

Nebojša Čamprag

URBAN IDENTITY IN CHANGE



A COMPARISON BETWEEN
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Vom Fachbereich Architektur zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades eines Doktors der Ingenieurwissenschaften (Dr.-Ing.) genehmigte Dissertation von Dipl.-Ing. M.Sc. **Nebojša ČAMPRAK**, geboren am 28.06.1978 in Subotica, Serbien.

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ABSTRACT

The research is concerned with the problem of urban identity, which is becoming an important issue as a result of a range of global, economy-driven changes that urban environment is facing nowadays. Frankfurt and Rotterdam were selected for analysis and comparison. Both of these cities lost most of their historical identity during the war destructions and post-war renewal, contrasting the traditionalism-based viewpoints regarding the predominant importance of heritage in positioning on a global competitive stage. The research therefore focuses not only on the revival of the past and tradition-oriented trend for strengthening local identity, but also on the new means of urban identity building and alternatives in contemporary architecture innovative design for ensuring sustainable urban development.

Key words: *urban identity; change; urban image; identity building; global cities; global competition; innovative design; iconic architecture; urban heritage; urban branding and marketing.*

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Dissertation „städtische Identität im Wandel – ein Vergleich zwischen Frankfurt und Rotterdam“ richtet ihren Blick auf die Erhaltung städtischer Erkennbarkeit inmitten globaler Einflüsse, denen die Städte zunehmend ausgesetzt sind. Dieses Thema beinhaltet nicht nur die Bewahrung und Erneuerung von historischem Bestand und Tradition zur Stärkung der lokalen Identität, sondern auch das Potenzial von neuen Elementen städtischer Identitätsbildung und Möglichkeiten innovativer Architektur und Stadtplanung für eine nachhaltige Entwicklung. Mit der Analyse und dem Vergleich von zwei modernen europäischen Städten wird ein Beitrag zu den Forschungsarbeiten geleistet, die die Bedeutung eines umfassenden Ansatzes zum Thema städtischer Identität herausarbeiten. Die Forschungsfragen werden durch die gezielte Untersuchung einzelner Elemente vor den Hintergrund dieses Phänomens betrachtet – insbesondere in Bezug auf die Rolle und die Erscheinungsformen von Traditionalismus in zeitgenössischen Planungen, in Bezug auf Konflikte und Kompromisse zwischen Tradition und Moderne, sowie in Bezug auf den Einfluss von Veränderungen und Modernität auf die städtische Identitätsbildung.

Schon in der Auseinandersetzung mit der städtischen Vergangenheit lassen sich in Frankfurt und Rotterdam unterschiedliche Positionen im Verständnis und im Umgang beobachten, wenn auch die Bedeutung und die Rolle der Tradition, die Erinnerung und das (gebaute) kulturelle Erbe in der strategischen Planung für die Identitätsbildung allgemein hoch anerkannt sind. In einem ersten Schritt wurden die städtebauliche Entwicklung in der Nachkriegszeit und ihr Umgang mit materiellen und immateriellen Werten der Vergangenheit untersucht. Vielschichtige und unterschiedliche Ansätze prägen Frankfurt in dieser Zeit, während in Rotterdam von Anfang an der Prozess der Modernisierung bestimmend war und nicht der Wiederaufbau oder die Weiterführung der zerstörten Stadtstrukturen. Diese Gegenpositionen haben deutliche Spuren hinterlassen und wirken fort auf aktuelle Entscheidungen. In jedem Fall dienen Vergangenheit und ihr bauliches Erbe heute als ein wichtiges Element für die strategische Planung in beiden Städten. Neben ihrer Bedeutung für die Attraktivität und Ortsbildung wird [das kulturelle Erbe] oft als bequeme Basis für die Identitätsbildung gesehen, nicht nur für die Tourismusbranche oder das städtische Branding

und Marketing, sondern auch als wichtiger thematischer Rahmen für neue städtische Entwicklungen. Doch die guten Ansätze werden bisweilen fragwürdig interpretiert, wie in der romantischen Wiederbelebung, die im Herzen von Frankfurt am Main stattfindet. Mit deutlichem Abstand zu den zeitgenössischen Entwicklungen am Stadtrand, beansprucht diese neue städtische "Insel der Tradition" kulturelle Erinnerung und zerstörtes Erbe als ihr Hauptthema. Die selektive Auswahl von als passend empfundenen Kapiteln der Geschichte, ihre Vereinfachung und Anpassung stellt jedoch eine Manipulation der Vergangenheit aus Gründen der "Produktion" des Erbes in der Frankfurter Innenstadt dar, um Vielfalt, Erkennbarkeit und eine attraktive städtische Umwelt zu inszenieren. Auf der anderen Seite gibt es die gegenläufige Entwicklung, in anderen Stadtgebieten Frankfurts: Eigenständige städtebauliche Einheiten zu bauen, die in ihrem Charakter den allgemeinen Trends in Rotterdam sehr nahekommen. In diesen Beispielen wird die Identitätsbildung nicht durch die Abgrenzung von Erbe und Tradition zu Neuem und Zeitgemäßen angestrebt, sondern durch das Zusammenspiel markanter Elemente: den Besonderheiten des Erbes und innovativem Design erreicht. Das Nebeneinander von Alt und Neu in der Planung in der Innenstadt von Rotterdam hat die Kraft, um einzigartige und erkennbare städtische Eigenschaften zu erzeugen, was die Frage nach der optimalen Interaktion zwischen diesen entgegengesetzten Elementen in den Vordergrund rückt.

Das Zusammenspiel von Erhaltung, Transformation und Modernisierung des Gebäudebestands in der Identitätsbildung von Frankfurt und Rotterdam führt natürlich zu Gegensätzen. Dies erzeugt direkte oder indirekte Konflikte zwischen "Altem" und "Neuem" auf verschiedenen Ebenen, die in geplanten und laufenden Maßnahmen in beiden Fallstädten beobachtet werden können. Die Spannweite reicht von der kontrastreichen Gegenüberstellung von einem Gebäude oder einer Gruppe von Gebäuden, über Konflikten innerhalb von Stadtgebieten bis hin zu der Ebene der Gesamtstadt oder auch zwischen Stadt und ihrem Umland. Abgesehen von räumlichen, architektonischen oder stilistischen Konflikten kann dies, wie in den beiden Fallstädten beobachtet, sogar zu Spannungen in der Nutzung führen zwischen vormaliger Nutzung im Bestand und neuen Entwicklungen und auch zum Bruch von den Visionen der Planer und den Erwartungen der Stadtbewohner.

Die Abhängigkeiten sind sicherlich sehr komplex, aber eines der wichtigsten Merkmale der Städte ist die Veränderung und das Aushandeln von Kompromissen. Bei jedem größeren Konflikt in Frankfurt und Rotterdam wurde ein geeigneter Kompromiss über die Planung bewusst gesucht. Da beide Städte auf der einen Seite dazu neigen, ihre bestehende Identität zu wahren und sich auf der anderen Seite bemühen, sie mit einigen zusätzlichen Elementen anzureichern, wobei globale Vorstellungen eine wichtige Rolle spielen, wird die Transformation in der Regel als Prozess auftreten. In diesem werden gewünschte Versatzstücke aus der Vergangenheit und Tradition ausgewählt, die im Weiteren attraktiv erneuert und mit einigen neuen Funktionen und Besonderheiten, die den gegenwärtigen Bedürfnissen zugeschrieben

werden, ergänzt. Solch eine "Modernisierung" steht oft in einem starken Kontrast zum dem Erbe und Tradition einer Stadt, Frankfurt oder Rotterdam sind keine Ausnahmen.

Manchmal wird die Spannung noch überzeichnet, um einzigartige Raumerfahrungen zu schaffen, statt die leisen Töne im Kompromiss zu suchen, wie bereits im Fall der Innenstadt von Rotterdam erwähnt oder der Entwicklung Wilhelminapier. Das Gegenbeispiel ist die strikte Trennung zwischen Tradition und Moderne in Frankfurt, die nicht nur deutlich spürbar ist in der räumliche Struktur und der visuellen Form, sondern auch in den städtischen Marketing-Aktivitäten, sowie generell in der strategischen Planung. Der polarisierende Ansatz sucht keine Kompromisse, sondern konzentriert sich auf die besten Eigenschaften der beiden Pole, doppeldeutige Identitäten schaffend, die unterschiedlichen Nutzungen und Zielgruppen gerecht werden. Allerdings sind diese beiden Kräfte in bestimmten Fällen zwangsläufig überlappend bringen Ensembles von markanter, aber auch fragwürdiger Gestaltung hervor, wie das Beispiel des Projektes für die neue EZB in Frankfurt zeigt. Im Gegensatz zu den "polarisierten" Identitäten setzt Rotterdam in seiner Strategie auf die Produktion von Bildern für eine moderne Metropole, die nicht ihr Erbe oder ihre Vergangenheit in Frage stellt, sondern nur in den Hintergrund rückt.

Nicht zuletzt ist offensichtlich, dass der Einfluss von Veränderung und Modernität auf die Identitätsbildung in den beiden Fallstädten immens und immer noch steigend ist. Der Wandel gilt unter den Planern als natürliche Eigenschaft der Städte und wird als Chance verstanden, Planungsfehler aus der Vergangenheit auszuräumen und für die weitere Entwicklung der beiden Städte voranzutreiben. Die komplexen langfristigen Planungen und das Landmanagement in Frankfurt und Rotterdam haben das Ziel, die städtischen Veränderungen zu lenken, um bestimmte Entwicklungsziele zu sichern.

Andererseits ergaben die Analysen der strategischen Planung, von Branding und städtischem Marketing, sowie von laufenden Projekten und Projekten in der Planungsphase, dass alle zweifellos starken globalen Einflüssen und Trends der großen globalen Städte unterliegen. Insbesondere die nordamerikanischen Städte haben bereits eine Modellrolle in der Nachkriegsplanung und Entwicklung von Frankfurt und Rotterdam eingenommen. Die Gestaltung der Skyline, die Uferbebauung, die Lichter der Stadt, der Verkehr bestätigen in der zeitgenössischen Planung und den Marketing-Aktivitäten der beiden Städte ihre atmosphärischen Bilder einer idealen „Weltstadt“; nicht zuletzt um die Position im globalen Wettbewerb der Städte zu sichern oder zu verbessern. Sowohl in Frankfurt als auch in Rotterdam gibt es beispielsweise besondere Planungen zur Entwicklung der Skyline, die als starkes Symbol der Identität der Metropolen verstanden wird. Zusätzlich veränderten Stararchitekten und Architekturikonen die Identität in besonderem Maß und besonderem Maßstab. Dennoch scheint in beiden Fallstädten die Kluft zwischen Zukunftsvisionen und realen

Möglichkeiten für die Umsetzung der ehrgeizigen Pläne erheblich. Viele Projekte, die in der Planungsphase stecken, könnten von hoher Bedeutung sein im Vergleich zu einigen der bestehenden Architekturikonen oder im Bezug auf Entwicklungen in Frankfurt und Rotterdam, wo solche ambitionierte und innovative Projekte auch ein hohes Risiko tragen, nicht realisiert zu werden.

Basierend auf all den gesammelten Daten, analysiert, verglichen, zusammengefasst und interpretiert, lassen sich die wichtigsten Schlussfolgerungen aus dieser Forschung wie folgt zusammenfassen:

- Während in Frankfurt das kulturelle Erbe als Ausnahme nachgebaut wird, größtenteils als freie Interpretation der Erinnerung, dient Tradition und Erbe in den beiden Städten meist nicht nur als Ausgangspunkt für Identitätsbildung, sondern auch als ein leistungsstarker Generator für zeitgenössische Entwicklung.

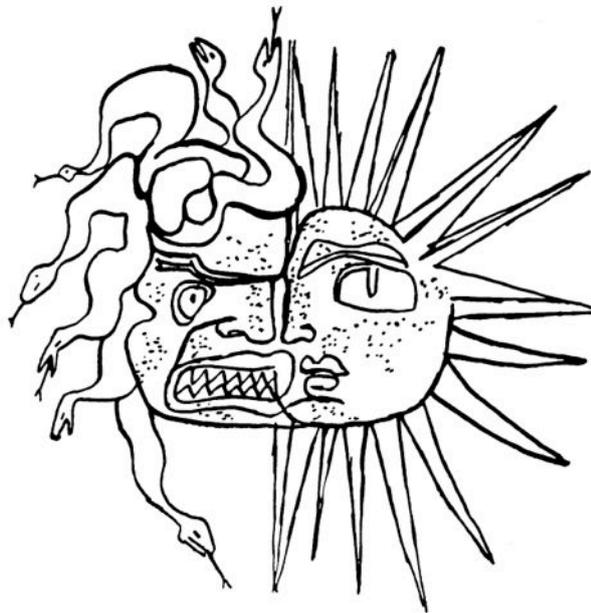
- Die Verbindungen zwischen Bestandserhaltung, Transformation und Modernisierung in der Identitätsbildung bedingen widersprüchliche Konstellationen, die jedoch durch ähnliche Strategien in Frankfurt und Rotterdam immer noch erkennbare und ausgewählte städtische Identitäten hervorbringen.

- Schließlich konnte in der Planung und im Stadtmarketing von Frankfurt und Rotterdam eindeutig festgestellt werden, wie die wichtigsten Trends von globalen Vorstellungswelten und urbanem Wettbewerb beeinflusst werden; das Hauptmerkmal dieser beiden Städte ist jedoch in Bezug auf Veränderung und Modernität die deutliche Differenz zwischen der Visionen in der strategischen Planung und den realen Bedingungen für die Realisierung der ehrgeizigen Pläne.

Die Bedeutung der vorliegenden Forschungsarbeit über urbane Identität und Wandel am Beispiel Frankfurt und Rotterdam ist in einem breiteren Zusammenhang angelegt, da sowohl ein umfassendes Verständnis der global auftretenden Prozesse erforderlich ist wie auch auf deren Auswirkungen auf die lokale Ebene. Die empirische Studie über die Auswirkungen der Globalisierung und des Wandels auf zwei europäische Städte möchte einen Beitrag zu der Forschungsarbeit leisten, die sich mit den Herausforderungen städtischer Umwelt auseinandersetzt, um aus der engeren Perspektive der Planung leistungsfähige Wege zur Erhaltung von Ortsbezug und Identität in der zeitgenössischen Städten aufzuzeigen. Auf diese Weise wird eine Forschungslücke in der Literatur zu urbaner Identität angesprochen, die durch einen Mangel an empirischen Studien gekennzeichnet ist, die im Rahmen von Einzelfallbetrachtungen die Auswirkungen der Globalisierung und Veränderung in einer Fallstudie berücksichtigen.

Zudem zeigt die Dissertation aktuelle Entwicklungen in der Planung und in der Praxis im Hinblick auf eine städtische Identitätsbildung, gerade durch die Analyse und den

Städtevergleich wird ein Einblick in die derzeitige Situation und mögliche Zukunftsszenarien gegeben. Das wichtigste Ergebnis der vorliegenden Forschungsarbeit ist wohl der Nachweis, dass die städtische Identität von hoher Signifikanz ist, als Rückgrat für jede nachhaltige Planung. Schließlich möchte die vorliegende Forschungsarbeit auch eine neue Sicht auf diese Fragen eröffnen und als eine mögliche Inspiration für Planer dienen. Bedingt durch die Tatsache, dass das Thema selbst im Entwicklungsprozess und relativ neu ist, gibt es viele andere Bereiche als mögliche Felder für eine zukünftige Forschung.



*“Die Alternative, vor der die modern Architektur steht:
‘Das derzeitige Verhängnis oder die Freiheit der Raumgestaltung?’”*

Leonardo Benevolo (1983) on drawing by Le Corbusier¹

¹ L. Benevolo (1983) *Die Geschichte der Stadt*, Campus Verlag, Frankfurt/New York: image 1649, page 1058; Drawing by Le

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Part I:

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND & LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. Research Framework

1.1.1. Problem Definition

From the perspective defined as a set of *distinctive characteristics of built environment*, urban identity assumes a complex and multi-layered overall feature, created gradually through long spans of time, with development of cities themselves. What makes this feature all the more interesting nowadays is certainly the rapid development of technological, aesthetic, global and political conditions during the several last decades, which initiated tremendous changes. These new circumstances are certainly affecting both contemporary architectural praxis and urban environments to an extent never before experienced. On the one side, as a result of rising globalization and competition, followed by internationalization and universalization trend, a certain 'generic approach' in shaping and designing cities (Koolhaas & Mau, 1995) seem already to have been triggered off. On the other side, global construction industry is often accused of being incapable of satisfying traditional values, thus putting local construction practices and customs aside. Trends and conditions like these are not only contributing to the gradual deterioration and loss of traditional identities of cities worldwide, but are also often marked as significantly aggravating factors for further development of their distinguished characteristics. Finally, such overall standardization of urban environments globally is nowadays often seen as a serious threat to create a world of cities highly resembling each other (Norberg-Schulz, 1980; Koolhaas & Mau, 1995; Robertson, 1995; Castels, 2000; Ellin, 2002; Koolhaas, 2002; Thomas, 2002; King, 2004; Sundaram, 2007).

As cities nowadays are facing such a multitude of serious challenges in sustaining spatial, cultural, economical and recognizable continuum, urban identity consequently becomes

all the more vulnerable category. However, paradoxically on the other side, in the atmosphere of post-modern society that cherishes distinctiveness and attractiveness above all (Franck, 1998; 2005), the importance of local recognisability is, as a counterpoint, increasingly being accented. Many cities worldwide thus resorted to long-term planning and development decisions in their own ways. Regardless of the approach, they are all forced to deal with the two important issues contemporary architecture and urbanism are currently facing (Smyth, 2005: 228): on the one side to (re)establish 'sense of place' and local identity, and on the other to create desired *diversity*.

1.1.2. Research Focus

Traditional view on urban identity building usually means looking back in history, it may involve recovery of built heritage and degraded historic centres, revitalization of former industrial sites or enhancement of areas for cultural use. Built heritage is certainly distinguished with its high potential and importance for urban recognisability, identification and local context, and as such holds an important role in contemporary strategic planning. However, identity building through architecture and urbanism no longer accepts simple continuation of architectural tradition as an appropriate solution, besides the ever more important need to preserve the existing heritage (Will, 2009: 14). Contemporary urban identity building therefore seems to be forced to change, adapt and assume additional meanings and new expressions. The main contemporary alternative in 'sense of place' creation could be innovative design (Gospodini, 2002), whose potential has already been spotted through several successfully undertaken urban regenerations so far, supported by iconic designs by internationally renowned star-architects. Aside from the apparent success of such enterprises, they are based on completely opposite values and meanings in comparison to those of heritage, having its roots in history, tradition and common memory of the place. Utilization of both alternatives have certainly their own advantages; however, the tensions between them and the ways to reach their reconciliation for an overall urban identity are becoming serious issues for modern architects and urban planners, who never faced such a difficult task as to sustain recognizable features within all the more complex urban palimpsests. In this context, the research sets its prime focus on integration of place-identity, urban sustainability² and issues of globalization, being some of the most important challenges urban planners and strategy-makers are facing nowadays.

² The sustainability of any place depends on a number of factors which contribute to its liveability, quality and identity. (Sepe, 2009)



Image 1.1.

Frankfurt (1944) and Rotterdam (1940) after the war destructions

Planners and architects saw the wartime destruction as a great opportunity for urban structures modernization and improvement, as international phenomenon driven by the combination of industrialization and technology.

Left: photo in public domain, private collection Mylius. Right: Picture in the public domain; *U.S. National Archives and Records Administration*, Nr. 208-PR-10L-3. Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org>, 2014-03-16

Understanding and testing of approaches to contemporary urban identity building within the research is mainly accessed through the planner's perspective in the current atmosphere of overwhelming changes occurring on the global level. Such a standpoint includes both standard strategies for identity building through heritage and common memory and its alternatives in innovative design, focusing as well on the conflicts and compromises occurring on various levels between the two main options. Despite the claims that European cityscape specifically is to a slightly moderate extent subjected to the global influences due to its strong bonds with heritage (Castells, 1989), it certainly isn't immune to them. Actual debate in Frankfurt, involving the problem of historicizing contemporary architecture, served as an occasion to focus on the planning perspective in Europe. Therefore, assumed as an appropriate case study in the frames of urban identity building in such a complex setting is examination and comparison of planning activities with the reference to enhance recognisability within the two progressive and outstanding European metropolises: Frankfurt in Germany and Rotterdam in the Netherlands. The two cities are not only similar in their size and economic, cultural and political importance, but they also share similar historical circumstances within their quest for own identity. Shortly after fatal war destructions, which caused irreparable damage to their traditional urban symbols, both of the cities were forced promptly to establish reconstruction criteria under the influence of suggestive traditionalism on one side, and progressive modernity as its' alternative (image 1.1). Aside from historical circumstances with strongholds in common memory, rising competitive trend is – similarly to many other cities worldwide – also strongly influencing further spatial, economical, cultural and overall development of the two cities. Their international character and openness to modern architectural concepts, sometimes directly influenced by the global megacities (such as New York City; image 1.2), made particular footprints on European cityscape. In addition, such features are allowing clear determination of conflicting zones,

differentiation of 'fake' from 'real' elements (Huxtable, 1999), and thus understanding the challenges that planning for contemporary identity building in global North/Europe deals with.



Image 1.2.

US style skyline, symbol of change for ascribing metropolitan character: Frankfurt and Rotterdam today
Author's photos, 2010-04-18 & 2012-09-19

Planning for both Frankfurt and Rotterdam still faces many challenges and utilizes various means to position certain *urban brand* on global competitive stage, where preserved built heritage, local context and overall urban recognisability play an increasing role. Emphasized divergence and polarization between tradition and modernity in the two case study cities finally made their official strategies particularly appropriate for the research dealing with identity discourse in the atmosphere of rising globalization issues.

1.1.3. Conceptual Framework

The focus of the research is generally set on the present time, positioning urban identity of contemporary cities between inherited values from the past and its aspirations to be accomplished in the future – both included and reflected in the various planning processes (diagram 1.1). Such a setting is supported by traditional values, opposing the changes on the one side, and meeting modernization influences from the other side as the main initiator of change. Contemporary urban, strategic and marketing planning activities took over the role to balance all the influences and expectations from both confronted sides, in order to insure sustainable urban development. The function of planning is therefore seen as mediating on the one side, but on the other it obviously plays the most important role in shaping urban identity nowadays, taking all the favourable assets available to direct inevitable change in a desired

direction. The research therefore focuses on the above-mentioned on-going processes within cities, as a discussion on selected architectural projects and planning approaches in Europe, finally making effects in the frameworks of contemporary urban identity building.

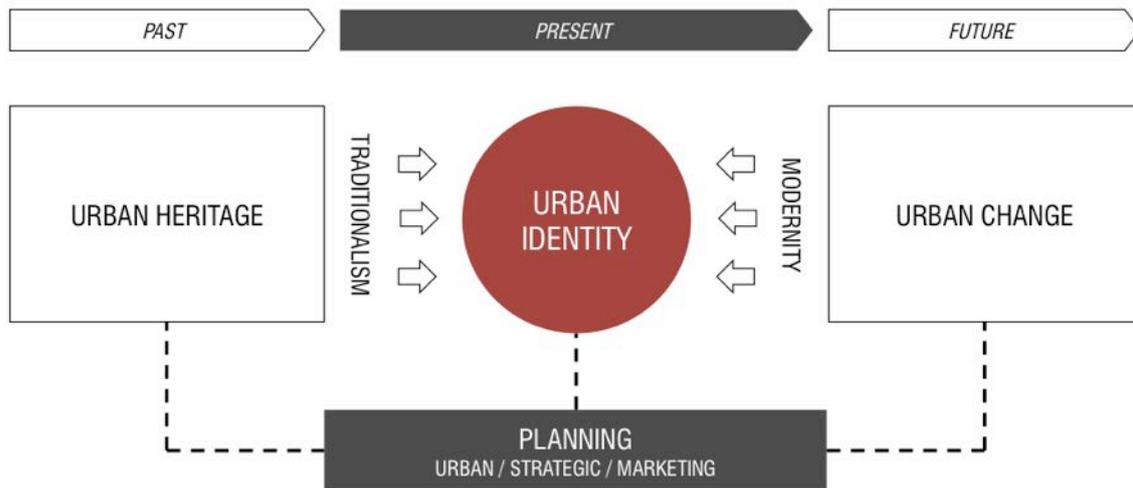


Diagram 1.1.
Conceptual framework of the research

1.2. Analysis of the Previous Research

The main issue regarding the research previously made on the topic of urban identity lays in highly versatile nature of the term itself, and thus different perceptions of the same (see sections 2.1. and 2.2.). Having its background in the general and complex notion of *identity*, it has been the topic of various disciplines so far, ranging from psychology and sociology (Tolman, 1948; Fearon, 1990; 1999; Halbwachs, 1992; Lalli, 1992; De Benoist, 2004; Lappegard Hauge, 2007), to architecture and urban planning (Lynch, 1996; Cullen, 1971; Rossi, 1973; Durth, 1977; Norberg-Schulz, 1980; Snozzi, 1997; Ellin, 2002). All of these studies certainly had different approaches to the problem; while for social scientists urban identity lies in special bonds between citizens and a city, for architects and urban planners this notion (also) refers to the special and recognizable features of build environments. Although among the authors which regarded the term as an architectural phenomenon still circulate various opinions on the topic itself, general consensus reveals that distinctive urban environment is certainly getting on *importance* (Mitscherlich, 1965; Durth, 1977; Halbwachs, 1992; Robertson, 1995; Franck, 1998; 2005; Ellin, 2002; Kong, 2007; Watson & Bentley, 2007; Heidenreich, 2008), while globalizing influences generally tend to *standardize* urban space (Friedmann, 1986;

Koolhaas & Man, 1995; Aurigi & Graham, 1997; Castells, 2000; Ren, 2001; Koolhaas, 2002; King, 2004; Schumann, 2004; Short, 2004; Robinson, 2006; Watson & Bentley, 2007; Del Cerro & Davis, 2009; Fattahi & Kobayashi, 2009). Urban identity building in this sense mainly involves not only goal-oriented planning, but increasingly supporting activities as well that are facilitating perception of desired message.

From all the above-mentioned reasons, in order to get a multi-layered insight in the contemporary issues regarding urban identity exposed to extensive changes, the outcomes of a variety of different research were considered in the frameworks of this dissertation. Such a composite topic certainly required heterogeneous thematic spectrum, also involving understanding of some of the important accompanying activities; such as heritage preservation (Ashworth & Larkham, 1994; Nyström, 1999; Rypkema, 1999; 2008; Roost, 2000; Gospodini, 2002; Nasser, 2003; Graham & Howard, 2008; Martinez, 2008), sustainable development (Delafons 1997; Rypkema, 1999; Watson & Bentley, 2007; Scheffler et al., 2009), strategic planning (Zulaika, 2000; Smyth, 2005; De Cerro Santamaria, 2011; Knox, 2012), city marketing and urban branding (Durth, 1977; Rutheiser, 1996; Beyrow, 1998; Franck, 1998; 2005; Klingmann, 2003; Karavatzis & Ashworth, 2005; Huysen, 2008; Hildreth, 2010), as well as the following phenomena: 'global city' (Sassen, 1991; 2000; Castells, 2000; King, 2000; Davis, 2005; Yeung & Olds, 2001; Huyseen, 2008; Hahn, 2011), urban competitiveness (Sassen, 1991; Gordon, 1999; Thrift, 1999; Metaxas, 2007), identity crisis (Mitscherlich, 1965; Norberg-Schulz, 1980; Koolhaas & Man, 1995; Castells, 1996; Aurigi & Graham, 1997; Huxtable, 1997; Ellin, 2002; Gospodini, 2002; Koolhaas, 2002), and signature architecture (Huxtable, 1997; Ellin, 2002; Thomas, 2002; Klingmann, 2003; King, 2004; Sklair, 2011). Aside from the thematic review, general classification of the previous topic-related research first of all involves numerous theoretical and historical studies that made a base for understanding some of the most important and fundamental issues. In addition, material whose objective is directly related to the problematic aspects of the phenomena stands in the core of the dissertation itself. Finally, some other sources, such as specific planning documentation, were largely used as well.

In contrast to the research conducted so far, the dissertation itself considers the issue of urban identity exclusively as recognisability of built environment, perceiving it through its broader aspects rather than from focusing on some outstanding examples of extensive urban renewal or transformation. In addition, special importance is given to the current state of affairs (mainly the year 2013) when discussing urban identity, involving the multidisciplinary approach through its correlation with other overwhelming global phenomena – such is accelerated course of change and its overall impact on existing urban fabric.

1.3. Research Aims

The research primarily aims to portray the current trends in shaping contemporary European cities, as well as in building their identity through the focus on the case-study cities, Frankfurt and Rotterdam. Within the broader perspective lays the necessity to better understand both planning and on-going processes occurring in contemporary (global) city, aiming to:

- a. Contribute to better understanding of the *current urban phenomena* in focus and their interconnection – such as of urban identity and change, tradition and heritage preservation in future urban development strategies, and contemporary architecture potentials and threats;
- b. Determine and explain actual *conflicts* in the modern city at different levels and offer possibilities for their reconciliation; such as between traditionalism and modernity, global and local, or 'real' vs. 'fake' (Huxtable, 1999);
- c. Better understand the ways contemporary cities are correcting *improper planning decisions* of the past, and finding ways to meet the current requirements of city competitiveness and other rising global trends;
- d. Evaluate contribution of the *contemporary* strategies, plans and projects for overall urban development and identity building;
- e. Develop a platform for *directing* the challenges caused by the rapid urban change processes.

1.4. Hypothesis and Research Questions

The starting point for the research is based on the following general hypotheses:

- On the one side, comprehensive changes caused by the growing phenomena of globalization provided significant progress as never before, but on the other side, the process of overwhelming universalization caused silent destruction of local values, traditional cultures and built heritage. Unifying global civilization created a strong conflict between global and local, and between traditionalism and modernity options, reaching up to the examples of local identity *crisis* in cities globally.

- Many cities have recognized that attractive physical environment can enhance their uniqueness and distinctiveness (Shimomura & Tadashi, 2010), making urban identity an important indicator of sustainable development. Therefore, modern cities seek to emphasize their identity and strengthen competitive advantage in the globalized marketplace through careful and long-term *planning*. Contemporary development strategies tend to carefully balance the imperatives of preservation, transformation, modernization and ecologically sustainable development in order to meet the challenges of the future.
- Innovative design can also make a significant contribution to shaping urban identity and ensuring the visual integrity of an urban landscape.

Based on the hypotheses listed above, general focus of the research is set on the following three main issues: (a) the role and meaning of (built) heritage and historically developed character in strategies for identity building of contemporary global cities; (b) the relation between preservation and modernization in development strategies for identity building and competitiveness, and (c) the place of change and modernity in further shaping of urban identity of contemporary cities. Out of these main issues, the forthcoming case study analysis and comparison of the two global cities is designed to provide answers to the following *primary research questions*:

- Regarding the role and manifestations of *traditionalism* in contemporary architectural ventures: what is the meaning and actual role of common memory and (built) heritage in identity building in both Frankfurt and Rotterdam? The fact that most of the essential historical and material support to these cities' traditional identification has been lost in the wartime destructions is raising questions regarding possible identification with destroyed or completely rebuilt historical structures.
- Regarding the *conflicts and compromises between traditional and modern*: what are the interconnections of preservation, transformation and modernization in identity building for Frankfurt and Rotterdam? On the one side, strategic urban regeneration often utilizes unique urban assets – such as historic ones – being included into cultural activities of cities or getting new functions, corresponding to the actual needs. On the other side, introduction of the new elements on a certain level influences the current appearance of a city, at the same time affecting and changing the existing environment. Research and comparison of the case study cities' development strategies and planned and on-going projects provided answers to these questions, with the special attention to the treatment and utilization of built heritage resources and new iconic developments.

- Regarding the influence of *change and modernity* on urban identity building; both Frankfurt and Rotterdam have been cut off from its past by the wartime devastation and *ultramodern* rebuilding. The identity of these cities, as modern metropolises invariably referring to the future, in all likelihood has its roots in the 19th century, though it really took off in the inter-war years. From such a standpoint, the most important questions are: what is the influence of *internationalisation* of architecture and planning, and till which extent competition with the megacities affected renewal and development of Frankfurt and Rotterdam till nowadays? Besides the analysis of historical facts, also the view on some major development projects and future plans was made, as of the actual images of the case cities, their branding activities and directions for the future, in order to examine the relation between the planners vision and the actual course of development.

1.5. Research Methodology Overview

The research has its starting point on historical analysis, with the focus on urban and architectural development of both of the cities, as a foundation for understanding the scope of changes occurred so far. Further research actions generally aimed to provide insight into the future development goals and strategies; analysis of the activities like city branding, urban renewal and brownfield zones redevelopment; various actors and initiatives within; perception, evaluation and treatment of heritage and 'iconic' architecture etc., for a thorough understanding of the directions for urban identity building and further sustainable development in the contemporary city. In such a framework, the following research methods are utilized:

01. Secondary resource analysis;

Summarizing and drawing together the existing literature, both academic and otherwise, helped better to define and understand both relevant terminology and on-going global processes and conflicts between traditionalism and modernity. Secondary resource analysis provided a review of the general historical, planning and development circumstances of both Frankfurt and Rotterdam. Analysis of scientific articles, Internet research, and project documentation allowed an insight into development projects and strategies of the selected cities and helped preparing the later conducted case study comparison.

02. Field research and research interviews;

The field research techniques included aspects of the following methods: (a) Sites of interest visits and their empirical observation; (b) Photo documentation, important to illustrate cases in focus; (c) Structured general and semi-structured informal research interviews.

Interviews with the city officials in charge of urban planning, design and marketing³ provided insight into the standpoints regarding the official development strategies and the ways identity of urban environment in both of the case cities is being shaped. The interviews conducted were organized in the two main segments: general and informal. General part of the interview was designed to tackle the most important topics in the focus of the research problem, and to provide their constructive analysis and comparison within the further phases of the research process. This part of the interview included twelve questions, organized in the following four main groups, as follows:

- a. Introductory questions,
- b. Questions regarding heritage and historically developed identity,
- c. Questions regarding conflicts between traditionalism and modernity, and
- d. Questions regarding change and modernity in Frankfurt/Rotterdam.

The informal part of the interview had its purpose to get deeper into the most interesting topics and to help gathering information regarding the case study areas and projects in both of the cities in focus.

03. Case Studies: Analysis/Synthesis;

In order to investigate transformations of urban identity, its manifestations and impacts on further development, analysis and comparison of the case study cities was undertaken on the two following levels (diagram 1.2). *General analysis & comparison* ('city context') had the role to provide overall apprehension of both Frankfurt and Rotterdam, and to serve as the main benchmark for later comparison. It involved general analysis of the location, demographics, economy, historical and spatial analysis (urban structure and visual form), actual development overview, and brand analysis for both of the cities in question. The second level assumed a more *specific comparison* ('case studies'), dealing with extracted zones of interest, as carriers and representatives of targeted elements in the research focus: *urban identity* and *change*. For this purpose, the three following clusters were 'sampled' and investigated within both of the cities (table 1.1);

a. *Historic centres*, as carriers of representative traditional image and as identity substance of most of (European) cities,

b. *Business districts*, as highly competitive clusters of new iconic developments with particular visual iconography, and

³ More details on interviews conducted, their selection, interviewees, as well as their analysis and comparison, are within the section 6.4. Transcripts of the interviews are enclosed in the appendix, in section 8.4.

c. *Brownfield sites*, where the most comprehensive urban transformation and change are usually taking place.

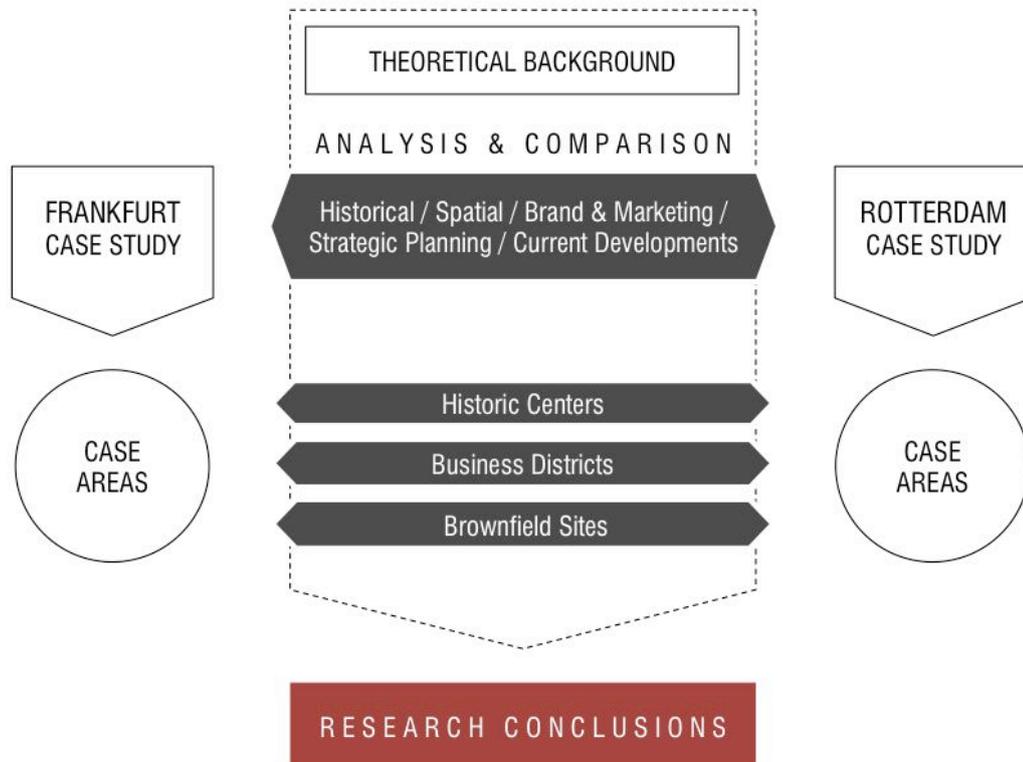


Diagram 1.2.
Case Studies Concept

CASE STUDY PROJECTS			
No.	CLUSTER	CASE CITY	
		FRANKFURT	ROTTERDAM
1	INTERVENTIONS IN HISTORICAL CORE	Frankfurt Altstadt (<i>DomRömer Project; Stadthaus am Markt; Historisches Museum</i>)	<i>Laurenskwartier West</i> (the City Hall extension, Post Office reconstruction; <i>Markthall</i>)
2	BUSINESS DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT	Bankenviertel (<i>Mainitor; Taunusturm</i> ; many planned objects)	Rotterdam Central District (New central station; <i>Calypso; First; Weenaboulevard</i> ; planned objects)
3	BROWNFIELD SITE REDEVELOPMENT	Ostend riverfront (New Premises of the European Central Bank; <i>Hafenpark</i>)	<i>Wilhelminapier - Kop Van Zuid</i> (<i>De Rotterdam</i> ; many planned objects)

Table 1.1.
Overview of the analysed projects, sorted by research clusters of both of the cities in focus

Every selected cluster was further analysed, in order to address several categories of research interest: built heritage conservation, revitalization and ‘manipulation’; interactions between built heritage and new developments (conflicts and compromises); and new

developments with iconic quality. Case Study analysis is to a large degree supported by the interviews with the selected officials in both of the cities in focus. Synthesis of all the data, provided by the previously undertaken general and specific analysis, lead further towards the comparison.

04. Case Studies: Comparison;

This research step was also designed on several levels; the first level assumed a *general comparison*, addressing Frankfurt and Rotterdam as urban wholes, while the second level represented a more *specific comparison*, dealing with extracted zones of interest as targeted carriers of elements in the research focus. Cross comparison, as well as interviews comparison, provided final interpretation of the collected data. Based on this comparison principle, more structured final conclusions and results on targeted research issues were drawn.

1.6. Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation is generally divided into the three main parts, concerning theoretical background and literature review as a starting point for the research (part I), followed by empirical analysis and comparison (part II), finally leading to research summary and conclusions (part III). Within this structure, there are seven chapters and an appendix, described in the brief summary that follows:

Chapter 01: Introduction. The first chapter deals with definition of the research problem, as well as with its questions, aims and research methodology.

Chapter 02: Review on Urban Image and Identity. First of all, the second chapter aims to provide a background for some important general issues regarding perception of urban environment, city image and landmarks, as well as of the major relationships between identity and place. In addition, it defines urban identity in the research frameworks as a set of distinctions responsible for recognisability of built environment, and considers the role of urban design in achieving the same. Finally, the chapter frames the relationship between heritage and urban identity, and scrutinizes urban identity as indicator for sustainable development.

Chapter 03: Urban identity in Change. The third chapter sets its focus on the role of change in shaping identity of cities nowadays. It examines some of the most important contemporary phenomena, such as of the new approaches to city imaging, 'global city', competition between the cities, and urban branding and marketing. Urban change impact on identity building of cities is examined through a review of destructions and renewal after the 2nd

World War, investigation of different standpoints in literature regarding actual urban identity crisis, and the role of contemporary architecture in such ventures. Finally, the variety of interactions between built heritage and urban change was summarized.

Chapter 04 / 05: Frankfurt/Rotterdam case study analysis. Chapters 4 and 5 are dealing with the case studies, and are symmetrically designed to provide a base for later comparison. Both Frankfurt and Rotterdam are analysed on the two levels: in the *contexts of their identity*, and as *selected cases analysis*. The contexts encompass overall historical, spatial, strategic planning and brand analysis of both of the cities, while case studies involves focus on the selected cases – *historic centres, business districts and brownfield redevelopment sites*, with analysis of historical circumstances, spatial features and landmarks, and on-going and planned interventions within.

Chapter 06: Comparative Analysis. This chapter includes gradual levels of comparison, starting from the general, over the selected cases, to brief cross-comparison. It also contains analysis and comparison of the expert interviews.

Chapter 07: Summary and Final Conclusions. Chapter 7 brings a short summary as an introduction to the following final conclusions. Besides providing answers to the main research questions and testing the previously established hypotheses, the final chapter also summarizes the main research challenges and outcomes, and determines brief directions for the future research.

Appendix. Containing bibliography, list of figures, abbreviations and transcripts of the expert interviews.

Review on Urban Image and Identity

2.1. Perception of Urban Environment

2.1.1. Overview of the City Image Concept

Most people would probably agree that *sight* is one of the most important human senses, for information transferred through *images* always appear as the most reliable and most comprehensive in comparison to any other source of perception. An urban environment is thus mostly comprehended through 'images', which could also be considered as an essential, but certainly not the only transmitting element of sense of place (Schumann, 2004). This study on urban identity, as a *special and recognizable character of cities*, has therefore its starting point exactly on understanding of the multi-layered concept of 'city images'.

Although presently viewed in a multidisciplinary focus, both perception of urban environment and the concept of city images have their origins in psychological research on acquisition of spatial knowledge (Fattahi & Kobayashi, 2009). The first to recognize the central importance of complex cognitive representations in spatial perception and behaviour was American psychologist Tolman, who described *orientation* and *meaning*-based aspects within the so-called 'cognitive maps' (Tolman, 1948; Lalli, 1992). In the frames of this early concept, the orientation-related internal representation of space covered its cognitive encoding, while the meaning-related representation was based on the individual evaluation of the environment, and included its functional, evaluative, as well as symbolic aspects (Lalli, 1992). Since the first interests in interactions between a city and its inhabitants/visitors, perception of urban environment also attracted attention of both architects and urban planners, who further carried out extensive studies, ranging from macro scales to details of a single building. However, particular attention has been drawn to the importance of city images after several significant research results were published in the early 1960-es. American urban planner and author Kevin

Lynch (Lynch, 1996) gave significant contribution with his empirical research on how individuals perceive and navigate urban landscape, with the focus on orientation-related aspects of environmental representation. Aside from this, Lynch also studied the symbolic meanings of urban form and its role for the observers, focusing on the structure of city images on a larger scale, as remembered and drawn, and not on the structure of the cities themselves, as inhabited and used physical spaces (Stevens, 2006). The environmental image was generally described in terms of five interconnected structural elements (Lynch, 1996: 46-90): paths, edges, nodes, districts and finally *landmarks*, as the most outstanding elements of urban landscape.

Besides defining the – now well-known – five elements of environmental image, there are the two more relevant outcomes of Lynch’s research concerning city images. Firstly, Lynch put an emphasis on complexity of the process of urban environment perception. Cities – as artificial, human-made spaces, constructed as huge networks and fully adapted to the needs of its users – are indeed saturated both with orientation and meaning elements, earlier described by Tolman (1948), whose intersection and overlapping is not an uncommon case. Lynch went a step further in this context, describing perception range of urban environment complexity “in the course of long spans of time” (Lynch, 1996: 1), overflowing with associations, memories and meanings of every single resident and visitor. In addition, a city has not only one, but whole series of public images, “differing not only by the scales of area involved, but by viewpoint, time of day, or season” (Lynch, 1996: 86). Secondly, Lynch based his theories on a two-fold concept regarding image of a city: on its *legibility* and *imageability*. City legibility refers to the ease with which people understand layout of a city, as all the objects such as buildings, streets, and squares demonstrate a hierarchical structure, with a majority of objects that are filtered out during the perception process, facilitating its understanding. This means that only selected, outstanding minority of the visually most dominating objects in urban surrounding is actually kept in minds of the observers. The concept of *imageability* on the other hand refers to the quality of the physical object itself, which gives a strong image to the observer, depending on the existence of ‘imageable’ elements and their spatial configuration. The legibility in this sense comes from *imageability*, which in fact defines quality of physical urban environment, where the legible environments are in fact those with identity, structure and meaning (Lynch, 1996; Ford, 1999: 254).

