropius). Within their regular street development, even new buildings built as late as the 1990s managed to maintain and continue the overall structure of the area.
- However, a smaller, consistent number of individual activities has to be described for the spatially more fragmented, industrially transformed locations alongside the pre-industrially founded main overland roads. There, activities have been related to intensifying the use of bigger sites or of voluminous convertible buildings from industrial times.
- Despite the difficult conditions of heterogeneous former industrial areas, with greater land use infills from various periods (eg beside railway tracks and surrounding former villages), a relatively high number of renewal activities were related to individual, mostly smaller plots, by the building of additional storeys, as well as by converting and adding new buildings in between existing buildings.
- Similarly intense types of activities, related in this case to far greater homogeneous urban conditions of large former agricultural yards,

have become established in what were agricultural villages outside of the towns.

- Only with the edges between urban space and riversides, where over time, industrialisation had occupied space by bundling the extending functions of transport and production, does there still hang a large question mark. One exception was related to new buildings at the Elbe's riverside in Magdeburg-Buckau, opposite the pre-industrial core of Buckau and near to the industrially established and (for more than a decade) derelict settlement, a new centre for young people with an area-management in a former public baths building.

Other mono-functional settlements, like big settlements and recently built single-family houses, have been investigated in the research project. Reasons for this are expressed as a challenge by the scenarios projected for 2050. In principle, the recently built, single-family houses, as well as the big settlements do not receive high values for the renewal of urban spaces through interconnection.

Existing offers for supply or the integration of working uses in individual places can be reasons for exceptions. Overall, the exclusion of further in-depth investigations in these areas is argued here for the following reason. Both types of built-form arrangement offer, in different respects, only insufficient niches for coordinating individual and communal initiatives through options, which would allow for close bindings of spatial practices to built form and open spaces.

Locations of tradition and change – forms of renewal

The driving forces for implementing renewal, qualification and transformation are determined socially. Motifs for renewal are always oriented on continuing existing values, such as 'tradition', and at the same time, they have the intention of making new things happen, to integrate changes. The combination of both drives evolutionary development and under specific conditions, for example, where there is a lack or bottlenecks, they can create innovation at individual locations.

Orientation of urban transformation in Europe

The issue of the appropriate embedding for socio-spatial transformation is a question about the

orientation of transformation, relative to its background of – having become obsolete – history. Research about innovation uses the term 'caught' – advantages of location for 'paths of development', that is, it establishes the links between history and the future with reference to the social meaning of individual places and spaces. The material and immaterial continuation of social importance – whether its form and meaning changes – can only be created by people, by those who act, and it is closely connected to the social and economic conditions of the space-become-history.

In Great Britain, history has a function as a touchstone for marketing strategies for urban renewal. Here, 'history' has been re-packaged in new urban forms on green fields. 'Nature' and 'heritage' have become the key drivers of the urban renaissance which, since around 1990, has found its professional voice in the discipline of urban design. This form of 'tradition' and its strategic use by the profession expresses a preceded diffusion of a social loss of identities. The other side of the coin is a social desire for *Heimat*, although this, above all, is realised on the market basis of buying and selling and in consequence of the overall social mobility, becomes only locally 'embedded' for a few years.

Looking in East Germany for locations and conditions, which might contain 'tradition and change' has led to the insight that the interlinked properties of housing agencies still present the best social bases for carrying out any urban renewal. The contrary view is represented by divided property ownership in inner-urban areas, where the individual owners often cannot be identified. Tenants of big settlements have obviously the strongest economic and social capacities for acting in urban renewal, at least related to towns.

Within villages, any renewal activities are more ruled by individual, private property ownership. It is obvious that the material and immaterial continuation of meanings and of small-scale spatial definitions of new uses of working and living has greater potential in the villages. With regard to these contrasts, there is scope to develop the idea that the inhabitants of big settlements at the edges of towns and cities could well carry the renewal of 'edges' by investing their social capital.

Perspectives for change in East Germany

The challenge is, especially under conditions of population shrinkage, to steer a completely sustainable spatial renewal by re-vitalising key economic and cultural forces, as well as by supporting spatial changes for the integration of working uses, as much as through building up social processes. With regard to international influences and new public life – which may arise as a consequence of economically reasoned co-existences of different local cultures – it is expected that both will become indisputable essentials of future transformation.