Although these early theories on city image have been later widely analysed and criticized (Lalli, 1992; Strohecker, 1999; Ford, 1999; Stevens, 2009), even by Lynch himself,⁴ they laid foundations for the modern research on spatial cognition. Most of the critics of Lynch’s

⁴ Lynch, K. (1984) reconsidered city images in Rodwin, L. and Hollister, R. M. (eds.), *Cities of the Mind: Images and Themes of the City in the Social Sciences*, Plenum Press, New York, pp. 151-161.

work are regarding its limitation on the effects of physical, perceptible objects (Lynch, 1996: 46), although the residents and the visitors do not perceive an urban environment exclusively through its images, but are also relying on hearing, touch and other senses as well (Stevens, 2006: 804). A step further in describing perception and representation of the 'atmospheric' quality of urban environment from the perspective of residents and tourists provided Cullen (1971) within his townscape studies. Cullen argued that townscape couldn't be grasped in the purely 'technical' manner, but should also consider aesthetic sensibility, which is primarily – but not exclusively – visual. While recognizing the importance of memories, experiences and emotional responses, Cullen defined a 'serial vision' within an urban environment, where the images perceived during the pedestrian walk are building a spatial representation of an environment. The two main components of the serial vision, 'existing view' and 'emerging view', are providing the basis for manipulation with the elements of a town, for a certain impact on the emotions of the observer to be produced (Cullen, 1971: 7-10). These findings, referring to environment observation and manipulation of its elements to produce a desired effect in the eyes of observer, opened a new research chapter and pushed the topic further into the frames of multidisciplinary research network.

The early relationships between image building and advertising have primarily been investigated by Durth⁵ (1977), who noted the power of visual communication and described the early competitive atmosphere between the cities, based on their self-representation. This relation was all the more interesting as the tendencies in architecture and urban planning during the second half of the 20th century made a shift in their approach to the city, observing it not only from 'above', but also from the perspective of its users. "The fact that the image of an object can strongly determine the experience and behaviour of consumers under certain circumstances, other than the object's real nature drew attention of urban planners, as a matter of spatial design-means closely to refer to the supposed or intermediary image, which people of an environment create "to assess experimental opportunities on a different level of the urban landscape"' (Durth, 1977: 79; Trieb, 1974: 94).⁶ The power of images was significantly gaining value, as they provided opportunities for control of public consciousness, ranging from "(...) the change of the real situation through the special care of image formative situations, to deliberate intervention in the symbolization process through urban design and targeted information policy"

⁵ Durth, Werner (1977) "Die Inszenierung der Alltagswelt. Zur Kritik der Stadtgestaltung" (The Staging of Everyday Life; On the Critique of City Design)

⁶ „Daß das Image eines Gegenstandes das Erleben und Verhalten von Konsumenten unter Umständen stärker bestimmen kann als dessen wirkliche Beschaffenheit, begann auch jene Städtebauer zu interessieren, denen es darum ging, räumlichen Gestaltungsmittel eng auf das vermutete bzw. zu vermittelnde Bild zu beziehen, das sich Menschen von einer Umgebung machen, „um auf einer anderen Ebene, der das Stadtbildes, Erlebnismöglichkeiten zu veranlagern““ (M. Trieb, Stadtgestaltung – Theorie und Praxis, Düsseldorf 1974: 94)“ (Durth, 1977: 79; author's translation)

(Durth, 1977: 76).⁷ In this context, Durth even described modern urban design as a kind of dramaturgy, where the planners have the role of stage-builders to creatively prepare performances in changing scenes for the “demanding and experience-hungry audience, which also represents the actor” (Durth, 1977: 37-38).⁸ Urban spaces could therefore also be defined as experiences in the main realm of public space, while urban images in this sense are a ‘game’ between the foreground and the background, where the backgrounds are the physical barriers – mostly buildings, that are forming a layer of urban images and representing the foreground at the same time (Lazo Mella, 1999: 2-3).

Nowadays, both urban theory and practice are not so much concerned with spatial perception of urban environment, but are mostly setting their focus on generation, production and emission of *desired* urban image. The phenomenon of construction and modification of urban imaginaries, often related to the Disney Corporation (Rutheiser, 1996: 4), involves plurality of modes of production that refers to the public or urban marketing, media images, and local specifics, in relation to transnational business practices (Huysen, 2008). In addition, as a result of the universalization trend and strong competition between the cities, urban imaginaries are generally analysed on the two mutually linked levels, involving those of a specific city, and of cities in general (Mc Farlane, 2010; Robinson, 2011). An image of a specific city nowadays is constructed by various actors – politicians, officials, tourists, citizens, creative professionals etc. – and as a consequence has incoherent nature, as Lynch initially claimed (Lynch, 1996: 86). As such, it can not be understood in the same way from different perspectives; “such a city is better described as a collage, a palimpsest, a text full of erasures, ink smudges, and indecipherable marginalia with some pages torn out and others pasted in so carefully as to pass for the original” (Rutheiser, 1996: 10). However, some urban imaginaries are certainly more dominant than others, such as an *officially* promoted image of a city. On the other hand, form and function of particular cities, shaped by perceptions of urbanity in general, were often considered as *models* for other cities. The urban imaginaries created in urban theories also rely on the experience of specific cities, as much of the theoretical work on cities emerged from the experience of ‘great’ North American and Western European cities (Ananya Roy, 2009: 820). The ideal of global/world city is thus an influential factor in the contemporary construction of urban imaginaries (Huysen, 2008; King, 2000). These concepts have been used to claim a certain status of a specific city, articulate its ambitions, or distinguish one place from the other, that is ‘less modern’ or ‘less global’ (Huysen, 2008). The interplay of general and specific

⁷ „Der Charakter des Images bietet Möglichkeiten zur bewussten Steuerung. Die Steuerungsmöglichkeiten reichen von der Veränderung der Realsituation über die besondere Pflege imagegestaltender Situationen bis zum bewussten Eingriff in den Symbolisierungsprozess durch Urban Design und durch gezielte Informationspolitik.“ (Durth, 1977: 76; author’s translation)

⁸ „Der Pläner wird zum Bühnenbildner, der Auftritte in wechselnden Szenen gestalterisch vorzubereiten hat. Dabei wird Urban Design als eine Art Dramaturgie verstanden, die weniger an fachinternen Kriterien ästhetischer Traditionen orientiert ist als am Geschmack eines anspruchsvollen und erlebnishungrigen Publikums, das zugleich die Schauspieler stellt.“ (Durth, 1977: 36; author’s translation)

urban imaginaries Huyssen described through the tension between the local and the global in contemporary city: “similarities *and* differences will emerge and remain in tension with each other as one studies different urban imaginaries side by side. Today’s world cities in the broadest sense neither appear as intrinsically unique, nor they serve as a metaphor of some global whole. They are both part and whole at the same time” (Huyssen, 2008: 13).

The value of city images in the public debates, according to Schumann (2004), is presently either exaggerated or played down. On the one side, the concept of city images further expanded in its meanings and significance, as internet and other social networks in the age of information and rising tourism are mainly based on images, and as such play an important role both in creation and modification of urban spaces, and in their commercial and tourist attraction (Lazo Mella, 1999; Schumann, 2004; Franck, 2005). On the other side, the new possibilities for creation and manipulation of images erodes confidence in them, where actual ‘virtualization’ represents an extreme transformation of reality into its own image, threatening to replace the city itself and seriously questioning authenticity of its values (Schumann, 2004). Nevertheless, true meaning of city images could be conveyed only through specific location, as “(...) only within a spatial and physical experience can they develop their potential to create identification” (Schumann, 2004: 8).

2.1.2. The Role of Landmarks

Among the five main elements that Lynch (1996) used to describe environmental image, urban landscape elements – landmarks – have been characterized as the most outstanding. In contrast to common conviction that landmarks are of historical, heritage milieu, many authors have described them as a more general feature that exists in both natural and urban environments (Golledge, 1992: 200; Clerici and Mironowicz, 2009); they are “the core of spatial knowledge” (Golledge, 1992: 201), and therefore represent a “significant part of both individual and common cognitive maps of the environment” (Golledge, 1992: 201). Lynch similarly apprehended landmarks as “(...) the point references considered to be external to the observer, simple physical elements which may vary widely in scale (...)” (Lynch 1996: 78-79). However, the real value of landmarks in cognition of urban space is in their ability for semantic transfer through communication, which certainly supports imageability of urban environment. Similarly to all the components of a city, urban landmarks are also subordinated to certain hierarchical structure, as not all of them are having the same value, meaning or visibility. Finally, according to spectrum of distances, their relevance could refer to a neighbourhood, district or even to a

whole city (Clerici & Mironowicz, 2009), which made urban landscape elements often play a highly important role in contemporary strategies for urban identity building.

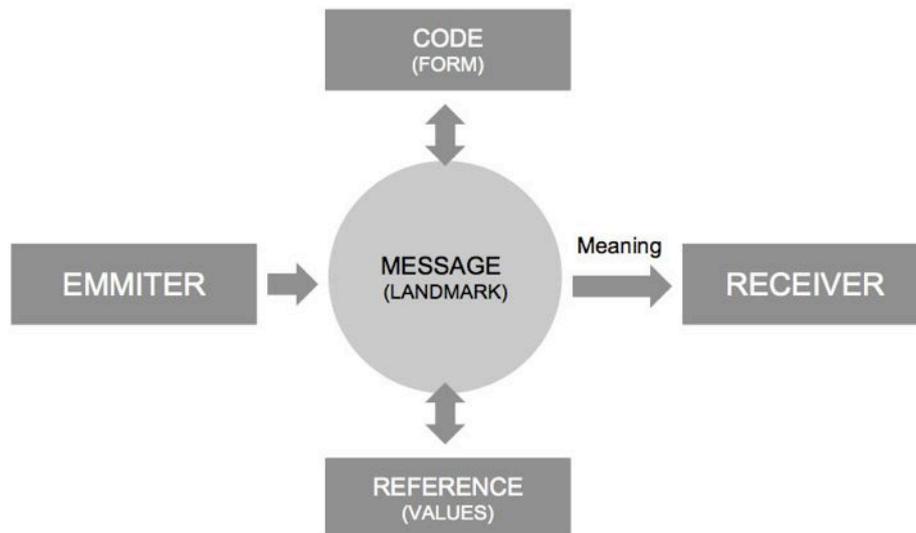


Diagram 2.1.

Guiraud's Communication diagram

Author's drawing of the diagram by Guiraud P. (1971, *La Sémiologie*, Paris) in Clerici & Mironowicz; 2009: 25

As urban landmarks are mostly communicating through their form, visibility could be considered as their principle attitude. They "(...) become more easily identifiable, more likely to be chosen as significant, if they have a clear form; if they contrast with their background; and if there is some prominence of spatial location" (Lynch 1996: 78-79). As they are basically *signs*, landmarks are expressing meanings by giving a visible message relying on a relationship between the emitter and the receiver. The simple diagram developed by Guiraud⁹ (diagram 2.1; Clerici and Mironowicz, 2009) can be used in order to explain the complex perception processes occurring in urban settings, based on relationships between various stakeholders, decision makers and inhabitants/visitors. *Emitter* represents clients, landowners, planning authorities, investors and others, whose requirements have to be interpreted by designer and consumed by receivers. *Receivers* are in fact representing all the interpreters of the message, all the users, and all those who will experience the city. Within the communication process between them, the *meaning* stems from the reference that is expressed through *values* of a landmark and received through a language of communication – its *form (code)*.

⁹ Guiraud, P: *La Sémiologie*. Paris, 1971

The role of landmarks nowadays spans from simple static and dynamic orientation, in terms of knowing ‘where we are’ and ‘where are we going to’, and spans to more complex issues, like expression of values in communication, or understanding meanings through their relationship with culture. Moreover, urban landmarks in some cases could play the role of certain iconic symbols that even became representative artefacts of corresponding cities. Such physical creations, set in the consciousness of city dwellers and visitors all over the world, serve not only as a simple orientation node, but also as backdrops for memories and thus as a foundation for recognisability and urban identity. Most of them even became strong metaphors for the cities themselves, such as the examples of widely recognized Eiffel Tower for Paris or Empire State Building for New York (image 2.1), and are thus serving as an important backbone for the most of the new-age urban phenomena, like tourism development, urban marketing or branding of cities.



Image 2.1.

Examples of globally recognizable urban landmarks

Left to right: Elisabeth Tower (London); Eiffel Tower (Paris); Statue of Liberty (New York);

Burj Al Arab (Dubai); Petronas Towers (Kuala Lumpur)

Sources: www.wikipedia.org (1-3); www.discoverarmfield.wordpress.com (4); www.skyscrapercity.com (5); 2012-10-09

2.1.3. Identity and Place-related Identity

Being highly complex and multi-layered, the phenomenon of identity has various meanings, and thus can be assessed from a range of perspectives. However, according to French philosopher de Benoist (2004: 46-51),¹⁰ in the core of every identity stands *memory*, which “(...) considers past, present and future as a continuum and implies a certain connection to the past; a look back, which in return allows anticipation and a projection into the future” (de

¹⁰ The article *On Identity* originally appeared in *Éléments* magazine No. 113, under the title *Identité, le grand enjeu du XXI^e siècle* (Summer 2004)

Benoist, 2004: 47). Rooted in human nature as on the one side clear consciousness on presence, and on the other as extension of the past, memory is primary important for every individual and society, and without it, identity apprehension in terms of continuity would be deprived.

In its broadest sense, the term 'identity' itself could be grasped as a set of characteristics and features referring to a certain system, ensuring its differentiation from the others (Lynch, 1981; Lalli, 1992). However, due to its composite nature, this term is even today considered as generally complicated and still not clear enough.¹¹ Although it certainly requires interdisciplinary approach to be fully comprehended, as with the concepts of urban environment perception and city images, the contemporary apprehension of identity also has its origins in psychology, respectively in the research of psychologist Erik Erikson, from the mid 20th century (Fearon, 1990: 9). The starting point for full comprehension of the term seems to be in psychological interpretations of 'self' or 'personality', defined as 'personal identity', which denotes distinguished character or personality of an individual (Lappegard Hauge, 2007). After coming under the focus of social science disciplines during the 1970-es, identity issues were quickly recognized as an important subject for other scientific disciplines as well, due to rich heterogeneity of its meanings. Above all, strong and inseparable reciprocal connections between social categories and individual representation of self were observed. Fearon thus described 'social identity' as "(...) a set of persons marked by a label and distinguished by rules deciding membership and (alleged) characteristic features or attributes" (Fearon, 1999: 2). Under the influence of postmodernism and debates over multiculturalism from the late 1980-es and early 1990-es (Fearon, 1999), identity concept further served as a strong item in the cultural politics of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, citizenship and other categories for historians, anthropologists and humanists of that time. Watson and Bentley considered that 'place-identity' represents "(...) the set of meanings associated with any particular cultural landscape which any particular person or group of people draws on in the construction of their own personal or social identities" (Watson and Bentley, 2007; 6). However, many other factors, besides genetic, social, political, and cultural, also combine to shape identity of an individual or society. Developer of the collective memory concept from 1925, Halbwachs (1992) stated that both personal and social identities have always been deeply related to physical space as well. Such a view on personal identity of a subject, built around his social environment, implies that identity of an individual also involves the space this individual shares with other members of society. Lalli (1992) confirmed close, reciprocal relationships between subjective and 'place-related identity', although is "not directly derived from physical characteristics, but constitutes a social

¹¹ Despite enormous scientific interest in the term, according to Fearon (1999), dictionaries failed to capture the current definition of it in its everyday and social science context, which makes the concept of 'identity' still somewhat remain an 'enigma'.

construction, which is founded in the perception of individuals and groups” (Lalli, 1992: 291). Close links between place-identity and people’s personal and social identities thus support high complexity of the term, as such “(...) interweaving of place identity and human identity is clearly a broadly encountered phenomenon, which perhaps helps to explain why the term “identity” is used, in everyday speech, equally in relation both to places and to people” (Watson and Bentley, 2007; 4). From such perspective, people on one side often refer to themselves according to the places they are connected to – like to a city they are coming from, countries they used to live in etc. Such experiences may affect one’s environmental preferences, but on the other side, inverted process may occur as well, when one’s identity actually affects the place itself. Thus, as Lappegard Hauge noted, people tend to personalize their homes and workplaces, so that the place they reside or are connected to reflects who they actually are (Lappegard Hauge, 2007: 44). When transcribed on the city level, this finally means that subjective place-related identity generally functions two-way, in sense of ‘identification with’ and ‘being identified by’ the town (Lalli, 1992).

Surprisingly enough, since the mid 1960-es urban environments haven’t been seen as a suitable source for identification. Until that point, a town was perceived as an industrial centre, which contrasted negatively with the rural ideal; big towns especially were seen as particularly anonymous, claustrophobic places, removed from nature, and perceived as sources of human alienation (Lalli, 1992: 290). Nowadays however, when discussing about the aspects of physical space in identification of an individual or a society, we exclusively refer to urban environments, as cities turned into a prevailing frame of human activities, culture and civilisation in general. This kind of identification with/by a town or a city is first of all enabled by the symbolic function of their objects and overall built environment. As physical objects in our daily surroundings are changing a little or not at all, they are providing mental equilibrium through an image of permanence and stability (Halbwachs, 1992: 204). In addition, spatial images of a city have an important role in supporting the notion of *collective memory*, reflected in images and representations, and as such perceived by means of specific objects or places. In this way, memory as a “metaphor of a physical location” (McDowell, 2008: 47) finally serves as a certain intermediary between physical space and identity building. But taking a look away from the focus of psychology or social sciences at this point, where towns are playing an active role in personal or social identification, cities as built structures also have a certain ‘identity’ of their own, constructed though as palimpsests of diversities in the course of historical urban development, and voluntarily shaped as a whole through planning activities. Reverse approach from place-related identity, focussing on special urban features that make a city recognizable and different from other cities, sheds another light on understanding the concept of urban identity.

2.2. Urban Identity in the Research Framework

2.2.1. The Context of Urban Environment Recognisability

As previously pointed out, due to variety of its components and meanings, urban identity can be described from perspectives of various disciplines, ranging from psychology and sociology, to urban design and development; lately even in terms of branding and marketing of cities (Hilber & Datko, 2012: 19-29). Contemporary understanding of the term 'urban identity' originates, however, in the ancient Roman concept of *genius loci*. This term used to describe a protective spirit (genius) that accompanied human beings throughout entire life, influencing their character and fortune. Such genii were similarly ascribed to families, professional groups, societies, states, and to cities as well (Boyd Whyte, 2003: 38; Norberg-Schulz, 1980: 18). The concept significantly evolved since, to refer nowadays specifically to the 'spirit of place', where expression of such a distinct environmental character, according to Norberg-Schulz, hierarchically positions 'place' over simple 'location' (1980: 10). In addition, identities of cities and towns stand out of identities of all the other 'places', as they evolved the most over the past decades and centuries, and thus being the most comprehensive cases. Although some cities are generally unmistakably distinctive¹² (Rossi, 1973), when it comes to the planning itself determining and understanding such special features of a city, like its specificities and overall local context, are highly important. Architect Luigi Snozzi described those elements as standing in the essence of things (Snozzi, 1997), when designing the project for transformation and revival of the sleepy Swiss municipality of Monte Carasso back in the 1980-es.¹³

Contemporary concept of urban identity is made up of numerous characteristics, better known as *identifiable* elements (Oktay, 2002; Thompson, 2002), in charge of strengthening the sense of uniqueness and diversity of an urban environment. Above all other factors, buildings certainly identify urban environments the most. The character of such spaces, produced by the three-dimensional organization of its elements, denotes "(...) the general 'atmosphere' which is the most comprehensive property of any place", and is directly depending on "how things are made"" (Norberg-Schulz, 1980: 11). Early psychological and later experimental interpretation of the term implied that in addition to physical setting, there are also other basic elements contributing to the identity of a city, such as its activities and meanings (Relph, 1976: 45; Lynch,

¹² Rossi (1973) considered Florence for unmistakable distinctive city in its specific form, due to its long history and rich heritage.

¹³ „Meiner Meinung nach kommt es darauf an, sich von vorgefaßten Planungsansätzen zu verabschieden und an die oben genannten Probleme mit unverstelltem Blick und je eigenen Vorschlägen heranzugehen. Es geht darum, die vorhandene Bausubstanz mit angemessenen planerischen Eingriffen aufzuwerten und so bedeutsamen örtlichen Kontexten wichtige Bezugspunkte zurückzugeben. Daher ist es unerlässlich, einen Ansatz zu wählen, der es erlaubt, auf die jeweiligen spezifischen Orte angemessen einzugehen.“ Snozzi, 1997: 14-16.

1996: 8). “Let us remember all the towers and walls, squares and theatres, but also city figures as a whole, like the silhouette of Rome, as it rises from the summer Campagna haze, or the New York City skyline at the entrance to the harbour. According to Richard Neutra, they function as *psychotopes* – as mental rest-points, representing a piece of self-assurance for the ones to who a specific city owns what one is”¹⁴ (Mitscherlich, 1965: 14). Consequently, not only tangible elements, such as buildings and geographical features, but also the immaterial dimension of history, tradition, cultural events or other peculiarities of city’s function altogether as their special characteristics, concretizing its uniqueness on a subjective level (Lalli, 1992). On the one side, depending on local relationships among all the elements of a whole, every city also creates a particular ‘spirit’ or identity of its own (Norberg-Schulz, 1980: 10), contrary to the phenomenon of ‘placelessness’, occurring as a result of “casual eradication of distinctive places” and/or “making of standardized landscapes” instead (Relph, 1976: ii). On the other side, Lalli’s standpoint supports Lynch’s findings that identity of a town is never given objectively (Lynch, 1981: 131), which means that “(...) identity of objects or environments is always an identity perceived by individuals or groups” (Lalli, 1992: 293). Lynch apprehended urban identity as “(...) the simplest form of sense¹⁵ (...) in the narrow meaning of that common term: ‘a sense of place’. Identity is the extent to which a person can recognize or recall a place as being distinct from other places...” (Lynch, 1981: 131). Sense of a place thus resides in human interaction with many different elements, as the places are essentially centres of meaning, constructed out of lived experiences (Relph, 1976: 8). As such, it becomes most legible at those urban spaces, where natural, built and social characteristics of the city are reflected, as cities acquire an identity through interaction of all its elements (Raja, 2003; Padua, 2007). This finally implies that the nature of urban identity is a highly dynamic one, as it takes shape and changes under the effects both of the natural components and artificial physical elements of a city, as well as of its social factors, channelizing these elements.

Similarly to city image, there is not only one, universal identity, but many different ones, articulated in many different ways (Beyrow, 2012), and highlighting some aspects more than others. The phenomena of ‘urban identity’ and ‘city image’ are certainly closely related (Schumann, 2004), but depending on the point of view also often mixed, and still not demarcated clearly enough. Some standpoints with regard to this issue are differentiating image of an area with outwards oriented direction, while urban identity is primarily inwards oriented

¹⁴ „Erinnern wir uns an all die Türme und Mauern, Plätze und Theater, aber auch an Stadtgestalten als ganze, an die Silhouette Roms, wie sie sich aus dem Sommerdunst der Campagna erhebt, an die Skyline New Yorks bei der einfahrt in den Hafen. Sie wirken, mit Richard Neutra zu sprechen, als Psychotope - als seelische Ruhepunkte, stellen ein Stück der Selbstvergewisserung für den dar, der dieser Stadt verdankt, was er ist.“ (Mitscherlich, 1965: 14; author’s translation)

¹⁵ By the “sense” of a settlement, Lynch meant: “...the clarity with which it can be perceived and identified, and the ease with which its elements can be linked with other events and places in a coherent mental representation of time and space and that representation can be connected with non-spatial concepts and values. This is the join between the form of the environment and the human processes of perception and cognition ... It cannot be analyzed except as an interaction between person and place. Perception is a creative act, not a passive reception” (1981: 131)

(Mattissek, 2007: 84). Most of the authors moreover consider urban identity as a more complex, multi-layered term compared to city image (Hilber & Datko, 2012: 7),¹⁶ which is easier to comprehend and therefore often pushed to the foreground. In any case, both of the notions share common features such as being created in people's mind, and therefore are often used and manipulated in the imaging and branding processes, as the main transmitters of a desired message. All the range of such intangible components Durth (1977) finally took for the 'real subjects of urban design', assuming here exactly "(...) those environments, which exists as an idea in people's minds as 'the experienced environment, and not necessarily the actual existing environment. In other words, not the Champs Elysees, how we all know it from photographs is the experienced environment, but the dreamy memories in the mind of every person, the idea that we have from the Champs Elysees is the experienced environment, the proper object of urban design.'¹⁷ Therefore, each conceivable social meaning and associative environment of the used design element, till the colouring itself, must be accurately calculated in 'experience', if the "changes in the real situation" without dissonance are to be inserted into consolidating, general mental image of the local "life quality"¹⁸ (Durth, 1977: 77).¹⁹

The most recent trend among scientists and practitioners, as a reaction to globalization, is of recognizing all the values and significance of urban identity, as well as its integration into the urban development concepts, emphasizing the importance for identity of a city to function not only inwards, but outwards as well (Hilber & Datko, 2012). Well-balanced identity of a settlement creates an atmosphere that on the one side allows the population to build stronger connections to their city and strongly supports social cohesion, resulting with the feeling 'at home'. On the other side, identity of cities is also becoming more and more important in the creation of "corporate urban feeling" (Scheffler, Kulikauskas & Barreiro, 2009), not only important for strengthening previously mentioned bonds between the city and its residents, but also important in the global competition, through creation of distinct images that distinguish a city from other towns and regions. In this way, urban environments with certain authenticity and

¹⁶ "Die Stadtidentität ist aber deutlich feinmaschiger als das Stadtimage. Bei der Stadtidentität treten die Merkmale welche eine Stadt nach vorn ins Rampenlicht rücken konnten, eher in den Hintergrund. Den Unterschied zwischen Image und Identität und damit die Bedeutung der Stadtidentität veranschaulicht Volker Remy. Bei der Imagewerbung spricht er vom „Concept Car“ des Genfer Automobilsalons, bei der Identitätsentwicklung dagegen vom alltagstauglichen Gefährt der Automobilausstellung von Frankfurt. Das eine wird bestaunt, mit dem anderen kommt man weiter. (Remy V., Die Imagefälle – Identitätsmarketing für Städte und Regionen im Zeichen der soziodemografischen Zeitenwende, Berlin, 2006, S. 137)", Hilber & Datko, 2012: 7.

¹⁷ M. Trieb, Stadtgestaltung – Theorie und Praxis, Düsseldorf, 1974: 92 in Durth, 1977: 77

¹⁸ K. Ganser, Image als Etnwicklungsbestimmendes Steuerungsinstrument, in: Stadtbauwelt, Heft 26/1970: 108 in Durth, 1977: 77.

¹⁹ „Entsprechend wurden nun jene Ansätze zur Theorie und Praxis der Stadtgestaltung aktuell, die davon ausgehen, dass „der eigentliche Gegenstand der Stadtgestaltung“ jene ‚Umwelt‘ sei, die als Vorstellung im Bewusstsein der Menschen besteht, „die erlebte Umwelt, nicht unbedingt die tatsächlich vorhandene Umwelt. Anders ausgedrückt, nicht die Champs Elysees, wie wir sie alle von Fotografien kennen, ist die erlebte Umwelt, sondern die träumerische Erinnerung im Kopf von Lieschen Müller, die Vorstellung, die sie von der Champs Elysees hat, ist die erlebte Umwelt, der eigentliche Gegenstand der Stadtgestaltung.“ (M. Trieb, 1974: 92) Demnach mussten nun auch die jeweils denkbaren sozialen Bedeutungen und assoziativen Umfeld der eingesetzten Gestaltungsmittel bis hin zur Farbgebung genau auf ‚Erleben‘ kalkuliert werden, sollten sich die „Veränderungen der Realsituation“ ohne Dissonanz in das zu verfestigende, allgemeine Vorstellungsbild von der örtlichen ‚Lebensqualität‘ einfügen. In diesem Sinne bot angeblich „der ausgedehnte Bereich des Urban Design eine noch kaum genutzte Möglichkeit, über das visuelle Erscheinungsbild die Wesenszüge eines Raumes zu überhören und kommunizierbar zu machen“ (K. Ganser, 1970: 108)" (Durth, 1977: 77; author's translation)

identity not only motivate people to reside longer in a city, but also attract new investors, residents, skilled people and visitors, which finally favour urban economy and tourism development. Such an authenticity of a city is certainly the most important element in contemporary urban identity building (Hilber & Datko, 2012: 8); “it is important to strengthen ‘the feeling’, ‘to live in a city which permits a certain life style’, which would not be possible better to realise on some other place. ‘City’ should be what it lets to be experienced. For a place to be ‘sold’, the ‘experience’ must be included. As an urban counter-world to the narrowness and routine of the everyday life, playful strolling, self-representation and cultured enjoyment were set, in which supposedly everybody can participate, if one perceives only the right offers and also does not avoid the confrontation with the unusual.” (Durth, 1977: 84)²⁰

Regarding the heterogeneity of described concepts, it is finally necessary to roughly determine in which frameworks are they used in this research. Referring back to Hilber and Datko, “urban identity is a complex and multi referential phenomenon – it embraces linkages between the material and immaterial; it has different scales: local, city, regional, national; it can be seen from various perspectives: personal, collective, external; it develops in time, affected by change, and influenced by many factors” (Hilber & Datko, 2012: 21).²¹ In addition, identity of objects or environments in general is not given objectively, but as explained always perceived by individuals or groups, and thus could rather be defined as an outcome of individual or social constructions or attributions (Lalli, 1992). All this certainly creates an aggravating factor regarding the comprehension of the term within this project. However, in order to narrow the focus and ease the research process, apprehension of urban identity is primarily set to encompass only the *visual* identity of the place itself, as “the special character of the location, its unmistakable uniqueness” (Lalli, 1992: 291) that *distinguishes* it from any other places (Watson & Bentley, 2007: 1), rather as subjective and highly inclusive experience of city’s distinctiveness.

²⁰ „Wichtig ist, daß „das Gefühl“ bestärkt wird, „in einer Stadt zu leben, die einen bestimmten Lebensstil erlaubt“, der an anderem Ort nicht besser zu realisieren wäre. ‚Stadt‘ soll sein, was sich erleben läßt. Denn wo ‚verkauft‘ werden soll, muß ‚Erleben‘ mitgeliefert werden. Als urbane Gegenwelt zur Enge und Routine des Alltagslebens wurde das spielerische Flanieren, Sich-Darstellen und kultivierte Genießen gesetzt, an dem angeblich jeder teilhaben kann, wenn er nur die richtigen Angebote wahrnimmt und auch die Konfrontation mit Ungewohntem nicht scheut.“ (Durth, 1977: 84; author’s translation)

²¹ „Es sind die Künstler und Kreativen, die fähig sind, den Charakter der Stadt wahrzunehmen, zu benennen und zu kommunizieren. Sie sind es, die uns immer wieder in Erinnerung rufen, wie die Stadt gewachsen ist, wie sie sich gewandelt hat, weshalb die einen Räume Geborgenheit und Wohngefühl vermitteln, andere Leere und Unbehagen hinterlassen. Gehen diese Stimme verloren, die Geschichten über ihre Stadt erzählen können, verkümmert die Stadtidentität.“ Hilber & Datko, 2012: 21.

2.2.2. The Role of Urban Design in Urban Identity Building

If the cities are perceived as structures in time and space (Lynch, 1996), they certainly need continuous elements in the process of constant urban change, to bring them up as a permanent asset. In this sense, buildings, streets, and public spaces, as integrate elements of every city, are the places where urban history and character is praised. Taking a look back in urban history, special local and regional identities for a long time used to be spontaneously constructed, as a result of vernacular processes, without anyone necessarily aiming to achieve them. According to Watson and Bentley (2007: 1), at least until the 19th century, most of the buildings needed to be constructed from the locally sourced materials due to technological and especially due to transport limitations. In addition, building typology was also restricted, as a result of modest understandings of both structural principles and construction techniques. Such local constraints of place identity progressively loosened with industrialisation and new transportation possibilities. After more than a century of new technological potentials, design ideas, and various laws and regulations for controlling rapid industrial urbanisation, regionally distinctive built form ceased to occur by default. Instead, “the question of regional character has become a question of choice and, therefore, of design rather than of necessity” (Watson and Bentley, 2007: 1, quoting Michael Hough²²). The central objective of urban design, as a set of means for shaping up urban spaces, is to sustain or form a ‘sense of place’ through thoughtful development of all of its physical components. Spaces in cities created through such an activity should come along as determining and guiding parameters with respect to its identity (Lynch, 1996). Watson and Bentley referred to the past president of the Royal Town Planning Institute,²³ who even suggested that identity is a “fundamental aim of planning” (2007: 2). In this frame, urban design can be considered as a determining and channelizing factor in formation, change and reproduction of urban identity (Karaman, 2001; Stobart, 2004; Sudjic, 2006; Watson and Bentley, 2007).

In order for more *imageable* and more psychologically satisfying cities to be created, Lynch (1996) characterized city design as *temporal art*, in which it is especially important for designers to better understand the elements of how people perceive cities. According to Durth (1977), the most important influence on contemporary urban design was “(...) the rediscovery of the subjective ‘environmental experience qualities’, which are theoretically largely independent from the urban functional structure, and are therefore created from the everyday experiences of the population. ‘Urban design is a deliberate work on the physical quality of our cities.’²⁴ Such

²² Hough, Michael (1990) *Out of Place: Restoring Identity to the Regional Landscape*. Yale University Press, New Haven, London

²³ Roberts, Trevor (2002) *The Seven Lamps of Planning*. *Town Planning Review*, 73(1), 24-26.

²⁴ M. Trieb: *Stadtgestaltung – Theorie und Praxis*, Düsseldorf, 1974: 15 in Durth, 1977: 43.

'work' however is not focused primarily on the physical design of the urban function and form correlation, but on targeted influence on the subjective city experiences in selected areas; the objective city form is no longer its subject, but image of the city, individually experienced through the changing situations" (Durth, 1977: 43).²⁵ In addition, physical structure of urban spaces cannot be considered separately from socio-cultural properties, political processes and economic structure of the city and the society in whole. It is also not possible to speak of identity of a city, which does not represent a value and meaning for its citizens, as urban identity becomes meaningful only when the citizens have the feeling of belonging to their city. In this sense, many authors stressed the concept of the relation between architecture and urban design, and the issues of collective memory and identity in contemporary city (Halbwachs, 1992; Heidenreich, 2008). Hence, urban planning practice carries implications for place making and built fabric, with its central aspect set on the appreciation of collective memory (Heidenreich, 2008).

According to Punter and Montgomery (Carmona et al., 2010: 98-99), place recognisability is positioned between activity, physical setting, and meaning, respectively between activity, form and image. Urban design activities on enhancing these constitutional elements of place recognisability could make a positive effect on sense of place. However, there seem to be no clear overall pattern for designers in order to maintain place-identity qualities. On the other side, although there is no single 'right answer', Watson and Bentley (2007: 261-271) considered that there could be many inappropriate ones. As a matter of empowerment, the importance of relationships between the parts and the whole within a city could certainly be highlighted; "(a)ny useful design process, therefore, will have to be constructed so as to help designers keep part/whole relationship in focus throughout" (Watson and Bentley, 2007: 261). In addition, morphological elements, in terms of basic intermediary of parts and wholes, affect place identity through design to a large degree. Cultural or collective memory, through their connection to place, are also parameters of major significance for appropriate urban identity building through urban design. Production of urban spaces that are generally in harmony with the natural physical elements and with the overall city image are certainly providing meaningful interactions between the citizens and the city, and are thus elements with positive effects on overall urban identity. On the other side, urban design without such an approach either cannot make a contribution or can even develop some negative effects.

²⁵ "...der Neuentdeckung subjektiver ‚Umwelterlebnisqualitäten‘, die theoretisch als weitgehend unabhängig vom städtischen Funktionsgefüge und damit vom alltäglichen Erfahrungszusammenhang der Bevölkerung konzipiert werden. ‚Stadtgestaltung ist bewusste Arbeit an der physischen Qualität unserer Städte‘ (M. Trieb, Stadtgestaltung, a.a.O., S. 15). Solche ‚Arbeit‘ aber richtet sich nun nicht mehr primär auf die materielle Ausgestaltung des städtischen Funktions- und Formenzusammenhangs, sondern auf die gezielte Beeinflussung des subjektiven Stadt-Erlebnis in ausgewählten Bereichen; nicht mehr die objektive Stadtgestalt, sondern das in wechselnden Situationen individuell erfahrene Stadtbild ist ihr Gegenstand.“ (Durth, 1977: 43; author's translation)

2.2.3. Heritage and Urban Identity

2.2.3.1. Complexity of the 'Heritage' Concept

Identity and *heritage* are commonly but often imprecisely used terms. For the research that deals with identity of urban environment in the context of its change, it is particularly important to understand the ways these “slippery and ambiguous yet dynamically important concepts” (Graham & Howard, 2008: 1) build connections between each other.

Martínez argued that the modern concept of heritage could be considered as a product of European culture, although not all cultures understand it the same way (Martínez, 2008). Thus, the issue that makes the whole concept rather complicated is the inconsistency in determining values recognized as *heritage*, as a question of temporal, cultural and civilizational factors. World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 1972) established general classification of heritage back in the 1970-es, involving *cultural* and *natural* categories, as well as a subcategory of *cultural landscape* that encompasses elements of both natural and cultural heritage. As a legacy in the form of a monument, group of buildings, or site of historical, aesthetic, archaeological, scientific, ethnological or anthropological value, cultural heritage is often characterized by its *tangible* and *intangible* components. These two components are referring both to its physical characteristics and various layers of cultural values in it, and are thus interlinked and inseparable. Through these components, heritage is certainly subjectively valued, but its main role is to sustain a sphere of public interest and public good (Čamprag, 2010). Finally, although the term *heritage* remains difficult to define accurately (Graham & Howard, 2008; Harvey, 2008; McDowell, 2008), it could be grasped as an essentially collective and public notion that mostly involves values inherited from past generations, on which society at present is set upon and benefits from.

In the research framework that deals with distinct environmental character of cities, built heritage generally represents an irreplaceable cultural asset, finite and non-renewable source created by the past generations, which consists of individual or group of buildings, structures, monuments or remains (Jokilehto, 2005: 25-26). Associated with architectural, cultural, spiritual, social or historical developments, such assets can support recognisability, uniqueness, and local context of contemporary cities. Referring to the Draft Medium Term Plan by UNESCO (1989), cultural heritage and its role in identity building of a place are described as follows: “the cultural heritage may be defined as the entire corpus of material signs – either artistic or symbolic – handed on by the past to each culture and, therefore, to the whole of humankind. As a constituent part of the affirmation and enrichment of cultural identities, as a legacy belonging

to all humankind, the cultural heritage gives each particular place its recognizable features and is the storehouse of human experience. The preservation and the presentation of the cultural heritage are therefore a corner stone of any cultural policy” (UNESCO, 1989: 57). As such, heritage is nowadays certainly considered as a key economic resource and a vital element in the construction of collective and place identities (Martínez, 2008; Rossi, 1973). However, on the one side subjected to the rules of the market and the cultural industry, superficial exploitation of heritage can lead to its irreversible transformations and depreciation of its values (Martínez, 2008: 262). On the other side, questioning *authenticity* of the heritage concept and its selective nature are issues that marked late 20th century (Martínez, 2008). Graham and Howard argued that “the contents, interpretations, and representations of the heritage resource are selected according to the demands of the present and, in turn, bequeathed to an imagined future” (Graham & Howard, 2008: 2). As a consequence of a present-centred perspective through whole ‘series of lenses’, heritage was redefined as created, with rather ascribed than with intrinsic worth (Graham & Howard, 2008: 2). Apprehending heritage as an agglomeration of values that are created, shaped and managed by in response to the demands of societies in the present (Graham & Howard, 2008; McDowell, 2008; Daugbjerg & Fibiger, 2011) implies on the other side that “the creation of any heritage actively or potentially disinherits or excludes those who do not subscribe to, or are embraced within, the terms of meaning attending that heritage” (Graham & Howard, 2008: 3).

In accordance to all the above-mentioned, as Littler and Naidoo²⁶ noticed (Graham & Howard, 2008: 1), definition of heritage certainly ‘morphed’ significantly over time. Such new understandings even questioned the previously established standpoints by UNESCO. The recent context of *deliberation of heritage*, developed by Schröder-Esch, involves nine hypotheses that are in accordance with the idea of heritage as a process of selection and ascribing importance (Schröder-Esch, 2006a: 8-12). Their main issues are concerning the notion becoming ever more popular, but the meaning less and less clear. In addition, these hypotheses are also supporting the standpoint that heritage doesn’t exist, but is made in the present with a specific purpose. The new concept apprehends all heritages as exclusively cultural and intangible, as well as rather selective than all-embracing; however not excluding its uncomfortable and unpleasant features. In addition, heritage is not solely a cultural, but potentially an important economic resource. Finally, these hypotheses that represent heritage as a certain *signification*, based on various variable and often questionable criteria, are practically illustrating the scope of complexity in contemporary understanding of this term, as well as its role in the constructions of urban identity.

²⁶ Littler, J. & Naidoo, R. (2004) White Past, Multicultural Present: Heritage and National Stories, History, Nationhood and the Question of Britain (Brocklehurst, H. & Philips, R., eds.), Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan: 330-341.

2.2.3.2. Heritage Preservation - Role and Controversies

With its roots in the 19th century, when a small group of British enthusiasts showed rising interest for archaeological and historical studies, as well as for interpretations of historical artefacts, heritage preservation is a rather recent activity (Ashworth & Larkham, 1994). Since those early days, the approach to preservation went through serious transformations. However, the major changes occurred in the mid 20th century in almost all European cities, which at first concerned widening of preserved areas and promoting conservation rather than restoration (Martínez, 2008), with all the implications of that shift in land use management. The change from object to area perspective simultaneously put the interest for preserving a single monument in a wider physical context, sometimes reaching up to extensive conservation areas, and even to whole villages and towns. Further need for new methods in preservation planning outside the traditional scientific field came into the focus after the role of culture and heritage recently became an increasingly important asset in economic policies. Therefore, carefully planned and sustainable approach to management and preservation of these valuable urban resources became a necessity. The basic concept of heritage conservation nowadays refers to the protection of built and cultural heritage from damages, deterioration and destruction, since heritage is grasped as a non-renewable asset (Nasser, 2003). In addition, sustainable conservation denotes such an approach that preserves the best of heritage, affecting a rational balance between conservation and change, but without imposing unsustainable costs (Delafons, 1997: 177).

Due to its considerable evolution from the basic principles of 'saving old buildings' to more complex ones, historic preservation increasingly became uniquely effective for achieving local meaning regarding overall place identity and city's physiognomy, as well as its economic development (Rypkema, 1999; Martínez, 2008). However, the preservation is increasingly considered 'critical' when deciding what to preserve and how (Gražulevičiūtė, 2006) – a discussion which initiated many controversies. The main issue concerns the finite nature of built heritage, not being eternal in its original state, and instead, conservation processes tend to replace its components and materials that will eventually get partially or completely renewed over time. Additionally, traditional building skills and techniques, developed through centuries on the empirical bases as manual or industrial know-how and artistic expression, are changing and tend to eventually disappear (Will, 2009). These experiences being continually passed-on imply that once out-dated or lost building tradition is actually lost forever, as it cannot be retrieved by superficial copying of its historical achievements. Finally, the intangible side of heritage, implying memories, former customs, local tradition – even destroyed urban fabric – came out to be a convenient medium for manipulation, as often subjected to misuse, ranging from the selection of suitable and non-suitable heritage for preservation, to even some negative

examples of manipulation in the production of built heritage (Huxtable, 1997; Roost, 2000). In this sense, historical physical configuration of modern cities could finally be questioned, as created, developed and transformed by someone for some purpose, with the whole range of selection criteria regarding what was selected as 'appropriate' built heritage to be preserved from the past, which finally makes its effects on the present and the future (Gospodini, 2002; Kelleher, 2004; Graham & Howard, 2008).

Regarding all the contexts above, Ashworth (1998: 267-268) claimed that built heritage of European cities has been 'filtered' over time both by *eradication* and *museumification* processes, resulting in an urban landscape reduced in its original meanings; "(...) by 'eradication', is meant the destruction or disappearance of artefacts, spaces, buildings and elements that has occurred either involuntarily (e.g. due to war or other natural disasters) or voluntarily (e.g. due to modernisation, change of political regime, change of cultural paradigm). By 'museumification' is meant the shift in the function (and in some cases, in the form as well) of artefacts, spaces, buildings and elements that has occurred on purpose – in order to transform the meaning of the conserved schemata or/and use the conserved schemata as tourist/economic resources" (Gospodini, 2002: 23-24). Finally, in almost all European cities, according to Gospodini (2002), it is also possible to provide evidences that through means of such manipulation processes, built heritage has been produced or selected by such criteria for national identities to be supported. The main criticism of such an approach implies that "(...) urban conservation practices have not generated distinctive urban landscapes, but they rather tend to generate morphologically standardized landscapes that do not contribute in the creation of place identities" (Gospodini, 2002: 25). The standpoints previously described are providing a different perspective on the uncontested significance of urban heritage preservation, as well as on correctness of its approaches regarding the process of identity building of an urban environment. In addition, there are some more extreme examples that are counteracting and threatening original meanings of urban heritage, like 'Disneyfication' of cities, which implies the misuse of historical architectural interpretation. According to Roost (2000), such phenomenon originates from the big projects of the entertainment industry, expanding from American cities. In such enterprises, certain coulisse of 'European city' is often used in order to construct motives and settings that would attract tourists (Roost, 2000: 141-156).

To conclude, although there seem to be a general consensus supporting the protection of built cultural heritage globally, conservation policies and practices often differ substantially from place to place. As already mentioned, heritage is nowadays often grasped as an asset, which functions by mobilizing selected and desired pasts and histories in the service of present-day agendas and interests (Daugbjerg & Fibiger, 2011). Aspects which cannot be marketed easily, or have little or no relevance for political identity building, are usually excluded both from cultural reality and conservation policy. On the other side, as tourism became the most

prominent economic sector in which heritage is exploited as a resource, the phenomenon of disregarding the 'real' heritage is further supported by a fictionalisation of the past through tourism-related use of culture. This implies phenomena such as presenting the visitors only the picture they expect to see (Ulbricht & Schröder-Esch, 2006), which sometimes even involves introduction of 'fake' elements in the heritage milieu of the city (Huxtable, 1997; Roost, 2000). Mixing 'fake' with 'real' components within an umbrella of urban heritage is another threat that not only prevents clear perception of historical values of an urban environment, but is also seriously discrediting both importance and integrity of historic preservation.

2.2.3.3. Built Heritage, Urban Identity and Development

Due to the rapid socio-economic changes and highly competitive global climate, most of the cities certainly experienced the pressure of massive developments and redevelopments. On the other side, these changes created many problems for existing environments, as new developments directly affected old fabric and socio-economic structures of cities. Urban governance around the world is therefore facing a range of new challenges nowadays, not only to create sufficiently attractive urban conditions for new investments, but also to simultaneously *sustain* distinctive urban *physiognomy* (Gospodini, 2002) through development and improvement of city's image, which also implies preservation and enhancement of its built heritage. In this sense, the relationship between heritage and development generally refers either to the potential of heritage to serve as an important regional development asset, or to the either positive or harmful effects of development schemes on the heritage in question (Schröder-Esch, 2006b: 191-192). Regardless of the viewpoint, recognizable and continuous urban identity in the frames of these processes plays an indicative role of a development that is carried out in a sustainable manner.

The potential of any particular heritage to serve as a development asset ranges from its aesthetic, cultural, educational, political and economic values. Although balancing these components is one of the most difficult challenges for conservation decisions, they are certainly at the same time the main potential of heritage for initiating and/or taking part in various urban developments. However, according to the UK's Department for Culture, Media and Sport (The Costs and Benefits of UK World Heritage Site Status, 2007: 13), heritage value-typology is very complex, encompassing both the use values of these assets (intrinsic and instrumental value)

and those not directly in use (bequest value and existence/option value).²⁷ The direct use-benefits of heritage are secured by those using the assets, such as tourists for example, while the indirect or non-use benefit addresses the community at large (The Costs and Benefits of UK World Heritage Site Status, 2007: 5-13). Certainly the most controversial component involves economic issue of heritage preservation, as until recently it used to be understood as a barrier to further economic development (Scheffler et al., 2009: 10). Nowadays, however, culture and cultural values, such as traditional architecture, unique streetscapes and historic sites, have been recognized not only as an asset for sustaining local identity, but as an important economic resource (Ebbe, 2009; Rypkema, 2008; Martínez, 2008).

The most important sector of economy using heritage as a resource nowadays is certainly the tourism industry, especially 'cultural' or 'heritage tourism' (Porter, 2008). History and past in the meanwhile became a convenient resource base amenity, not only for tourism, but also for a wide range of other high-order economic activities and development strategies (Ashworth & Larkham, 1994; Rypkema, 2001). They are all using heritage as an important so-called 'soft factor' in the framework of intercity competition, especially in strategies for promoting development of cities, attracting enterprises, skilled working force, inhabitants and tourists, as well as a tool for branding and marketing (Scheffler et al, 2009; Ebbe, 2009; Rypkema, 2001). Contemporary historic preservation therefore significantly changed and adapted, evolving from simple preservation of heritage to a serious activity with a variety of diverse and long-term goals. According to Rypkema (1999: 3), sustainable historic preservation nowadays needs to ensure identification and protection of major landmarks and monuments, with the respect of vernacular qualities and local significance, characters of the ensembles, adaptive reuse and authenticity. As such, preservation is playing an ever more significant role both in consumption or production oriented development strategies.²⁸ As Nyström (1999) argues, in terms of consumption strategies, built heritage creates attraction to a city, while production-oriented strategies are taking heritage as important element for creating a milieu of creativity and innovation. With such understandings, economic development strategy based on historic preservation could offer a range of measurable benefits, such as jobs and household income, job training, city centre revitalization, heritage tourism, property values, and small business incubation (Rypkema, 1999; 2001; 2008; Scheffler et al., 2009; Gražulevičiūtė, 2006). Thus, contemporary view on historic preservation considerably involves sustainable urban economic and social development (Nyström, 1999).

²⁷ According to the diagram of use and non-use values of heritage, The Costs and Benefits of UK World Heritage Site Status, A Literature Review for the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, Prince Waterhouse Coopers, June 2007, p. 13

²⁸ It is possible to define two types of cultural and development strategies: production strategy, which aims at promoting cultural products that can be consumed outside the actual region, and consumption strategy, restricting the consumption to the production region. (Nyström, 1999)

A reverse look on the effects, which development schemes are making on heritage itself, reveals that after the evolution of 'urban sustainability', urban planners, developers and policy makers are focused in particular on creating balance between development and heritage conservation for the coming times. As some cities are going through the process of expansive economy, the new task of planning here is to prevent negative impacts on the urban built heritage, caused by the new demands for construction and expansion. In the cases when the cities are characterized by deindustrialization and restructuring of the public sector, the task is to find new uses for buildings with low potential economic value (Nyström, 1999: 431). In both of the cases, it is necessary to adopt such strategies, which achieve a harmonious balance between the aims of preserving and protecting heritage and of generating economic and social development (Schröder-Esch, 2006b: 191-192).

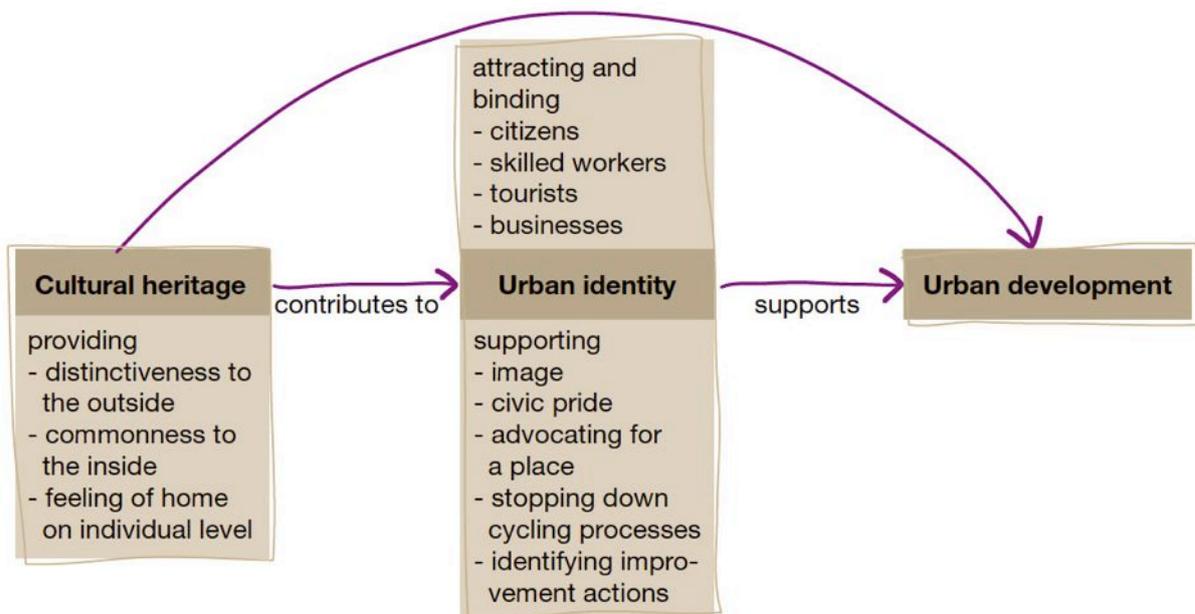


Diagram 2.2.

Contribution of physical cultural heritage to urban identity and development, by URBACT²⁹
 © URBACT II. Source: Scheffler, Kulikauskas & Barreiro, 2009: 10

Built heritage preservation certainly holds a significant potential to initiate development and thus create profit, in most of the cases bringing back the necessary funds for its sustention. However, traditional reasons for preservation, such as historical and aesthetics, were recently forced to take broader perspectives into consideration, such as social and economical ones, which currently make heritage management and maintenance much more complex than ever

²⁹ URBACT is a European exchange and learning programme promoting sustainable urban development, as a part of Europe's cohesion policy (its goal is to help implement the Lisbon-Gothenburg Strategy, which prioritizes competitiveness, growth and employment. (Source: <http://urbact.eu> 2012-11-14)

before. Identity of an urban environment in its broadest meanings plays the role of an important mediator between all the interconnected aspects between heritage and development. The starting point for such a relation is in the role of heritage in the frames of sustainable development, where it needs to provide environmental, cultural and economic sustainability through the preservation process itself (Gražulevičiūtė, 2006). To make use of the potential of physical cultural heritage to contribute to the preservation and improvement of urban identity on one side, and to support urban development on the other (diagram 2.2), heritage preservation nowadays has to be considered not only as means for preserving physical fabric and sustaining cultural values, but as an incentive for enhancing cultural diversity, building up and maintaining the local identity of the place, and ensuring a sustainable urban development³⁰ (Scheffler, et al, 2009; Gražulevičiūtė, 2006).

³⁰ There are many ways to grasp sustainable development; however, widely accepted definition was provided by the World Commission on Environment and Development, indicating such a development that “meets the needs of the present, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987). Urban sustainability primarily refers to the quality of life in a community, and is characterized by multiple dimensions; in the first place physical, environmental, socio-cultural and economic ones (Tavakoli, 2010), also as by ecological, legal, political and psychological dimensions (Bossel, 1999). Integrating all these criteria in a sustainable manner ensures proper establishment of future strategy and policy development, in order to create more liveable environment and to secure it for the future (Tavakoli, 2010: 4).

Urban Identity in Change

3.1. Rethinking Urban Identity

Caused by the modern-day rapid technological developments, especially concerning information and communication technology, the contemporary world presently faces changes of immense proportions. On-going globalization with dominant economic tag is grasped as the main cause of many associated comprehensive processes and changes occurring. New opportunities made economic activities decentralized and more network oriented than ever, turning global cities into important nodes in the established global network of power (Özden et al, 2011). Since economic factors are fundamental in the development of the cities, they certainly affect physical space as well; city and urban identity in these frames are simultaneously facing a variety of both positive and negative consequences. However, the impact of globalisation and changes on urban areas around the world still varies, depending on their role and position, inherited social, economic and political structures, and the ways these structures are transformed and used in the global/local interplay (Keivani et al, 2002).

From a wider perspective, along with place hypermobility and rising global communications, on-going globalization caused not only particular emphasis on neutralization of distance, but of place as well (Sassen, 2000: 79). Such a new global geography of centrality and marginality, with both dispersal and centralization tendencies (Sassen, 1991; 2000), placed cities within the frames of a new global and regional hierarchical system, which is one of the main causes of rising competition trend between them. Additionally, cities aiming to achieve or maintain the 'world city' status are highly motivated to develop new strategies to attract international investments, including cultural strategies to image themselves better for foreign investors. In these frames, competitiveness can be considered as strengthening factor for the cities and regions as global players. Globalization is by this way forcing cities and regions to become more visible and recognizable towards new markets and political arenas. Some of them

are certainly successfully coping with the actual trends through specialization in the areas where they have significant potential and special expertise. However, in other cases globalization is causing such an extent of radical changes in the economy of cities and regions that it could push them to take risks regarding even their own spatial identity. First of all, following the general principle where the *local* component is paradoxically perceived as weak and passive, while the *global* is strong and dominant³¹ (Del Cerro & Davis, 2009), strategic cities in global economy tend to disconnect, not only socially but also spatially from their region or state (Sassen, 2005: 38). In addition, contemporary cities are also facing many other negative phenomena, like social and spatial polarization or gentrification,³² which also affect a great deal their traditionally recognizable features (Del Cerro and Davis, 2009).

In terms of distinct environmental character of urban environments, cities nowadays are generally incriminated for becoming more uniform, losing their character at the same time; even despite some recent trends advocating for highlighting local identities. Change and internationalization in architecture and urban planning are, however, not a brand new phenomenon. According to King (2004) such trends could be traced throughout history in the shift of its patrons; just as church and monarchies strongly influenced architecture in medieval times, or governments and industry in the 19th and early 20th century. The main role in such processes nowadays has been taken over by multinational corporations, banks, national and international organizations (King, 2004: 40-42). What differs contemporary change from the previous episodes in history is certainly its speed and scope that significantly exceed some natural cycles required for sound urban reconstruction and development. Thus while being forced to position themselves on the highly competitive global market, cities nowadays are facing the already discussed extent of changes as never before in their history, which as a result pushes them in an unenviable position in between a threat of losing their traditional identities and a challenge to establish new ones.³³

³¹ According to the A.T. Kearney “2012 Global Cities Index” (GCI 2012), the weakening of the nation state role in favour of its major big cities already arranged the world today became ‘more about cities than about countries.’

³² Sassen (1991: 323) reminds that gentrification is not a new process in global cities; what differs it from earlier episodes is the scale on which it has taken place and the extent to which it created a commercial infrastructure.

³³ The fact that cities and regions are facing a serious discourse on spatial identity as never before has already been recognized in the EU. Under the Danish Presidency, the Copenhagen Charter 2002 identified ten principles to manage the challenges of the global era, in which maintaining growth and sustainability as well as identity and diversity was recognized as increasingly difficult. These principles are the following: Integrate local potential into strategies for urban and regional development; Use local identities to adapt to global changes; Develop an integrated approach to policy by promoting awareness of the role of cities in regional development, regional cohesion and a polycentric urban pattern; Co-ordinate strategies for urban and regional development and support partnerships between public and private actors; Adopt sustainable long-term perspectives; Use local culture to protect local diversity and identity; Draw upon local traditions when revitalizing cities; Create diverse environments by including all cultures in development; Ensure everyone has access to transport, jobs, housing, education and social services; Strengthen public participation in policy-making (*Cities in Europe – Europe in the Cities*: 33-34). Copenhagen Charter illustrates recent awareness awakening regarding the significance of decentralization and diversity in globalization processes. Its most important contribution is actually its focus on “local” components and traditional urban identity in order to resist dangers of social polarization and gentrification, and to insure sustainable development of both cities and regions. This charter illustrates not only the strength and weaknesses of globalization influence on identity of contemporary city, but also its size and power.

3.1.1. New Approaches to City Imaging

In accordance with constant geographical, social, technological and temporal transitions of cities, their 'images' are simultaneously experiencing alterations, followed by the shifts in philosophical and practical standpoints toward *imaging* a city. Besides the general shift from the initial fragmented to overall apprehension of city image, accepted by Lynch himself, urban thinkers are further debating on new approaches in this field of study (Strohecker, 1999; Ford, 1999; Lazo Mella, 1999; Stevens, 2009; Schumann, 2004; Franck, 1998; 2005), in order to test the previous standpoints and fill in the existing and upcoming gaps. In this sense, some updates could be considered in order to address current influence of rapid innovations on built environment perception.

If assumed that there are the three most distinguished generations of cities development, many contemporary authors are understandably concerned mainly about the rapid and dramatic extent of changes occurring in cities during the last several decades. The first generation of *traditional* cities was primarily characterized by built forms and spaces, and fully dependent on environment and understanding of nature, in contrast to the second generation of *industrial* city that was significantly influenced by new mobility issues in its spatial formation. Nowadays, facing the *third generation city* (Casagrande, 2008),³⁴ architecture and urban design theory refers to the post-industrial society. Besides accumulated social, environmental and ecological problems, which caused annihilation of the industrial city by the people themselves, the third generation city is moving towards 'hyper-dynamic', technological, dematerialized, adaptable and virtual city, to meet the expanding needs of its inhabitants in the current 'Information Age' (Castells, 1989). Some of the most significant effects on society and urban environment are precisely related to the recent progress in communication infrastructure (Fattahi & Kobayashi, 2009), as well as to fighting for attention and publicity (Franck, 1998; 2005). Without the intention of get deeply involved in the matter within the frameworks of this dissertation, it is certainly necessary to recognize the size of the influence that information and communication technology (ICT) has on cities. As a whole new urban infrastructure, it is certainly to change the forms of cities in such an extent as railroads, highways, electric power supply, and telephone networks did in the past. The real challenges of the future virtual world are unimaginable consequences of its immaterial and dimensionless environment, opposing the existing physical space. Therefore, contemporary urban psychology already focused on ways in

³⁴ The term "Third Generation City" came into focus through two different theories. Estonian architects Vilen Künnapu developed a theory of Energy Center Architecture aiming in tuning the urban condition into a network of spiritual layers, with architectural objects as mediators between human beings and higher realities. Finnish architect Marco Casagrande developed urban environmentalism theory called *urban acupuncture*, which combines urban design with traditional Chinese medical theory of acupuncture. In this theory, the cities are treated punctually as energy organism towards an environmentally sustainable development.

which media and built environment together shape and alter public perception of places, while urban sociology included a variety of other factors, besides local residents, in the description of social construction of community identity (Fattahi & Kobayashi, 2009: 65). Still, the ICT impact on city imaging has still not been explored enough to rightfully encompass the extent of the influence of this rapidly developing technology. According to Fattahi and Kobayashi, concepts of *legibility* and *imageability* (Lynch, 1996) are already proven as significantly changed (Fattahi & Kobayashi, 2009: 66-67). Regarding the on-going *infospherization* of almost everything in the current era, both of the important factors in the formations of imageability for landmarks (*human* as signifier and *space* as signified) have already evolved out of their original concepts. As an example, modern technology offered many innovations, which are functioning as human 'extended bodies' (internet, mobile phones, GPS). In other words, it became possible to perceive a city in various different ways with the help of information and communication technology. Fattahi and Kobayashi's findings even proved that a new category of landmarks has already been established (so-called *linkmarks* or *infomarks*), as "imageable elements that touches the 21st century senses" (Fattahi & Kobayashi, 2009: 68), which in contrast to Lynch's concept respond not only to spatial factors, but are also affected by temporal issues.

The third generation city already has its perceptive uniqueness in the virtual space of the computer matrix. Transformation of the *city* that we know so far by the new dematerializing technologies of the virtual, reconfigured, digital world, is probably the best described by the term *Cyber City* (Boyer, 1996; 2001). It stands for an imaginary real space, explored by users of computer-mediated information, based on the spatial and temporal experiences of city users. The representational metaphors, performed by the computer, are actually altering the perception of the user through virtual reality that is based on real space, thus directing the formation of environmental knowledge. However, although urban surrounding is represented virtually, the perception of the user transacts on the same or similar principles (Boyer, 2001). Transformed urban space by cybernetic and representational one certainly deprives users of links with material reality or with links with the community. Cyberspace also has no ways of crossing from virtual into actual reality, but functions only as a cognitive map of conceptual space, providing limited navigation and negotiations inside its nodes to the mind, increasing in efficiency with more detailed and elaborated features of the same.

Besides certain advantages, the actual rapid expansion of global system of mediated communications could involve many consequences, which are still unforeseeable. The newly established cyberspace character already became an important feature of the contemporary city; however, although 'cyber city' intends to make a contribution to the life of the physical city, at the same time it creates new problems. On the one hand, it causes certain social polarization, as cyberspace is currently in the domain of the privileged, regarding access to computer and Internet. On the other hand, the growth of new communication technologies

already resulted in a crisis in the public urban space (Aurigi and Graham, 1997), although in somewhat different scales in American and European city (Castells, 1996; see section 3.2.3). Traditional public spaces had the role to support human interaction, communication and exchange, but cyberspace developments became a serious threat to the integrity of physical public urban spaces. Undoubtedly, this surrogate and conceptual filter for the comprehension of urban environment will continue to become more complex, which certainly questions understanding of image and identity of a city in its original form, as Lynch previously defined.

3.1.2. The Phenomenon of 'Global City'

The phenomenon of 'global city' is often described by the variety of additional terms: 'world city', 'alpha city', 'world centre', 'international city', 'metropolis', 'cosmopolitan city' etc. Such a plurality of terms indicates a variety of meanings, which finally makes the whole concept generally unclear and 'fuzzy' (Doel & Hubbart, 2002: 351). The discourse within its meanings primarily refers on the one side to the set of material conditions that are generally designating global/world cities, and on the other to determining which particular cities possess such attributes (Smith, 2001: 48). However, what is important for the objectives of this research is the fact that some cities nowadays acquired certain global importance due to their inclusion into the global urban networks of flows of people, goods, ideas, practices and performances. Thus, they are strongly influencing formation of contemporary urban imaginaries, and as such create a certain *model* for other cities.

As most of popular and scholarly standpoints emphasize the economic dimension of the globalization processes, many authors finally agree that social and cultural aspects of cities nowadays are greatly influenced by the world economy (Nijman, 1999). Consequently, the role of cities in the process of globalization is mainly depicted through their economic role. The term 'global city', according to sociologist Saskia Sassen (1991), who coined the term itself, primarily refers to a city's status as an import node in the global economic system. The term has been popularized in Sassen's description of significant realignment in the social and economic structure occurring in New York, London and Tokyo that influenced their respective nation-states and the world economy (Sassen, 1991). As a consequence of such relations, Sassen (2005: 27) considered that global cities are at the same time gaining high economic fortune that is consequently disconnecting them from broader hinterlands or even national economies (Sassen, 2005: 30). Peter Hall³⁵ defined another important term – 'world city' (Hahn, 2011),

³⁵ Hall, P. (1966) *The World Cities*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London

stating that size doesn't automatically qualify for this title,³⁶ but rather the fact that cities are centres of political power. Hall's concept of world cities doesn't only include centres of national governments, but also – as in the case of Frankfurt or Rotterdam – centres of economic power, hubs of international flows, transshipment centres of importance for their own and neighbouring countries, etc.³⁷ Such definition of 'world city' thus clearly denotes more than a vast agglomeration of urban space, but rather a national centre with international influence. De Cerro and Davis provided for the 'Encyclopaedia of Urban Studies'³⁸ the following more recent definition of the term: "(g)lobal cities are key urban nodes that concentrate command and control functions in the global economy. They are mechanisms through which global economic integration takes root since they play a generative economic role not just within their national borders, but also within increasingly global networks of production and consumption. In addition, they usually exhibit a high degree of ethnic diversity and are marked by social and spatial fragmentation" (Del Cerro & Davis, 2009: 1).³⁹

Despite numerous terms, definitions, and discourses, global/world cities are still in the midst of a paradox that Paul described in practical terms: "while so many want to live in a world city, no one knows quite frankly what such a thing is" (Paul, 2004: 572). However, the status of a global/world city is certainly seen as beneficial, and many different groups have already established various independent methods and criteria in order to classify and rank which cities could be acknowledged as 'world cities' or 'non-world cities'⁴⁰ (e.g. Global City Competitiveness Index, Global City Index etc.). Since the greater research on this topic in the late 1980-es, there has been a general consensus that London, Tokyo and New York are currently the world's most dominant global cities (Sassen 1991; Sassen 2000; Nijman, 1999; Yeung and Olds, 2001). Davis (2005: 99) described them as the nodes from where globalization is negotiated, mediated and distributed, and as such they certainly function as urban prototypes and absolute role models. Sassen later emphasized the importance of Paris, Frankfurt, Zurich, Amsterdam, Los

³⁶ The notion of the 'world city' is by no means new. It has firstly been coined by Patrick Geddes, back in 1915, in his *Cities in Evolution* (Williams & Norgate, London), referring to those places where a disproportionate amount of world business was conducted (Doel & Hubbart, 2002: 352). In contrast to the classic concept of the 'world city', formulated by John Friedmann and Goetz in 1982, that is more general and historically timeless, the 'global city' model by Sassen (1991: 349) marks a specific socio-spatial historical phase.

³⁷ Hence international airports are also often associated with world cities, as they are enabling their functioning as global hubs (Hahn, 2011).

³⁸ *Encyclopedia of Urban Studies*, Robert Beauregard et al., eds. (SAGE Publications, 2009).

³⁹ The main difficulties regarding fully understanding and deriving comprehensive and universal definition of the 'global city' concept is in the ambiguity of the terms 'global city' and 'world city', as some authors are claiming they do not have the same meaning. The term 'global city' is in fact a deliberate, contemporary attempt to establish distinction with the term 'world city', referring to a type of a city already known through the centuries (e.g. European colonial centers). In this regard, Sassen claims that most of today's major global cities are also world cities, but other global cities are not world cities in the full sense of that term (Sassen, 2005: 28).

⁴⁰ The most prominent indicators for evaluation and ranking of global cities are Global Cities Index, Global Cities Competitiveness Index, Global Power City Index and Global City Survey. *Global City Competitive Index* takes as indicators economic strength, human capital, institutional effectiveness, financial maturity, global appeal, physical capital, environment and natural hazards, as well as social and cultural character of the cities (*Hot spots - Benchmarking global city competitiveness*: 32-35). *Global Cities Index* deals with business activity, information exchange, political engagement, human capital and cultural experience; *Global Power City Index* measures economy, research and development, cultural interaction, livability, environment and accessibility (*Global Power City Index*, 2011: 6), while indicators for *Global City Survey* are economic activity, political power, quality of life, knowledge and influence.

Angeles, Sydney, and Hong Kong, as major global, international, financial, and business centres, and also added some new cities in this category, such as Bangkok, Taipei, Sao Paulo, and Mexico City (Sassen, 2000: 82). As a consequence of such a strong hierarchy, where some cities are more important than the others, Yeung and Olds (2001) went a step further and determined the three most recent forms of global cities: hyper global cities, emerging global cities and global city-states. The formation of 'hyper' global cities that in fact corresponds to 'classical' global cities (New York, London, Tokyo) could actually be seen as the result of new geographies of centrality, also causing loss of functions and decline of formerly important manufacturing centres and port cities, even in the most advanced economies (Sassen, 2000: 82).⁴¹ These immense changes in the global urban network are finally proving that the concept of global/world city is subjected to fluctuations, and is thus measured systematically by different relevant indicators of global urban performance.⁴²

Besides economic and social restructuring, global/world cities are also sites of physical changes. The first of seven Friedman's hypothesis on world cities argues that "the form and extent of a city's integration with the world economy, and the functions assigned to the city in the new spatial division of labour, will be decisive for any structural changes occurring within it" (Friedmann, 1986: 318). Short (2004) considered that "the global city is not simply a site of economic transactions, it is a place of global imaginings. Global cities are as much acts of imagination as they are places on the map; they occupy a discursive as well as geographic space" (Short, 2004: 84). Finally, the nature of relation between 'global city' imaginaries and economy is certainly reciprocal, as "attracting global fixed capital investment (corporate headquarters, production facilities, downtown skyscrapers) and circular capital (transport, tourism, cultural events) through an international identity has become a nearly universal economic strategy" (Paul, 2004: 572). Such a character of global/world city concept, Robinson characterized as becoming "(...) a regular fiction. It offers an authorized image of city success" (Robinson, 2006: 111). In other words, the modalities of the global city that are accompanying economic globalization within the cities worldwide, above all involving global connections (airports), global spectacles (signature buildings), and large scale events (global cultures), are in fact reproducing global identities, creating hybrids and re-imagining the global city through designing of new symbolic meanings of the place, for attracting citizens, tourists and investors (Short, 2004). However, although development of its localized concept on the one side involves spatial transfer of globally circulating concepts into a specific locality, and on the other concerns the context of its appropriation, many contemporary global/world cities resulted in physically

⁴¹ The most comprehensive introductory text on this subject is the Global Cities Reader, (eds.) Neil Brenner and Robert Keil (2006); see also the website of the Globalization and World Cities Study Group and Network (www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/).

⁴² Looking up to role model cities, as Robinson argues, they "have been used again and again to illustrate the perspective of world-cities theorists and leave a strong impression on policy-makers, popularizing the idea that moving up the hierarchy of cities is both possible and a good thing" (Robinson, 2006: 97).

resembling each other (image 3.1). Guided by urban imaginaries of the global city, and shaped by transnational architectural production⁴³ (Ren, 2011), the image of the metropolis became globally uniform as such a concept became an absolute model for the cities everywhere from Americas to Asia. From an optimistic viewpoint, this phenomenon makes cities symbolically understood by anyone anywhere (Van Ulzen, 2007); however, on the other side, such rising uniformity is supporting the contemporary issue of place neutralisation, and is often accused for irretrievably eroding traditional and cultural identities.



Image 3.1.

Similar image of global cities' financial districts: Dubai, Chicago, Paris, Hong Kong, London, Singapore, Johannesburg, Shanghai, Mexico City, Bangkok, Toronto, Tokyo

Source: <http://www.flickr.com/> 2012-07-20

⁴³ By the term 'transnational architectural production' Ren refers to 'increasing participation of transnational agents in consumption, production and interpretation of architecture and buildings' (Ren, 2011: 6), as a consequence of their operation beyond national borders in the globalized world. An example of such an operation is the 'circulation of investment capital, the movements of built-environment professionals and the diffusion of new design technologies' (Ren, 2011: 6).

3.1.3. Cities in Competition

Taking a look back in history, cities increasing their role and influence in comparison to other cities certainly could not be considered as a recent phenomenon.⁴⁴ Urban imaginaries and reputation have in fact always been created under the influence of competition between cities and trends in urban development planning of a given time. However, since the last quarter of the 20th century until present days, this phenomenon became extremely interesting for researchers due to its significant scale, various means of demonstration, as well as its openness to mobilization of new technological means and achievements (Metaxas, 2007: 406).

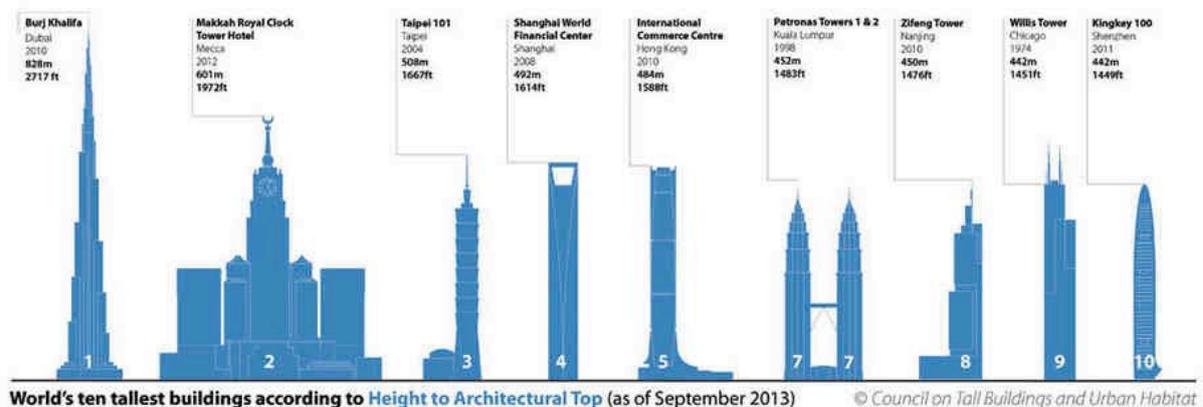


Image 3.2.

World's ten tallest buildings (September 201)

© CTBUH – Council on Tall Buildings and Urban Habitat. Source: <http://www.ctbuh.org/>, 2014-03-16

Competition currently occurs on various levels – local, regional, national, continental and global (Gordon, 1999: 1001). As both globalization and competitiveness are in fact marked by economic rivalry, some authors claim that competition is rather occurring among companies (Sassen, 1991: 359; Gordon, 1999: 1001). Cities are on the other hand striving to attract multinational enterprises and business executives,⁴⁵ alongside with important international events, various public funding, and new residents and tourists. Thrift (1999) argued that in order to compete successfully, cities nowadays do not need to be simply *planned* any longer, but rather *managed* in the concept strongly related to the way of running a business. This shift is already apparent in the tendencies where economic experts are taking over political and administrative careers, mayors and local governors managing roles, public-private partnerships

⁴⁴ Some of the first examples of competing cities could be traced back to ancient Greece, when mighty city-states Sparta and Athens were the major actors of one of the greatest rivalry in the ancient world. Also during the Middle Ages, Genoa and Venice had a strong competition, which even resulted with four major conflicts (Metaxas, 2007). Another example is from the 12th century, when a commercial confederation of merchant guilds within Hanseatic League involved a network of their market towns. These cities later achieved global reach and turned into rival world cities of their time (Hahn, 2011).

⁴⁵ As an example, in the case of European cities, there is a competition to host EU institutions. Metaxas, 2007: 406

increases, and consultants are becoming new economic force in urban and regional planning (Thrift, 1999: 284ff). Success of such market-oriented government policies certainly depends on the awareness of both strengths and weaknesses of cities. For such reasons, the role of so-called 'soft factors' (Metaxas, 2007), representing each of the city's specific characteristics, particularly gained importance in 'urban boosterism' during the recent years (Kong, 2007). Finally, assets and aspirations of contemporary cities are increasingly supported by urban marketing and privatization trend, which on the other hand marked the beginning of a new conflict, involving the traditional perception of the city as a place, and its contemporary transformation into a *commodity* (Aurigi and Graham, 1997).⁴⁶ Nevertheless, carefully developed competitive strategies are seen as important means for solving some important urban problems at the first place, involving increase of life quality or environmental standards. In addition, global cities are not only competing between themselves, but are also complementary at the same time (Van den Berg & Braun, 1999: 998), which often results with various strategic partnerships.

As mentioned above, the ways cities are competing nowadays and the strategies they develop are certainly rich in scope, diversity, creativity and innovation. As architect Winy Maas argued, "(...) competition is always an initiator of spatial changes"⁴⁷ (Hilber & Datko, 2012: 9), which reveals strong interrelations between the two. In this sense, the role of iconic architecture and distinct environments is certainly considered as a powerful mean in intercity competition. The strong symbolic meaning of a *building* is paradoxically often crucial in our perception of the either *material* or *virtual* urban environment; "(...) it is always the image of the building – rarely the diffuse and ungraspable 'city'(...)" (King, 2004: 5). An example of global competition occurring through innovative architecture and creation of attractive urban environments is the never-ending challenge of 'the world's tallest building' (image 3.2). Skyscrapers are certainly carrying many symbolical meanings for contemporary global(ising) cities; above all, they are representing economic power and status, as architectural embodiment of international image. Spectacular architecture of high-rise towers are "(...) signifiers of not only economic, political or cultural power, but also national, corporate and both individual as well as collective identities" (King, 2004: 3). As a form of advertising, they are also easily perceptible through the growing virtual world in information age, supported by the means of different media. Their rather specific architectural form is marked by the paradox of their individualism on one side, functioning as 'cities in the city' (Alexander & Kittel, 2006), but on the other, their appearance have the power of instantly redesigning image and identity of an urban environment. The world's tallest

⁴⁶ Promotion and advertising strengthened to surpass their traditional realm of private companies a long time ago, and therefore started affecting the city as a whole, transforming it on this way into a 'commercial product' (Aurigi and Graham, 1997)

⁴⁷ "(...) die Konkurrenz ist immer der Motor für räumliche Veränderungen – ohne Konkurrenz gibt es die Furcht nicht, zu spät zu sein." Taken from the interview with Winy Maas by Stadelmann, T. in Hilber & Datko, 2012: 69.

buildings are therefore not only material structures in an urban location, but the new generation of landmarks with strong symbolic representations, whose presence involves an efficient boost of the city image and instant symbol of domination and power. Besides Frankfurt, Rotterdam, and other 'western' cities, many post-colonial states or aspiring world power leaders are also making use of the strong symbolic language of the tall buildings; the on-going restructuring of global power and capital is therefore reflected on geographical distribution of these superstructures⁴⁸ (image 3.2). As King noticed, the 'Third World' is instantly, through the power of symbols, being transformed into the 'First' (2004: 16-18). These tall structures, as symbols of contemporary competition between global cities, have therefore such a profound impact, that their meaning and significance makes them global icons with geographical, local determinant.

3.1.4. City Marketing and Urban Branding

City marketing in general is relatively a new field, considering the city as a product, with the task to ensure that recipients perceive its image as intended by marketing (Deffner & Liouris, 2005). Special features and qualities of cities featuring their 'signmaking' through new communication technologies became a popular means for municipal politicians to promote a sort of a trademark of cities after the world economy crisis in the 1970-es, corresponding to expectations of both residents and tourists (Durth, 1977: 74). Such a shift from material to semiotic production in urban politics and development was induced by the ability of information and media to transform and gain importance. Durth noted that "having the 'image-concept borrowed from the advertising psychology' with simultaneously having a rewritten 'stereotype-like mental image', composed of a 'variety of different information in a no longer comprehensible process.' To influence this process to certain extent, preferences were selected to address target groups from all sections of city life promotionally shaped, and media was used to create awareness through word and image until they became symbols of a desired way of life and a redemption for the promised quality of urban life – as a material indication of the availability for the desired possibilities" (Durth, 1977: 76).⁴⁹ However, initial interest for attracting attention (Franck, 1998; 2005) and manipulation of opinions eventually morphed into manipulation of

⁴⁸ Originally a part of distinctive North American identity (King, 2004), only one skyscraper from the current list of the world's top-ten tallest buildings for 2012 found itself in the USA, and none of them are located in Europe - all the others are in the South-East Asia, but nearly all of them have been designed by American-based, multinational firms.

⁴⁹ „Mit dem der „Werbepsychologie entliehen Begriff Image“ wurde dabei das „klischeeartige Vorstellungsbild“ umschreiben, das sich aus einer „Vielfalt unterschiedlichster Informationen in einem nicht mehr nachvollziehbaren Prozess“ zusammenfügt.“ Um auf diesen Prozess zumindest ansatzweise Einfluss zu nehmen, wurden je nach den erhobenen bzw. unterstellten Präferenzen der anzusprechenden Zielgruppen Ausschnitte aus der Gesamtheit städtischen Lebens ausgewählt, werbeteknisch ausgeformt und so lange publizistisch durch Wort und Bild ins Bewusstsein gehoben, die bis symbolhaft für das Ganze der erhofften Lebensform stehen und als Einlösung der versprochenen Qualitäten städtischen Lebens gelten können – als materielles Indiz für das Vorhandensein der erwünschten Möglichkeiten“ (Durth, 1977: 76; author's translation)

symbols and construction of identities through urban marketing and branding, as advanced strategies to attract global investment through international city image (Yeoh, 2005).

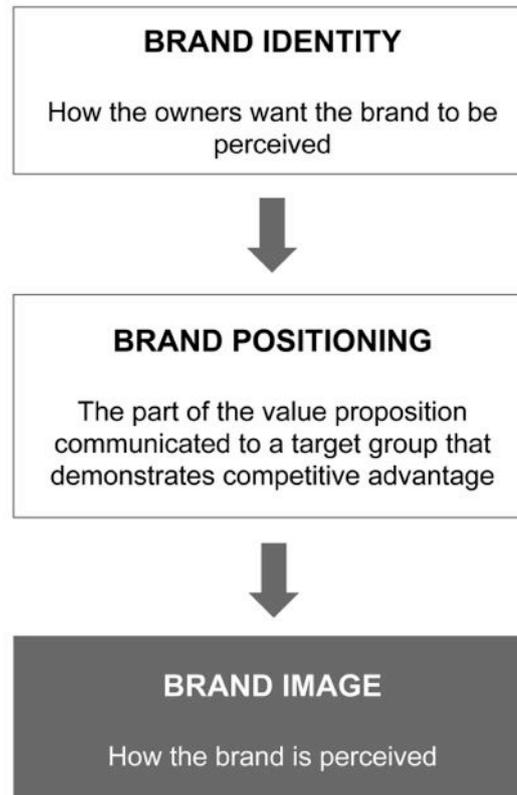


Diagram 3.1.
Brand identity, positioning and image by Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005.
Author's drawing of the diagram by Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005: 508.

City marketing is largely dependent on construction, communication and management of city image, which is in turn the starting point for development of a city's brand (Kavaratzis, 2004: 58). Contemporary notion of a 'brand' was made clearer by the recent definition of 'Saffron Brand Consultants'; explaining it as an "(...) overall image or set of perceptions and associations that resides in people's heads. When we speak of 'the brand' of a place, we mean the average or common perceptions and associations people have with that place; it is always an approximation, and it is always subjective" (Hildreth, 2010: 5). Resulting of a deliberate process, branding of the cities depends on the scope and quality of marketing activities, where "(...) adopting a brand could provide a product with a certain and special identity, which is exactly the objective of city marketing for cities" (Deffner & Liouris, 2005: 5). Kavaratzis & Ashworth (2005) explained branding as a two-way process of communication (diagram 3.1). On one side there is the identity of a brand, defined by its owners while brand image is central to the opposite, consumer's side, incorporating perceptions of quality and values, as well as

associations and feelings (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005: 508). Branding of cities, as based on such principles, is a deliberate process, which – depending on brand positioning – could result with some well-branded and well-recognizable urban brands, such as of New York, Amsterdam, London, Berlin, or Barcelona (image 3.3). On the other side, there are some poorly branded cities, whose marketing strategies didn't achieve desired results. In any case, contemporary urban branding involves many other higher layers of effects and outcomes. Remy compared urban branding with "(...) the reinvention of the city, the rebirth as a global metropolis" and defined it as "(...) a technique, which helps cities and regions to obtain a place in the first rows of the big theatres of attention. It's about creating visual, atmospheric, and experiential focal points, the new economic elite, the aristocracy of service-, technology- and communications era can identify with" (Hilber & Datko, 2012: 24-25).⁵⁰



Image 3.3.
Some of the worldwide recognizable logos/slogans of cities

The actual role of physical urban environment and especially renowned architecture within city marketing is of extreme importance, as they provide a material expression of the city image that city branding attempts to create (Shimomura and Tadashi, 2010). Besides from culture and entertainment (Kavaratzis, 2005; Hildreth, 2010), it is one of the most important factors determining urban attractiveness and recognisability. In contrast to traditional architecture that bases its formal articulation on notions of culture, context and function, *brand architecture* manifests its own context, deriving from a particular *brand identity* (Klingmann, 2003). Durth explains that "(...) eye-catching urban design also gained a new meaning: in the

⁵⁰ „(...) die Neuerfindung der Großstadt, die Wiedergeburt als globale Metropole (...) ist eine Technik, mit der sich Städte und Regionen einen Platz in den ersten reihen des großen Aufmerksamkeits-Theaters erwirtschaften. Es geht darum, visuelle, atmosphärische und erlebbare Kristallisationspunkte zu schaffen, mit denen sich die neue ökonomische Elite, die Aristokratie der Dienstleistungs- und Technologie- und Kommunikationsära, identifizieren kann.“ Remy, Volker: *Die Imagefalle – Identitätsmarketing für Städte und Regionen im Zeichen der soziodemografischen Zeitenwende*, Berlin, 2006 (in Hilber & Datko, 2010: 24-25; author's translation).

context of urban profiling experiments, the entire machinery of advertising and design campaigns has been launched” (Durth, 1977: 80).⁵¹ Marketing is thus assimilated into the architectural design process relying on marketing strategies, to the degree it may compete with other products on the global market. On the other hand, contemporary cities remarketed as commercial enterprises, better known as *brandscales* are, according to Klingmann (2003), key elements re-linking identity, culture and place. Urban brands, as de-territorialized signifiers of lifestyle and identity, are therefore shaping the conversion of cities into commercialized goods. Such a concept of constructing and ‘selling’ the image of a city or region through its branding has thus become essential in new urban politics and marketing strategies in many post-industrial cities. A more comprehensive model for identity building, which often is included as a strategy for city marketing, involves the so-called ‘corporate identity’ (CI) of cities, as a method taken directly from the corporation marketing. Beyrow defined corporate identity in urban marketing, as “(...) a process which tries to determine a manifested self-image (Corporate Personality), on one side out of traditional values and social and cultural essential features of a city, and on the other side from its aims and objectives, with communicable distinctive features, formative and typical for a city. This personality of a city, its targeted identity, is the core and starting point of a corporate-identity-strategy: how one sees oneself, one would like to be seen by others” (Beyrow, 1998: 17).⁵²

City branding nowadays provides the basis for developing policy to pursue economic development through increase in inward investments and tourism on the one side (Kavaratzis, 2004: 70), and on the other it supports community development, reinforcing local identity, identification of the citizens with their city, and social inclusion (Kavaratzis, 2004: 58). It doesn’t refer only to a ‘signature’ or image of a city anymore, but represents an expression of its identity as well, making urban brand a powerful tool in urban identity building for both its internal and external target groups –citizens, customers, businesses, tourists, or potential newcomers (Stigel & Frimann, 2006). In addition, the active production of places with special qualities becomes an important stake in spatial competition between localities, regions, and nations (Harvey, 1989: 295 in Heidenreich, 2008: 2-3); “the more concise identity of a city is clearly distinguishable and recognizable when compared to its competitors” (Hilber & Datko, 2012: 26).⁵³ City marketing is therefore not only an effective tool for urban identity building but also for city competitiveness,

⁵¹ „...auch publikumswirksame Stadtgestaltung neue Bedeutung gewann: Im Zusammenhang städtischer Profilierungsversuche wurde eine ganze Maschinerie von Werbungs-, Aktions- und Gestaltungskampagnen in Gang gesetzt.“ (Durth, 1977: 80; author’s translation)

⁵² „Corporate Identity ist - verkürzt ausgedrückt - ein Proceß, der zunächst versucht, aus den tradierten Werten und den sozialen sowie kulturellen Wesenszügen einer Stadt zum einen sowie ihren Zielen und Zwecken zum anderen ein manifestiertes Selbstverständnis (Corporate Personality) zu ermitteln, mit kommunizierbaren Unterscheidungsmerkmalen, die für eine Stadt prägend und typisch sind. Diese Persönlichkeit der Stadt, ihre Soll-Identität, ist der Kern und Ausgangspunkt einer Corporate-Identity-Strategie: denn wie man sich selbst sieht, so möchte man auch von anderen gesehen werden“ (Beyrow, 2012: 17). Author’s translation.

⁵³ „Je prägnanter die Stadtidentität ist, desto eindeutiger ist sie gegenüber den Konkurrenten unterscheidbar und wieder erkennbar.“ (Hilber & Datko, 2010: 26; author’s translation)

affected by factors that concern a city's distinctive characteristics on which strategic planning, strategies and tactics should be based on (Metaxas, 2007).

3.2. Urban Change and Urban Identity

Since the first settlements creation, among the basic features of life and form of cities were certainly their constant motion and alteration in time and space, with the state of inevitable change ranging to various extents. As cities are highly complex systems of tangible and intangible subsystems, all of corresponding urban elements are certainly affected by their changeable nature, also including its most sophisticated features – such as urban image or identity. However, in order to confront the negative impacts of change, some mechanisms were developed, among which the most significant is certainly the process of preservation. In such a framework, contemporary notion of urban identity could be grasped as a highly sensitive category, directly dependent on scope and balance between the two everlasting opposed forces; one tending to *change*, while the other striving to *preserve* (diagram 3.2).