The fact that recently built, single-family houses will continue to be in demand by those social groups who can afford them, is recognised. Equally, so is the fact that groups yet to make their voice heard, for example, immigrants, may develop new demands and may occupy the big settlements and make existing areas of supply become locations from where the integration of working uses can begin.

However, both types of built-form arrangements (single-family housing and big settlements) because of their structural conditions, can be regarded only to a degree as appropriate for a multi-layered integration of a wide range of local economies, which could be undertaken by a broad range of individual users (ie from handicrafts to self-employment).

Single-family houses will continue to be domains of social segregation towards an 'outside' and perhaps shall develop via this, an identity as socio-spatial contexts. Certainly, they will not support the creation of local cultures with a social importance for the town or create the impetus to drive the economy of the town. Increasingly, the larger settlements will become transition areas for specific demands and specific age groups.

As opposed to in GDR times, local cultures will probably be carried by social groups who either do not intend to have immediate ties to space via spatial practices, or who will prepare for such ties in different locations, and therefore only make *ad hoc* contributions. The remaining GDR influences of a culture of 'equity', however, can be regarded as a basis for a transformation of social and spatial conditions within and outside of the big settlements.

When examining social and economic bases for renewal activities, research questions were not answered in-depth by the administrations of Magdeburg, Halle and Dessau. In particular, there were few responses to the questions, who would be responsible for locations of renewal and how would the locations be identified; and which social groups would be likely to show what ties to particular locations?

Existing local 'embeddings' of social groups are in the process of being investigated (Kremer, 2003). Relative to this investigation, the coordination of the two research directions, about urban structures and about milieus, points above all, to the following questions:

- Who contributes where to continuing traditions?
- Who contributes where to changes, perhaps even to innovations?

Existing conditions for transformation in Magdeburg, Halle, Dessau

With respect to studies of milieus in Dessau (Kremer, 2003), the following theses about a spatial distribution of 'tradition and change' can be formulated. The distinction of 'inner' and 'outer' edges can be differentiated for current processes of renewal reflecting on the dialectical effects between space and milieu:

- In the urban cores, mixed together, there are many influences of young and old people of different social origins. It is the openness and also the anonymity of the town, which builds on individual traditions between changes of uses and users. The historical ground plan creates the strongest bindings for modified traditions and innovations (see eg Halle-centre, Magdeburg-Neustadt, Dessau-North). Edges may occur in each street or alongside large-scale derelict brown fields. Riversides are the questionable areas for the renewal of inner edges.
- The overland roads offer, over periods of time, the greatest potential for the change of social groups, uses and spaces. Industrial heritage has opened huge holes or has established connected structures of locations within old factory buildings which are appropriate to carry innovations as a consequence of re-structuring (Halle/Merseburger Strasse, Magdeburg/Schönebecker

Strasse, Dessau/Askanische Strasse). Here, edges are above all, situated at crossings with purely traffic-functional roads, opposite empty buildings and former mono-functional uses which do not have any entrances onto the main road.

- Within the industrially transformed villages, renewal has been carried traditionally, relative to plot and to yard units, by the property-ownership-bound integration of working uses (Halle–Diemitz; Magdeburg–Buckau; Dessau–Alten). Traditions with relevance for neighbourhood connection are, to a certain extent, restricted to the importance of property ownership. This leads to the danger of changes in the form of plot-merging replacements of densely built-up mixtures of uses by lone standing, single-family houses (z.B. Magdeburg–Alt-Olvenstedt, Dessau–Alt-Törten). Edges above all, exist in the form of a close neighbourhood of derelict and densely used plots.
- Within the settlements of the 1920s, small-scale renewal has been based on socio-spatial traditions, bound to neighbourhood connections or it happens through housing agency initiatives. Edges lie in transition to settlement structures of different urban and political influences, such as big settlements, single-family houses and traffic-functional roads cause edges here.
- The big settlements capture the huge potential of socio-spatial traditions, however, equally, they are the strongest forces of change. These forces have already been implemented in the new or older single-family houses in the surroundings. Edges between these settlements are spatially well perceived; they separate two kinds of familiar social spaces. Edges in transition to bordering villages imply the greatest potential for transformation.