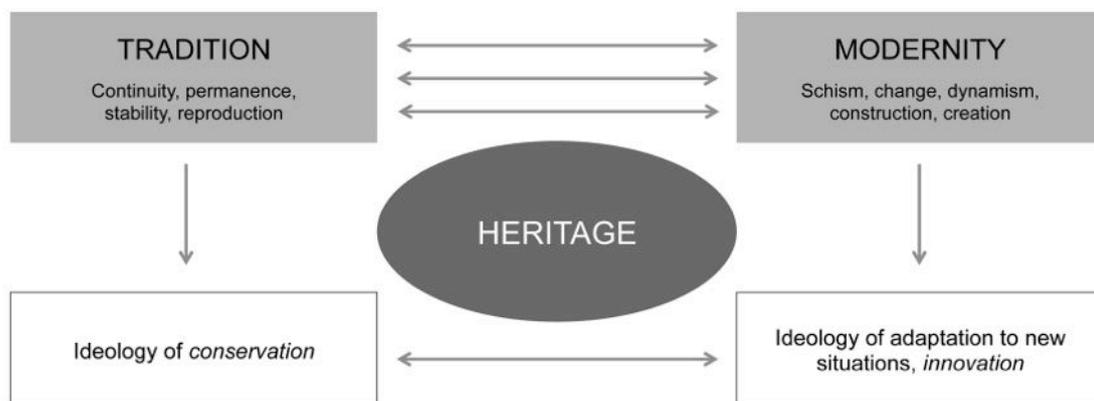


Diagram 3.2.
The interplay between tradition and modernity in the construction of heritage
Author's drawing of the diagram by Bessi re, 1998: 27.

As already discussed, former achievements on the one side – such as cultural built heritage – could be understood as values from the past, important for recognisability of an urban environment, and therefore set to be saved for the future through preservation planning. Identity of an urban environment is unquestionably deeply rooted upon its heritage, which, however, also involves memories, some former customs, local tradition, even deteriorated or destroyed built heritage (Nystr m, 1999: 441). Preservation of all of its components can help maintaining the identity feeling, often being suitable for cultural activities and cultural production.

Therefore, planning for preservation is rather a complex task, with many actors having different expectations of it, where both public as well as private interest should be concerned. In addition, there are also problems with financing the preservation and maintenance of built heritage, but all those issues are actually in the shadow of the major conflict between the interest for preservation and the interest for change and renewal. On the other side, modernization and progress, opposing preservation of buildings or areas within a contemporary city, tend to introduce innovative design and new elements in urban identification, often utilizing sensational and iconic buildings. New architecture rapidly changes the cities, with the appearance of new symbols, which in most cases are not continuations of or familiar with traditional architecture and city history (Will, 2009). Renewal and new construction in combination with preservation might in some cases even lead to misuse or loss of existing cultural values (Nyström, 1999: 441). Urban environments are therefore challenging new, unfamiliar and inevitable in modern era, which involve lack of links to its history, and thus opposes the ancient human need to pass their experiences from the past.

As already discussed, many comprehensive processes could be considered as main drivers of current urban change – such as booming of ‘informational society’, globalisation, rising mobility, competition between cities and regions, increasing interdependencies between cities, social polarization, increasing spatial fragmentation etc. In the atmosphere of such a complex system of factors, sustaining city image and its identity are becoming increasingly key concerns for city managers and urban planners. Identity-construction is indeed a process of dynamic nature, and certainly not an easy matter (Watson and Bentley, 2007); however, urban change doesn’t necessarily always have negative effects. With careful and comprehensive planning, urban change could be more or less moderated to decrease its possible negative effects on city identity. Nyström in this sense imposes the great necessity of coordination between preservation and change: “coordination of preservation activities with renewal and change will turn the question of preservation into a question of creating new or additional environmental qualities and increase the cultural value within the area in question” (Nyström, 1999: 435).

As change is not necessarily a slow and spontaneous process, its particularly fatal manifestations are those appearing abruptly, as a result of some natural disasters or war destructions. Such ruptures in urban continuity often leave far-reaching consequences on the full range of complex urban structures, including its recognizable vernacular identity, developed spontaneously over the centuries. They are, however, equally dangerous as spontaneously developed changes in an unsustainable manner, which fail to respond appropriately to the existing identity framework of the city in which they occurred.

3.2.1. Consequences of Post-War Directions in Urban Renewal

One of the most extreme examples of urban identity eradication refers to the 2nd World War, causing a significant rupture in a more-or-less continuous development course within European cityscape. However, the unprecedented scope of destructions was not the only cause for such disruption, as after-war perspectives in regard of renewal and reconstruction also had an equally significant influence. Its main guidelines were established by the 'Athens Charter', as a manifesto written mostly by Le Corbusier (Hilpert, 1962), summarizing the Fourth International Congress of Modern Architects (CIAM), held in 1932. The charter established core ideas and principles of modern architecture and urban planning, calling for a total remaking of cities to make them more efficient, rational, and hygienic. After it was published in 1943, and especially in the period after the war, the idea of transforming old cities was becoming widespread, and thus many European governments opted for modernization rather than to reconstruct or replicate the pre-war state – regardless of initial proposals for reconstruction of demolished urban fabric. The foundation for such decisions to use the outstanding opportunity for modernization and improvement of traditional urban structures (Diefendorf, 2005) probably lays in the fact that *historic city* was seen as crowded and less functional environment, filled with range of spatial and social problems even before war destructions. In addition, the planning theories of that time were under influence of their complete fascination by new traffic technologies, segregated street profiles and separated urban functions – often ignoring the location specificities or traditional sense of a place. The new vision for the cities implied an international, rapidly expanding phenomenon, supported by the combination of rising industrialization and technology. The final result of such a standpoint was supposed to provide healthy, well-functioning urban environment for the range of emerging needs of the modern post-war society.

Along with growth of the modernistic principles, some movements advocated for preservation and renewal of the historic urban areas as well. Such a standpoint significantly strengthened after the 1960-es, as a reaction that followed both the after-war reconstructions based on modernistic principles in Europe, as well as the massive destructions of urban fabric for the renewal in the U.S. Some of the specific achievements of modern architecture and urban planning caused growing dissatisfaction with the overall results of the post war renewal, such as decentralization that destructed city centres as political, economic, and symbolic places. Growing trend of critical thinking among practitioners also concerned standardization of cities, which were lacking distinct identities (Mitscherlich, 1965). The elements to help recover the sense of historical identity in a city were the main focus of a study conducted by Paul Henry

Gleye.⁵⁴ Based on Lynch's findings and focusing on German city of Münster, which was nearly completely destroyed during the 2nd World War, Gleye identified seven elements for responsible heritage protection: reconstruction of important monuments; repetition of traditional architectural motifs; giving a new meaning to centre and periphery; including the historical keys; keeping the existing urban scale; accepting the historical projects regulations; and keeping the traditional land use in the urban centre (Ellin, 2002: 80-81). These elements resemble previous urban forms, and therefore could provide a certain historical identity feeling. Such a viewpoint, completely opposing the former modernistic ones, advocated for historical and local context back under the spotlight. As Ellin noted, critical review of contemporary architecture and urban planning had the task of overcoming "fear, unsafety and placelessness" and substituting it by a certain romantic revival trend (Ellin, 2002: 25-31). The quest for meaning, centrality and the nostalgia for the cities of the past, culminated in the late 20th century, and was, however, *not* followed by the renouncement of technological innovations, development, and overall improvement of living standard.



Image 3.4.
Downtown Frankfurt layout before and after the war destructions

Creation of the new roads for motorized traffic (right) are strongly contrasting historical urban pattern (left)
© Stadtplanungsamt Frankfurt am Main. Source: "Im Dialog" No. 8, 2010: 17

In the European cities ravaged by the war, comprehensive destructions followed by extensive modernization certainly had a long-term influence on their further development (Diefendorf, 2005; Mitscherlich, 1965). Both cities in the focus of this research, Frankfurt and Rotterdam, also experienced tremendous eradications of historical cores as carriers of meaning and identity (images 3.4; 3.5). In both cases, reconstruction was supposed to mobilize other

⁵⁴ Gleye, Paul Henry (1983) *The Breath Of History*, PhD Dissertation, UCLA, pp. 375-45.

elements rather than historic ones in order to provide new meanings to their bleak urban centres; however, this process proved to be complicated, often ineffective and surely a long lasting one. Certain revolution in architecture and urban planning from the late 20th century, aiming to “heal the wounds” (Ellin, 2002: 13) of the urban environment as a product of the modern and post-modern epoch is still present, however in a rather modified form. In times of strong competition, many European cities that suffered severe destructions during the 2nd World War resorted to various strategies in order to enhance their recognisability, identity and brand, implying the best from both traditional and contemporary approach. Various standpoints, numerous debates, competitions, plans, and actions, regarding both renewal and new constructions within centres of these cities, are practically illustrating the scope of consequences from destructions and post-war renewal on contemporary strives for sustaining urban identity.



Image 3.5.

Downtown Rotterdam layout before (1940) and after the war destructions (1960-es)

Source: De Boeren, 1963: 25.

3.2.2. Interactions between ‘the Old’ and ‘the New’ in Contemporary City

According to Gordon Cullen (1971: 7-8), similarly to an ‘art of architecture’ that is associated with all its meanings and values, there is also an ‘art of relationship’, based on relationships and interactions between individual objects within an environment. Such interactions were illustrated by an example of isolated church that gets its real meanings only through a dramatic spatial event, when brought back among the small-scale of surrounding houses. Distinct character of every urban space is therefore expressed through mutual relationships between associated single buildings that grouped together create a higher value of a whole. However, such an art of interaction could be determined even beyond the two-dimensional pattern and the three-dimensional form of a spatial urban context, extending to its *temporal* context as well, as built environments are constructed as palimpsests of architectural history (Knox, 2012). The complexity of all the above-mentioned heterogeneous relationships

illustrates the scope of challenges that contemporary planners are facing when dealing within the realm of built urban spaces.



Image 3.6.

Traditional and modernist urban spaces:
satellite view on old urban structure of Belgrade (left) and on the blocks of New Belgrade (right)

Reverse approach towards creating urban spaces resulted with the high contrast between the two parts of the city, where traditional urban space is densely built, while the modernist looks like its inverted image.
© 2014 Microsoft Corporation & © 2012 DigitalGlobe. Source: <http://www.bing.com/maps/>, 2014-04-19

Actual environmental, socio-cultural urban crisis, reflecting itself on *space* as the main resource of a city (Aurigi and Graham, 1997), can be perceived as a product of frequent collision between tendencies of traditionalism and modernity, affecting mostly old, historical districts of the contemporary cities worldwide. Every possible disruption in further development of a city means a trigger to its identity destabilization. Contemporary fingerprint is however not only transferred through introduction of new elements into existing built environments, but also through the art of relationship between *the existing* and *the new*. Significant differences between the typical urban patterns of traditional and modernist urban spaces are a classical example for conflicting state within contemporary built areas. The size of this contrast is more than obvious in the nearly inverse image of modernistic urban spaces in comparison to the traditional ones (Rowe & Koetter, 1978: 62). As is well known, traditional urban spaces are mainly characterized by dense urban blocks that are defining enclosed streets and squares, while buildings are usually low-rise and of similar heights, with dominating verticals of important civic or religious facilities. On the other side, modernistic urban spaces consist of buildings as

free-standing separate pavilions in a more generalised space intersected with road grid (image 3.6). However, pure traditional or modernist urban spaces are relatively rare to find; they are more often hybrids or compromised versions of the ideal systems (Carmona et al., 2010), which means these patterns are often overlapping in reality. In addition, recent urban design is returning back to the traditional urban patterns, seeing a new interest in the relationship between built and urban space (Carmona et al., 2010), with awoken concern in *continuity* of places.

Traditionally the most distinguished carriers of urban identity within contemporary cities are old historic cores (Hilber & Datko, 2012: 137-138). Vinken (2008) designated such urban centres as *Traditionsinseln*,⁵⁵ as well as carriers of a code for natural order and naturalness (Vinken, 2008: 12). Such sublime features are certainly making interventions within urban cores the most delicate urban change to be conducted nowadays. Involvement of contemporary elements in such cases is rarely able to cope with the vernacular architectural skills and requirements of the traditional surroundings. Their particularity is thus often victim of improper planning decisions. Well-known examples of such interventions within historic cores are the cities that suffered destructions in the 2nd World War, illustrated by the example of German city of Dresden, where the most of iconic historic buildings were restored in traditional spirit, but as mixtures of historical remains and new elements (image 3.11, left). The main intention in this case, as Will (2009) described, was to not disturb the significance and meaning of the place; however the final result that ignored the reality of war damages reached the state of an 'idealized work of art'. Reconstructed imitations alongside the integrated relics of the old Dresden actually undermined their authority as historical witnesses. Such questionable approach towards reconstruction provided a kind of "architectural prostheses" for the "crippled city" (Will, 2009: 15), which is not able to replace what is lost, but serves its purpose by taking a practical function in an improvised way, providing rather intact body for the observer, than unwanted damaged one. Similarly, the market square in Hildesheim, destroyed in the war and rebuilt to its previous appearance in the 1990-es, could be considered as a representation of not healed but *cloned* square, sending an image "as if nothing had happened" (statement by the critic Manfred Sack; Will, 2009: 16). Such a *production* of heritage, as a particular interplay between tradition and modernity could also be determined in the historic core of modern Frankfurt, where an intervention on the reconstruction of destroyed old city is on the way. On the one side, the city is emitting an image of a modern metropolis with a distinguished skyline, but on the other the features of 'new' involve questionable reconstruction and 'creative replication' of the irretrievably lost gothic city (image 3.7). Urban change in these examples took

⁵⁵ 'Traditionsinseln' – Urban islands of tradition (author's translation).

paradoxically opposite directions, as the challenge considers implementation of *fake* 'new old', into the existing and *real* 'old new' urban environment.⁵⁶



Image 3.7.

Two faces of a city: developing skyline and a model for upcoming reconstruction in Frankfurt
Author's photos, 2014-04-04 & 2011-05-30

As derived from physical substance, and with strongholds in history and context, urban identity is grasped as inherited from the past and is thus often difficult to realize that our generations (should) also provide certain contribution (Koolhaas & Mau, 1995). One-sidedly 'keeping in keeping' approach could be considered just as the same negative as extreme disregard for established place-identities in architectural culture, which Rem Koolhaas explicitly described as 'fuck the context' (Watson and Bentley, 2007; 12-14). Integration of a new building or a whole new block into an existing environment – sometimes improperly called 'fitting in' (Carmona et al., 2010: 152) – is therefore a complex and problematic area of contemporary urban planning, involving both harmonisation with the surroundings, and retaining its own qualities. In these frames, the Royal Fine Art Commission (RFAC) defined six criteria for 'good buildings', where besides order and unity, expression, integrity, plan and section, and detail, the importance of positive integration of a new building into the existing environment is also stressed, as sixth criterion (Carmona et al., 2010: 149-158). Such harmonisation of a building with its surroundings involves, in most instances, subservient position of a single building in relation to the needs and character of a place as a whole. However, too much emphasis on stylistic dimension of integration denies the opportunity for innovation and excitement (: 154). "A few buildings can, quite legitimately, be soloist, but the majority need simply to be sound, reliable members of the chorus. While there are occasional needs for 'prima-donna', the greater

⁵⁶ Ada Louise Huxtable (1997) introduced the concepts of 'real' and 'fake' in urban environments.

need is for a better vocabulary of well-designed, interesting ‘back-cloth’ buildings” (Tibbalds⁵⁷ in Carmona et. al., 2010: 152). Nevertheless, there are the three proper approaches generally defined regarding the creation of *harmonious* relationship between new developments and existing environments – even if such an issue certainly carries a highly subjective prefix (Carmona et al., 2010: 154-158). These options are the following:

- a. *Stylistic uniformity*, expressed through *imitation* of local character architecture to a certain level;
- b. *Continuity*, involving *interpretation* of the local architectural character instead of its simple imitation;
- c. *Juxtaposition or contrast*, in contrast to stylistic uniformity, includes involvement of a completely new design with only a few connections with the present architectural character (image 3.8).



Image 3.8.

The examples of iconic contextual juxtaposition

Left: 'Dancing House' by Frank Gehry; Prague, Czech Republic. Author's photo, 2008-01. Right: Art Museum by Cook & Fournier; Graz, Austria. Photo by Marion Schneider & Christoph Aistleitner, 2006; CC BY-SA 2.5. Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org>, 2012-12-03

Regardless of the approach, Watson and Bentley generally suggested “the use of the best available, most up-to-date knowledge to construct a better world, without being held back by outworn conventions” (Watson and Bentley, 2007: 270). This means that the appropriateness of new forms in urban design regarding the old ones should reflect itself in “the extent to which they help produce a better world, rather than how ‘new’ they are” (Watson and Bentley, 2007: 270). In contrast, mobilisation of the best knowledge available is required to face up current designer challenges, such as achieving urban identity. For these reasons, Watson

⁵⁷ Tibbalds, F. (1992) *Place Matters Most* in Tibbalds, F. (1992) *Making People-Friendly Towns: Improving the Public Environment in Towns and Cities*, Longman, Harlow, 1-17: 16.

and Bentley advocate for high evaluation of *innovation* in design, as it addresses current problems the best, without necessarily relying on precedents or tradition. However, there is certainly still a danger for contemporary innovative design to fall into the trap of ‘nostalgia for the new’ that results with non-unrestrained, but fearful design culture of low expectations, or ‘tradition of the new’, which sets free from arid tradition by contrast, and is generally anti-innovative. (Watson and Bentley, 2007: 269-270).

New buildings, groups of buildings, or a whole block introduced in an area can certainly enhance its overall quality, but also the opposite can occur, where complementary integration will lead to a loss of environmental qualities – earlier decisions for preservation in the same area can in such situations be regarded as out of date. Coordination of preservation activities with renewal and change will turn the question of preservation into a question of creating new or additional environmental qualities and increase the cultural value within the area in question (Nyström, 1999). The interaction between built heritage, as a representation of existing, historic and traditional urban identity, and the involvement of newly built structures within the existing urban fabric, can therefore result with opposed conflicting or compromising interaction, reaching till its complementation and contribution to the existing environment. In this regard, the Vienna Memorandum on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture recognizes as “the central challenge of contemporary architecture in the historic urban landscape (...) to respond to development dynamics in order to facilitate socio-economic changes and growth on the one hand, while simultaneously respecting the inherited townscape and its landscape setting on the other” (Vienna Memorandum on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture, 2005).

3.2.3. Global-Local Dichotomy and Urban Identity Crisis

The early appearance of *urban identity crisis*⁵⁸ in the so-called ‘Western World’ was noted back in the post-war period, and described as a certain ‘loss of place’ that occurred when the qualities which ‘traditionally distinguished human settlements’ (Norberg-Schulz, 1980: 189) were lost in the war destructions or during reconstruction (Mitscherlich, 1965). According to Norberg-Schulz, “the loss of place is first of all felt on the urban level, and is (...) connected with the loss of the spatial structures which secure the identity of a settlement” (1980: 194). Although

⁵⁸ As a parallel to personal identity crisis, psychologist Erik Erikson defined this phenomenon as “the condition of being uncertain of one’s feelings about oneself, especially with regard to character, goals, and origins, occurring especially in adolescence as a result of growing up under disruptive, fast-changing conditions.” (Fearon, 1999: 9-10) In addition, De Benoist stated that the problem of personal identification is relatively new, and could be understood as a representative of modern age, for it does not and cannot exist in traditional societies. (De Benoist, 2004: 47).

this issue significantly evolved until present days, it still refers to the question of securing urban recognisability.

Post-war development of Western Europe was generally characterized by the new residential blocks, constructed outside the central urban zones, while urban centres remained preserved or reconstructed to resemble the state before the war. In contrast, the massive, radical urban renewal occurred in the U.S., involving replacement of many historic urban quarters by residential blocks, towers, and shopping quarters. However, post-war development both in the U.S. and Western Europe was heavily criticized because of built heritage degradation and demolition, social segregation, decreasing of public sector, lack of interest for the environment, aesthetic monotony and even 'complete ugliness' (Ellin, 2002: 204-205). The newly built modernistic settlements were accused of providing nothing but the feeling of 'nowhere', as they lost their enclosure and density in spatial sense, while their character was often distinguished by monotony (Norberg-Schulz, 1980: 189-190). Mitscherlich considered that post-war urban development made European cities generally *inhospitable* (1965: 9-17), emphasizing at the same time that planners missed the outstanding opportunity to build new, better-designed cities⁵⁹ (Mitscherlich, 1965: 15). The failure⁵⁹ of the post war development, which was the trigger for the early identity crisis of the cities, was primarily the consequence of high urgency for reconstruction and development, various political and economic factors, and involvement of massive, industrial production in planning profession. International style was even later generally criticized as a contributing factor to identity loss, as ignoring local or regional qualities (Norberg-Schulz, 1980: 194). Nowadays, cities are certainly in despairing need for distinguished characteristics and recognizable identity. However, every new development and redevelopment affects the old fabric and socio-economic character of towns and cities, tending to violate the vernacular built environment, cultural values and collective memory of its inhabitants (Yasin Chohan & Wai Ki, 2005). Efforts to produce an attractive urban environment are often ignoring social and cultural aspects, with rush towards articulation on world market, or simply by copying from another city (Ostergren and Rice, 2004; Gospodini, 2002). King (2004: 23-25) noticed, that the emerging world of global culture nowadays means the creation of a *global* identity, which contrasts previously established historical and traditional identities of cities that were subordinated to the *local* conditions. In other words, shrinking global village with an overall universalization trend that came along, caused the image of contemporary metropolis to go global and became more or less the same everywhere (images 3.9; 3.10), as already elaborated in the subsection 3.1.2.

⁵⁹ „Wir haben nach dem Krieg die Chance, klüger durchdachte, eigentlich neue Städte zu bauen, vertan.“ (Mitscherlich, 1965: 15; author's translation)



Image 3.9.

Dubai in 1991 (left) and 2005 (right)

Source: www.dubai.com 2012-10-07

The issues of urban identity loss are nowadays largely discussed through the prism of *global-local dichotomy*, referring to the pro- or anti-globalization discourses, in terms of how global city imaginaries are influencing local character of cities worldwide. On the one side, looking back on the early years of globalization theories, ‘the global’ and ‘the local’ were seen as mutually exclusive, while globalization was often blamed for making places all over the world become more similar to each other – respectively more similar to western models (Robertson, 1995: 25). ‘The local’ aspect was either seen as authentic and thus in need to be preserved, or indigenous and backward and thus in need to be overcome. The ‘global’ equivalent was, regardless of its positive or negative connotation, exclusively seen as ‘progressive’ (Robertson & Khondker, 1998: 28). However, ‘the global’ and ‘the local’ were later conceptualized in different ways. Although conflicting in some situations, homogenization and heterogenization are no longer seen as exclusively opposing trends;⁶⁰ “the global is not in and of itself counterposed to the local. Rather, what is often referred to as the local is essentially included within the global” (Robertson, 1995: 35). The production of new type of diversity in the frames of ‘transculturality’⁶¹ thus contains both of the globalizing tendencies, as well as specificity and particularity, although no longer complying with geographical stipulations (Welsch, 1999: 204f). Some authors called such a phenomena ‘hybridisation’, describing it as a concept related to global cultural change, best understood “(...) as the fusion of different elements, resulting in the creation of new entities” (Broudehoux in AlSayyad, 2001b: 157). Similarly, Pieterse considered ‘hybridisation’ as a social and cultural response to globalizing processes occurring (Pieterse, 1995: 64). The new, post-colonial transitional or hybrid identities are allegedly emerging under the outstanding influence of the U.S., as principal driving force of globalisation, and these

⁶⁰ The term ‘glocalization’ (Robertson, 1992), taken over from Japanese business practice, was to describe such interplay between the universal and the particular.

⁶¹ Welsch (1999: 197) uses the term ‘transculturality’ to address interactions between local and global, and homogeneity and diversity, under the umbrella of extremely interconnected and entangled contemporary cultures, as a result of inner differentiation and complexity.

processes are occurring in the places where civilisations intersect; so called 'third-spaces'. "The idea of third space seems to indicate a resolution of difference, a clear and fixed alternative free of contradictions – a borderland with its own identity" (Roy in AlSayyad, 2001b: 239). Finally, such approaches are pointing out to more complex constellations between 'global' and 'local' that are far more complex than a simple juxtaposition.



Image 3.10.

The scope of changes in Shanghai from 1990 to 2010

Source: www.gizmodo.de 2012-10-07

In the context of pro-globalization discourses, the construction of locality also was subject to another interpretation. Robertson assumed that globalization doesn't override locality, but it in fact involves linking of localities, to an extent of 'inventing' locality and tradition. In addition, such local distinctiveness and rise of particularism could also be considered as a reaction to globalization processes (Robertson, 1995: 35-38). Robertson also opposed consideration of globalization as synonym with westernisation and modernization, as on the one side these processes are more complex than being only unidirectional, while on the other transferred ideas are not adopted on exactly the same way in every place (Robertson, 1995: 30). Similarly, Czarniawska interpreted globalization as *translocalization*, consisting of "local practices, ideas, customs, and technologies that are spreading to localities beyond their origins – spreading, in fact, all over the globe" (2002: 7). As translation always involves transformation (Czarniawska & Sevón, 2005: 9), meaning what is imitated needs to be 'disembedded' from its original context and 're-embedded' in a new locality, thus, results can never be identical to the original (Czarniawska, 2002: 12). "Things moved from one place to another cannot emerge unchanged, to set something new into a new place is to construct it anew" (Czarniawska & Sevón, 2005: 9). In other words, Czarniawska assumed that although the impact of role models is enormous, it is always counterbalanced by an understanding of 'the local', that assumes different forms. Errors of translation are additional cause of diversification that cannot be avoided, even when attempting to imitate exactly (Czarniawska, 2002: 11ff).

However, seen from the opposite point of view, some negative effects of globalization on cities and their identity certainly couldn't be ignored. The involvement of new technologies indeed contributed to the flow speed of people and information, but on the other hand they deeply changed the understanding of the time, space, way of life, feeling of community and even personal perception. Knowledge, information and fun are increasingly perceived through mass media rather than as a result of personal/social experience, which imposed a new kind of reality. Ellin stressed that if history was the victim of the first generation of post-war development, the victim of the second generation was surely *reality*.⁶² Therefore is not surprising that the greatest damage within modern cities was suffered by public spaces, which as important factors in identity of an urban environment are facing certain erosion. Such devastation is also supported by the introduction of shopping malls, as new, privately owned and managed 'public' spaces (Aurigi and Graham, 1997). In this way, damage is caused to a city's potential to stimulate communication and exchange through its authentic public spaces, which found itself facing a crisis of its own.⁶³ However, the problem of identity crisis affecting contemporary city is, according to some authors, a far more complex issue.

Castells (2000) refers to the contemporary concept of 'global city' that as such exists only as imaginary role model, but is in fact not a *particular* city.⁶⁴ This concept thus favours reproduction of 'generic urbanism', which creates urban forms that are certainly no longer specific to an urban context. Such generic environments are also often involving "(...) 'non places', which have a uniform brand environment worldwide, buttressed by privatized infrastructural, security and cultural networks: multiplexes and carefully controlled shopping areas" (Sundaram, 2007: 52, referring to Marc Augé's concept of non-places⁶⁵). In order to illustrate the trend of 'all the same' features, Koolhaas and Mau introduced a similar concept of 'Generic City', drawing a comparison between contemporary city and the contemporary airport. "Is it possible to theorize this convergence? And if so, to what ultimate configuration is it aspiring? Convergence is possible only at the price of shedding identity. That is usually seen as a loss. But at the scale at which it occurs, it *must* mean something. What are the disadvantages of identity, and conversely, what are the advantages of blankness? What if this seemingly accidental – and usually regretted – homogenization were an intentional process, a conscious movement away from difference toward similarity? What if we are witnessing a global liberation

⁶² Based on the article by Solomon Daniel *Fixing Suburbia*, published in *The Pedestrian Pocket Book* (1989; edited by Dough Kelbaugh), Princeton Architectural Press, New York, pp. 21-33.

⁶³ A comprehensive study "STARS – Stadträume in Spannungsfeldern" on public spaces in contemporary European cities, on the example of Aachen, Hannover and Leipzig, was conducted in 2010/2011 as a project supported by DFG (Ulrich Berding, Antje Havemann, Juliane Pegels, Bettina Perenthaler).

⁶⁴ "The global city, in the strict analytical sense, is not any particular city. And empirically it extends to spaces located in many cities around the world, some extra large, others large, and still others not so large. (...) Globalized segments of Manhattan are linked to other spaces around the world, which are connected in networks of global management, while being loosely connected to their territorial hinterland" (Castells, 2000: 696).

⁶⁵ Augé, M. (1995) *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, Verso, London.

movement: “down with the character!” What is left after identity is stripped? The Generic?” (Koolhaas & Mau, 1995: 1248). Such a ‘Generic City’ of today, according to Koolhaas and Mau, is liberated from many features that normally characterized ‘classical’ cities, like captivity of its centre and bonds of identity. Instead, ‘Generic City’ breaks with *destructive* cycle of dependency and turns into a functional city without history that reflects present needs. As a consequence, “(i)t is equally exciting – or unexciting – everywhere. It is “superficial” – like a Hollywood studio lot, it can produce a new identity every Monday morning” (Koolhaas & Mau, 1995: 1250). Aside from cities in America, these cities also exist in Asia, Europe, Australia, or Africa nowadays, and as such are in favour of the theories on certain urban uniformity that is occurring on a global level.

Rem Koolhaas (2002) later also used the term ‘Junkspace’ to describe such a landscape that modern global architecture allegedly unintentionally produced. Such a space cancels distinctions and leads to general fusion, systematically eroding the credibility of buildings and further degrading urban environment. Illustrating its impact on urban distinctiveness, Koolhaas claimed that “(b)ecause it cannot be grasped, Junkspace cannot be remembered” (Koolhaas, 2002: 177). In addition, anti-globalisation perspective of cities globally also involves transformation of their localities “(...) by disconnecting them from their ties to nation-states, national legislation systems, local political cultures, and everyday place-making practices” (Smith, 2001: 58). Therefore, such a striking and increasing influence of present globalization, along with economic monopolization, internationalization of capital, and urban competitiveness, has seriously broadened the challenges for maintaining local context of contemporary urban environments.

Besides being described as a general universalization trend, there are still some major differences between U.S. American and European cities to be determined. Castells in his ‘Informational City’ (1989) refers to the impact of informational technology, economic restructuring, and the urban-regional process primarily in U.S. American cities, whose profile involves the relationship between inner-city decay, fast exurban development, and obsolescence of the suburban built development. However, when later referring to European cities, Castells (1996) claimed that they “(...) have entered the Information Age along a different line of spatial restructuring linked to their historical heritage, although finding new issues, not always dissimilar to those emerging in the American context” (Castells, 1996: 431). The new urban dynamics of European metropolitan areas are constituted by a number of trends, where, unlike in U.S. cities, business centre “(...) does not exist by itself but by its connection to other equivalent locales organized in a network that forms the actual unit of management, innovation, and work” (Castells, 1996: 432). In addition, segregation in European cities is generally less evident, while central areas are still shaped by their history (Castells, 1996: 431-434). Some variations are however still to be found, depending on the different roles in the European

network of cities; “(t)he lower their position in the new informational network, the greater the difficulty of their transition from the industrial stage, and the more traditional will be their urban structure, with old-established neighbourhoods and commercial quarters playing the determinant role in the dynamics of the city. On the other hand, the higher position in the competitive structure of the new European community, the greater the role of their advanced services in the business district, and the more intense will be the restructuring of urban space” (Castells, 1996: 433).



Image 3.11.

Heritage, history and place manipulation in cities: completely reconstructed *Neumarkt* in Dresden, Germany (left) and *Paris Las Vegas* hotel and casino complex in Las Vegas, USA (right)
 Left: photo by X-Weinzar, 2011-05-18, CC-BY-SA-3.0. Right: photo by Thinbofater, 2006-04-16, CC-BY-2.0.
 Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org> 2014-04-18

Another kind of manifestation of urban identity crisis involves an opposite postmodern standpoint, which instead of adopting ‘global city’ imaginaries expresses dissatisfaction with the present, and lends from the past instead (image 3.11). According to Castells, disjunction between functional flows and historically determined places creates new form of space, the space of flows, where as a certain paradox “people live in places, power rules through flows” (Castells, 1989: 349). Certain nostalgia for the world that is lost appeared therefore with the gradual decrease of the importance of place, *genius loci*, and with the simultaneous strengthening of the *flow* of people, ideas, capital and mass media importance (Ellin, 2002). This feeling of loss caused not only romantic revival of traditional values, but also growing trend for protection or revival of the old cities, as well as construction of the new cities that often *look like the old ones*. In the world that becomes more and more homogeneous and standardized, a sudden look back in history could be explained as a wish to return to the origins, nature, archetypes – to a state that is lost, and these nostalgic motives could be interpreted as another way to response the sudden changes and globalization (Ellin, 2002: 116). However, such lending from the past often proved to be wrong and inappropriate (Huxtable, 1997; Roost, 2000; image 3.11), as it usually involves evaluation and idealisation of the selected past, while

ignoring and erasing less suitable ones (Ellin, 2002: 141). Movements for preserving or reviving tradition usually never preserve the past, but develop interest-driven *invented tradition*⁶⁶ instead (Ellin, 2002: 120). As a post-modern trend in urban planning, inventing tradition has its goals in re-creation of history, which erases its modern chapters and re-evaluates and idealizes periods before modern movement. This way of tradition manipulation in many cases results with 'hyper real' surroundings, which are a complete falsification of reality (Ellin, 2002: 146), and as such another serious threat for certain 'authenticity' of urban identity. However, in such a global atmosphere where even authenticity becomes a questionable category, it seems that contemporary cities need to find the way to reduce the risks bound up with the tendency to fall back on their heritage and roots, as they face an identity crisis (Sepe, 2010).

3.2.4. Urban Identity Building through Innovative Design

As previously considered, contemporary global circumstances are causing gradual deterioration and loss of traditional urban identities, although cities are striving to remain somewhat different, also as globalization paradoxically brought up concerns with identity (Welsch, 1999: 204; Robertson, 1995: 37). However, simple continuation of architectural tradition, besides the preservation of the existing heritage, is no longer considered as appropriate in urban identity building conducted through architecture and urbanism (Will, 2009: 14). Contemporary post-modern architecture therefore found itself facing the challenge of creating diversity and simultaneously of establishing a 'sense of place' through planning and development decisions, although often being criticized for being almost meaningless and without unique features (Smyth, 2005: 228). Having opposite value typology in comparison to built heritage, only contemporary design that implies certain *distinctive qualities* seems to be able to correspond to such a purpose. Thus, contemporary design with innovative qualities came under the global spotlight as a possible new, post-modern iconic alternative for place-identity building (Gospodini, 2002).

Design innovations throughout history, both within architectural forms or urban schemes, were always a result of economic growth of cities or countries. In the era of economic globalisation, a reverse process is occurring, where innovative design schemes became a powerful medium to attract economic development of cities instead (Gospodini, 2002: 30). Such an outstanding contemporary architecture, which strongly influences the general appearance of its surroundings, is often identified with the term *iconic*. Sklair defined such architecture as

⁶⁶ The term 'invented tradition' is by Eric Hobsbawm, mentioned in his book released in 1983 *Inventing Traditions. Mass Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914*.

'famous', involving special meaning, symbolic for its culture and/or time, and carrying an aesthetic component, which makes it worthy to represent what is meant to be represented; a "(...) unique combination of fame, symbolism and aesthetic quality that creates the icon" (Sklair, 2011: 180). The production of contemporary iconic architecture was heavily influenced by the global recession in real estate at the end of the 1980-es, which eliminated local constructors and favoured global capital. Thus a new trend was created, based on the power of symbolism, and manifested in hiring 'star' architects for designing a building with corporate identity in an attractive form that significantly helped its positioning and sale on the market (Ellin, 2002: 213-219). Nowadays, 'signature architecture' is characterized by the great importance globally, in contrast to certain crisis in relevance of the postmodern architecture. Automation of the planning process as a result of new technologies and industrialization in the project realization process, made buildings-copies a rule in contemporary cities (Ellin, 2002: 213-219). The value of 'signature architecture' was thus in its turning back to the essence of the architectural praxis. The important facilitator of such architecture remained transnational capitalist class (Sklair, 2011: 191), although "governance at the various levels is a key agent in the global/local interaction and a major element in determining the different ways cities adapt to change" (Newman & Thornley, 2005: 5). Innovative and 'signature architecture' was thus strongly supported by the practice of commissioning famous architects by civic leaders to produce a landmark structure, in order to raise a city's international profile and boost its position on global competitiveness stage.



Image 3.12.

Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, designed by Frank Gehry in 1997.
Photo by MykReeve, 2005-01-14, CC BY-SA 3.0. Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org>, 2012-11-26

'Star' architects or 'starchitects' and the power of their designs are praised and glorified by many; Klingmann explains this phenomenon in the following way: "today, the admiration of

the world is no longer directed at the pilots of transatlantic airliners: instead our great heroes are global architects. Aerospace and electronic communications have long since solved the problem of linking the five continents into a coherent whole: the new task is to create new identities for the patchwork of old and new cities caught up in the one-world network of a globalized future” (Klingmann, 2003: 1). However, some recent criticism, grounded on a debate about the purpose of architecture and signature-architects, made this term fall into disrepute lately. Urban megaprojects, such as large events or large projects, are allowing materialization and desired visions for the city and urban imaginaries of the future. Large projects have a goal to increase the recognition factor and unique features of cities in times when suburban sprawl drowns the nuclear city structure, making the cities generally become invisible. Urban development therefore tries to oppose such trends, creating an environment with highlighted central sights, and providing an urban landscape that citizens can identify with (Häußermann & Siebel, 1993: 15; Kong, 2007: 386). However, this intention doesn’t always bring desired results, as both festivals and signature architecture are unspecific, and can be staged or built at any place at the expense of local specificity, which reduces locality to a random combination of universally available components of urban culture (Häußermann & Siebel, 1993: 28f). In some extreme cases, certain authors even linked ‘starchitects’ with monopolized design competitions, as well as with edifices that doesn’t always seem to address programmatic or functional needs very well, with their sustainability credentials in question – some even considered as harmful additions to their surrounding environment (Iffrig, 2008; Thomas, 2002). However, such claims could certainly be regarded as highly questionable.

The most important positive effects of iconic and/or signature architecture were on the other hand already proven within flagship developments, adopted by policy creators during the 1980-es and early 1990-es (Smyth, 2005: 18-19; 84). The role of flagship projects usually play well-recognizable landmarks of innovative design, with the prime purpose of providing an advertising base and of drawing attention to the development of an area, city or even a whole region. As initiators of further investments and development, iconic architecture in such contexts play an important role in urban image-making and marketing, and therefore hold certain primacy in creation and control of sense of a place (Smyth, 2005: 84; 228). Design that is working as a landmark and place-identity generator became a key factor for many cities to attract new enterprises, residents and urban tourists, making urban morphology itself a sightseeing, tourism and economic resource (Gospodini, 2002: 31). One of the best-known examples to illustrate iconic ‘starchitecture’ impact on urban and economic renewal, through significant change and contribution to urban image and identity, is the Basque capital, Bilbao. The New York Times even labelled this outstanding urban, economic, political and cultural transformation as ‘Miracle in Bilbao’ (Zulaika, 2000: 262).



Image 3.13.

Metro station in Bilbao by Foster and Partners

Photo by Ardo Beltz, 2006-01-22, CC BY-SA 3.0. Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org>, 2014-03-30

Stumbling post-industrial Bilbao launched an ambitious \$1.5 billion urban renewal plan, aiming to improve port and transportation facilities, involving construction of the subway system and expansion of the airport (Knox, 2012: 12-17). The plan was actually focused upon redevelopment of the former industrial area *Abandoibarra* on the riverfront, which included construction of an office and shopping mall complex, a conference and concert hall, and the Guggenheim museum Bilbao, with the two prime emblematic projects: Frank Gehry's iconic museum building itself (image 3.12) and Sir Norman Foster's metro (image 3.13). The city came under the global spotlight with the completion of the sculptural iconic museum building in 1997, which had the role to serve as a link with global circuits, lifting up the relatively small city with 350,000 inhabitants among one of only five cities in the world having such a prestigious museum (besides New York, Venice, Berlin and Las Vegas). However, the 'cultural' concerns were not the main ones, but to change the regional image in order to trigger urban regeneration; the city in fact needed to cope with changes on the global level, striving to establish flows and transnational connections with the world economy and local developments, and to position itself among the global cities. As the new ideology of urban regeneration is strongly image-oriented, the flagship project had the role to promote industrial, infrastructural and transformative economies. Bilbao opted for 'project-based' globalisation (Del Cerro Santamaría, 2011: 102), through creation of "(...) the newly imagined, global postmodern space of late capitalism" (Zulaika, 2000: 266). Such 'urban boosterism' (Del Cerro Santamaría, 2011: 103), among others,⁶⁷ came to be of importance for development of the city and whole Basque region, and it

⁶⁷ Knox (2012) noticed that the strategy, however, failed to attract significant amount of international capital, and it ignored and even compounded social polarization and gentrification. The emphasis on iconic structure and aestheticized urban design masked structural problems of social inequality, affordable housing, or inadequate educational and health care facilities (Knox, 2012: 17).

illustrates the fundamental role of iconic, spectacular architecture worldwide for development, creating new spaces and identities through rescaling the territorial significance.⁶⁸

Architectural icons doubtlessly have the power to create, express, and market urban, national and global identities (Sklair, 2011), which is not an exception in the era of contemporary architecture. As a place-identity generator, legitimating innovative design in European cities, according to Gospodini, "(...) might reduce the risk of contemporary European urban societies withdrawing towards their heritage and roots while enclosing and defending themselves in an age of identity crisis"; while "establishing innovative design of urban space as a place-identity generator would at a certain degree internationalise urban morphology in European cities" (Gospodini, 2002: 33). As landmarks and place-identity generators, innovative design schemes are therefore complementing and closely co-existing with local built heritage, both having the potential to promote the city's economic development. Contemporary architecture therefore also owns the potential to contribute to urban identity building, often in symbiosis with other new-age phenomena such as marketing, and at the same time facilitating the process of integration of cities into a global urban system. Finally, "it is important to distinguish the role of architectural icons in the deliberate creation of new identities from attempts to represent old and, invariably, contested identities" (Sklair, 2011: 189).

⁶⁸ In terms of rescaling "(...)local into regional into national into global"; Del Cerro Santamaría, 2011: 103.

Part II:

EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS & COMPARISON

Frankfurt Case Study Analysis

4.1. Frankfurt in the Contexts of its Identity

4.1.1. Location, Demographics and Economy Overview

Frankfurt lies on both sides of the river Main, southeast of the Taunus mountain range, in south-western Germany (image 4.1). The 'smallest metropolis in the world'⁶⁹ is in fact the largest city of German state of Hessen, and the fifth largest of the 'big five' German cities - after Berlin, Hamburg, Munich and Düsseldorf. According to official statistics,⁷⁰ the city occupies an area of 248,31 km² in the central zone of the densely populated Frankfurt Rhine-Main Metropolitan Region (*Rhein-Main-Gebiet*), which is, after the Rhine-Ruhr region and Berlin-Brandenburg,⁷¹ the third-largest urban agglomeration in Germany (image 4.2).

The city officially had a population of 679,571 in 2011,⁷² which follows a slightly rising trend, estimating 725,000 in 2020.⁷³ Highly mixed and multicultural composition of the urban population is illustrated by the high number⁷⁴ of foreigners, with more than 170 different

⁶⁹ The former mayor of Frankfurt, Petra Roth, used to refer the city as the world's smallest metropolis; „Frankfurt als kleinste Metropole der Welt“. Source: <http://www.frankfurt-main.ihk.de>; 2012-12-12

⁷⁰ Data refer to 2009. Source: <http://www.frankfurt.de/>; 2012-12-12

⁷¹ The Frankfurt Rhine-Main region itself was listed as having a “leading role” among eleven German metropolitan regions in the Report of the Federal Government on Regional Policy 2005, due to its international importance as a convention and financial centre, service location and transportation hub. In 2009, Frankfurt Rhine-Main Metropolitan Region had 5,5 million inhabitants. Source: Metropolregion FrankfurtRheinMain, www.region-frankfurt.de 2012-10-22

⁷² *Demographia; World Urban Areas (World Agglomerations)*, 7th Annual Edition from April 2011: 15. (<http://www.demographia.com/>) 2012-10-22

⁷³ Source: <http://www.frankfurt.de/> 2012-10-22

⁷⁴ In 2011 were 166,177 officially registered foreigners in Frankfurt. Source: Data Facts Figures, Frankfurt am Main 2011/2012

nationalities,⁷⁵ which represents 24,3% of Frankfurt's total population. In addition, nearly 40% of the citizens are immigrant descendants⁷⁶ - mostly of Turkish and Eastern European origins.

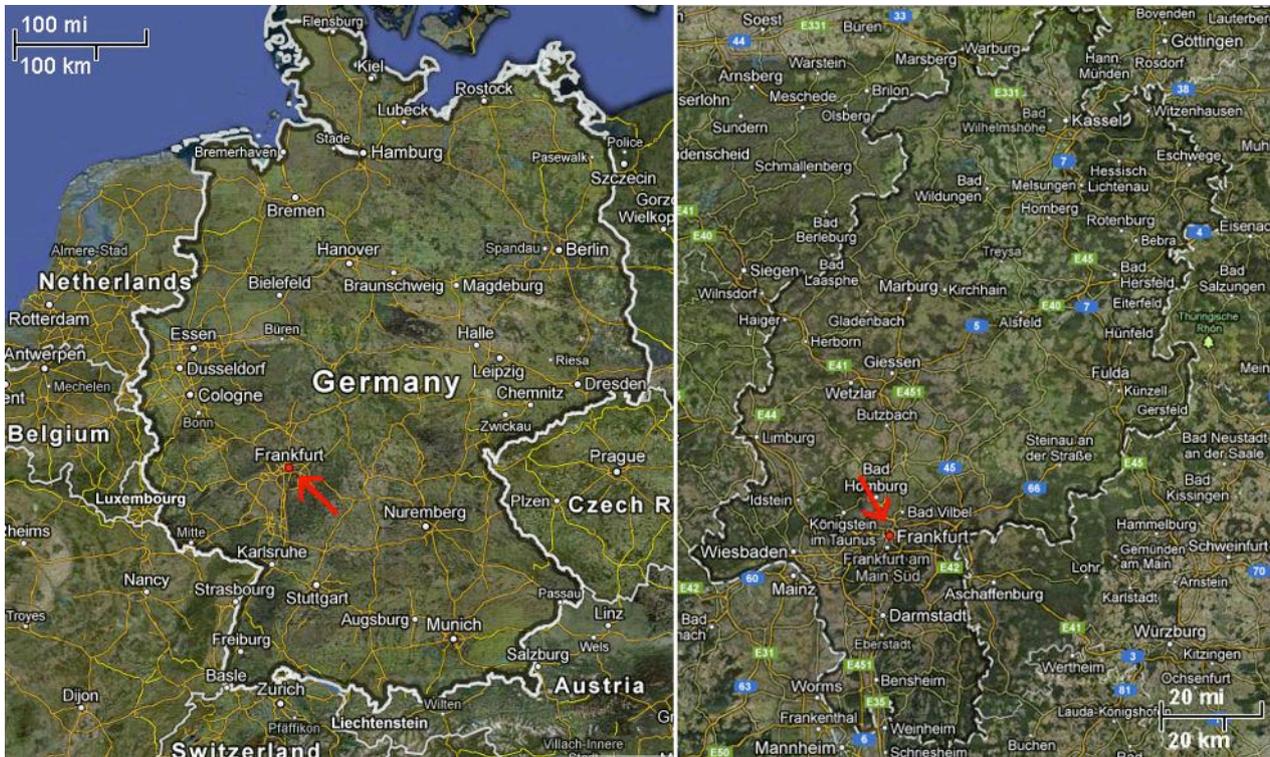


Image 4.1.

Frankfurt location within Germany (left) and within the federal State of Hessen (right)

© 2014 TerraMetrics & © 2014 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (© 2009), Google
 Source: <https://maps.google.de> with author's additions, 2012-11-13

In regard of economic development, Frankfurt is regarded as an important transportation hub, and an international centre for commerce, culture, transportation, education and tourism. Due to the high concentration of important financial institutions, the city is not only the financial centre of Germany and continental Europe, but also one of the most important global financial players (Sassen, 1999; Grote, 2002; 2008). According to the data from 2010, almost 220 domestic and foreign financial institutions had their headquarters based in Frankfurt,⁷⁷ including German Federal Bank (*Deutsche Bundesbank*), European Central Bank and the stock exchange that is ranked fourth in the world (Grote, 2002: 81). According to the survey by Helaba Research from 2011,⁷⁸ the city still strongly attracts domestic and foreign investors due to not only its reputation as an important financial and economy centre, but also to other advantages, such as proximity to important players, its function as a 'hub', quality of life and

⁷⁵ *Financial Centre Frankfurt: A Magnet for Foreign Banks* (2011): 7.

⁷⁶ *Neue Daten zur Migration in Deutschland verfügbar*, 2007. (source: <http://www.destatis.de/>)

⁷⁷ *Financial Centre Frankfurt: A Magnet for Foreign Banks* (2011): 6.

⁷⁸ *Financial Centre Frankfurt: A Magnet for Foreign Banks* (2011): 16.

location-specific qualities. Besides financial and banking sector, Frankfurt is the seat of many other important global operators, such as of Frankfurt Trade Fair and Frankfurt International Airport. Germany's busiest commercial airport and the countries' largest employment complex⁷⁹ ranked third in Europe regarding passenger count and second regarding freight sector for 2011.⁸⁰ Such a concentration of capital and activities within the city is reflected in its Gross Domestic Product, reaching approximately EUR 205,5 billion for 2008 for the Frankfurt Rhine Main Metropolitan region, which makes about 8,2% of Germany's total GDP.⁸¹

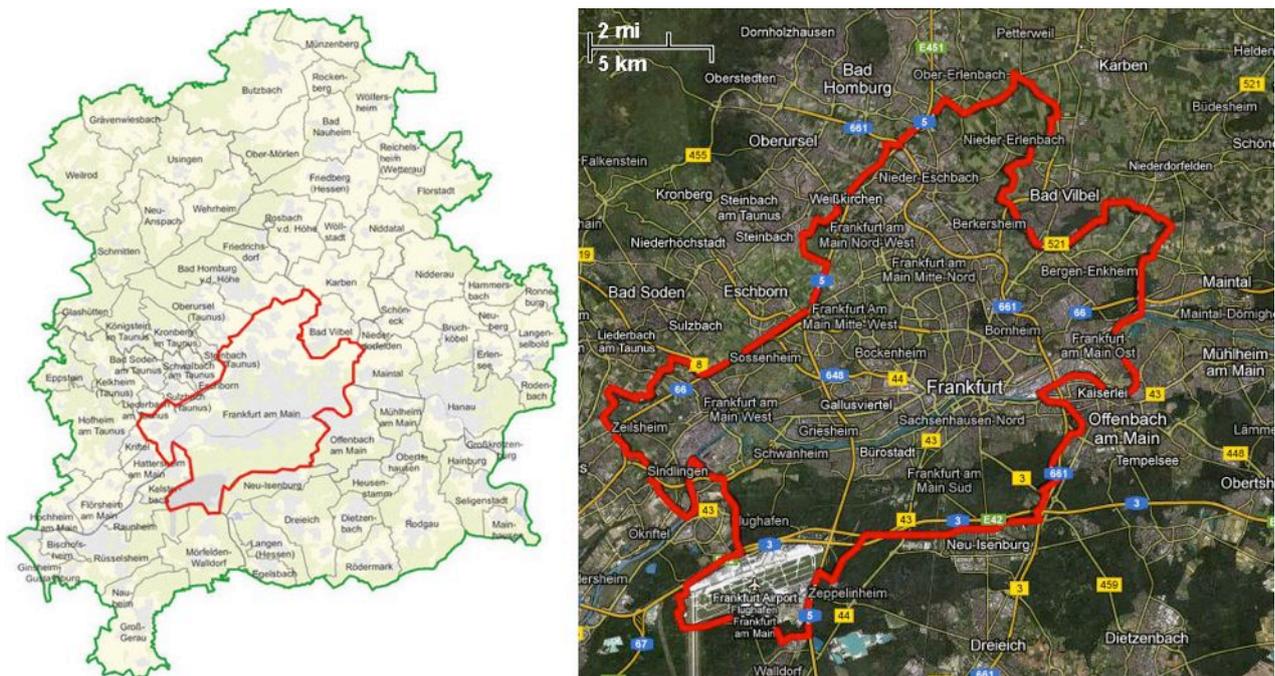


Image 4.2.

Regional Association FrankfurtRheinMain Area (left) and Frankfurt urban area (right)

Left: © *Regionalverband FrankfurtRheinMain*. Source: <http://www.region-frankfurt.de>. Right: © 2014 TerraMetrics & © 2014 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (© 2009), Google. Source: <https://maps.google.de>. Both with author's additions, 2012-11-13

Frankfurt is relatively successful regarding its positioning on competitive charts; it is officially listed as an alpha world city (category 3)⁸² by the Loughborough University group's 2008 inventory, making it the only German city besides Munich to reach the alpha category. Furthermore, it ranks among the top ten most 'liveable' cities in the world, according to Mercer Human Resource Consulting,⁸³ and is holding 20th place among global cities by Foreign Policy's

⁷⁹ Source: Fraport AG, www.fraport.com 2012-10-22

⁸⁰ Source: Fraport AG, www.fraport.com 2012-10-22

⁸¹ Source: Data Facts Figures, Frankfurt am Main 2011/2012

⁸² GaWC - The World According to GaWC 2008 (source: <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/>) 2012-10-22

⁸³ Quality of Living global city rankings 2010 – Mercer survey (<http://www.mercer.com/>) 2012-10-22

2010 Global Cities Index.⁸⁴ Finally, Frankfurt ranked 7th (2012) according to the International Financial Centres Development index.⁸⁵

4.1.2. Historical and Spatial Development Analysis

Frankfurt has a long and rich history of spatial development, marked not only by periodical rises and war destructions, but also by many, often contradictory planning decisions and actions. Altogether, these various factors determined directions for overall development of the city, and are still very present in the spatial structure of modern-day Frankfurt.

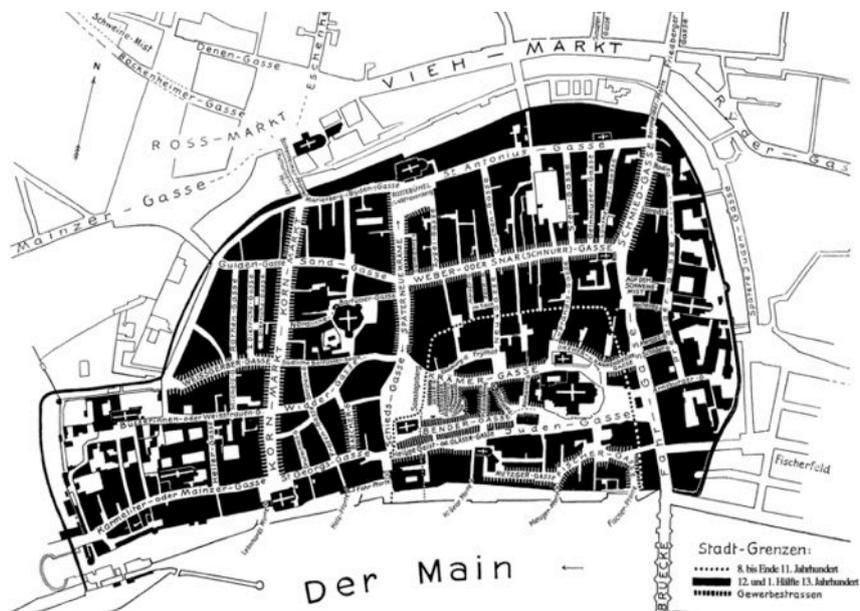


Image 4.3.
Altstadt Frankfurt around 1350 by Baldemar von Petterweil

The Cathedral Hill, as the city's seminal nucleus, is shown in the centre of the map, framed by a dotted line. Picture in the public domain. *Frankfurt am Main: Plan der Altstadt mit den vorhandenen Gebäuden und Straßennamen aus der Zeit um 1350 nach dem damals angelegten Straßenverzeichnis des Kanonikus des Bartholomäus-Stifts Baldemar von Petterweil.* Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org>, 2014-01-08

Although the first written document mentioning the Main metropolis dates from the very end of the 8th century⁸⁶ (Picard, 2011: 7), the Cathedral Hill (*Domhügel*) was probably settled as

⁸⁴ The 2010 Global Cities Index (<http://www.foreignpolicy.com/>) 2012-10-22

⁸⁵ Source: <http://www.djindexes.com> 2012-10-22

⁸⁶ Frankfurt was first mentioned in a document issued by Charlemagne on 22nd February 794, for the Regensburg monastery St. Emmeram. (City of Frankfurt am Main official website; City Portrait: History <http://www.frankfurt.de/> 2012-10-07)

early as since 3000 BC, but also in Roman times.⁸⁷ During the early middle Ages, it was already a permanently settled, considerably large city, whose importance particularly grew after Kaiser Charles the Great⁸⁸ built himself a royal court at the ‘Franconian Ford’. His son Ludwig⁸⁹ made Frankfurt the capital of the East Frankish Empire (Weidhaas, 2007: 12-13), built a larger palace and encircled the city with defensive walls and ditches in 838. The city’s official designation as coronation centre for German kings in 1147 (Weidhaas, 2007: 12) further stimulated economic growth and rising national importance, especially after the election and coronation of Frederick I Barbarossa king of Germany in 1152. The protective *Staufenmauer* wall that was completed by the end of the 12th century (image 4.3) limited further urban expansions until the new outer wall-ring was finished in the early 14th century (Picard, 2011: 7). Thus, similarly to other European cities of that time, restricted space within the fortification walls strongly influenced development of urban structures in medieval Frankfurt, which was characterized by narrow streets, irregular structure, and very high building density (images 4.3-4.5).



Image 4.4.

Frankfurt am Main before 1619: South-West view (detail)

Picture in the public domain. Merian, M.: *Topographia Hassiae et Regionum Vicinarum. Die Beschreibung der Freien Reichsstadt Frankfurt am Main*. Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org>, 2014-01-08

During the 16th century, Frankfurt profited from its high migration rates in economic, cultural and demographic terms mostly. The city was characterized by a great diversity of its inhabitants; about 10% were of Jewish origin, 10% were immigrants from Spanish Netherlands, and there was also a great deal of representatives of foreign trading houses and traders from northern Italy.⁹⁰ Followed by the invention of the printing press in nearby Mainz (Weidhaas,

⁸⁷ During the Roman era, further land developments were, and a military camp was established around 83 AD. The oldest part of Frankfurt’s *Altstadt* called *Römer*, permanently settled probably in the 1st century, was built on a higher, dry portion of the Main river swampy area. The Roman history of Frankfurt ended in the year 259/260, with the retreat of the Roman border to the west bank of the Rhine. (City Portrait: History <http://www.frankfurt.de/> 2012-10-07)

⁸⁸ Kaiser Charles the Great (742(?)–814), also known as *Charlemagne*, king of the Franks and Lombards, and emperor of the Carolingian Empire.

⁸⁹ Ludwig der Fromme or Louis the Pious (778-840) also called the Fair and the Debonaire; king of the Franks, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Aquitaine.

⁹⁰ *Maßstabssprung* (1999): 11.

2007), science, innovation, education and culture progressed in a highly competitive atmosphere among the cities of the region. At that time, Frankfurt established the most important book fair in Germany (Weidhaas, 2007: 13) that by the end of the 17th century became the most important book fair in Europe. However, in the period between 16th and 17th century, generally not many public planning was made, with the exception for the investments in transportation of goods infrastructure and fortification. There were also not many representative buildings erected during this period; instead, the existing ones were modernized and adapted.⁹¹ The tendency in the central parts of the city itself was rather towards further developing and upgrading the existing structures at the expense of spaciousness and comfort. Frankfurt of that time certainly had a rich variety of forms in culture of urban housing, as a consequence of rising immigration.

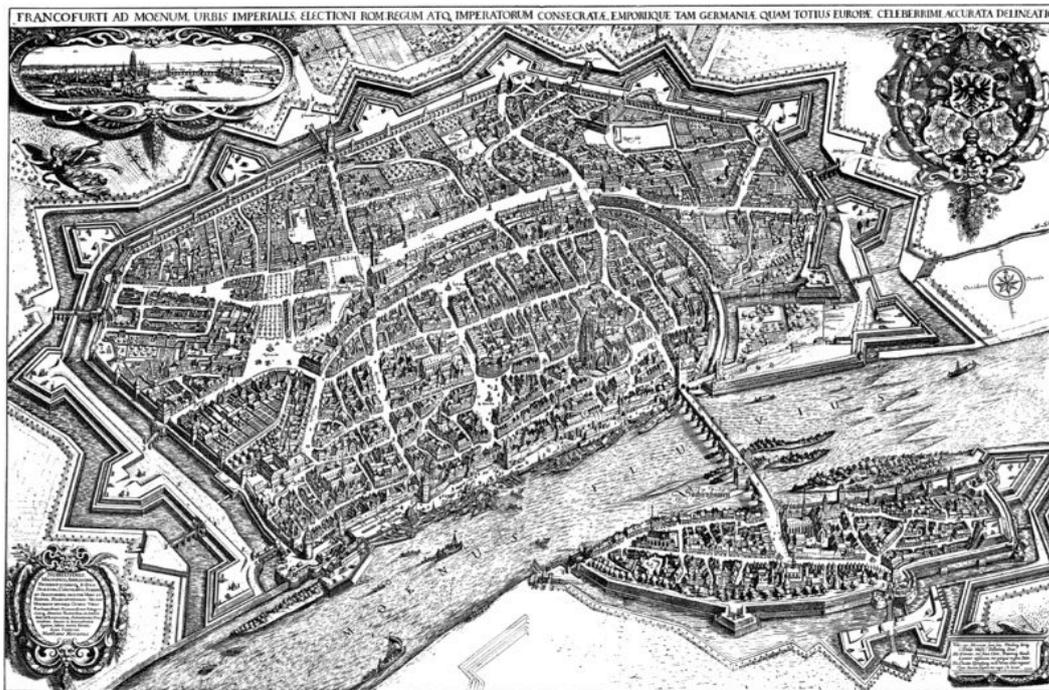


Image 4.5.

Frankfurt am Main in 1770, by Matthäus Merian

Picture in the public domain. Merian, M.: *Francofurti ad moenum, urbis imperialis, electioni rom. regum atque imperatorum consecratae, emporiique tam germaniae. Quam totius europae celeberrimi, accuratio declinatio.*

Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org>, 2014-01-08

Firm foundations for significant development that took place during the 19th century were laid during almost five centuries of privileges as a free city-state; first within the Holy Roman Empire (Free Imperial City, until 1806) and later in the German Confederation (1815-1866). Between these historical epochs, a new territorial organization occurred with the creation of

⁹¹ *Maßstabssprung* (1999): 11.

Grand Duchy of Frankfurt in 1810,⁹² when the city went through major structural changes. Until that point, most of the inhabitants lived within a small, enclosed area of approximately two square kilometres, while the zone outside the city walls, within the radius of 3-4 kilometres, was mostly used as agricultural land for many gardens and vineyards (so-called *Gärtnerreize*, Braun, 1977: 12). The first random urban sprawl was initiated by the final demolition of defensive walls in 1818 (Picard, 2011: 7; Braun, 1977: 10), supported by the rapid population growth that between 1820 and 1870 doubled the number of inhabitants from 40,000 to 80,000 (Picard, 2011: 7). The extensions beyond the former ramparts at first affected the surrounding agricultural areas, growing mostly along the old country roads (image 4.6). The law finally regulated these areas in 1849 (Braun, 1977: 12), but as they continued to attract more and more inhabitants from the congested old city, extensive interventions in the following years became a necessity.



Image 4.6.

English Map of the Free City of Frankfurt, published in 1840 "under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of useful knowledge", showing the early extension of the city outside the fortified area
Picture in the public domain. Source: www.wikipedia.com, 2012-10-07

⁹² City Portrait: History <http://www.frankfurt.de/> 2012-10-07

During the second half of the 19th century, Frankfurt became the seat of the federal government during the period of German Confederation.⁹³ After the National Assembly held its first meeting in *Paulskirche* in 1848, the city became the centre of all political life in Germany, which was the initial trigger for a whole new range of developments. By the end of the 19th century, Frankfurt was already one of the major centres for trade and finances in Europe, and due to its position on important crossroads, it was also a vital node in the expansion of the German railway system from its early beginnings (Picard, 2011). However, the major urban projects that transformed Frankfurt into a *Großstadt* and marked it until present days were launched during the tenure of the mayors Johannes Miguel and Franz Adickens (Picard, 2011; Braun, 1977: 22). In the period between 1850 and 1905 there were fifteen new streets crossing through the old urban fabric (Braun, 1977: 16), followed by embellishment and further condensation of the old town; modest ground floor houses were replaced by four to five story tenement houses along the new street fronts (1977: 16). Many representative buildings were erected as well, including several scientific societies, library (1825), civic foundations, clubs, museums and theatres. In 1891, the city was already divided into the central part and outskirts, where different building rules were defined. At the turn of the centuries, the new classicistic buildings were mostly constructed in the areas around *Rosmarkt* and *Zeil*, as well as along the former city walls and on the Main riverbank. Until the year of 1900, the districts of *Nordend*, *Westend* and *Sachsenhausen* were already parcelled, taking Haussmann's renovation of Paris as an example, with the use of diagonal system with radially expanding squares (Braun, 1977: 14). The construction of the representative main train station in 1888 also created an opportunity to develop the new part of the town west from the former city walls. In the period between 1879 and 1926, other important institutions such as the Stock Exchange (1879), Old Opera House (1880), university (1914) and airport (1926) were built.⁹⁴

The turning points for such expansive development were certainly the wars of the 20th century. After a first standstill caused by the 1st World War, the city continued to spread mainly in the outer concentric rings, with Ernst May appointed as head of building department in 1925 (Braun, 1977: 28). As May was under strong influence of the garden city movement, his project for 'New Frankfurt' imposed characteristic urban growth through the radially extending housing groups and settlements, called *Siedlungen*.⁹⁵ Also at that time the idea of *Grüngürtel* was born, which consisted of connecting all the surrounding settlements by an arranged green belt that was finally planned and executed in the 1960-es, as an outstanding concept of housing and

⁹³ City Portrait: History <http://www.frankfurt.de/> 2012-10-07

⁹⁴ City Portrait: History <http://www.frankfurt.de/> 2012-10-07

⁹⁵ There were 21 settlements and house groups built during the mandate of Ernst May only; Westhausen, Praunheim, Römerstadt, Höhenblick, Raimundstraße, Miquelstraße, Bornheimer Hang, Riederwald, Riedhof-West (Heimatsiedlung), Riedhof-Ost, Bruchfeldstraße (Niederrad), then Hellerhof-Siedlung and four other settlements, finished after his departure from Frankfurt. These settlements contributed to the housing fund of the city with more than 10,000 housing units. (Braun, 1977: 30)

urban green. Another turn in the history of Frankfurt was the outbreak of the 2nd World War, which at first significantly changed its national structure, as under the National Socialist regime 9000 Jews were deported from the city.⁹⁶ Before the very end of the war, large parts of the Frankfurt's old town were either badly damaged or completely destroyed by the bombings in 1944 (image 4.7); first on January 29th by the USAAF Eighth Air Force, followed by the allies bombing on March 22nd. Being an important shipping centre for bulk goods, the East Port (*Osthafen*) and its own rail connection were also largely destroyed. From 550,000 residents before the war, their number decreased to 270,000 in the after war period (Braun, 1977:36).

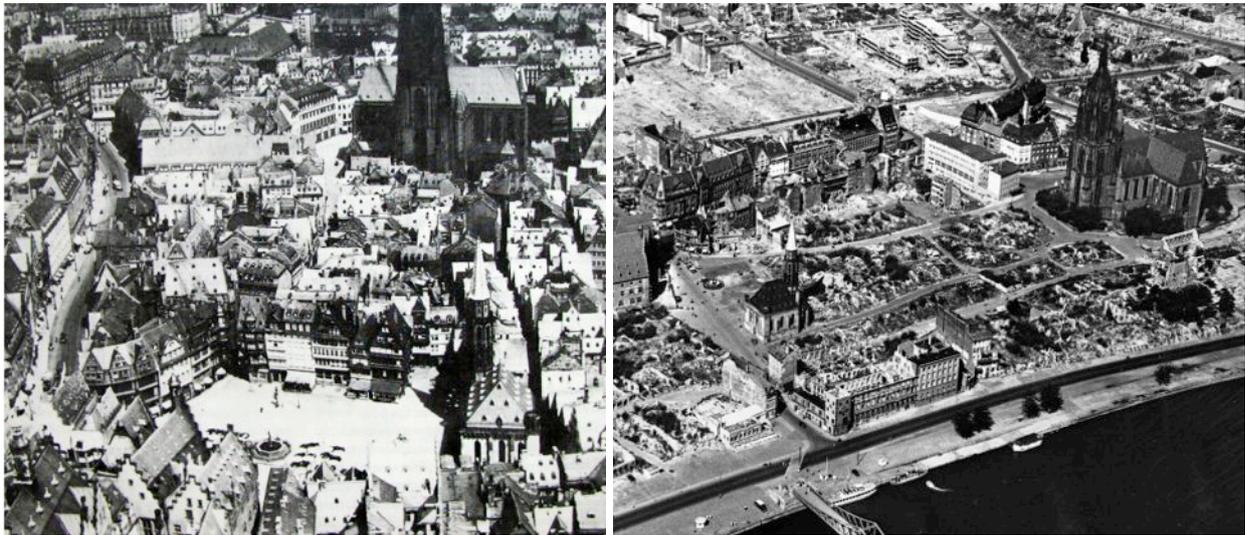


Image 4.7.

Views on Frankfurt *Altstadt* before (1929) and after the war destructions

Left: © *Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main*, Nr. S7A1998_1858.

Right: © *Bildarchiv Foto Marburg*. Source: <http://www.fotomarburg.de/>, 2012-07-23, Nr. 865.006

Activities on the renewal of devastated areas began immediately after the war in 1945, with construction of the settlements for American troops and the new regional administration (Müller-Raemisch, 1996: 14). As the city needed to cope with the growth in population and traffic (Becker & Wentz, 1992), the main goals of post-war reconstruction were to get a functional city in a relatively short period of time. Rebuilding the old town itself officially started from its outskirts on May 1952, and was characterized by the simple, modern style that was at first adopted as the best option. In fact, it was a certain compromise involving traditionally enclosed courtyards and simplified urban blocks, placed within urban form of the original street network (Schembs, 2005: 56). Within the large-scale destructions of the down-town area, officials also recognized the chances for completely new planning and urban reorganization

⁹⁶ Nazi era in Frankfurt was announced with the mocking name of the city "Jerusalem am Main", because of its high Jewish population and continued with the replacement of Jewish mayor and firing of all Jewish officials in the city administration and from city organizations in 1933, as well as boycott of Jewish businesses. (City Portrait: History <http://www.frankfurt.de/> 2012-10-07)

(Braun, 1977:36). The creation of Berliner, Kurt-Schumacher and Konrad-Adenauer streets (Braun, 1977: 38; F3: Schalk, 00:21:29) made them main urban roads for motorized traffic (image 3.4). Around the existing but upgraded road system, new buildings were erected with only important iconic buildings reconstructed, however in a simplified manner and often with the use of new materials and technology. The very central area between the reconstructed Cathedral and the City Hall was left empty till the mid 1970-es (Müller-Raemisch, 1996: 14; F1: Buch, 00:03:54), when finally massive modern buildings were introduced into the former historical core; Historical Museum and Technical City Hall – both pulled down in the recent years.

The variety of post-war planning decisions within the relatively small central area of Frankfurt could be considered as initiating for its evolution into a city of contrasts and conflicts (F3: Schalk, 00:37:02). The first condemnations of Frankfurt's new urban "image without special features"⁹⁷ came at the beginning of the 1960-es; on the one side as a result of hasty clearing away of the war debris, and on the other of modern and functional US-oriented urban reconstruction (Scholz, 1989: 53). Following post-war reconstruction, demolition, major building sites and housing projects, skyscraper boom and the enlargement of the airport, Frankfurt launched a new, ten-year reconstruction phase in the 1980-es, to heal all the wounds of the earlier policies (Becker & Wentz, 1992: 17). The reconstruction of the southern line of *Römerberg*, Old Opera House and the whole row of Samstagberg houses (*Ostzeile*) marked this turn in the urban planning of Frankfurt (F1: Buch, 00:03:54; F3: Schalk, 00:37:02). Besides reconstructions of the historic buildings, some new developments have been done, like the attractive row of fifteen museums arranged along the river (so-called *Museumsufer*), residential districts renovations, new facilities for sport, community and culture. The urban planners of the 1990-es rediscovered their original focus in the city itself (Becker & Wentz, 1992: 12) that culminated in the second decade of the 21st century. Besides the significant and highly modern enterprises in the outer areas, under the atmosphere of numerous debates, constant challenges, active public scrutiny and participation, Frankfurt turned again to history and tradition, launching another attempt to reconstruct its historical core. However, despite strong influences of history and tradition, the fascination by the American modern architecture, especially high-rise architecture (F3: Schalk, 00:48:45), characterized modern policies on the other side, when Frankfurt began looking upon the skyscrapers of Chicago and New York as symbols of power and prosperity (Jonak, 1997).

⁹⁷ "Imago ohne Besonderheiten"; Ifas, 1962 in Scholz, 1989: 53

Urban planning concepts for the early high-rise in Frankfurt have been grounded back in the 1920-es, within the frames of the 'New Frankfurt'⁹⁸ concept by Ernst May, further developed in the post-war history of the city. However, concepts for high-rise were frequently changed and updated, nearly every 8 to 10 years, leaving them often only partially executed and unfinished (*Hochhausentwicklungsplan*, 2008). High-rise plan from 1953 (*Hochhausplan*) was the first to recognize and define high-rise as urban dominants of 30 to 50 meters high. *Fingerplan* was the next important concept in use from the late 1960-es to the mid 1970-es, advocating for mixed-use high-rise, concentrated along the development axes of the city, radially distributed from its centre (Müller-Raemisch, 1996). The following, contrary to concepts of *City West Plan* from 1973 and *Bankenplan* for Bankenviertel, executed until 1984 (Müller-Raemisch, 1996), grounded the central high-rise cluster around the green middle within *Wallanlagen*, between the Theatre and the Old Opera House, becoming the core of Frankfurt's recognizable skyline. Extensive planning activities to control the forthcoming high-rise boom in the city and turn it into an asset, led to a major shift at the beginning of the 1980-es, making the skyline a cornerstone of Frankfurt's early marketing strategy (Scholz, 1989: 91). High-rise development for the whole city was finally regulated in 1998, by the extensive, special high-rise development plan *Frankfurt 2000 (Hochhausentwicklungsplan)* that with its updates from 2007 and 2008 represents the base for the subsequent development plans.

4.1.3. Spatial Analysis

4.1.3.1. Urban Structure

The overall physical urban structure of contemporary Frankfurt is mostly determined by the river Main that divides the city into its northern and southern part (image 4.8). The riverbanks are linked by nearly twenty bridges within the wider urban area, seven of which are in the downtown zone, as well as by several underground tunnels. Distinguished physical features of industrial ports occupy the far upstream and downstream areas, of which only the larger Eastern port is still in function (*Osthafen*). The former Western port was already transformed into an attractive residential and commercial area, as a result of the riverbanks renewal trend during the 1990-es. The urban area is mainly spreading towards the north, as it is constrained on the south by the City Forest (*Stadtwald*) that is with its 5,785 ha one of the

⁹⁸ Wohnungsbauprogramm 'Das Neue Frankfurt/die neue Stadt', 1925-1930.

largest inner-city forests in Germany.⁹⁹ Administratively, the overall urban territory of Frankfurt is divided into 16 local districts (*Ortsbezierke*), 46 districts (*Stadtteile*), and 121 municipalities (*Stadtbezirk*).¹⁰⁰



Image 4.8.

Central Frankfurt satellite view

© 2014 Microsoft Corporation. Source: Bing Maps, <http://www.bing.com/maps/>, 2013-01-13

The urban structure of central Frankfurt clearly documents its historical development, where the old urban matrix *Altstadt*, located on the north bank of the river, retained its role of the traditional urban core. The former densely built medieval city, covering less than half a square kilometre, retained some of its original grid after the extensive rebuilding in the post-war period. On the other side, contemporary Frankfurt developed in the form of diverse concentric layers, arranged around its central medieval core. *Altstadt* is thus encircled by the *Innenstadt* district, creating altogether the most distinguished element in the overall physical structure of the city. In addition, the central area is constrained, and at the same time additionally accentuated, by the ring structure of the former city walls was transformed into a green belt *Wallanlage* and still ensures historical continuity. The far western edge of the *Innenstadt*, along the former ramparts now occupies the financial high-rise district *Bankenviertel*, spanning between the several boroughs. This unofficial urban district (F3: Schalk, 00:02:46) is in fact the main cluster where Frankfurt commenced its raise towards the sky, and as such has a dominant role in creation of the visual form for the whole city. *Sachsenhausen* district on the opposite side of the river, along

⁹⁹ Source: Stadt Frankfurt, www.frankfurt.de 2012-10-23.

¹⁰⁰ Source: Stadt Frankfurt, www.frankfurt.de 2012-10-23.

Altstadt and *Innenstadt* represents a wider area of historic urban matrix. Expansion out of these zones that for centuries represented boundaries of the urban area occurred firstly along the former access roads, making it nowadays a feature still recognizable in the physical structure of contemporary Frankfurt. The areas between the access roads were later fully developed into radially distributed layer of surrounding residential urban districts; *Ostend*, *Nordend*, *Westend*, *Gallus*, *Gutleutviertel*, *Bornheim* and *Bockenheim*. The final shell in the urban layout represents another zone of contrasts and differences, characterized by more disperse features; most of them are regulated as typical *Siedlung* settlement structures, in accordance with the principles of international modernism in urban design.

Generally, it could be summarized that the urban structure of Frankfurt is at most influenced by geographical features of the river and city forest, severe war destructions followed by renewal, former historic defensive structures, and finally radially distributed access roads network. Its main elements are historic urban core, including its green belt *Wallanlage*, radially distributed layers of surrounding residential areas, asymmetrically located financial high-rise district, and the far eastern vast port and industrial area on the right Main riverbank.

4.1.3.1.1. Land Use

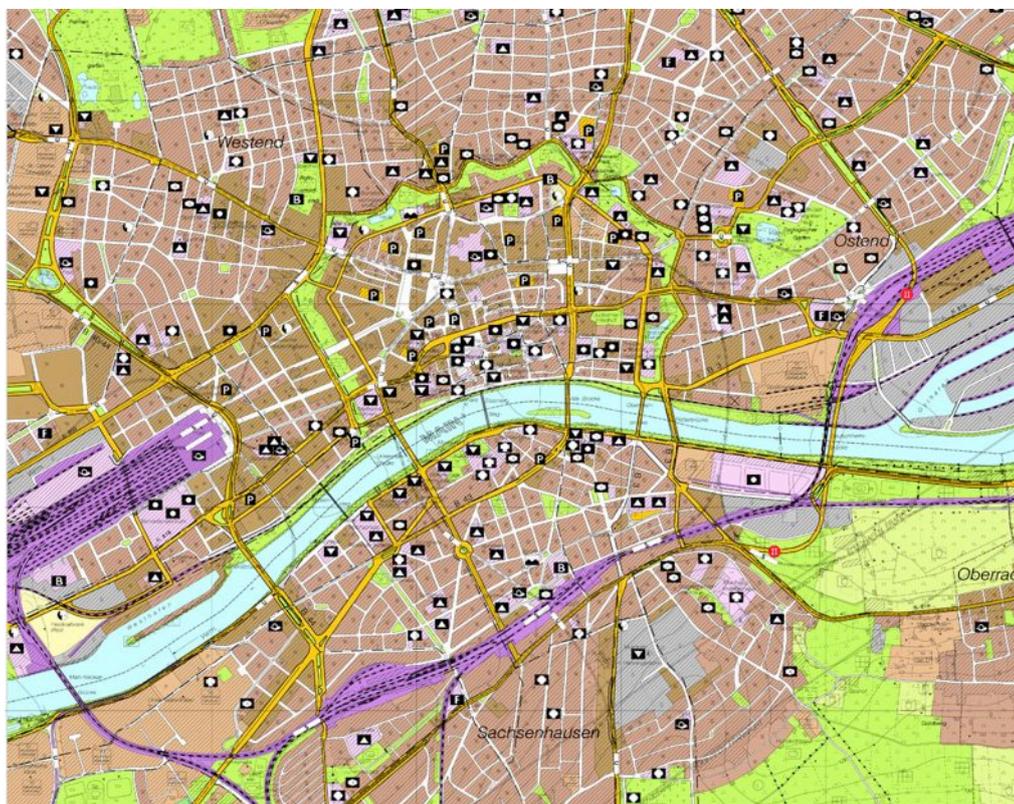


Image 4.9.

Land use plan, detail (*Regionaler Flächennutzungsplan*)

© Regionalverband FrankfurtRheinMain. Source: <http://www.region-frankfurt.de>, 2012-10-23

Many metropolitan regions in Germany, like Berlin or Munich, are built more compactly, with higher density, and are thus mostly focused on the city itself. Frankfurt, on the other side, represents the core of the polycentric metropolitan region Frankfurt/Rhein-Main that differs from other metropolitan regions mostly by its highly disperse structure - so-called *Siedlungsstruktur*. Such metropolitan structure types involve many heterogeneous settlements, ranging from the busy downtown to the village-like small towns, situated in an abundance of green open spaces, and eventually interconnected in a (sub)urban network. For these specific reasons, the land-use planning for the city of Frankfurt itself is not being conducted separately, but along with its surrounding region, through the Regional Land Use Plan (*Regionaler Flächennutzungsplan*; image 4.9), which sets its major goals concerning the whole metropolitan region. The plan's objectives are generally focused on sustaining such a typical settlement structure, as well as on nature and landscape protection for the areas that run between them, also aiming for noise reduction from the expanding international airport located within the area.



Image 4.10.
General land-use division in Frankfurt ('types of cities')

Legend: Retail city (purple), Business city (violet), Urban plus (orange), Urban (light yellow), Newly developed places (green), Sub-centers (pink), Major approach routes (light violet), Commercial areas (e.g. Osthafen docks)
Author's sketch, based on Baasner Möller & Langwald GmbH. Source: <http://www.stadtplanungsamt-frankfurt.de>, 2012-11-06

According to the latest statistical data,¹⁰¹ most land within the metropolitan region is for agricultural use (43%) or is classified as forests (38%). Furthermore, resident and vacant area occupy 8,6%, roads and railways 6,9%, lakes and rivers 1,5%, areas for outdoor recreation 1,3%, industrial estates 0,2% and other areas 0,6%. The city itself officially covers an area of 248,3 km², of which built-up land and adjacent non-build-up areas have a stake of 28,7%.¹⁰² More than half of the city territory is classified under green or open spaces (55%), while

¹⁰¹ Data refer to 12.2009. Source: Chamber of Industry and Commerce Frankfurt am Main, <http://www.frankfurt-main.ihk.de> 2012-11-05

¹⁰² Data refer to 2010. Source: www.frankfurt.de 2012-11-05

residential areas, public institutions and places of employment, as well as traffic areas all have an even share of 15% (Becker & Wentz, 1992: 12). The city is generally characterized by a clear land-use division, which is according to urban planning authority, in cooperation with Baasner Möller & Langwald office from Berlin,¹⁰³ divided on the following ‘types of cities’: centrally located retail city, adjoining business city, surrounding ‘urban plus’ and urban area, as well as on sub-centres, commercial areas, major roads, newly developed places and focal points for development (image 4.10). The downtown zone carries a strong imprint of several different factors, ranging from the centuries of continual historical developments and later interventions, to the current development trends. They are certainly responsible for the strict functional segregation that is especially notable on the example of extreme ‘mono-functionality’ of the financial district (image 4.11). Such a feature thus justifies the current planning strategies that now strive to achieve desired mixed-use character of the downtown districts (F3: Schalk, 00:03:27; 00:05:33).

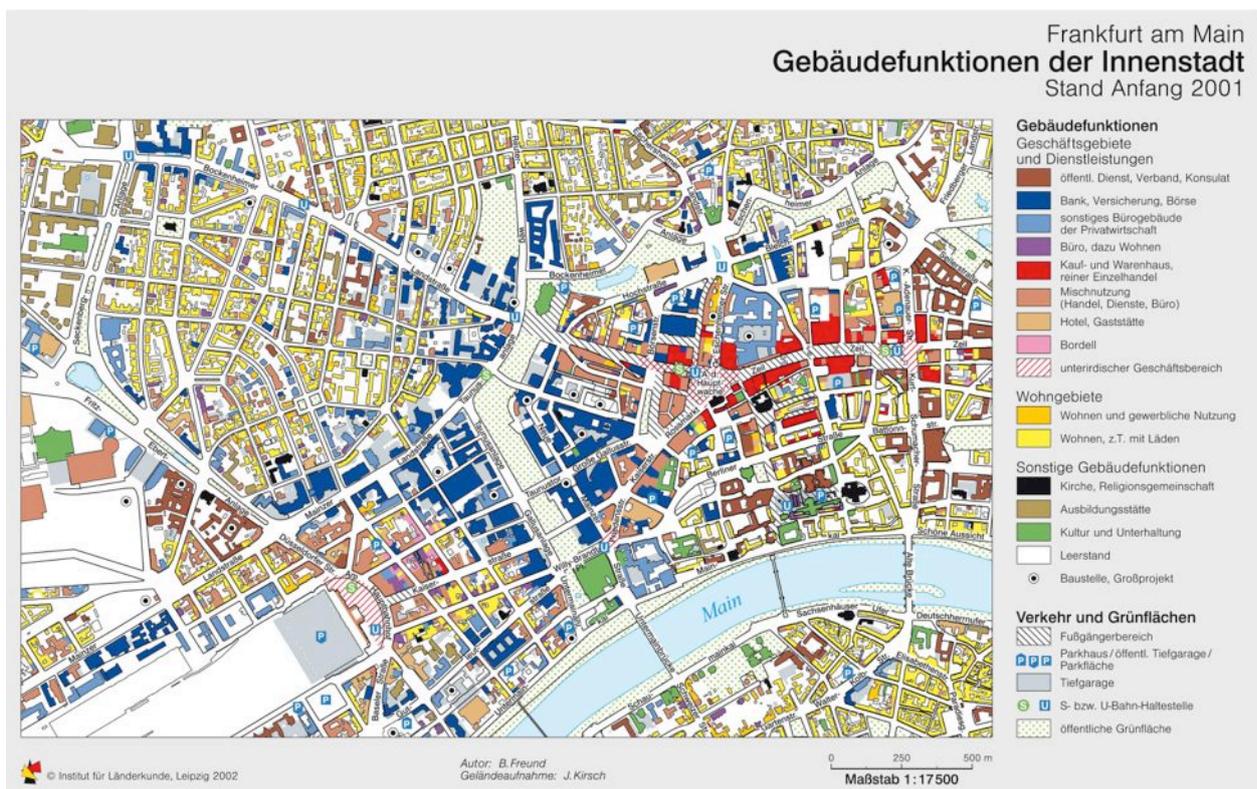


Image 4.11.
Land use in Frankfurt's downtown area (*Innenstadt*).

Dark blue color shows banks, insurance companies and stock-exchanges.
© Leibniz Institut für Länderkunde, Leipzig, 2002 (B. Freund, J. Kirsch). *Frankfurt am Main: Gebäudefunktionen der Innenstadt 2001*, *Nationalatlas Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Band 5: *Dörfer und Städte*, S. 136, Abb. 1.

¹⁰³ Baasner Möller & Langwald Büro für Architektur und Städtebau GmbH, <http://www.bml-architekten.de>

The closer focus on the land use pattern of the *Innenstadt* itself reveals a mixture of several main functions. The most distinguished are certainly areas for retail and gastronomy, of which big retail centres are mostly concentrated along the central pedestrian street. Residential areas are at present concentrated mostly along the river and on its eastern side, and are characterized by the rising densification trend. Other important functions encompass areas for culture and education, areas for pedestrian, bicycle and motorized traffic, and finally surrounding green areas. The future land use of the very central urban zone is carefully planned by the city municipality with the active participation of the citizens, in the frames of the program Downtown Development Concept (*Innenstadt Konzept*; images 4.24; 4.25).

4.1.3.1.2. Public Open Spaces

The most distinguished and representative public open spaces in Frankfurt are located within its central urban districts (images 4.12; 4.13). An attractive pedestrian zone, which extends both through *Innenstadt* and *Altstadt* districts, is the most liveable public open space of the city, composed by many streets and squares and directly connected with the surrounding urban green areas: *Wallanlagen* and the river Main waterfronts.



Image 4.12.
Main public open spaces and pedestrian axes within Frankfurt downtown

Legend; Main pedestrian axes (in yellow): A. *Innenstadt* main axis (West-East): Opernplatz (1); Hauptwache (2); Konstablerwache (3); Goetheplatz (4); Roßmarkt (5). B. *Historical pedestrian axis, Altstadt* (North-South): Liebfrauenberg (6); Paulsplatz (7); Römerberg (8). *Main urban green areas* (in green): *Wallanlagen* green ring surrounding the downtown, with intersected Opernplatz (1) and Willy-Brandt-Platz (9); Main quais along the river.
© 2014 Microsoft Corporation. Source: <http://www.bing.com/maps/>, 2013-01-13, with author's additions

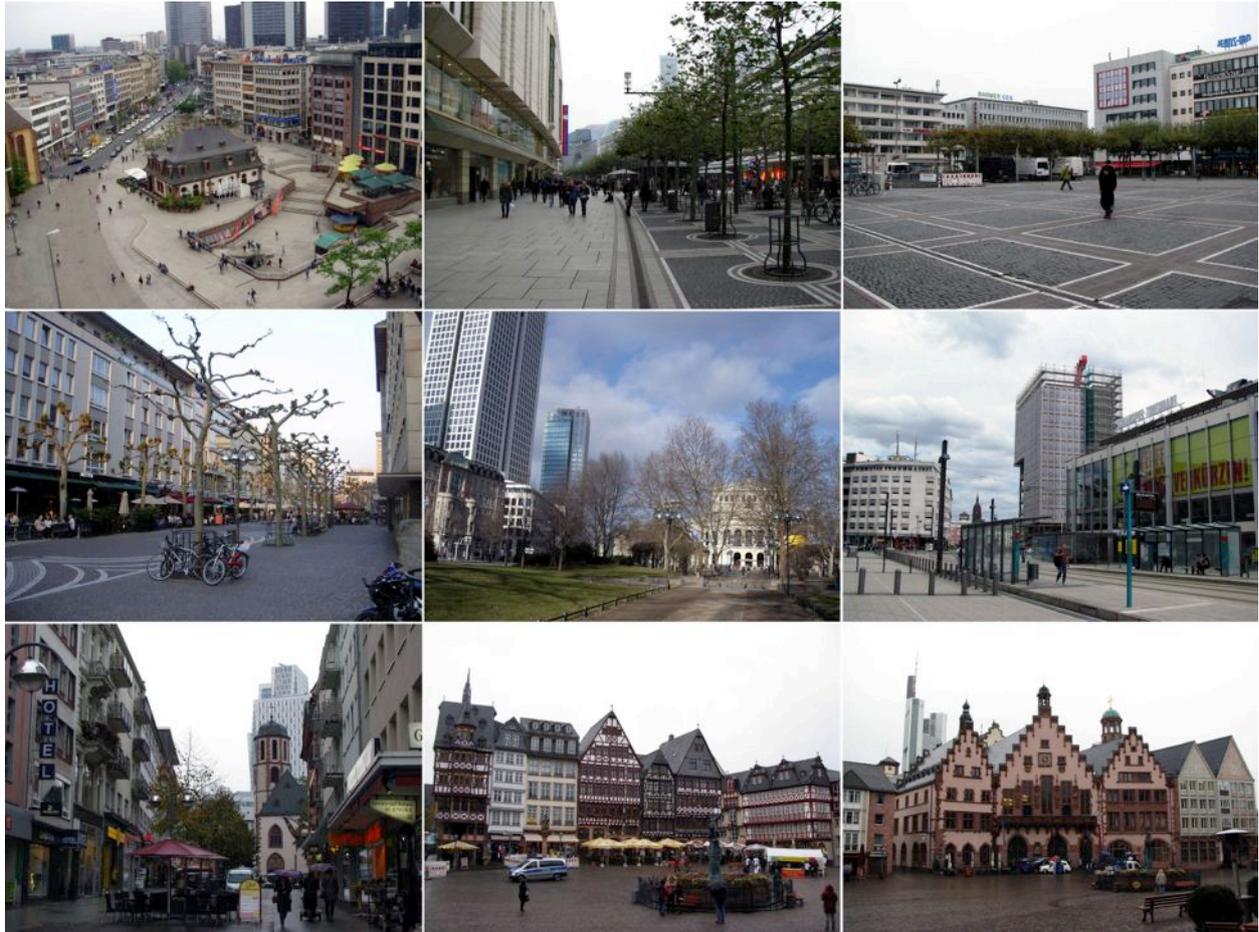


Image 4.13.