Outlook: perspectives for urban spaces – spaces of interconnection in times of shrinkage

The dramatic impact of a changing demography in East Germany is currently unique in Europe, however, similar phenomena are evident too in West Germany and in other parts of Europe, including Great Britain. It is a reminder of the importance of identifying and localising ‘topographies of values’ to support spatial practices, as the key issue of processes of urban area revitalisation. With respect to the complementary character

of ‘public’ and ‘private’, ‘built’ and ‘lived’ spaces, renewal through ‘interconnection’ has to incorporate working uses away from the centre and at a small-spatial scale into existing structures. The variety of uses has to be protected by appropriate means of built forms and the layout of ‘private spaces’. In addition, access to neighbourhoods through ‘public spaces’ has to be kept open continuously, even to strangers.

The question of the appropriate structures for the long-term continuity of individual urban renewal activities needs a more detailed investigation of spaces and of groups of users and their routines. In principle, the issue of strengthening ‘spaces of interconnection’ has various interlinked dimensions which need multi-disciplinary professional input.

Global influences need local interconnection

Local interconnection needs to respond to global interconnection, to ameliorate uncertainties in the world of systems and their effects on people. Local interconnections can build a multi-dimensional network of socio-spatial relationships, overcoming patterns of local separation and a concentration of functions.

Local interconnection includes a variety of uses and an exchange of communication and services for daily supply to pioneer-like foundations of local economies. The central medium of interconnection is spatial practice, prompting the basic need for concepts of spatial organisation, thus leading to anticipation and imagination of different spaces over time.

Local interconnections are the basis of local cultures

Individuals or groups can build syntheses of small-scale town renewal by interconnecting space with active positions to spatial practices and concepts for and perceptions of space. If spatial practice is the basis of the economical occupation of spaces, usability and changeability build indisputable fundamentals of spatial practices in the long term, because syntheses of values of form and of use become necessary.

The legibility of space becomes socially and economically important within this framework,

if it supports usability and changeability structurally. If spatial practices are supported in the form of structural conditions, the establishment of local cultures has a stable material basis. This basis can be regarded as a premise for syntheses of spatial practices, representations of spaces and representational spaces.

A local self-definition of the occupation of space is supported by material structural conditions and is carried by economic interests. The perception of space is bound only to symbols of the legibility of specific contexts or fragments (in times of industrialisation: chimney, factory gate), if spatial practices are not the immediate subject of socio-spatial identity and, if legibility does not refer to spatially integrated elements of urban form.

Multi-dimensional interconnections need the stability of local interconnection

Interconnections arise either in small-scale niches (enrichment of sites) or on a large scale at appropriate locations (coordination points of large- and small-spatial connections within the urban structure, for example, crossings, entrances to settlements, places at churches, stations, airports, internet access). Locations of interconnection develop over local communication, if the interconnection at the place has strengthened the place for correspondence.

New rules for the funding of a locally self-defined occupation of space could find them subject to a category of spatial-order 'space of interconnecting basic supply'. This category would be relevant for villages, parts of basic centres and also within parts of towns. It would open perspectives for fragments and for new places of settlement.

Fields of guiding interconnection

The 'un-built' spaces will increase inside and outside of settled areas and will have to fulfil an essential importance for perceiving the transformation of the cultural landscape. Punctual, linear and extensive measurements of a framework of form will have to serve for appointing and connecting spaces of interconnection. Renewal through interconnection needs resources for occupying space in the form of appropriate conditions of location, availability of land at low cost

and finances for processes of occupation (innovation support). The processes are considered to be motor and subject of interconnection themselves. Individuals and communal initiatives of occupying space should be supported. Land should be made available for establishing varieties of use, strengthening small-spatial renewal of urban spaces and introducing a re-embedding of global functions into local conditions.

New urban spaces

Maturation of spaces for interconnection depends on the one hand on material structural conditions, on the other, on technological possibilities and social needs in time and place. The fact that 1920s sub-urban settlements and tendentially, later built settlements (like single-family houses) may be important for urban space transformation (especially under conditions of shrinkage), should not lead to the view that all sub-urban areas are equally appropriate for the integration of working uses and for the renewal of urban space through interconnection.

Similarly, it would be wrong to suppose that the formal differentiation of urban structures would improve the conditions for interconnection. Furthermore, in times of shrinkage, it is vital to select and support those spaces for renewal through interconnection which have already enriched local cultural life traditionally and those, which promise to do so.

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