Some of the most prominent public open spaces in Frankfurt

Hauptwache, Zeil, Konstablerwache, Freßgass, Opernplatz - view from Taunusanlage, Willy-Brandt-Platz, Neue Kräme, Römerberg (eastern and western side)
 Author's photos, 2010-2012

The primary pedestrian axis of the city runs in the direction East-West, between the two main squares, *Hauptwache* and *Konstablerwache*, and along the main shopping street *Zeil* in the *Innenstadt* district. *Hauptwache* today serves as one of the most important cross-points of the underground public transportation system, and is characterized by a sunken terrace, leading down to the underground pedestrian area, with shops and public transport stations. *Konstablerwache* on the other end of the *Zeil* Street serves generally as a marketplace, manifestation-square and important traffic node. However, its current state is rather unsatisfactory, and is therefore often mentioned for future transformation into a more functional and more pleasant urban public space.¹⁰⁴ The pedestrian 'leisure-shopping' zone continues further to the East, along *Biebergasse* and *Freßgasse* Street (*Große Bockenheimer* Street) to the *Opernplatz* Square amid the surrounding green ring. On the eastern part of the *Wallanlagen* ring, between the *Opernplatz* on the north and the *Willy-Brandt-Platz* Square on the south, is

¹⁰⁴ Interventions on the Konstablerwache Square are also proposed by the 'Downtown Development Concept' ('Im Dialog' No. 8, 2010)

the main axis of the financial district. Aside the centrally located green urban areas, the *Taunusanlage* and *Gallusanlage* parks, high-rise cluster is generally confined to the public and do not provide much contribution to the contents of the urban public spaces (F3: Schalk, 00:14:25), apart from its dominant visual qualities visible from nearly every location within the central districts. Between *Hauptwache* and *Opernplatz*, certain vast square-trilogy of *Rathenauplatz*, *Goetheplatz* and *Roßmarkt* Squares is located. These vast public places were recently redesigned into manifestation squares with areas for public gathering, after a new underground car park was constructed. The second major, southern pedestrian axis runs through the historic *Altstadt* district, along the streets *Liebfrauenstraße* and *Neue Kräme*, connecting the three squares; *Liebfrauenberg*, *Paulsplatz* and the city's main historic square *Römerberg*, dominated by the city hall (Rathaus). The pedestrian zone is further connected to the Main quay and over the walking bridge *Eiserner Steg* to the *Museumsufer* (*Schaumainkai* quay) and historic *Sachsenhausen* district on the other side of the river.

The waterfront promenades, developed in later years, made a significant contribution to the quality of the city's public open spaces. In addition, illumination recently became an important element for improving the overall quality of public open spaces in downtown Frankfurt, both for the city's riverside and its skyline, as a tool to reach harmonization and enhance the attractiveness of the city's nightscape as well.

4.1.3.1.3. Urban Patterns

The analysis of the physical plan of Frankfurt shows a high variety of urban pattern manifestation forms (image 4.14).

Taking a look back at its historical development, Frankfurt originated – and developed for centuries – as fortifications along the river. The urban spread outside the walls occurred along the former access roads, created mostly as a result of topographical conditions. This course of somewhat spontaneous development is still noticeable on the physical plan of the contemporary city, where the main roads are radially expanding from the centric core in a slightly irregular manner, while the space in between was filled-in with regular grid systems (image 4.14: c. *Nordend West* and *Westend Nord*). On the other hand, some newer urban districts have been carefully planned as regular extensions of the historic urban matrix; such as *Bahnhofsviertel* (image 4.14: b) with its strict orthogonal grid, dominated by large, closed urban blocks. Interventions inspired by the Haussmann's Paris from the turn of the centuries favoured the creation of regular spatial figures, such as characteristic star-shaped squares, from where

the streets are radially branching and thus creating simple diagonals within rectangular urban grid (image 4.14: d. *Nordend Ost*; h. *Sachsenhausen*).



Image 4.14.
Frankfurt urban patterns

Left to right: a. Altstadt; b. Bahnhofsviertel; c. Nordend West and Westend Nord; d. Nordend Ost; e. Praunheim - Siedlung Westhausen; f. Sachsenhausen Nord - Heimsiedlung; g. Heddernheim - Siedlung Römerstadt; h. Sachsenhausen – Schweizer Platz and Südbahnhof; i. Sachsenhausen, South-East.

© 2014 TerraMetrics & © 2014 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (© 2009), Google
Source: <https://maps.google.com>, 2012-10-23, with author's additions

War destructions followed by interventions in the after war period significantly decreased built density and partially erased irregular net of vernacular urban structures, leaving mostly the basic spatial contours, with new large blocks and partially developed areas (image 4.14: a. *Altstadt*). Breakthrough of the new streets in the streetcar era significantly influenced the spatial

form of the historical core, wiping out its typical dense historic block structure in demands for new generation street profiles (image 3.4). Apart from the overlapping types of historic grids, the new urban settlement forms originating from the modernist era are present in the outskirts of the city, often strongly contrasting the fused historic urban fabric (image 4.14: e. *Praunheim - Siedlung Westhausen*; f. *Sachsenhausen Nord - Heimatsiedlung*; g. *Heddernheim - Siedlung Römerstadt*).

4.1.3.2. Visual Form

The contemporary image of Frankfurt is doubtlessly dominated by the city's status as international financial centre. Many powerful national and international financial corporations during the past decades built their representative headquarters and office buildings, which gradually created recognizable skyline that became premier landmark of the city and principal symbol of its economic power (image 4.16). Constant upgrading of the city's skyline and its local dominance contributed to the global promotion of Frankfurt, launching it to the competition stage of the cities with the tallest skyscrapers¹⁰⁵ (image 4.17). Such a feature made the city distinct to an extent that Frankfurt is still considered the only German city with genuine skyline and is among the rare European ones. The image of international, modern Frankfurt strongly contrasts its second main manifestation form in historic, traditional image, which is further supported by the on-going reconstruction, renovation and conservation projects within the city's historical core. The cultural and architectural duality of Frankfurt is in favour of its diversity of visual forms, constructed as a patchwork of many different images.

The most dominant characteristics of the visual representation of Frankfurt are the following:

- Panoramic views seen from the river, access roads and rails, and from the vast natural environment of the surrounding metropolitan region are dominated by the clustered and heterogeneous skyline, which strongly contrasts relatively homogenous surrounding urban environment (image 4.15). Historic contour of the city, with its church steeples and medieval gate towers verticals, is long time ago considerably suppressed by the extreme disproportion of the extremely higher skyscrapers. Some of the new buildings and on-going projects, such as Tower 185 and the new ECB towers, are further to redesign the

¹⁰⁵ The Commerzbank Tower, as an example, was the tallest building in Europe for the period from 1997 to 2003. It was also the tallest building in the EU from 1997 to 2011, and still holds the label of tallest in Germany since its construction in 1997.

city's panorama, dispersing the skyline from its dense central cluster further to the west and east.

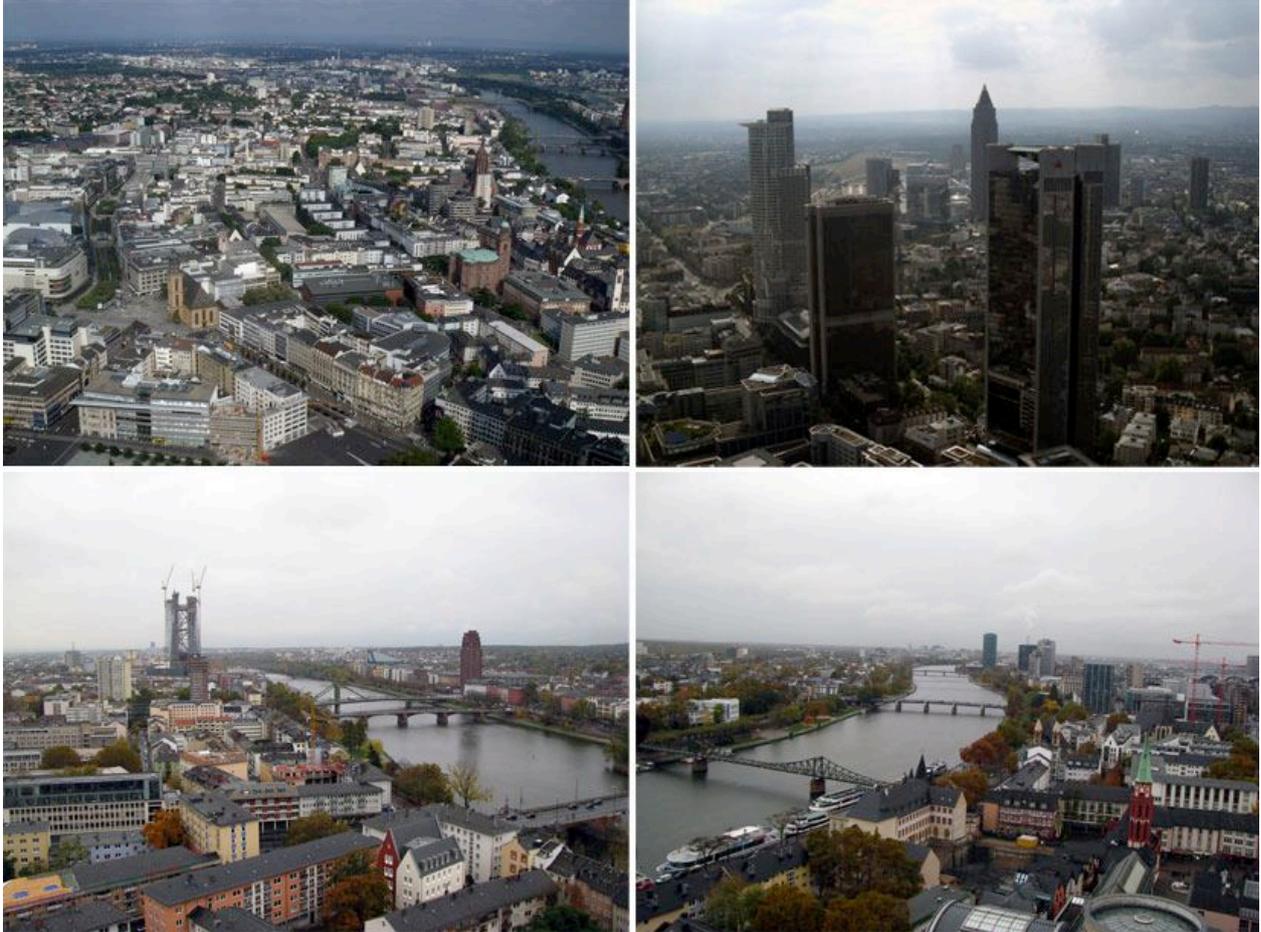


Image 4.15.
Views of the city

Above, left to right: Altsatd, view from the West; Bankenviertel, view from the East.

Below, left to right: views of the riverside from the East and West

Author's photos, 2009-2012

- Axial views are diverse and usually carefully planned to expose historic or contemporary verticals. They are certainly dominated by the numerous high-rise buildings, and these images are often constructed in several background layers. The important entrances to the high-rise financial cluster are specially marked, which could be interpreted as certain homage to the predecessor in historic city gates.
- Sequential vision along the visual corridors are varied, especially in the financial district zone and generally in the form and architectural style. However, they are relatively coherent in terms of the heights, as the new trend in introducing high-rise buildings among existing coherent environment usually involves the buffer zone along the street

front, while the high-rise itself is in most of the cases drawn inward the parcel (F2: Neitzke, 10/12).



Image 4.16.

Frankfurt Skyline: views from the east and from the southwest

Above & middle: author's photos, 2012

Below: photo by Epizentro, 2013-06, CC BY-SA 3.0. Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org>, 2013-07-14

- Bird's-eye views from the satellite (image 4.8), aircrafts, and especially numerous tall buildings could offer many alternative perceptive possibilities to experience the city from

another perspective (image 4.15). However, the outstanding resource to experience the urban environment from the heights of skyscrapers is insufficiently used in the public sphere, as all except the Main Tower platform are closed for visitors (F3: Schalk, 00:14:25).



Image 4.17.

Several generations of Frankfurt's landmarks

Kaiserdome Sankt Bartholomäus (1250-1514); Alte Nikolaikirche (1270); Römer (city hall since 1405); Eschenheimer Turm (1428) with Nextower (2010); Renteturm (1456); Katharinenkirche (1681); Paulskirche (1789); Juniorhaus (1951) with Eurotower (1977); SilberTurm (1978); Deutsche Bank Twin Towers (1984); Trianon (1993); Westend Tower (1993); Japan Center (1996); Commerzbank Tower (1997); Main Tower (1999); Gallileo (2003); Skyper (2005); Opernturm (2009); New ECB Tower (in construction since 2008)
 Author's photos, 2010-2012

- Landmarks are numerous and diverse in types, forms and building styles. Certainly they are mostly concentrated within the high-rise cluster and as such characterized by a great individuality (image 4.17). The possibility to perceive the landmarks from all the public

places in the downtown area, from nearly every corner of the city, and both during the day or night, gives a special quality to Frankfurt's urban realm.

Despite all the planning, Frankfurt's skyline at present could be interpreted as a set of numerous circumstances as, according to Alexander & Kittel (2006: 7), there are many various factors before design, shape, location etc. In addition, nearly unlimited freedom in architectural shaping of skyscrapers in Frankfurt (F1: Buch, 00:26:19; F2: Neitzke, 10/12) implies infinite possibilities and variations how these structures could be designed. All this implies that the visual form of Frankfurt is a result of uncontrollable set of randomness that is further evolving in the same manner, making it thus a highly unpredictable and thus exciting feature of the city's future development.

4.2. Urban Identity Building in Frankfurt

4.2.1. Urban Brand Marketing

4.2.1.1. Marketing Strategies and Goals

Several institutions with different scopes, strategies and goals are in charge for conducting the most important marketing services in favour of the Frankfurt Municipality, being the major driving force behind the overall development of the city (image 4.18).



Image 4.18.

FrankfurtRheinMain Corporation logo with stylization of Rhine-Main confluences and its slogan “become a part of it” (left); Tourism+Congresses GmbH logo utilizes stylized skyline (right)

Sources: <http://www.frm-united.com> & <http://www.frankfurt-tourismus.de>, 2012-11-01

As development strategies for Frankfurt are particular in their close connections with surrounding metropolitan region, there is a specialized corporation established within the Regional Association (*Regionalverband FrankfurtRheinMain*), which places its responsibilities exactly on the regional level. ‘FrankfurtRheinMain GmbH’ is in fact an inward investment agency, with the main task to promote, present and market the strengths and economic advantages of the Frankfurt/Rhein-Main metropolitan region as a whole, mostly in terms of attracting investments on the level of international competition.¹⁰⁶ The corporation therefore focuses exclusively on branding business and promoting business possibilities within the metropolitan region, aiming to draw foreign investments through presenting the districts and cities of the region as a powerful and united entity. Strategies to attract foreign capital are created and conducted by a range of specialists, active in countries of interest and focused either on regions such as Asia, America or Europe, or on certain industries. They also function in terms of mediation between future investors and real estate, industrial sites and commercial

¹⁰⁶ FrankfurtRheinMain GmbH, <http://www.frm-united.com> 2012-11-01

properties, providing advices and support to future investors (*Commercial Sites in FrankfurtRheinMain*, 2012). Within these frames, the Rhine-Main metropolitan region is marketed in the light of its potentials to generate success,¹⁰⁷ and is thus promoted as international traffic hub, leading financial and dynamic services centre, modern industrial location, and global exhibition and trade location, with high-performance data networks, high quality of life and growing research and development.¹⁰⁸ The City of Frankfurt itself is promoted as the heart of the region and “one of the Europe’s top business location” (*Commercial Sites in FrankfurtRheinMain*, 2012: 5), setting the focus on its infrastructure and international airport, international atmosphere, concentration of successful companies and home of the ECB headquarters.

Another important element in making Frankfurt a distinguished urban brand is achieved through tourism marketing, conducted by Tourism+Congress GmbH. The company is active mostly in the segments of tourism and congresses, with the main task of promoting a positive image of the city worldwide.¹⁰⁹ The institution at the same time functions as competitive business company, responsible for providing and distributing information and activities for tourists – such as sightseeing, hotel rooms reservation etc. – and for overall city marketing, including festivals, events and congresses. For these purposes, the company developed ‘Marketingplan 2012’. The strategy primarily strives to contrast the weakest points in the general image of the city - in particular in stereotypes that are showing Frankfurt as “cold business city without flair”; an image certainly supported by the high-rise closure regarding any public use (*Marketingplan 2012*, 2011: 15). Therefore, the strategy aims to position Frankfurt as the city of culture and sport, to make it an attractive place to visit and suitable for various congresses and manifestations. The plan sets its priorities on art and culture, congresses, meetings, festivals and events (*Marketingplan 2012*, 2011) – not only to promote positive image of the city as a whole, but rather aiming to demonstrate diversity and contrasts in order to reach variety of target groups. In this regard, the strategy also supports variety of landmarks and identities, on one side recognizing skyline and high-rise as strengths of the city, and on the other strongly supporting the on-going reconstruction of the medieval *Altstadt* (F3: Schalk, 00:25:40), perceiving it as an important chance for overall urban recognisability and tourism development (*Marketingplan 2012*, 2011: 15).

¹⁰⁷ FrankfurtRheinMain is officially presented as “an international traffic hub” which “offers next-generation high-speed data networks, innovative university and research facilities and a synergetic mix of industry – enabling companies to generate real success. Many headquarters venture forth from here to develop new markets. Right across Germany. Right across Europe. Across the globe. And we support them. Right from the start. We are committed, dedicated to service and pro-active.” (Source: Frankfurt/Rhein-Main GmbH, <http://www.frm-united.com> 2012-10-31)

¹⁰⁸ Frankfurt/Rhein-Main GmbH, <http://www.frm-united.com> 2012-10-31

¹⁰⁹ Tourism+Congress GmbH Frankfurt am Main, <http://www.frankfurt-tourismus.de> 2012-11-01

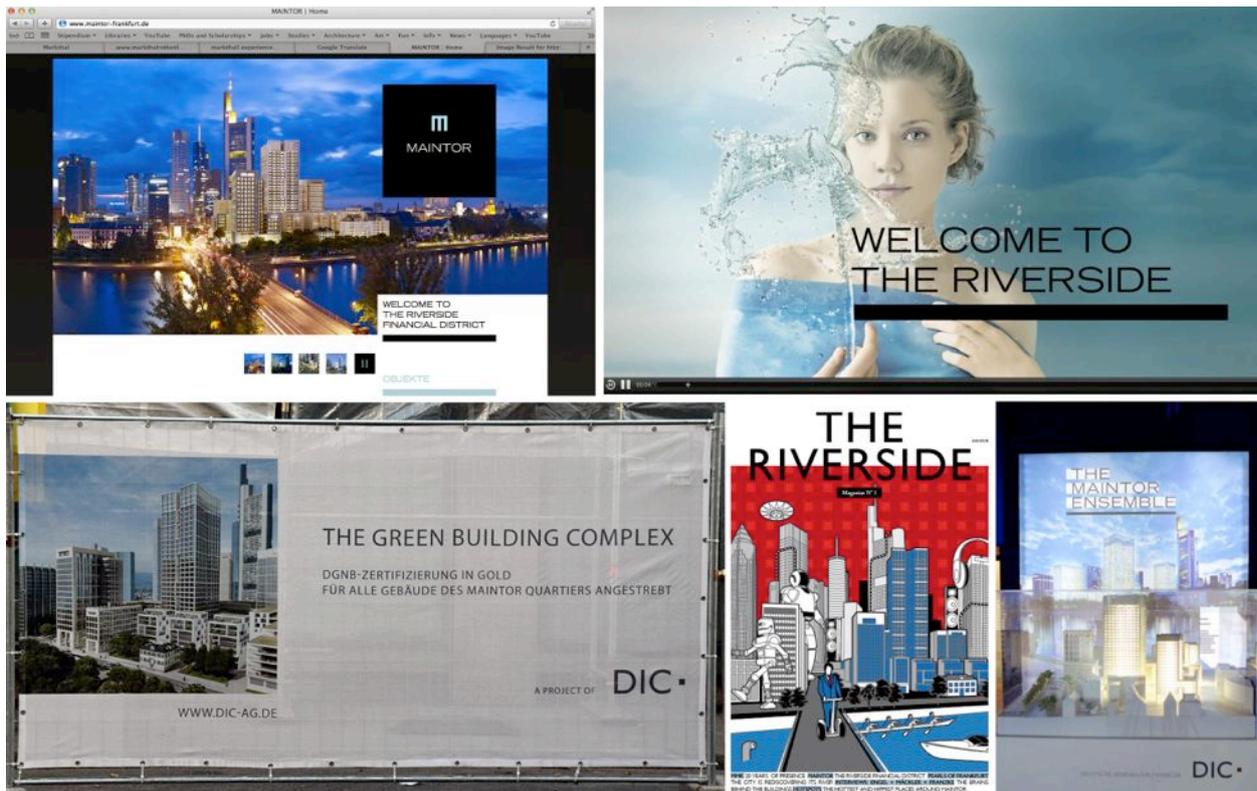


Image 4.19.

Example of urban projects branding in Frankfurt

Maintor project (from left to right): website, promotional video opening scene, construction site billboard, “The Riverside” promotional magazine and the model of the project.
 Source: screenshots, <http://www.maintor-frankfurt.de>, 2012-11-12

In addition to active marketing of business and investments possibilities, and aside from the rising role of culture in marketing process, Frankfurt’s overall image is also being shaped through branding of locations and attractions, involving both build heritage and signature architecture. Especially interesting is the rising trend of marketing significant urban and architectural developments and future landmarks and brands, especially as this powerful process uses the existing urban iconography in combination with the future developments. Such marketing of developing projects in an attractive fashion has a strong side effect that in addition strengthens the brand of the city itself (image 4.19).

4.2.1.2. Media-generated Image

Various media in printed or electronic form, such as postcards, tourist maps, publications, promotional movies, websites and other, are frequently used in the purpose of promotion of the Frankfurt brand. The widespread media-generated image of the city traditionally represents Frankfurt as a metropolis of international financial capital and as an international transportation, commerce and fair hub. The present trend however follows the

previously established directions¹¹⁰ of some additional values for the existing urban image, representing Frankfurt also as a city to discover through promotion of cultural enjoyment and attractive leisure shopping.



Image 4.20.

Frankfurt coat of arms, flag and official visual identity
 Source: www.wikipedia.org & <http://www.frankfurt.de>, 2012-11-08

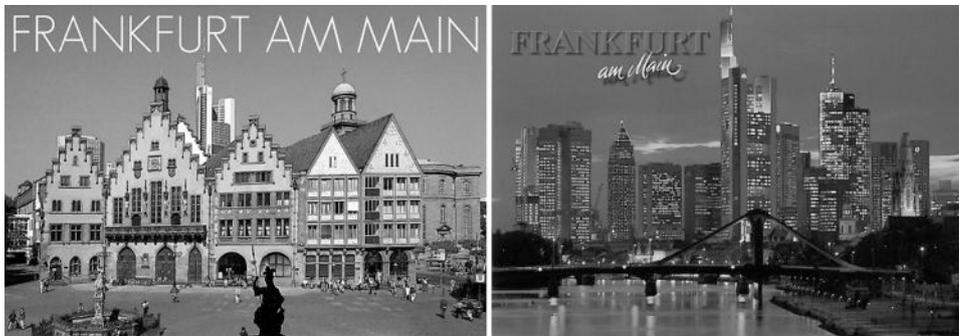


Image 4.21.

Two opposite images of the city for two main types of Frankfurt postcards
Michel & Co. Frankfurt am Main. Photos by Heinz Zimmermann and Gerd Kärmer

In graphic terms, the City of Frankfurt uses its historical coat of arms as its official logo, which also features the official logo of the municipal authorities (image 4.20). On the one hand, multitude of photographs, postcards, videos and other printed and digital material are often supporting promotion of traditional image of the city, featuring iconic built heritage and traditional architecture. On the other hand, in contrast to such rather common visual representation of a European city, contemporary imaging of Frankfurt is more often resorting to alternatives, using favourite globally accepted metropolitan symbols; such as skyline, high-rise, city lights, and riverside (image 4.21). Such an image of a metropolis, however, developed long after the appearance of early skyline in the central Frankfurt zone, during the 1960-es. The general public apprehension of the rising urban symbol was at first described by many mocking names, such as 'Bankfurt' or 'Mainhattan'. The negative attitude towards the high-rise gradually reversed during the 1980-es, when the skyline took the role of a dominant symbol of the city, and slowly became a source for identification of the local residents. The weakness was turned

¹¹⁰ Head of department for culture in city's government, Hilmar Hoffmann, published in 1979 his book *Kultur für alle*. Through its general promotion of culture in the city, and particularly of free groups in urban culture, his ideas represent a certain beginning of reshaping Frankfurt's image.

into the strength when the mocking name ‘Mainhattan’ gradually lost its negative connotation and became widely accepted and welcomed, as a witty comparison with the well-known skyline of the New York City. The mocking name was thus turned into an asset for urban tourism, and is nowadays often used along with the motif of the skyline on postcards and other printed material, as well as by many associations and institutions in the city. Thus, the most recognizable and the most dominant media-image of contemporary Frankfurt is generated by the city’s ultra-modern skyline, as its prime recognizable landmark.

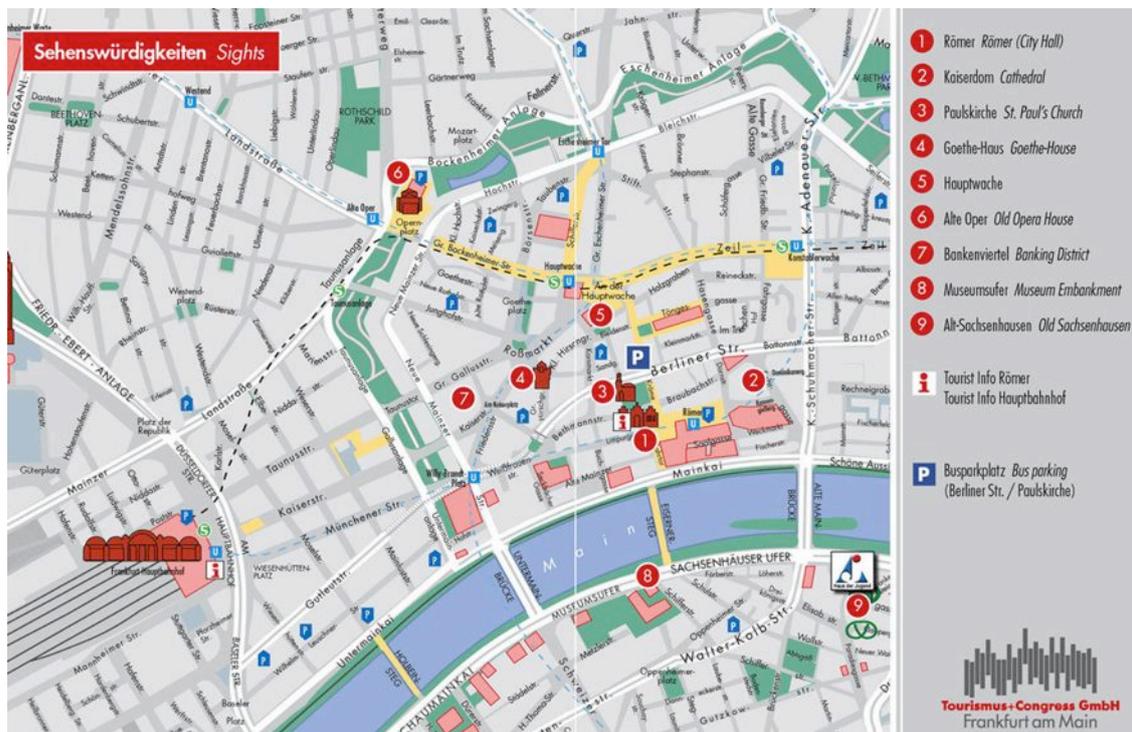


Image 4.22.

Frankfurt tourist map

© StolzDesign, www.stolzdesign.de

The duality of the Frankfurt image is recognized in other media as well. Among the outstanding urban sights on some editions of the tourist map by ‘Toursim+Congress GmbH’ (image 4.22) are mostly symbols that refer to the iconic built heritage, museum promenade along the river and historic streets, squares and urban areas. Its design practically and functionally points to the most important landmarks and attractions of the city, however, there are no additional accents on financial district, its iconic skyscrapers or signature architecture within. The reasons for such an example of the opposite extreme can be found in the actual marketing strategies that are tending to get rid of prejudiced unilateral image of an uninteresting financial hub, striving to put an accent instead on other assets and contents, which Frankfurt should offer to the targeted group of tourists and visitors. In addition, analysis of the websites promoting the city (image 4.23) is revealing to a certain level themed domain that is either

focused primarily on tourists and visitors or on attracting international business and investors, offering plenty of information within the focus of these interest groups. The Frankfurt brand is therefore highly versatile and flexible, whose media-generated image, that aims to attract business and investors, significantly differs from the tourism-oriented one.

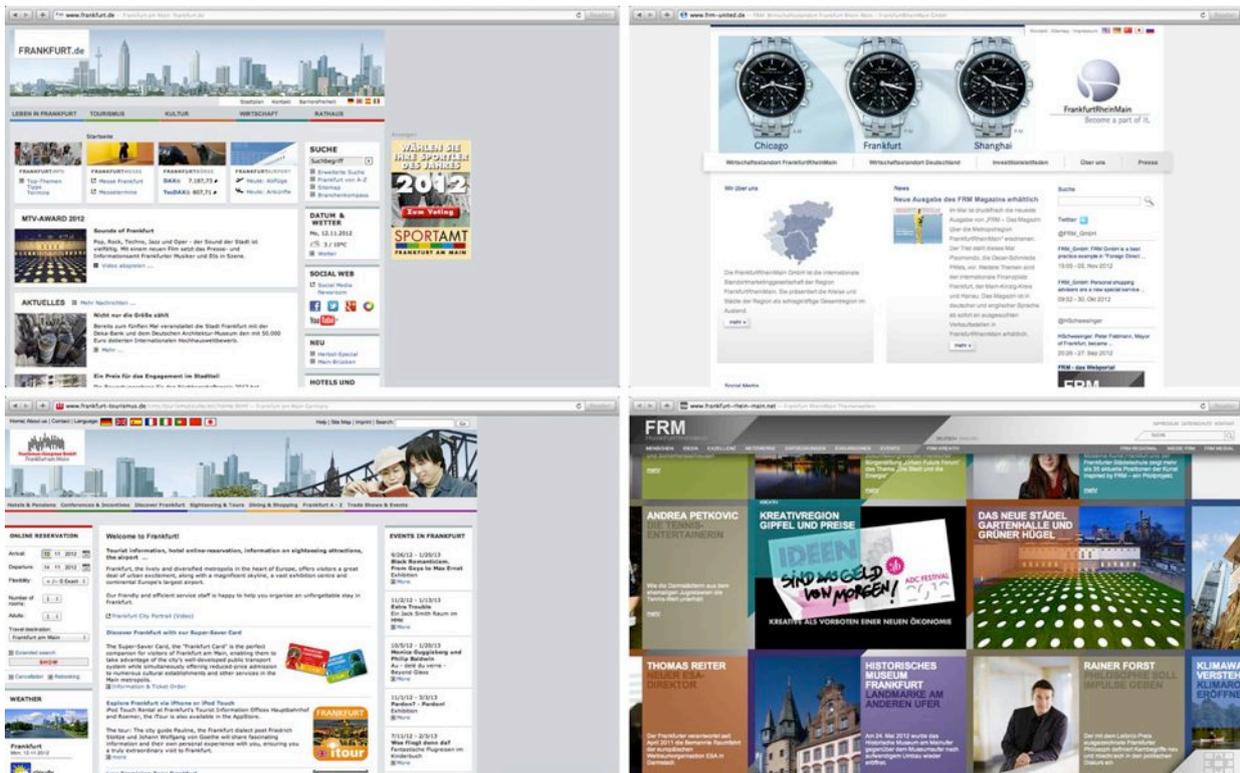


Image 4.23.
Frankfurt Branding websites

Left to right: City of Frankfurt am Main (<http://www.frankfurt.de>), FrankfurtRheinMain GmbH (<http://www.frm-united.de>), Tourism+Congress GmbH Frankfurt am Main (<http://www.frankfurt-tourismus.de>), FrankfurtRheinMain Webportal (<http://www.frankfurt-rhein-main.net>)
Screenshots, 2012-11-12

On the basis of the analysis of the various media, it could be concluded that the general media-generated image of Frankfurt contains both 'traditional' and 'modern' elements, strategically positioned between 'global marketplace' and 'global village', producing a final representation of a metropolis that is on one side aware of its rich tradition and past, and on the other has an attractive environment both as a tourist destination and as a place of investment.

4.2.2. Strategic Planning and Development

4.2.2.1. Development Strategies and Plans

The overall characteristic of Frankfurt's development strategies is their synchronization, balance and integration with the strategies concerning the development of the whole metropolitan region. The Metropolitan Planning Association¹¹¹ is responsible for these specific purposes, which covers Frankfurt and Offenbach, and another 73 additional cities and municipalities from the six bordering districts (*Frankfurt/Rhine-Main Conurbation Planning association – Tasks and Goals*, 2007). Eight focus areas for municipal cooperation were established,¹¹² the Association's main tasks being to control and conduct regional development, development of a common regional image, and drawing up and updating the regional land development plan, as well as the landscape plans.¹¹³

The Metropolitan Planning Association in 2005 created a strategic vision of the regional and urban development until the year 2020 (*Frankfurt/Rhein-Main 2020*, 2005). Its main challenges were the effects on the towns and municipalities of the region caused by the changing economic structure and increasing mobility. To meet its prime goal and develop Frankfurt/Rhein-Main into a leading European metropolitan region by the year 2020, the strategy relies on the spatial planning goals, and on efforts to increase the overall quality of life, stressing out the importance of mobilizing everyone's efforts involved. The objectives to be reached until 2020 should result in a region of well-developed centres, young people and families, science and education, innovative sectors, mobility and logistics, attractive landscapes and culture (*Frankfurt/Rhein-Main 2020*, 2005: 12). The region's main assets identified were its specific contrasts, reaching from the downtown skyline to the idyllic landscapes of the surrounding, as well as the City of Frankfurt itself, being its core and important engine. The strategy also recognizes the importance of high quality built environment to keep existing inhabitants and attract new ones, as well as the importance of cultural heritage preservation and creation of new events and sights. Therefore, urban cores are above all set to become living town centres, further developed on the one side to preserve special cultural and historical attractiveness, and on the other to enhance the atmosphere of 'shopping culture', partly to

¹¹¹ Regionalverband FrankfurtRhineMain, www.region-frankfurt.de 2012-10-31

¹¹² The eight areas of the municipal cooperation are the following: waste disposal, provision of drinking and industrial water, cross-municipal waste water disposal, cross-municipal sport, leisure and recreation facilities, cross-municipal cultural facilities, marketing the municipalities as locations for commerce and industry, the RhineMain Regional Park, and regional transport and traffic management (*Frankfurt/Rhine-Main Conurbation Planning association – Tasks and Goals*, 2007).

¹¹³ As the Land Use Plan provides information on the size and location of future residential and commercial settlement areas, open spaces and their use, green areas to be protected as well as planned streets and railways, the Planning Association is one of the key factors in creating, preserving and improving urban image and identity for both Frankfurt and the region. The planning process itself is open for the public participation; every municipality member are involved as well as public agencies.

counteract questionable trend of convenient purchasing outside of the central zones (*Frankfurt/Rhein-Main 2020*, 2005: 14). Sustaining urban centres are therefore given a particular importance in the frames of the strategy. They are also expected to provide range of entertainment opportunities as well; the strategy suggests retail-stores, service and cultural attractions combined at individual locations. New, large-scale retail developments, on the other hand, are to be carefully introduced with the coordination and cooperation between towns and municipalities.

The future urban study 'Frankfurt für Alle',¹¹⁴ prepared in 2009 by the AS&P office¹¹⁵ on the city's municipality initiative, intends to meet the requirements of the strategic urban development concerning the following two decades. Starting point of the study was the issue of one-dimensional rooted image of Frankfurt, often representing the city as a tough business metropolis, cold financial centre, or provincial city with the big 'global city' ambitions (*Frankfurt für Alle*, 2009: 8-9),¹¹⁶ despite numerous successful urban development programs and projects, realized during the past decade. In this sense, a new marketing concept for the following two decades was deemed necessary,¹¹⁷ in order to ensure sustainable development of the city, with the main task of promoting its numerous unknown potentials, and to improve the existing *image* of the city. The strategy envisioned attractive urban environment for everyone, highlighting the awareness of its combination of strong tradition as free civic town and its international character, with a balanced community, with successful integration of all the population groups in the city, and fair social structure with creative and working elite in all the activities, as a precondition for future success and competitiveness (*Frankfurt für Alle*, 2009). In fact, the main tasks of the strategy 'Frankfurt für Alle' are already recognizable in its title, emphasizing the importance of meeting the requirements of all the social groups within the urban society. To achieve such a vision, the study sets its focus on the five main issues, dealing with the improvements of living quality, fostering education, science, responsibility and participation, strengthening economic force and environmental efficiency, as well as corporate planning of the city with its surrounding region. Within this frame, Frankfurt is to *remain* an important business location, but with significant improvements of its housing stock, as well as of all the other elements contributing to the better quality of life – such as development of new parks and green zones, expansion and evaluation of the waterfronts as 'stages of the city', transportation alternatives, cultural events etc. Civic engagement also plays an important role for the future, as every citizen should be involved in the creation of the desired identity of its city. For this vision's implementation, the study suggests, among others things, project management of the overall strategic image,

¹¹⁴ *Frankfurt for Everybody – Actions Perspectives for the International Civic Town Frankfurt an Main* (in original: *Frankfurt für Alle – Handlungsperspektiven für die internationale Bürgerstadt Frankfurt am Main*; author's translation)

¹¹⁵ AS&P - Albert Speer und Partner GmbH

¹¹⁶ From the foreword by Prof. Albert Speer for the study "*Frankfurt für Alle*", p. 8-9.

¹¹⁷ The new marketing concept has a draft title 'Marketingkampagne Frankfurt 2030'.

meaning adaptation, refinement, and updating its content in consultation with city internal and external expertise. In addition, integration of all the projects and programs for place development and place marketing is considered as necessary for an externally effective urban image development. This process should also involve all the relevant city officials and institutions, as well as citizens, who should work together for overall image creation and coordination (*Frankfurt für Alle*, 2009: 234-235).



Image 4.24.

'Downtown Development Concept' (*Innenstadt Konzept*): development layout plan

The plan shows: existing and planned building edges (thin and thick red line); existing squares (beige); existing and planned passages (dashed thin and thick red line); existing important buildings (in red), existing and planned highrise (in orange and hatched orange)

© raumwerk GmbH Frankfurt am Main. Source: Stadtplanungsamt Frankfurt, <http://www.stadtplanungsamt-frankfurt.de>, 2012-10-31

In all the visions and strategies, Frankfurt is generally marked as an important focal point of the region, particularly its downtown area, containing strong symbolic embodiment of the city as a whole. Urban Planning Office developed a special 'Downtown Development Concept' (*Innenstadt Konzept*),¹¹⁸ embracing all the main principles of the existing planning proposals, in order to steer future projects in the right direction (image 4.24; 4.25). Utilizing an open planning

¹¹⁸ Stadtplanungsamt, <http://www.stadtplanungsamt-frankfurt.de>, 2012-10-31

process, the intention is to have an approach to the downtown area as a whole, eliminate its weak points and turn it into a vibrant hub for trade, services, residential life, culture and leisure-time activities.¹¹⁹ The main objectives of such a plan are to revitalize the urban fabric and public space, improve its pedestrian and cycling networks and connect them with the waterfront and surrounding green belt.¹²⁰ The concept also promotes mix-usage and supports further housing development, in order to insure the downtown remains ‘alive’ after working hours as well. As a particular spatial quality of the central Frankfurt area, the ‘Downtown Development Concept’ recognizes its *diversity*, and within this frame suggests its delineation according to different identities of its quarters (image 4.25).



Image 4.25.

‘Downtown Development Concept’ (*Innenstadt Konzept*) - Identity of the quarters

Old Town-South (yellow), Old Town-North (red), Financial District (dark green), Fressgass/Stock Exchange district (orange), New Town district (dark blue), Court district (light green), Allerheiligen district (violet) and Fischerfeld district (light blue)

© raumwerk GmbH Frankfurt am Main. Source: “Im Dialog” No. 8, 2010: 40

¹¹⁹ <http://www.stadtplanungsamt-frankfurt.de>, 2012-10-31

¹²⁰ <http://www.stadtplanungsamt-frankfurt.de>, 2012-10-31

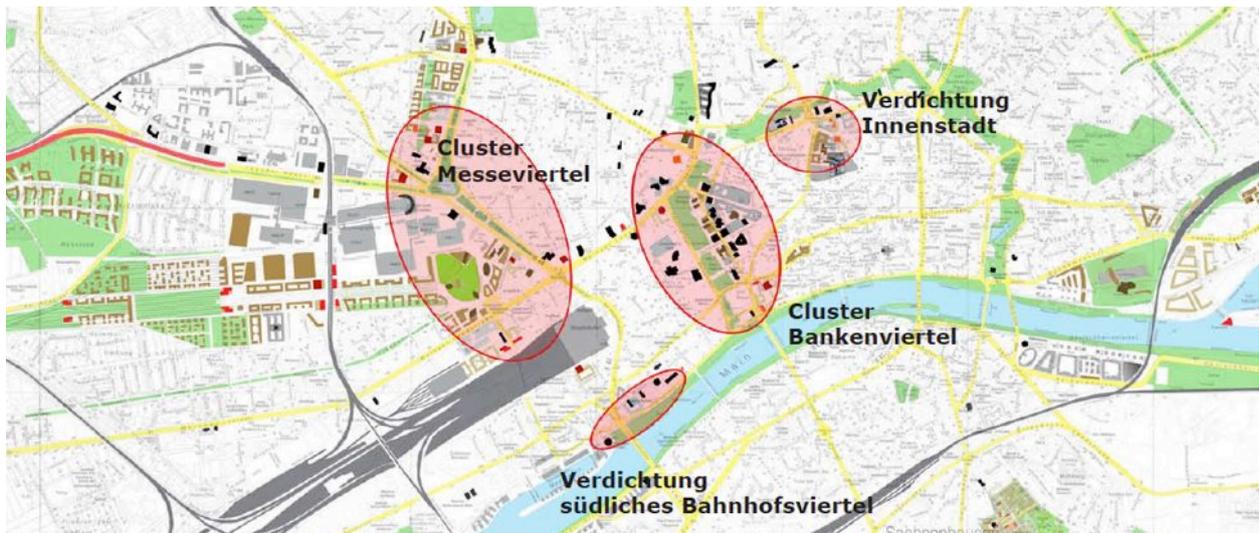


Image 4.26.

The principle of cluster-building, showing the main four areas/clusters, foreseen for future densification; Fair cluster (Messeviertel), Financial district cluster (Bankenviertel), Station cluster, south (südliches Bahnhofsviertel) and Inner city cluster (Innenstadt)

© Jourdan und Müller PAS. Source: *Hochhausenentwicklungsplan*, 2007: 15

In addition to the historic downtown, among the most distinguished areas of Frankfurt is certainly its high-rise quarter, stretching nowadays over several city districts. Through manipulation and control over its image during the past years, Frankfurt managed to find its 'new identity'¹²¹ (*Hochhausentwicklungsplan*, 2007: 5), with the main task of the high-rise planning to sustain further skyline development in a desired direction. Extensive framework plans for the future development of high-rise were drawn up and adopted for the first time in 1998, on the basis of fifty-year-long planning efforts for the city's skyline. The municipal authorities in fact required an overall urban design vision, so that the disposition of the high-rise within urban structure could be ordered, to arrange city's development in skyline, as well as to get an insight into the newly proposed locations for the future skyscrapers (*Hochhausentwicklungsplan*, 2008: 1). The current version of the 'High-rise development plan' is based both on the recommendations of the study by the architectural office Jourdan & Müller PAS, and on its modifications by the city council that followed in 2007 and 2008 (*Hochhausentwicklungsplan*, 2007; 2008). The experiences of some other important global cities, such as of Paris and London (2007: 7-8), as well as of Berlin, Munich, Wien and Boston (2007: 10) were also considered for drafting the plan. The outstanding dominance of the high-rise silhouette for the definition of contemporary city image and identity of Frankfurt is largely confirmed,¹²² which was grasped rather as 'the city of skyscrapers' instead of a city with some high-rise (*Hochhausentwicklungsplan*, 2007: 5; 14). The plan finally defined the most important

¹²¹ „Frankfurt am Main hat in den vergangenen 50 Jahren mit seinem Stadtbild eine neue Identität gefunden“; *Hochhausentwicklungsplan*, 2007: 5

¹²² „Das Stadtbild der Stadt Frankfurt am Main wird heute durch die ‚Skyline‘, die Stadtsilhouette der Hochhäuser geprägt“; *Hochhausentwicklungsplan*, 2007: 5

criteria for the high-rise sites (2007: 10), based on the cluster zones principles within the inner city (image 4.26), to avoid urban sprawl and to preserve and protect historical district, as well as residential and green areas.

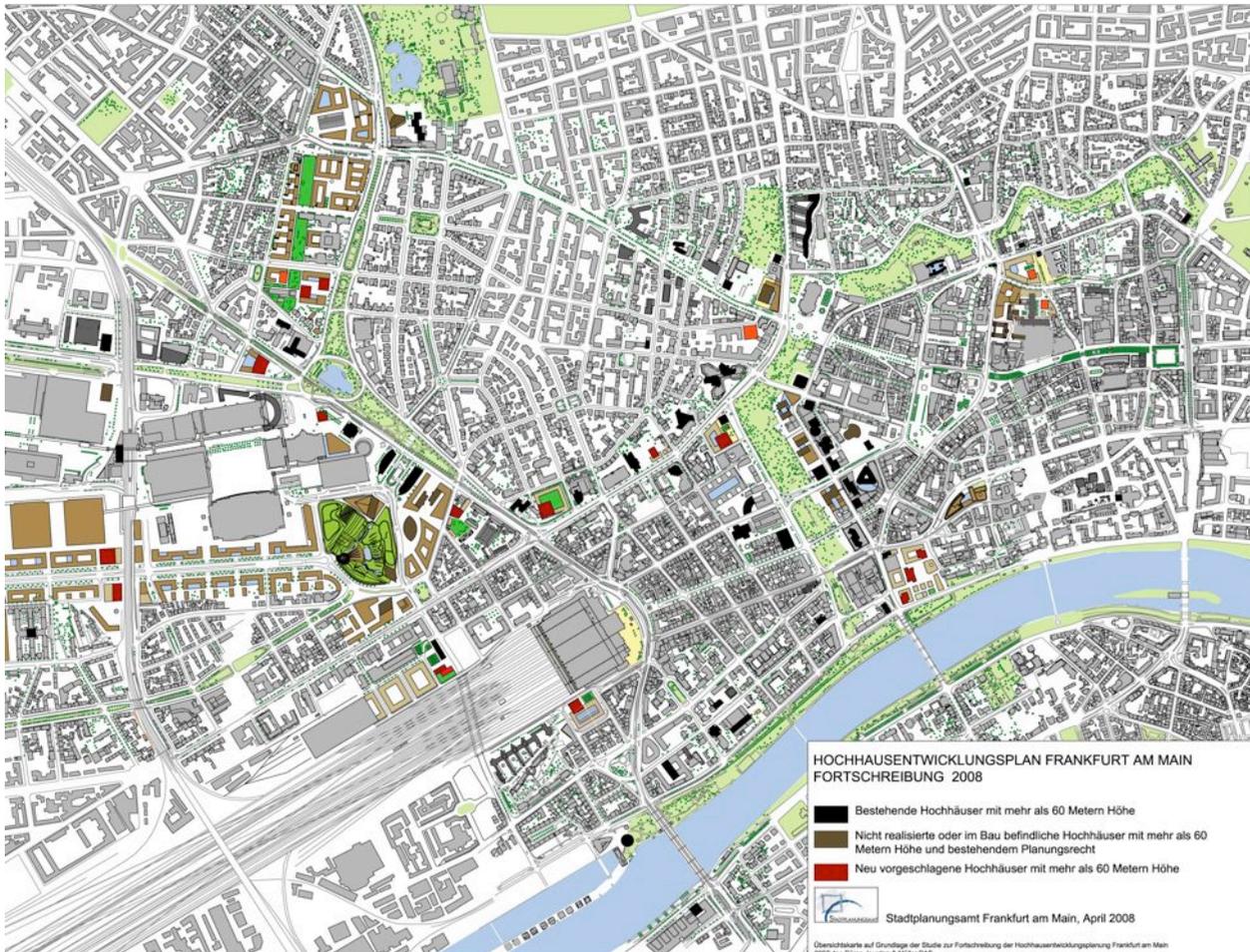


Image 4.27.

High-rise development plan (*Hochhausentwicklungsplan*) from 2008, showing existing (black), not realized (brown) and planned high-rise locations (red)

© Jourdan und Müller PAS. Source: *Stadtplanungsamt Frankfurt am Main*, <http://www.stadtplanungsamt-frankfurt.de>, 2012-10-23

According to the plan, all the new skyscrapers are to be well connected with the public transport facilities, and should secure mixed use and quality for the surrounding public spaces, without the risk of shading. The principle of keeping the skyscrapers within groups or clusters is to produce an ensemble effect within urban space, whose silhouettes should produce high-quality skyline to foster identity of the whole city.¹²³ The latest update of the high-rise development plan from 2008 entails the preparation of 23 new high-rise buildings higher than 60

¹²³ „Mit der Zusammenfassung der Hochhäuser in Gruppen – Cluster – wird eine Ensemblewirkung im Stadtraum erreicht, die mit ihrer Silhouettenwirkung die ‚Skyline‘ prägt und die Identitätsbildung fördert. Die Stadtviertel der Hochhauscluster bilden die neuen Brennpunkte urbanen Lebens, sie bilden signifikante Stadtteile in der Stadt“; Hochhausentwicklungsplan, 2007: 10

meters, in 16 locations (*Hochhausentwicklungsplan*, 2008; image 4.27). Big clusters *Bankenviertel* and *Meseviertel* have been slightly expanded and connected through the linear constellation of high-rise buildings along the north side of the *Mainzer Landstrasse*. In addition to the strong dependence on the cluster principle, the plan update recognizes involvement of the solitary high-rise buildings, but only in the cases of lower heights (up to 60 meters high) or in the cases when they represent earlier development decisions. Such development is also justified when contributing to particular urban areas or having a special public importance, like New ECB towers. High-rise in the central areas, however, shouldn't be isolated, but should actively contribute to the life of surrounding urban spaces, through planning their ground floors for shops, gastronomy, culture, sport or other public purposes, and through providing views on the city from its highest floors for the public. The plan also contains guiding principles for urban design, mostly concerning basic building layout, orientation and heights.

4.2.2.2. Current Development Areas Overview

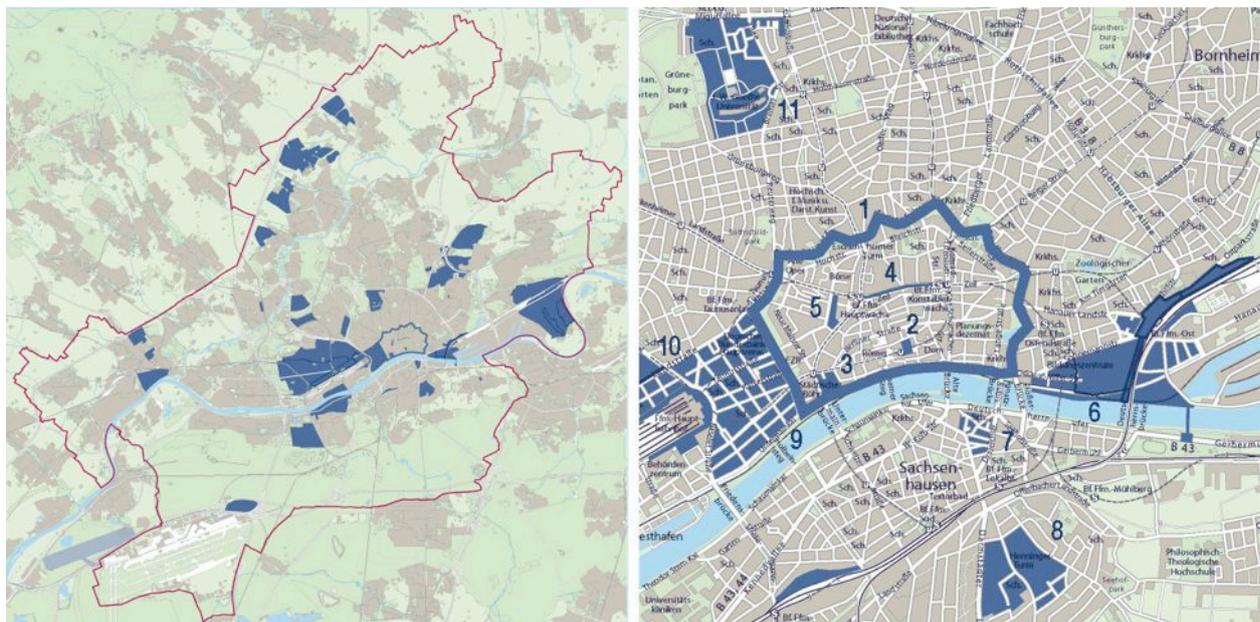


Image 4.28.

The most important actual development projects and areas in Frankfurt urban area (left) and in its central zone (right)

Legend: *Downtown Development Konzept* (1), DomRömer area (2), Main-Tor area (3), Zeil Street redevelopment (4), Goethe Platz redevelopment (5), New ECB premises, with the surrounding redevelopments of traffic infrastructure, public spaces and green areas (6), Renewal of the old Sachsenhausen (7), Henninger tower area (8), Bahnhofsviertel urban renewal (9), Europaviertel new development (10), University campus Westend (11).

© Stadtplanungsamt Frankfurt am Main. Source: <http://www.stadtplanungsamt-frankfurt.de>, 2012-10-25, with author's additions

The analysis of the plan that shows the most important areas of the current development within the city reveals the latest activity mostly focused in and around the downtown zone

(image 4.28). The current 'Downtown Development Concept' (image 4.28: 1) will surely improve overall living, working and traffic conditions within the *Innenstadt* area; however, the on-going redevelopment of the important urban squares and streets, as well as total reconstruction of the historical urban centre within the *DomRömer* project (image 4.28: 2) aims mostly to influence the current urban image and the identity of the whole city. Other important redeveloping urban zones involve adjacent *Bahnhofsviertel* renewal between the downtown area and the Central Station (image 4.28: 9), as well as historic *Sachsenhausen* renewal (image 4.28: 7).

One of the most extensive current developments in Frankfurt is certainly the massive redevelopment of the vast empty area of the former main freight station, located in the *Gallus* district, western from the central urban area. This prime downtown brownfield site of about 90 ha that extends between the Frankfurt Fair and the Central Station, is being converted into an attractive housing and business quarter of *Europaviertel* (image 4.28: 10). After its completion in 2020, this district is expected to reach a population of approximately 10,000 residents and 30,000 workers (*Boulevard Mitte*, 2013: 10). As such, it will certainly alter the present character of the *Gallus* district, marked by industrial and craft sector, as well as make an impact on overall urban image and identity of Frankfurt. However, on the other side of the city, the construction of the new European Central Bank premises in developing *Ostend* district already initiated a whole range of accompanying projects for regulation, adaptation and improvement of its immediate environment (image 4.28: 6). Although significantly smaller in scale, this massive redevelopment on the riverside, with its attractive design, will certainly affect to a greater extent the visual integrity and identity of the whole city, due to its extraordinary location with good visibility, and exceptional character of the upcoming function.

4.3. Analysis of the Selected Areas in Frankfurt

According to the previously established research methodology, the following three areas in Frankfurt were selected as relevant for conducting a detailed analysis that follows (image 4.29):

1. Regarding the historic centre case:

Frankfurt Old Town (*Altstadt*),

2. Regarding the business district case:

High-rise cluster of the Financial District (*Bankenviertel*), and

3. Regarding the brownfield redevelopment case:

Main shore in *Ostend* district (*Ostend Mainufer*)



Image 4.29.

Frankfurt satellite image with the highlighted areas in focus

Legend: 1- Altstadt; 2- Financial District's high-rise cluster; 3- *Ostend* riverfront

© 2014 TerraMetrics & © 2014 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (© 2009), Google

Source: www.maps.google.de, 2012-12-31, with author's additions

4.3.1. Frankfurt Case 1 (Historic Centre): Frankfurt *Altstadt*

4.3.1.1. Case Area Description

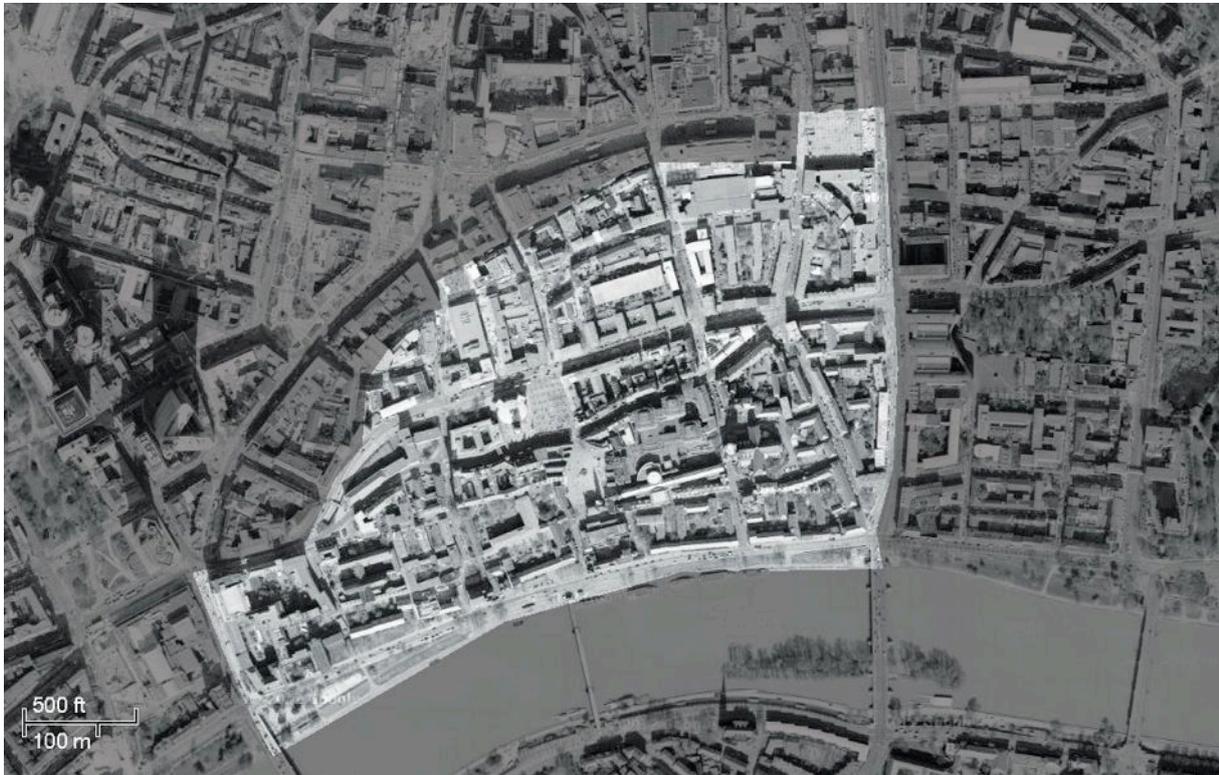


Image 4.30.

Frankfurt Old City (*Altstadt*) –borders of the area

© 2014 TerraMetrics & © 2014 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (© 2009), Google. Source: maps.google.de, 2012-12-31, with author's additions

As the place where Frankfurt was established, developed and expanded from, *Altstadt* is certainly an area with a special significance for the whole city and its metropolitan region. In historical circumstances, the area actually used to have the authentic role of an inner city zone as it was surrounded by the very first defensive walls. Such a historical importance reflected its central position within the contemporary urban landscape, as well as on its compact urban structure. However, most of the heritage originating from the long and diverse development backgrounds suffered severe bombings during the 2nd World War, making it one of the most devastated of all urban areas in post-war Frankfurt.

Nowadays, *Altstadt* is the smallest district of the city, administratively incorporated into *Ortsbezirk Innenstadt I*. It still occupies central position within the cityscape, on the northern Main riverbank (image 4.30). With the exception of the territory between *Dom* and *Römer*, the area is almost completely build-up, housing the most representative urban open spaces and a green riverfront stripe, *Mainkai* (Main quay), where the former oldest city harbour used to be.

Altstadt is currently completely surrounded by the *Innenstadt* district, which took over the role of a modern city centre in the more recent history of Frankfurt, while the three iconic historically reconstructed bridges are connecting it with the opposite district of *Sachsenhausen*; *Alte Brücke*, *Eiserne Steg* and *Untermainbrücke*.

Although *Altstadt* lost most of its original appearance and its former role of the supreme town centre, as a consequence of the city's development, expansion, severe war destructions and disputable renewal, it remained political and administrative centre of Frankfurt. Besides, *Altstadt* nowadays turned into an important cultural hub, with many museums, galleries and theatres. Residential facilities from the early renewal phases are mainly concentrated on the eastern side, which is at the same time the main zone of Frankfurt's art trade. Together with the bordering main shopping street *Zeil*, northern and eastern areas of *Altstadt* are one of the major urban areas for service and retail. Finally, due to many important historical sites and landmarks, its central zone is not only an attractive tourist destination, but certainly also the most important carrier of common memory on Frankfurt's tradition and history.

4.3.1.2. Historical Circumstances

Due to a long and rich history, *Altstadt* has immense significance, both for residents and visitors of the city. Long spatial development background, stretching back through centuries and building epochs, shaped the old city as a palimpsest of various architectural styles, including Gothic, renaissance, baroque and classicism.¹²⁴ Until its destruction in 1944, *Altstadt* district unquestionably had a supreme role in defining urban identity for all of Frankfurt.

Although peripheral areas north from the *Berliner* Street, south of the Cathedral and around the City Hall have been rebuilt relatively early (Müller-Raemisch, 1996: 63-64; F1: Buch, 00:03:54: 6-9) during the first phases of the after war reconstruction between 1952 and 1954, the very central area between the Cathedral and City Hall, as subjected to constant arguments, remained empty for a relatively long time (Müller-Raemisch, 1996; F1: Buch, 00:03:54; 12-13). The deadlock situation temporarily ended at the beginning of the 1970-es, when the massive concrete structure of the Technical City Hall (*Technisches Rathaus*) was finally erected in the demolished and cleared central area (image 4.32; 4.33), which later some contemporary planners described as a 'big mistake' (F1: Buch, 00:03:54; 19-22; F2: Neitzke, 5/12). At the same time underground car parking, railway station (*U-Bahn*), and a new block of the Historical Museum were constructed on the southern side. These interventions, followed by many

¹²⁴ *DomRömer Zeitung*, February/March 2012, p. 3.

discussions and protests by the citizens (Müller-Raemisch, 1996), further deepened the after-war rupture in the city's spatial development, as they represented an absolute contrast to the previous delicately fragmented structure of the former medieval city.

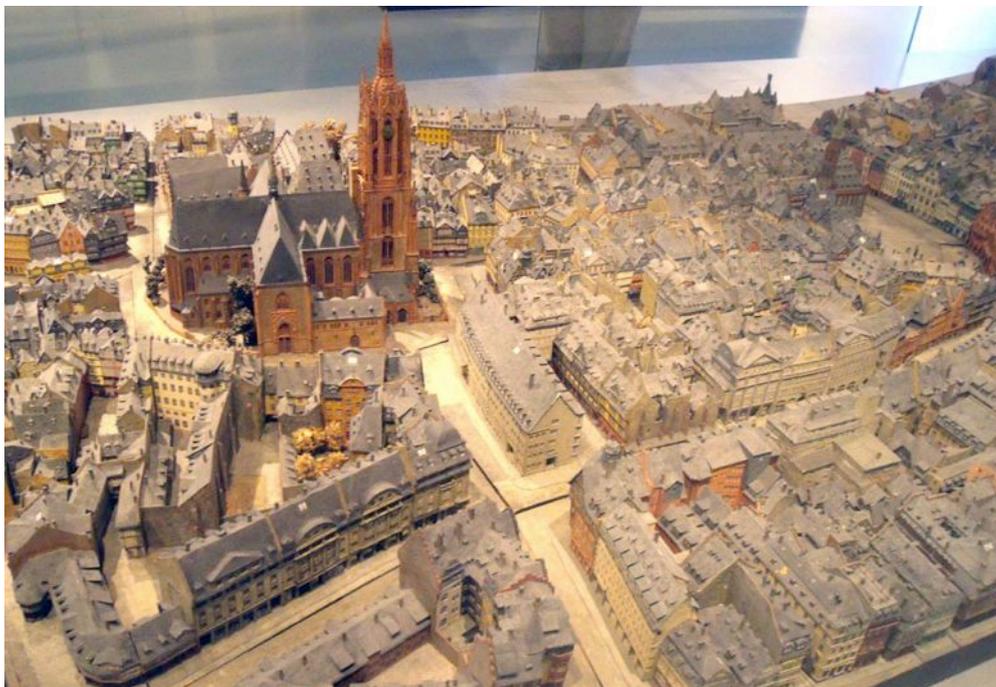


Image 4.31.

Detail of the Frankfurt's *Altstadt* model by brothers Treuner

Due to its complex elaboration, the model is considered one of the most important documents representing Frankfurt's historical identity¹²⁵
Author's photo, 2010-11-14

Rising of the public interest for the city's history, as well as well-documented pre-war situation (image 4.31), have both resulted with the first historical 'reconstruction', occurred in the former heart of the old city during 1983, after 40 years of discussions about the topic – the row of *Samstagberg* houses,¹²⁶ originating from the 16th and 17th century, have been rebuilt according to the old drawings and photographs (Schembs, 2005: 87). This 'reconstruction' was, however, meant to be only an appropriate façade for the *Römerberg* Square and the opposite City Hall; in fact they were partially modern buildings that respected the historical structure and the scale of the plot,¹²⁷ planned as a buffer zone for the contemporary developments that followed. A few years later, modernisation of the site commenced, when the elongated structure

¹²⁵ The model of Frankfurt's Old City by the brothers Herman (1876-1962) and Robert Treuner (1877-1948) represents two-thirds of the medieval city on a scale of 1:200, measuring 4.50 x 1.70 m. The model represents a significant document on Frankfurt's destroyed historic urban core. It is made by hand, based on numerous sketched and photographed detail studies between 1926-1955. Today is stored in the City's History Museum (*Museum für Stadtgeschichte*) in Frankfurt.

¹²⁶ The reconstructed houses are: Großer Engel, Goldener Grief, Wilder Mann, Dachsberg/Schlüssel, Großer und Kleiner Laudenberg and Schwarze Stern (Schembs, 2005: 87).

¹²⁷ Source: <http://www.denkmalpflege-hessen.de/Download/Pressefahrt/A002.pdf> 2013-03-12

of the *Schirn Art Gallery (Schirn Kunsthalle)* was introduced (image 4.32). In this case, connection with the past and tradition was not achieved by mere copying or replicating the destroyed heritage or urban structure, but through a contemporary design,¹²⁸ inspired by the forms of traditional Frankfurt architecture. The name of the gallery itself, derived from the typical open butchers shops characteristic for the former medieval Frankfurt, honoured centuries of historical identity disappeared in the rubble.

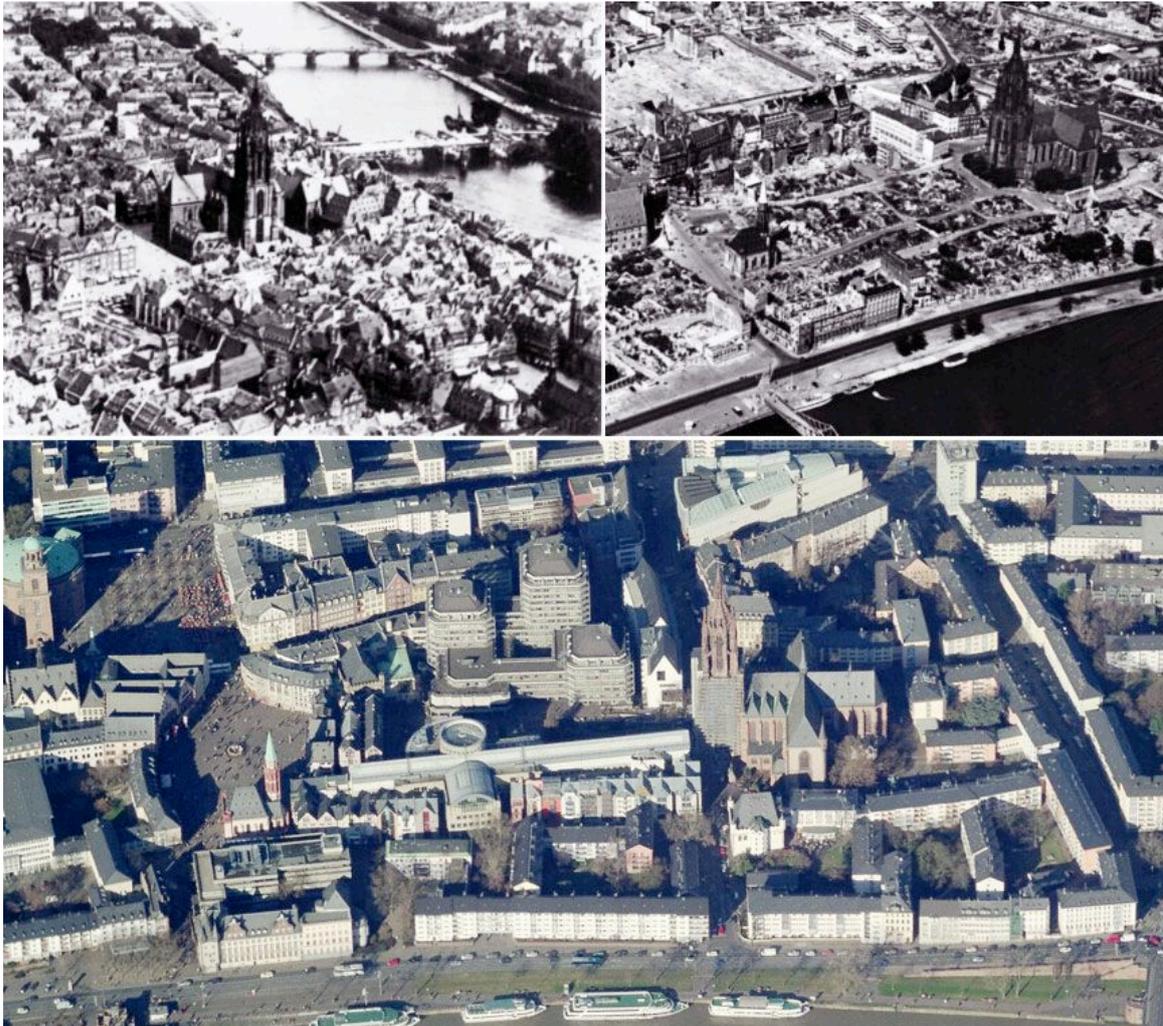


Image 4.32.

Central *Altstadt* area transformations in time

Above: before the destructions; middle: after the bombing; below: before the demolition of the former Technical City Hall (center) and Historical Museum building (down left) in 2011

Above: © *Bildarchiv Foto Marburg*. Source: <http://www.fotomarburg.de/>, 2012-07-23, Nr. 1.172.287 & Nr. 865.006

Below: © 2014 Microsoft Corporation & © 2013 BLOM. Source: <http://www.bing.com/maps/>, 2012-07-23

¹²⁸ Schirn Art Gallery was built according to the design of Berlin architects Bangert, Jansen, Scholz and Schultes (Schembs, 2005: 90).

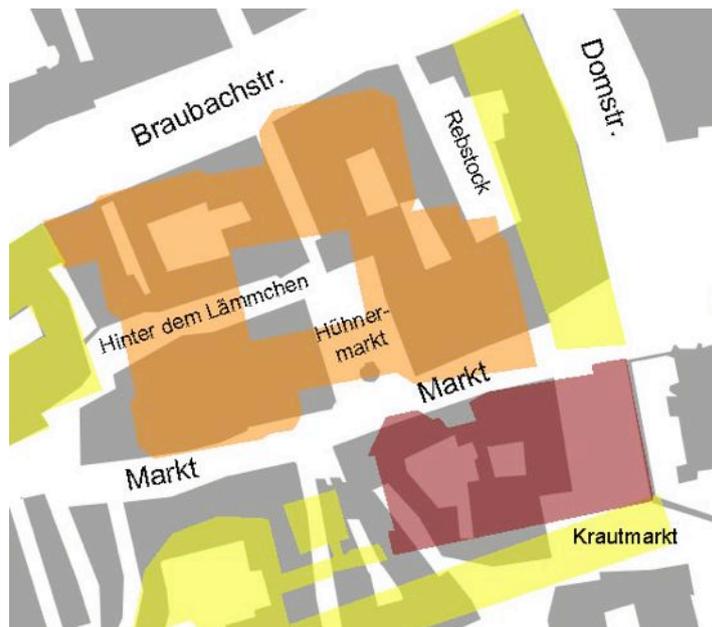


Image 4.33.

Overlapped plans of *Altstadt* before the destruction (in gray) and after the renewal

The central layout in orange represents recently pulled down Technical City Hall, while the area in red is Archeological garden.

Author's drawing, based on Dreyse et al., 2006: 15.

The newly created chaotic postmodern composition of the historical core began to change in 2007, after the rental period for the Technical City Hall expired, and when the city municipality saw an opportunity to finally redevelop the most attractive *Dom-Römer* area. An idea to recover the traditional, historical face of the city was gradually getting on its importance, while the main reasons to legitimate the need for the zone redevelopment, besides low quality of the existing urban space, was also the lack of reference to the historic centre.¹²⁹ On the initiative of the City Planning Office (F1: Buch, 00:03:54; 24-26), and on the basis of the winning urban competition entry in 2005, developed by Frankfurt-based office *Architekten KSP Engel & Zimmermann* (image 4.34), emerged the idea of reviving the old city structures, based on their historical streets and plots outlines, adapting it to the present-day functional requirements. Although the original idea involved contemporary design, with respect toward memories and historical setting, it was rejected by the citizens (F1: Buch, 00:03:54; 24-26; F3: Schalk, 00:25:40, 2-4), who opted for the complete reconstruction of the old city's core, or at least of its most iconic historic houses. This situation made the city council establish a special committee regarding this most important historic zone of the city, whose first tasks were to examine the documentation and other sources, and to determine to which extent a possible reconstruction could be undertaken (Dreyse et al., 2006). Finally, after urban design competition, several initiatives for the reconstruction of the old city and planning workshops, it has been decided that

¹²⁹ Source: <http://www.domroemer.de/site/technisches-rathaus/> 2012-07-23

the area should be developed on its historical bases.¹³⁰ This decision certainly respected the standpoint of certain groups of citizens (F1: Buch, 00:03:54; 35-45), but was not in favour of many of the planners and professionals, mostly because of the direct conflict between full historic reconstruction and modern building directives (F1: Buch, 00:03:54; 30-32; F3: Schalk, 00:24:37). The latest decision to ‘historicize’ the *Altstadt* probably caused another review by the city municipality concerning the now-inadequate postmodern Historical Museum building, proposing thus a new one, which would better *fit* into the scenario of the increasingly important *Dom-Römer* project. Both Technical City Hall and the old Museum building were finally torn down in 2011, which marked thereby the beginning of the new chapter in the striving for complete makeover of the former historical urban core.



Image 4.34.

Winning urban design competition entry by KSP Architekten, 2005
© KSP Architekten. Source: <http://www.ksp-architekten.de/>, 2012-07-24

4.3.1.3. Spatial Analysis and Landmarks

Although *Altstadt* significantly changed its urban landscape during the post-war reconstructions, it still can be considered as a relatively densely built area. Besides from the centrally located site that is being reconstructed, the district is completely built-up, with the riverside, its streets, centrally located squares and backyards, as the only open spaces of the district. Its physical configuration is dominated by a transversal pedestrian axis, created by the sequence of the most important public spaces of the whole city (Image 4.35). This ‘historical

¹³⁰ *DomRömer Zeitung*, Oktober 2010: 3.

axis' is in fact a major connection between the main shopping street *Zeil* on the north, and the green riverfront stripe on its southern end. The second major spatial characteristic originates from the post-war times, and involves the highly frequent longitudinal breakthrough for motorized traffic, through the very middle of the district. This modern busy street unfavourably cuts both *Altstadt* and its pedestrian axis in two, and is at the same time running close by the historical core itself, which altogether makes this early postmodern planning decision subjected to many criticism and reconsideration in present days (F3: Schalk, 00:33:15).



Image 4.35.
Altstadt spatial and landmarks analysis

Legend: Heritage landmarks (in brown; 1- Frankfurt Cathedral (*Dom*); 2- Archeological garden; 3- Old Nikolai Church; 4- Paul's Church; 5- City Hall (*Römer*); 6- Carmelite Monastery; in red: demolished, unwanted heritage); contemporary landmarks (in violet; A- Museum of Modern Art; B- Schirn Art Gallery; C-Samstagberg reconstructions; D- location of the pulled-down Technical City Hall); central pedestrian axis (in yellow); main streets for motorized traffic (in blue)

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Landmarks of the district are mostly historic ones, however diverse in forms, shapes and styles. Few preserved or reconstructed historical buildings along with some new iconic structures are creating the major recognizable features of the area. They are distributed in overlapping historical layers, mostly within the area between the Frankfurt Cathedral on the east (*Kaiserdome Sankt Bartholomäus*; constructed during the 14th and 15th Century), to the Carmelite Monastery on the far west (established in the 13th Century). The view of the Cathedral, which

was once obstructed by densely built cluster of the old city, is presently dramatically open, as a consequence of a post-war archaeological discovery under the rubbles. The 'Archaeological garden' (*Archeologischer Garten*) is in fact an early layer of historical stratification (F2: Buch, 00:03:54), dating from the Roman and Medieval times that came to the surface in the highly central zone. Around the main squares *Römerberg* and *Paulsplatz* the City Hall (*Römer*) is located, as well as free standing volumes of Old Nikolai and Paul's Church. The eastern side of the *Römerberg* Square is flanked by a row of partially reconstructed medieval houses from the 1980-es (*Ostzeile*). 'Historical' facades of these buildings, together with the iconic main façade of the City Hall, provide traditional representative setting for the thematic *Römerberg* Square.

The major contemporary landmarks of the district date back to the mid 1980-es. The elongated structure of the *Shirn* Art Gallery (1986) stretches southwards from the central historical area, separating it from the strip of residential buildings from the 1950-es along the Main. On the opposite side is the contemporary building of the Museum of Modern Art (1981)¹³¹ that despite modern design owes its unusual figure of freestanding triangular prism to the historically developed urban structure.

4.3.1.4. On-growth and Planned Development Analysis

The most important current intervention within the *Altstadt* district is certainly the complete rearrangement of the former central urban cluster.¹³² The site of the so-called *DomRömer* project (image 4.36: 1), also known as 'Frankfurt's New Old City' (*Neue Frankfurter Altstadt*),¹³³ occupies around 7.000 m² in the very heart of the former Frankfurt's old city centre, between the Cathedral (*Dom*) and *Domplatz* Square on the East, *Bethmann* Street (*Bethmannstraße*) on the North, *Römerberg* Square on the East and *Bendergasse* Street on the South. Along with the efforts to upgrade this highly attractive area, which until recently occupied massive structure of the Technical City Hall from the post-war times, the municipality at the same time opted for a more 'appropriate' new building of the nearby Historical Museum (image 4.36: 3). The new upgrade should replace the previous concrete building within the complex, retaining by this way the structure of a freestanding museum block between Main quay on the south, *Fahrtor* Street on the west and *Saalgasse* on the north. Furthermore, the (re)construction of the *Dom-Römer* area also created both a necessity and an opportunity to finally integrate the

¹³¹ The museum building was designed by the Viennese architect Hans Hollein.

¹³² The second major development in Altstadt area is the *Mainor* project on the far west of the district. This area however could be considered as a part of the financial district (*Bankenviertel*) at the same time, as this district's borders are not clearly defined; instead it covers some areas belonging to the several neighboring districts. Regarding the functional and locational features of the *Mainor* project, within this dissertation it has been analyzed in the chapter discussing Frankfurt's financial district instead.

¹³³ Source: <http://www.domroemer.de> 2013-01-04

later discovered Archaeological garden into the structures and landmarks of the new-old town. Such a delicate interpolation of the future 'Townhouse on the *Markt Square*' (*Stadthaus am Markt*) is aiming to reach proper integration with the reconstruction plans of the old urban core on the one side, and to provide protection and improvement of the archaeological site on the other (image 4.36: 2).

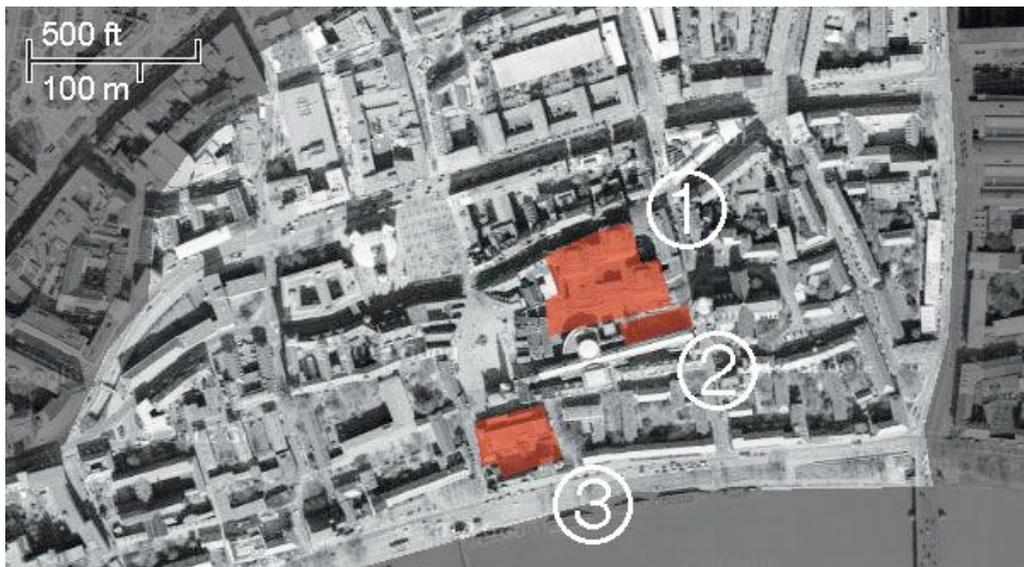


Image 4.36.
Frankfurt Altstadt – on-going developments

On-going projects in the central zone in red (1- *DomRömer* area; 2- *Stadthaus am Markt*; 3- Historical museum)
© 2014 TerraMetrics & © 2014 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (© 2009), Google
Source: <https://maps.google.de>, 2012-12-30, with author's additions

After decades of discussions and contradictory interventions in the post-war period, the recent decisions regarding Frankfurt's destroyed historical urban core favoured the option for reconstruction. For this purpose specifically, the City of Frankfurt, as the major investor of the project, founded '*DomRömer GmbH*' in July 2009,¹³⁴ authorised as a legal entity responsible for development, planning and project implementation of the area between *Dom* and *Römer*, as well as for marketing and sale of the newly created houses, apartments and commercial space. Although a separate institution, it works closely with other planning and preservation authorities of the city (F1: Buch, 00:03:19-2). The main idea behind the *DomRömer* Project itself is to revive the old city's grid on the basis of the historical foundation plans, with the traditionally small and dense parcelling, which as a result should define historical traces of the former main streets and squares of the old Frankfurt's downtown. The project started with demolition of the post-war developments, which mainly ignored the character and the background of the place,

¹³⁴ Source: <http://www.domroemer.de/site/projektverlauf/> 2012-07-23

followed by division of the project area in about thirty small plots, in order for a historical new-old town district to be recreated (image 4.37). In the current state of development (image 4.38), the project involves at least eight reconstructions of both the most famous and well-documented historical houses, formally named 'creative replicas' (*schöpferischen Nachbauten*; image 4.39; 4.40)¹³⁵ and more than twenty new designs, inspired by their historical predecessors (*Neubauten*; image 4.41).¹³⁶ The use of archaic architectural language, both within the reconstructions and historically inspired new designs, along with the compact rows of houses and reconstruction of historical urban spaces, should all contribute to the anticipated revival of the traditional identity of the historic urban core. The whole newly developed *Altstadt* is at the same time planned to balance the three main activities: residential, working and leisure. From the overall gross effective area of 21.000 m², 12.000 m² are planned for residential use, 6.000 m² for trade and catering, and the remaining 3.000 m² are for cultural purposes.¹³⁷

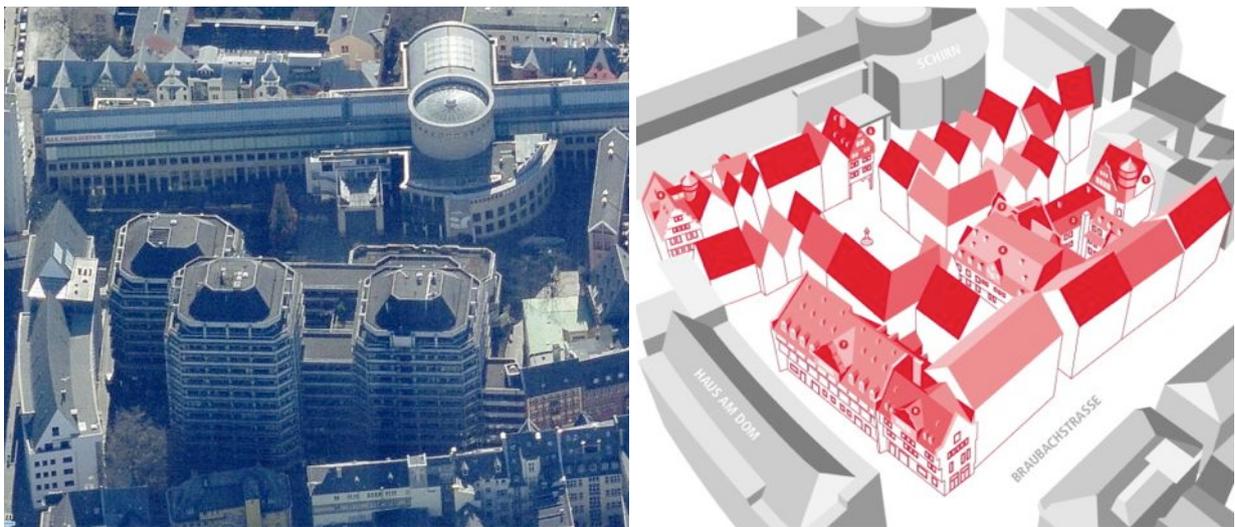


Image 4.37.

The former appearance of the Dom-Römer project area with the Technical City Hall (left) and the master plan of the DömRomer project, north-east view (right)

Left: © 2014 Microsoft Corporation & © 2013 BLOM, <http://www.bing.com/maps/>, 2013-01-07.
Right: © DomRömer GmbH, <http://www.baunetz.de/>, 2012-07-20

¹³⁵ Eight iconic historical houses, that are planned for reconstruction are: Klein Nürnberg, Goldenes Lämmchen, Alte Esslinger, Esslinger (all in Hinter dem Lämmchen Street); Haus at Braubachstr. with the number 21; Hof zum Rebstock; Rotes Haus (at Hühnermarkt Square); Goldene Waage. Reconstruction is also possible for the following nine historical houses: Braubachstr. 27; at Hühnermarkt Square houses with the numbers 13, 15, 18, 20, 22, 24; and at Markt Street numbers 26 and 28.
Source: <http://www.domroemer.de/site/Startseite/Features/rekonstruktionen/> 2012-07-20

¹³⁶ The houses that will have new, historically inspired design are the following: at Braubachstr. houses with numbers 23, 25, 27, 29; Neugasse Street 4; Hühnermarkt Square 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24; at Markt Street 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40; At Rebstockhof number 2. As an addition to the existing Archeologischer Garten, Stadthaus am Markt is planned for realisation.
Source: <http://www.domroemer.de/site/Startseite/Features/neubauten/> 2012-07-20

¹³⁷ Source: <http://www.domroemer.de/site/neubauten/> 2012-07-23



Image 4.38.
Dom-Römer-Project, master plan.

Objects set for reconstruction so far are numbered and coloured green, while the possible reconstructions are coloured yellow.

© DomRömer GmbH. Source: www.domroemer.de, 2012-07-20

The most sensitive task of the project certainly involves rebuilding of the historic houses, which on the one side is expected to provide the most genuine reconstruction possible, and on the other is facing challenges of contemporary building laws, regulations and technology (F1: Buch, 00:03:54, 28-30). In order to ensure credible reconstruction, and to avoid possible claims against its authenticity, the Board of *DomRömer GmbH* established the following three main criteria for the selection of historical houses for reconstruction: first of all, reconstruction of a historic building is expected to fit into the historical floor plan, in order to avoid changes in construction and illegitimate ‘inventing’ of the new facades. The second criterion is that planned reconstruction shouldn’t face any restrictions from the existing constructions, such as subway entrances, ventilation shafts and elevators of the underlying basement garage. The third criterion states that the historical predecessor-buildings must be well documented.¹³⁸ Regarding the variety of building styles, *DomRömer GmbH* supported reconstruction of any style that used to be present in the original *Altsadt*, which in a way leaves the issue of a balanced historical frame of the whole ensemble for reconstruction open. Besides the rules for reconstruction of the

¹³⁸ Source: <http://www.domroemer.de/site/Startseite/Features/rekonstruktionen/> 2012-07-20

most iconic, well- documented historic houses, the project also implies the strictly defined conditions regarding optimal fitting of the new designs (*Neubauten*) into the historically inspired built environment.¹³⁹ The main aims of the new designs, selected on the basis of open international competition, is on the one side to develop individual character, with strict respect toward the location and environment on the other, through a certain continuity with the preceding historical building in terms of respecting original heights, colours, materials, and where possible implementation of original elements.¹⁴⁰ Regardless of high costs of historic reconstruction, which is up to 80% more expensive than a newly designed building,¹⁴¹ there were many citizens that supported full historical reconstruction instead, after the current ‘mixed’ reconstruction project has been introduced to public in 2011.



Image 4.39.

Examples of creative replicas – *schöpferischen Neubauten* (left: *Goldene Waage*; right: *Rotes Haus*)

© DomRömer GmbH. Source: www.domroemer.de 2012-07-20

¹³⁹ “Die künftige Bebauung soll sich gestalterisch in die Umgebung einfügen. Um dies zu gewährleisten, verabschiedete die Stadtverordnetenversammlung eine Gestaltungssatzung, welche die typischen Gestaltungsmerkmale der benachbarten Altstadtgebäude aufgriff und daraus Leitlinien zur Gestaltung der Neubauten ableitete.”; Dom-Römer-Project official website <http://www.domroemer.de/site/neubauten/> 2012-07-23

¹⁴⁰ For this purpose, the city proclaimed a set of design regulations concerning the site development, regarding outline and design of the facades and roofs, placing the wending machines and advertisements, antennas and (“Gestaltungssatzung für das Dom-Römer-Areal” from 16.02.2010. Nr. 7, 141. Jhg., Amtsblatt / Seite 127)

¹⁴¹ Source: <http://www.domroemer.de/site/Startseite/Features/rekonstruktionen/> 2012-07-20



Image 4.40.

Photos of the historical houses *Goldene Waage* and *Rotes Haus* (ca. 1935)
 Photos in the public domain. Source: DomRömer Zeitung, October 2010: 6; January/February 2011: 5

One of the main challenges of the whole *Dom-Römer* project seems to be the issue of reconciliation of two opposites – the strict demands for a proper historic reconstruction on the one side, and on the other all the issues of present-day life, such as insuring contemporary increasing demands for comfort, functional furnishing, assuming modern day equipment such as elevators or installations etc. Moreover, all the objects – whether creative replicas or new designs – are facing the challenge of actual strict regulations regarding fire protection and energy consumption, which all finally sets the project out of the frames of conventional built heritage reconstruction. In fact, the correct restoration of the historical houses could even be hardly possible, when taking into regard the actual building regulations, the central urban position of the site, and underground developments already in the location (such as garage, transportation system etc.). In addition, most of the historical houses couldn't be reconstructed back to their original state, because of the lack of documentation for a comprehensive reconstruction of the interior.¹⁴² However, constrained and partial reconstruction, along with new materials and building technology do not seem to be the only challenges that the *Dom-Römer* project is currently facing. There is also the equally important issue of the new-old objects use, as well as its connection with the original, vernacular purpose; or better to say: how will the reconstructed objects respond to the demands and requirements of the modern-times lifestyle? Taking a look back at the division of public and private spaces, as well as on the ways the

¹⁴² The exceptions are houses "Goldene Waage" and "Rotes Haus", which are so well documented, that actually complete reconstruction is possible. Source: <http://www.domroemer.de/site/Startseite/Features/rekonstruktionen/> 2012-07-20

communication between public and private performs it becomes clear that traditional urban environment seriously confronts modern day standards. Clear eradication of unwanted design elements and functions imposes the idea of ‘museumification’ of the historical *Altstadt*, adapting it to the contemporary demands of real-estate market and tourism, and thus creating somewhat *fake* urban landscape (Huxtable, 1999) of adapted, selected and re-invented traditional background (Ellin, 2002). Despite the different approaches, the professionals finally ironically described the complex as a mixture ‘between new buildings and new buildings’ (F1: Buch, 00:03:54, 31-32), involving objects based on history and tradition, whose market value was constructed around the idea to ‘buy yourself a piece of authenticity’ (F1: Buch, 00:03:54, 33-34).



Image 4.41.

Examples of the winning *Neubauten* - historically inspired new designs

(left: Braubachstr. 23, by *Eingartner Khorrami Architekten*, Leipzig;
 right: Markt 40 by *Jordi & Keller Architekten*, Berlin)
 © *DomRömer GmbH*. Source: <http://www.domroemer.de/>, 2012-07-20

Besides the enormous influence on the surrounding environment and on the whole city itself, the *DomRömer* project could also be considered as a trigger for redevelopment of the nearby area of Archaeological Garden (*Archäologische Garten*), which in the frames of urban design could be seen as an even bigger challenge. Archaeological Garden has been discovered

during the 1950-es,¹⁴³ and was set up as an open-air archaeological installation in 1972/73, during the excavations for underground parking garage and Technical City Hall office building. The site contains the remains of the oldest structures of the city from Roman times and middle ages, such as Roman bath from the 1st and 2nd century, Carolingian imperial palace (*Kaiserpfalz*), houses from the late middle ages,¹⁴⁴ and as such represents an important document of the various stages of the city's development. The demolition of the Technical City Hall was seen as an opportunity to redevelop this zone as well, and to use the values of the archaeological remains by insuring their proper preservation, treatment and exhibition. The idea was to make the archaeological site closer to the public, through the creation of an object for open use in the area, later called 'Townhouse on the *Markt Square*' (*Stadthaus am Markt*). The specificity of this project is actually in its relation to the nearby old city reconstruction. Both elements of this particular, emerging urban patch – the new building and the archaeological site underneath – are characterized through its strong confrontation to reconstruction of the desired setting from the city's history. This confrontation is even more accented, as the location itself represents an important junction between the Cathedral, *Schirn* Art Gallery and the planned small building forms of the nearby old city (image 4.42). The task of the new design was to take into consideration public function, position and architectural formulation, while introducing a completely new object within a historic setting, considering the vicinity of many buildings of architectural heritage, at the same time facing the task to contribute to the solution of the long-lasting unsatisfactory post-war problem situation.¹⁴⁵ After the competition call in 2009 and its later reworking, the design of the future *Stadthaus am Markt* has been entrusted to the Frankfurt-based *Meurer Architekten*.¹⁴⁶ The winning design (images 4.42; 4.43) was justified by its favourable integration with the morphology of the Frankfurt's old city, as well as by its size and use. The central position occupies an assembly hall for about 200 people, and the whole structure offers free view from the outside and easy access to the archaeological findings. Besides its major tasks to provide not only the protection of the archaeological remains, but also to insure their adequate and attractive presentation,¹⁴⁷ this structure in fact had to mediate many conflicts occurring in its immediate environment. Integration of its major public function with dwelling, shops and catering was only one of such conflicts to solve. The Townhouse also took over the key role in regards of spatial, stylistic, and of the general context of the environment itself, mediating not only conflicts between archaeological site and reconstruction area, but also between the contemporary design of the *Schirn* Art Gallery and historic structures of new-old city houses. However, the major issue among the professionals remained the issue of 'fitting-in'

¹⁴³ DomRömer Zeitung, April/May 2011: 6.

¹⁴⁴ Source: www.archaeologisches-museum-frankfurt.de; 2012-07-23

¹⁴⁵ Source: <http://www.domroemer.de/site/stadthaus-am-markt/>; 2012-07-23

¹⁴⁶ Meurer Architekten Stadtplaner Ingenieure Partnerschaftsgesellschaft, <http://www.meurer-architekten.com/>

¹⁴⁷ Source: <http://www.domroemer.de/site/stadthaus-am-markt/>; 2012-07-23

of the new construction into the central area of historically inspired environment, where it actually never existed before (F1: Buch, 00:11:33, 7-8). Aside free interpretation and contemporary articulation of historic environment, the ways many conflicts were taken in consideration for reconciling are probably the highest quality of this project, spatially, stylistically and programmatically torn between different interests and stakeholders.

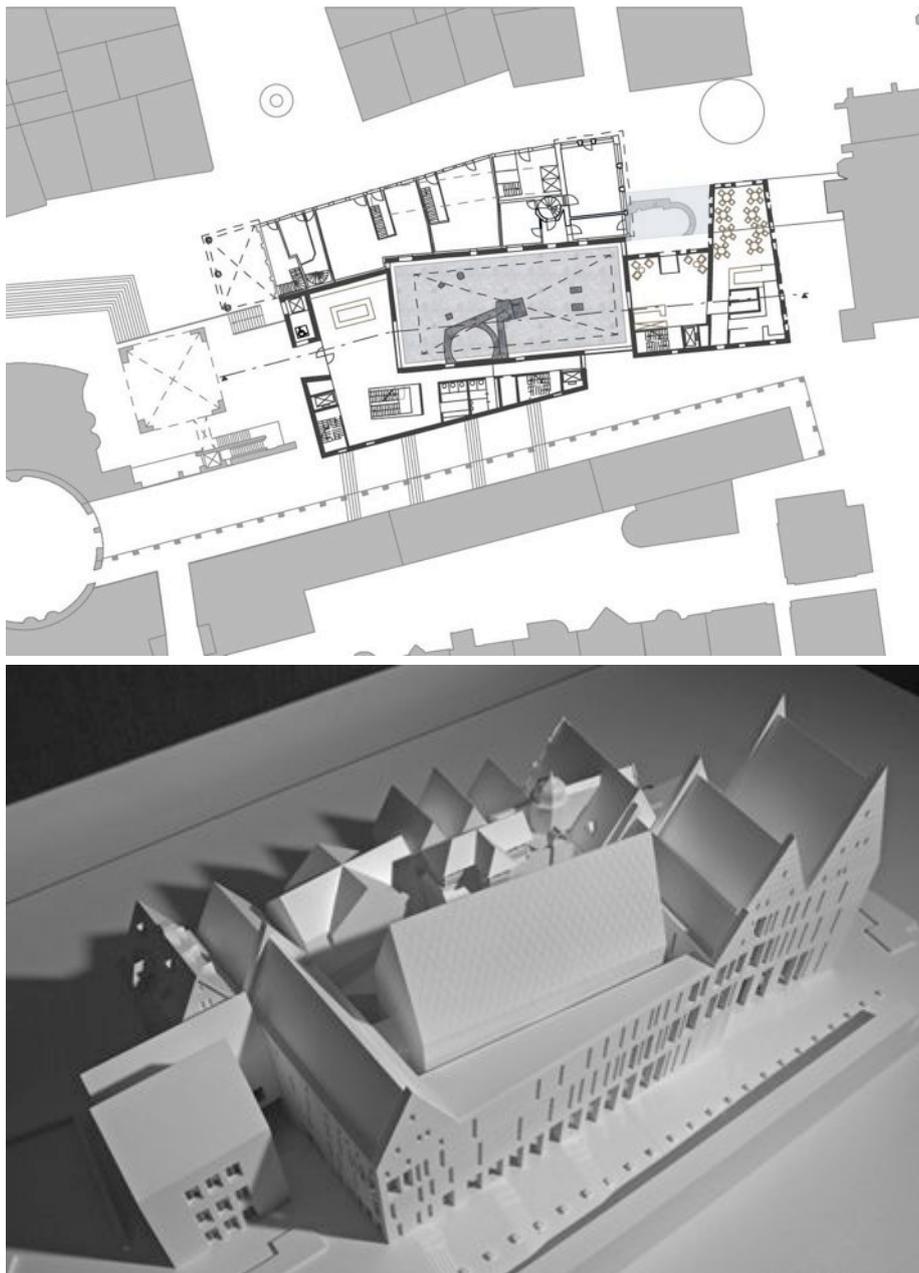


Image 4.42.

'Townhouse on the *Markt Square*', site plan and building model

© MEURER ASIP, www.meurer-architekten.com.
Sources: site plan - <http://www.meurer-architekten.com/>, 2012-07-23;
model - <http://www.baunetz.de>, 2013-01-07



Image 4.43.

'Townhouse on the *Markt Square*': visualisations
 © MEURER ASIP, www.meurer-architekten.com

The last project, which is simultaneously with the on-going reconstructions going to change the general appearance of the Frankfurt's old city area, is the new museum building. The complex of Frankfurt's Historical Museum on *Römerberg* currently consists of several buildings from different historical periods. The old axis, *Saalhof*, includes several buildings lined along the Main: *Rententurm* Tower from the 15th Century, *Bernusbau* from the 18th Century, and *Burnitzbau* from the 19th Century. The newest part of the museum was constructed as a massive concrete structure in 1972, without any communication with the surrounding built environment (image 4.44). In 2007, the Town Council of Frankfurt decided to construct a new building, which would better fit into the context of the *Altstadt's* restored historic appearance, rather than conduct an inefficient reconstruction of the existing premises of the Historical Museum.¹⁴⁸ The winning design of the 2008 competition¹⁴⁹ was submitted by Stuttgart-based architects Lederer, Ragnarsdóttir and Oei (image 4.45). This solution involves new entrance building of the complex, consolidating a block with the existing row of historical constructions planned for renovation, while the new exhibition wing dominates the western side of the complex, as an elongated freestanding structure. The two newly introduced buildings are therefore forming an open manifestation square between them. In full respect of the volumes, forms and materiality, as well as of historical layout of the former old city, the new design was introduced in accordance with the historical building orientations, reintroducing the route of the former *Saalgasse* Street at the same time. The vernacular forms of the sloping roofs, as well as façades in traditional sandstone all correspond to both the on-going *DomRömer* project, as well as the forms of the *Shirn* Art Gallery nearby. With the completion of all these projects, *Altstadt* is

¹⁴⁸ Source: <http://www.historisches-museum-frankfurt.de> 2013-01-07

¹⁴⁹ Source: <http://www.baunetz.de> 2013-01-07

certainly to get its reconstructed façade, inspired by tradition, with a strong contrast to both the values of contemporary architecture, as well as with the well-established reputation of Frankfurt as a global city.



Image 4.44.

Former building of the Historical Museum.

Main façade with *Rententurm* in the background (2011, left) and the aerial imagery of the building complex (right)

Left: Photo by Eva Kröcher, 2007-06-19, CC BY-SA 2.5. Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org>, 2013-01-07

Right: © 2014 Microsoft Corporation & © 2013 BLOM. Source: <http://www.bing.com/maps/> 2013-01-07



Image 4.45.

New construction of the Historical Museum - model of the winning design

Photo by Simsalabimbam, 2012-05, CC BY-SA 3.0.

Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org>, 2014-04-02, detail

4.3.2. Frankfurt Case 2 (Business District): Financial District's High Rise Cluster

4.3.2.1. Case Area Description

Frankfurt's financial district (banking district; *Bankenviertel*) is in fact rather part of the city than its official district (F3: Schalk, 00:02:46), however, according to its name, it bears strong features stemming from its predominant function. Many banks, insurance companies and other financial institutions raised their headquarters in the zone located west from the city centre, and gradually created an unofficial urban district without clearly defined and still extending borders. Many significant and dynamic investments, in the predominant architectural forms of high-rises and skyscrapers, created as a result an iconic skyline on a relatively small core area of the district, which nowadays became one of the major anchors for visual identification and recognisability of both the city and the whole metropolitan region.



Image 4.46.

High-rise cluster of the Financial District (*Bankenviertel*) – borders of the area

© 2014 TerraMetrics & © 2014 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (© 2009), Google. Source: maps.google.de 2013-01-14; with author's additions

The area of the financial district covers the peripheral zones of the three official city districts: western parts of *Innenstadt*, southern parts of *Westend*, and the eastern parts of *Bahnhofsviertel*. The centrally located high-rise cluster (*Bankenviertel Hochhauscluster*; '*Hochhausstadt*') occupies the western area of the former fortification walls, spreading alongside the inner-city park area *Taunus-* and *Gallusanlage* in the direction North-South (image 4.46). Formerly compact high-rise cluster follows the dispersion trend, extending mostly towards the east and west, along the major surrounding streets.¹⁵⁰ With the latest and biggest developments on the south ('Maintor' project), the high-rise cluster opens up to the banks of the river Main.

The uniform character of the district with abundance of office spaces is a long-time challenge for urban planners (F3: Schalk, 00:03:27). However, the high attractiveness of the location is reflected in the real estate market that set back many earlier attempts to introduce housing and various other functions into the district. At present, only the Old Opera House on the far north serving nowadays as a concert hall, together with the new theatre and opera complex on the south (*Städtischen Bühnen*) provide elements of mixed character among the generally mono-functional office district.

4.3.2.2. Historical Circumstances

The image of Frankfurt as a city is currently marked to a large degree by the silhouette of its skyscrapers. Rapid transformation from the city with *some* high-rise into the *city of the high-rise* (*Hochhausentwicklungsplan*, 2007), as mentioned in the section 4.1.2, classified Frankfurt among the rare European cities that in such a decisive progress adopted the strategy that involved concentration and compression of the high-rise in its central zones. Simultaneously to the continuous high-rise development during the last 50 years, Frankfurt also managed to gain its strong metropolitan features. However, implementation of the urban planning concepts for high-rise in Frankfurt throughout its post-war development involved constant reviews and alterations, and is often characterized by their partial realisation.

On the one side, Frankfurt's skyline has its early origins in extensive housing programme, the 'New Frankfurt', launched by the city government back in the 1920-es (Alexander & Kittel, 2006). On the other side, according to Müller-Raemisch (1996: 175), particularly considerable development of the high-rise in Frankfurt has also its backgrounds in a

¹⁵⁰ The major extension lines of the financial district are following the routes of the main surrounding streets: *Neue Mainzer Straße*, *Junghofstraße*, and *Kaiserstraße* on the eastern side, as well as towards the west along the both sides of *Mainzer Landstraße*.

sort of a 'tradition' from just before the wars, when some important companies¹⁵¹ used to express their desired image through selection of attractive locations and greater heights for its premises. However, the booming high-rise trend in Frankfurt certainly began in the post-war period. Planning for Frankfurt's high-rise cluster and shaping-up the skyline ran simultaneously to the development of its architecture, that went through the three main evolving generations defined so far (Müller-Raemisch, 1996; Alexander & Kittel, 2006). Regarding the choices of the outer design of the skyscrapers, selection of their location, views of perception, effects they cause in synchronisation with the rest of the 'horizontal' or 'vertical' urban environment, and impacts on the skyline, nowadays they create a powerful weapon for urban imaging and identity building, important above all for city competitiveness (Alexander & Kittel, 2006).



Image 4.47.

The area of the contemporary Financial District's high-rise cluster in history.

Above: The view on the city by Matthäus Merian (detail) shows the view of the city from south-west before 1619, with its defensive walls and guarding tower's verticals. Below: The plan of the free city of Frankfurt (detail) showing the area of contemporary high-rise cluster in 1845, with the early spread outside of the *Innenstadt* area, after the demolition of the protective walls.

Pictures in the public domain. Below: private collection Mylius. Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org> 2013-01-14

¹⁵¹ Müller-Raemisch gives the examples of 'IG Farben' building in Frankfurt's Grüneburg from 1930, and former 'IG Metal' high-rise on the Main shore, from 1931 (1996: 175).

The first generation of the high-rise buildings began to emerge in Frankfurt during the 1950-es, as a strong symbol of urban resurrection and redevelopment in the after-war period. These buildings were up to 70 meters high, taking modest-sized, contemporary American examples (F3: Schalk, 00:48:45) and the classical German pre-war modern movement as their role models (Alexander & Kittel, 2006: 9). Historical conditions for these early high-rise were arranged after Frankfurt missed the opportunity to become a new federal capital based on its tradition of the former imperial capital (F1: Buch, 00:22:38). The city was forced to develop a new strategy for development, this time based on its long tradition in trade, banking and industry, with final aspirations to become at least the economic capital of the country. For this reason, the city municipality created a positive climate for development in order to attract investors, which nowadays is recognized as one of the main preconditions for the commencement of the early skyline (Alexander & Kittel, 2006: 8-9). One of the first spatial concepts for high-rise buildings (*Das Wallanlagen-Konzept*; Müller-Raemisch, 1996: 176), created by the City Planning Office (*Stadtplanungsamt*) in 1954, directed their organization outside of the central urban districts, *Altstadt*, *Innenstadt* and *Bahnhofsviertel*, planning insertion of the high-rise buildings into the green belt surrounding the downtown area, where the former defensive walls used to encircle the medieval city (image 4.47). This early concept was, however, not fully respected, as the constantly rising need for office space later caused significant densification, particularly of the western *Innenstadt* district.

The second-generation era in the development of the high-rise in Frankfurt began with the construction of the *Zürich-Haus*¹⁵² in 1962. The skyscrapers of this period were generally marked by the sharp increase of their heights and abundant use of international imaginaries in its various forms, shapes and contexts (Alexander & Kittel, 2006: 11). The real high-rise boom occurred during the 1970-es, when certain height 'taboo' of 97 meters that actually stands for the height of the Frankfurt's Cathedral was finally exceeded (Alexander & Kittel, 2006: 11). The sharp increase in construction was certainly the main challenge for the planners during this era, as until the beginning of the 1970-es there were already around 200 high-rise buildings in the city (Müller-Raemisch, 1996: 176). To deal with such dynamics, the city planning authority proposed the '*Fingerplan*' in 1968 that conceived the idea of expansion along the radially distributed main streets outside of the old city core. At the same time, the first ideas to organize high-rise into a recognizable urban form appeared. For this purpose, '*Bankenplan*' (or '*Clusterplan*') was introduced in 1970, which finally defined eastern *Bahnhofsviertel* and western part of the *Innenstadt* as a future high-rise area, organised around the central green core. The first buildings within the core were constructed immediately after (Alexander & Kittel, 2006); the

¹⁵² Former "Zürich House" was occupying the parcel where the Opernturm (2009) currently stands.

BfG tower (*Euroturm*; 1977), followed by the Dresdner Bank tower (*Silberturm*; 1978) and the Citibank tower (*Bürohaus and der Alten Oper*, 1984).

The third generation high-rise was born along with the post-modernistic style in architecture. The end of the 1970-es was also the time when the city 're-invented' itself through many new plans and projects, such as for the '*Museumsufer*', Old Opera House reconstruction, as well as for the redevelopment of some parts of the former *Altstadt* (Alexander & Kittel, 2006). Simultaneously, the initially negative connotation of skyline was gradually transformed into the important identification point for most of the citizens. The double towers of the *Deutsche Bank* (1985) were the first to be constructed in this period, followed by *Trianon* (1993) and *Japan Centre* (1996). The towers became generally slimmer, with another extreme increase in height, some of them even winning the status of the highest European building. From the planner's perspective, since '*Speerplan*' office presented its master plan for the city in 1983 (*City-Leitplan*), there was a general turn back from compression of high-rise in clusters to the previous *Fingerplan* concept, with the intention of attracting more investors to develop in other parts of the city as well. In 1990, office *Novotny and Mähner* presented the new Master Plan for the financial district (*Rahmenplan Bankenviertel*), which is mainly still in use. According to this plan, high-rise should be built up to 160 meters and located around larger green zones, away from the main residential areas but in the central zones, due to their good connection with the public transport. In the ten-year period after the Novotny-plan was presented, four new high-rises were built in the financial district, including the *Commerzbank* tower (1997). The then-highest European skyscraper, this iconic design by Foster + partners notably exceeded not only the pre-defined heights, but also significantly 'shortened' the distance between the financial district and the old city centre. The newly established standards regarding the heights were the trigger for the other investors to build higher as well; *Eurotheum* (1999) reached 110 meters instead of 63, while *Gallileo* tower (2003) ended up with a height of 136 instead of proposed 32 meters (Alexander & Kittel, 2006: 14).

After the office market crisis in the second half of the 1990-es was over, further development was regulated by the high-rise development plan (*Hochhausentwicklungsplan*) of 1999, by the office *PAS Jourdan & Müller*, revised in 2007 (image 4.26) and 2008 (image 4.27; 4.48). The plan was in the form of an urban design vision for the high-rise buildings implementation into the urban fabrics. However, comparing to the previous periods, development of the financial district significantly reduced its pace since the year 2000. The skyscrapers constructed after this year were characterized mostly by clear, plain geometrical forms, with the domination of non-transparent glass as a façade material; e.g. *Maintower* (2000), *Westhafen Tower* (2004), *Skyper* (2005). Such design could have slightly announced the gradual transition from the third to fourth generation of high-rise (Alexander & Kittel, 2006: 15). However, as too many light and featureless glass facades started to prevail, the City

Planning Office suggested facades of natural stone or metal instead, in order to create a necessary optical contrast, as was the case of *Opernturm*, built in 2009, with the use of the same façade material as for the neighbouring Old Opera House (F1: Buch, 00:26:19, 3-4; F3: Schalk, 00:49:47, 7). Besides moderate building activity, the last decade was also marked by several design competitions regarding redevelopment of the most attractive zones within the financial district, such as for the Deutsche Bank 'MAX' Tower, double office tower of the *Frankfurter Sparkasse* ('FraSpa' Tower), *Kaiserkaree*, and *Württembergischer Hypothekenbank*. However, none of these newly designed super-skyscrapers have actually been realized yet, as most of the investors put their projects on hold, mostly as a result of the current economic crisis (F3: Schalk, 00:09:46).

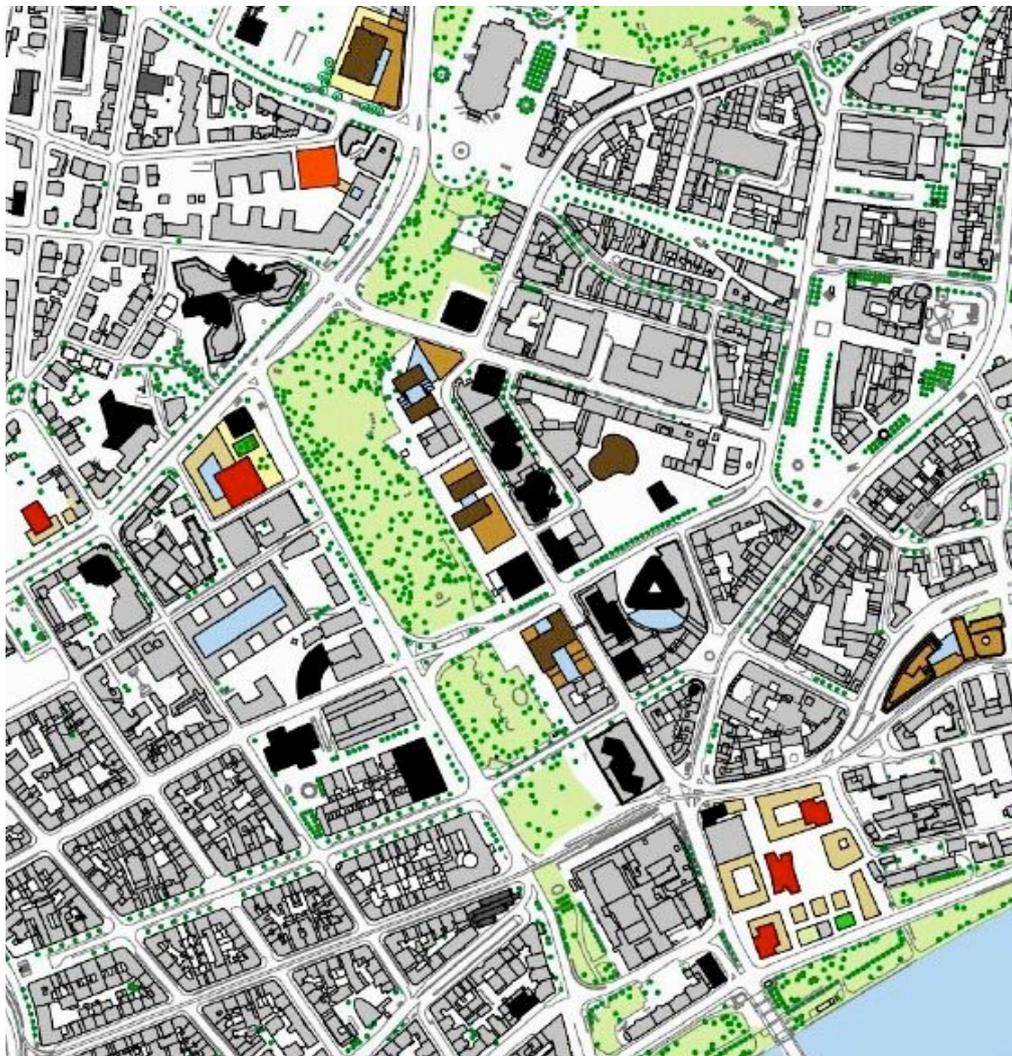


Image 4.48.

High-rise development plan (detail), showing the high-rise cluster.

Legend: High-rise buildings (more than 60 meters height); in black – existing; brown – not realised or under construction; red – newly proposed

© Jourdan und Müller PAS. Source: <http://www.stadtplanungsamt-frankfurt.de> 2012-07-27 by Jourdan & Müller, April 2008.

4.3.2.3. Spatial Analysis and Landmarks

The spatial structure of Frankfurt's *Bankenviertel*, with high-rise organized around the central green area, primarily bears a high resemblance with the Manhattan area in New York City, but in a far smaller scale (image 4.58). On the other hand, taking a look back in the history of the city, skyscrapers lined along the edge of the *Innenstadt* are also paying a sort of tribute to the former fortification structures that used to occupy the same area during the medieval times (image 4.47). Spatial structure of the financial district therefore implies both the elements originating in tradition and in modern, global trends.

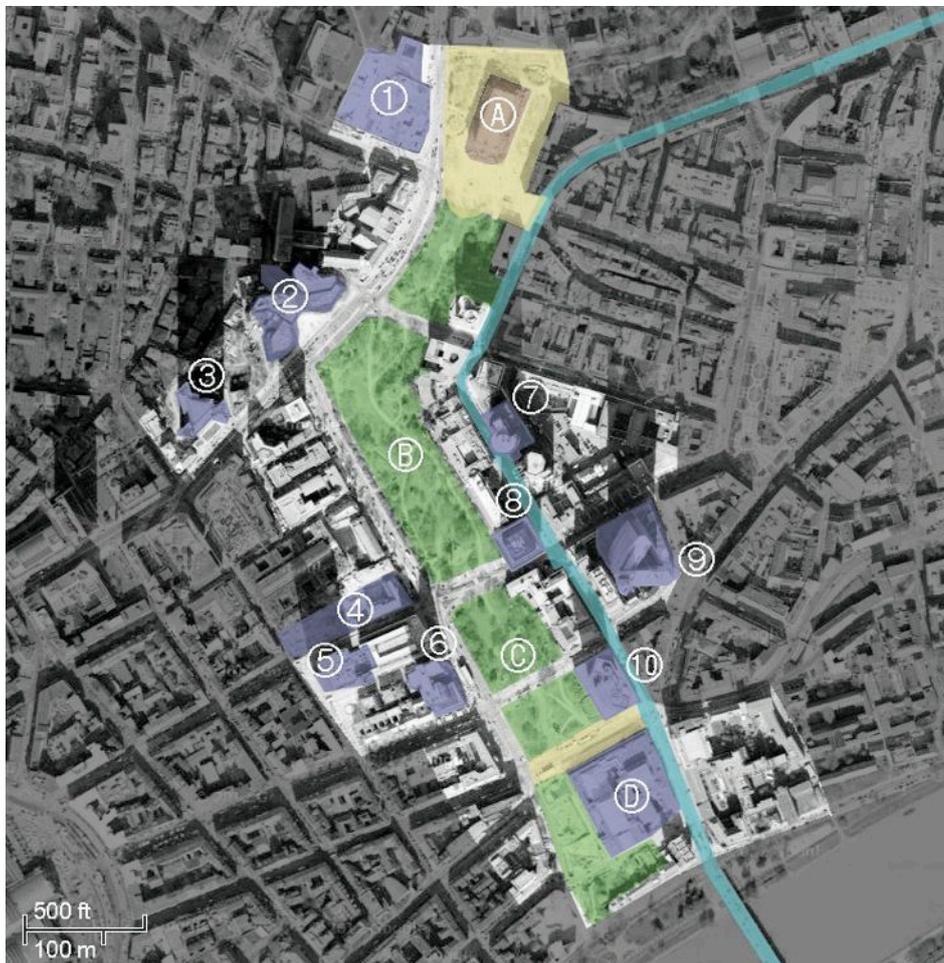


Image 4.49.

The high-rise cluster of the Frankfurt's Bankenviertel: spatial and landmark analysis

Legend: Heritage landmarks (in brown; A- Old Opera House); central green area (in green; B- Taunusanlage; C- Gallusanlage); contemporary landmarks (in violet; D- Theater and opera complex; Skyscrapers: 1-Opernturm; 2- Deutsche Bank Headquarters; 3- Trianon; 4- Skyper complex; 5- Silberturm; 6- Galileo; 7- Main Tower; 8- Japan Center; 9- Commerzbank Tower; 10- Eurotower); Main squares (in yellow; Opernplatz, northwards and Willy-Brandt-Platz, southwards); the main urban road of the district runs along *Neue Mainzer Landstrasse* (blue)

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Source: <https://maps.google.de> 2013-01-14; with author's additions.

The high-rise district is in fact a harmonious ensemble of the skyscrapers, organized around the central park area of the *Taunus-* and *Gallusanlage*, which is at the same time the largest public open space of the area. Important cultural facilities on the far north and far south of the district's axis (image 4.49) provide the most prominent public open spaces, such as *Opernplatz* Square in front of the Old Opera House. This square is directly connected to the main urban pedestrian axis on the east, which at this point continues further to the south through the central green park, ending with the *Willy-Brandt-Platz* Square on the far south. The whole district is surrounded and intersected by the major urban roads, such as Frankfurt's Wall Street – *Neue Mainzer Landstraße* – and through the latest interventions directly connected with the riverside on the far south.

Nr.	Gene-ration	HIGH-RISE	Year	Architect	Hight m/floors	Location
1	II	Eurotower	1977	Richard Heil	148/39	Neue Mainzer Str.
2		Silberturm	1978	ABB	166/32	Jürgen-Ponto-Platz 1
3	III	Deutsche Bank Zentrale	1985	Walter Haning, Heinz Scheid, Johannes Schmidt	2x155/40	Taunusanlage 12
4		Trianon	1993	Albert Speer & Partner, Frankfurt; Novotny Mähner & Assoziierte, Offenbach; Hentrich Petschnigg & Partner, Frankfurt	186/45	Mainzer Landstrasse 16-24
5		Japan Centre	1996	Rolfes und Ganz, Berlin	114/29	Taunustor 2-4
6	III (IV?)	Commerzbank Tower	1997	Norman Foster, London	259/53	Kaiserstraße 16
7		Main Tower	2000	Architekten Schweger Partner, Hamburg	200/56	Neue Mainzer Straße 52–58
8		Galileo	2003	Novotny Mähner Assoziierte, Offenbach	136/38	Gallusanlage 7
9		Skyper	2005	JSK Architekten	154/39	Taunusstrasse 2
10		Opernturm	2009	Christoph Mäckler	170/42	Bockenheimer Landstraße 2–4

Table 4.1.

The most iconic skyscrapers of the Financial District's high-rise cluster

Landmarks of the area are rich in quantity; however poor in diversity and function. Besides the Old Opera House from 1880, which was nearly completely destroyed in 1944 bombings, then rebuilt and reopened in 1981, the site contains very few other buildings of historical building styles, which are seen as rare, solitary objects scattered within the district. The most important structures are certainly the skyscrapers themselves, which are rich in both form and style (table 4.1). The most prominent location holds the double towers of the *Deutsche*

Bank headquarters (1985), occupying an easily perceptible parcel where the green area curves slightly towards the northeast. However, spatial domination of the double towers was gradually overcome by later developments within the area. Taking into consideration the current situation, the district is dominated by the massive structure of the iconic *Commerzbank* tower (1997), which is at the same time the tallest building of the city and of all of Germany.

4.3.2.4. On-going and Planned Development Analysis



Image 4.50.

Planner's vision of the financial district's high-rise cluster: an urban study by Jourdan & Müller PAS, *Frankfurt 2000* (left) and the High-rise Development Plan by the City Planning Office (right)

Left: © Jourdan und Müller PAS, <http://www.jourdan-mueller.de>; 2013-01-15 (detail)

Right: © Stadtplanungsamt Frankfurt am Main, <http://www.stadtplanungsamt-frankfurt.de>; 2012-07-30 (detail)

Development of the financial district nowadays is kept under control by the general recommendations of the High-rise Development Plan (*Hochhausentwicklungsplan*, 2008; image 4.50). Analysis of these recommendations reveals that the most important actual mission statement of the city involves proposals for the new high-rise and its future sites.¹⁵³ This implies optimal future design, planning and realization, exact location on the property, size and geometry of the base, as well as the exact heights, including the minimisations of shadowing effect and impacts on local air currents. Grouping of the high-rise is also regulated, with recommendations of sites away from bigger residential areas, ensuring good connection with public transport and their eco-friendly nature. Still, the significant height differences concerning the surrounding urban fabric are planned to remain, in order to ensure specific image of such urban clusters and of the whole city as well.¹⁵⁴ The future high-rise buildings in central locations

¹⁵³ In the high-rise development plan for Frankfurt (*Hochhausentwicklungsplan*, 2008), the term „high-rise“ includes all the buildings with 60 meters high or more.

¹⁵⁴ *Vor diesem Hintergrund bekennt sich die Stadt Frankfurt am Main zu einem Leitbild:*

are also expected to support the functional diversity of the district through open access to their ground floor areas for the purpose of retail, gastronomy, culture, social, health, sport or other use. In some cases, even the last floors should be accessible for public, to ensure the possibility for the citizens and visitors to enjoy the views on the city (F3: Schalk, 00:14:25). In addition, at least 30% of the high-rise area is planned to have residential character, which could be realized as an alternative in separate buildings nearby (F3: Schalk, 00:03:27).

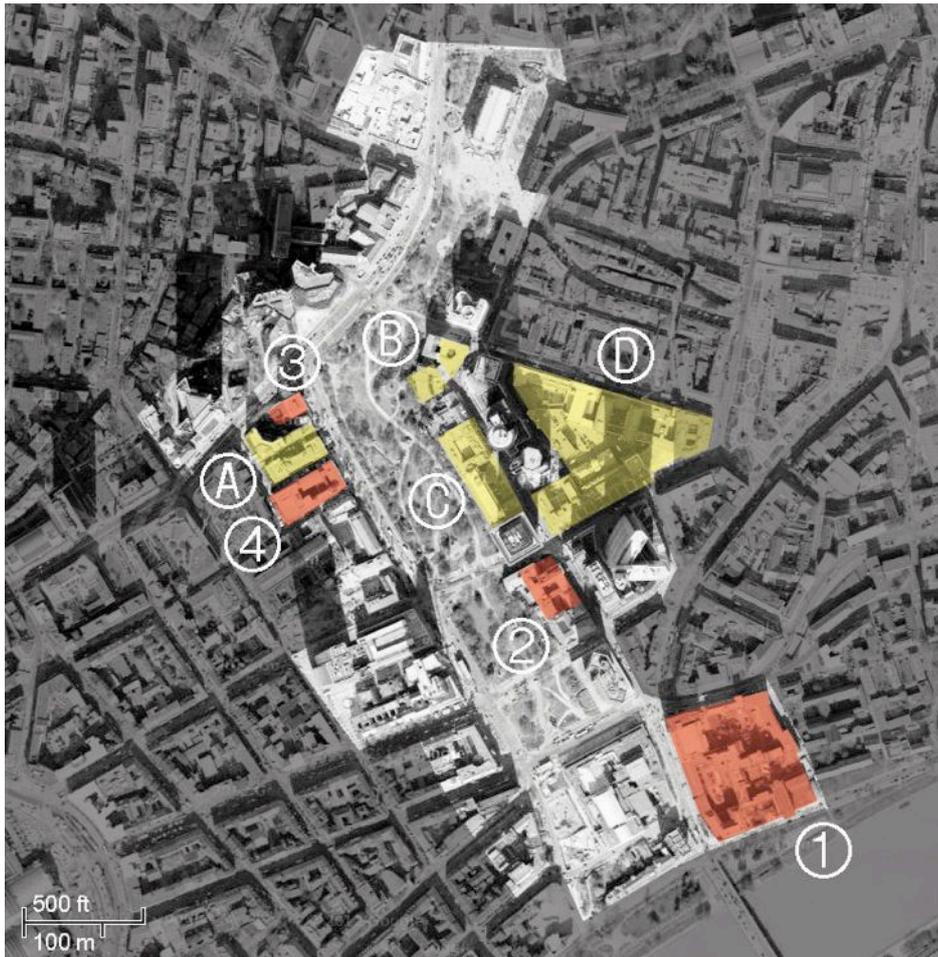


Image 4.51.

High-rise cluster of the financial district (*Bankenviertel*) – planned (yellow) and on-going developments (red)

Legend: On-going projects (in red): 1- "Maintor" (Degussa-Areal); 2- Taunusturm (Taunustor 1-3); 3- T11 office high-rise (Taunusanlage 11); 4 - Crédit Suisse office building (Taunusanlage 8). Planned interventions (in yellow): A- Marieninsel high-rise; B- "FraSpa" Office Tower (Neue Mainzer Str. 57-59); C- Metzler-LHB Bank tower (Neue Mainzer Str.); D- *Deutsche-Bank-Dreieck* area.

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Source: <https://maps.google.de> 2013-01-14 with author's additions.

- das Hochhäuser zu Gruppen an Standorten zusammenführt, die eine Distanz zu gewachsenen Wohnquartieren und eine hervorragende Qualität der Erschließung mit öffentlichen Verkehrsmitteln aufweisen und die unter ökologischen Gesichtspunkten unbedenklich sind,

- und das erhebliche Höhen sprünge zwischen der „normalen“ Stadt unterhalb der gesetzlich definierten Hochhausgrenze von ca. 25 Metern (22 Meter Fußbodenoberkante des letzten Geschosses plus die Höhe eines Geschosses) und hohen Hochhäusern nicht als Nachteil, sondern als klärendes und anregendes Moment begreift. (Hochhausentwicklungsplan, 2008: 1)

ON-GOING PROJECTS IN THE AREA				
No.	Projects	Architect	Ready	Location
1.	'Maintor', riverside financial district (former 'Degussa')			Area between Seckbacher Gasse, Weisfrauenstraße, Neuer Mainzer Straße, Untermainkai.
	a. Winx, office high-rise / gateway building	KSP Jürgen Engel Architekten	2017	
	b. Panorama, office high-rise	Prof. Christoph Mäckler Architekten	2015	
	c. Primus, office high-rise	KSP Jürgen Engel Architekten	2014	
	d. Porta, office high-rise	KSP Jürgen Engel Architekten	2014	
	e. Patio & Palazzi, 7 residential buildings	KSP Jürgen Engel Architekten	2015	
	f. Main Palais, 19 th century villa restoration	Friedrich Hess / PurPur Innenarch.	1823 / 2011	
2.	'TaunusTurm'			Taunustor 1-3 (former Kaiserkaree – not constructed)
	a. Office tower	Gruber + Kleine-Kraneburg	2014	
	b. Residential tower	Gruber + Kleine-Kraneburg	2014	
3.	T11 office high-rise reconstruction	Meid and Romeick / KSP Jürgen Engel Architekten	1972 / 2014	Taunusanlage 11
4.	'Crédit Suisse' office building	Fritz Novotny and MSM Architekten	?	Taunusanlage 8
PLANNED PROJECTS IN THE AREA				
No.	Projects	Architect	Ready	Location
1.	'Marieninsel' tower	Köchler Architekten; Schneider + Schumacher Architekten	-	Area between Taunusanlage, Mainzer Landstraße and Marienstraße
2.	'Marieninsel' tower	Müller-Reimann Architekten	?	Taunusanlage 9-10
3.	'FraSpa' office tower	KSP Engel & Zimmermann	?	Neue Mainzer Str. 57-59
4.	Metzler-LHB Bank tower	Gatermann + Schossig architects	?	Neue Mainzer Str.
5.	Deutsche Bank 'Max' tower	Murphy & Jahn and Köhler Architekten	?	Große Gallusstraße 10-14

Table 4.2.

The most important on-going and planned projects of the financial district's high-rise cluster

In order to address every possible influence of high-rise on the urban environment, development plan recommends careful planning and decision-making process that provides alternatives for design and selection of shapes, materials and colours requires. The main goal

of such planning is an optimal architectural form to be achieved that takes into consideration the historical background of the city, regarding the vicinity of the *Altstadt*.¹⁵⁵ The context of high-rise development in Frankfurt even takes the night image of the city in consideration, recommending illumination concepts, with the goal of complementing the overall image of the city (*Hochhausentwicklungsplan*, 2008: 1-3). Due to such a comprehensive set of recommendations, further evolution in the case of the financial district specifically seems to be generally predictable, and thus to a large degree even devoid of unexpected or unwanted development courses. However, its intensity largely depends on many unforeseeable factors, such as of economic conditions, which unfortunately are impossible to control and difficult to manage.

The view on the current affairs within the financial district reveals balanced proportion between the projects that are now being realized and the ones put on hold after the planning phase (table 4.2). The current global economic crisis is largely seen as responsible for slowing down development dynamics of the Frankfurt's high-rise cluster. Based on planning initiatives review and current developments within the district (image 4.51), the most important intervention is certainly rebuilding of nearly the entire urban block¹⁵⁶ of the former *Degussa* gold trade complex (image 4.51: 1). The area occupies an attractive location on the far west of the *Altstadt* district, between the streets: *Seckbacherstrasse* on the east, *Weißfrauenstraße* on the north, *Neue Mainzer Strasse* on the west, and *Untermainkai* by the Main river on the south. With the completion of the project, the financial district will obtain its final connection to the riverside. Secondly, the existing structure of the district simultaneously continues to evolve along its characteristic sequence of skyscrapers along the edges of the central green zone. Within this concept, '*TaunusTurm*' is the next high-rise being constructed in the line, located on the southeast corner of *Gallusanlage* inner-park, between the streets *Taunustor* and *Neue Mainzer Strasse* (image 4.51: 2). Finally, the third currently developing area involves the so-called *Marieninsel* on the northwest corner of *Taunusanlage*, between the streets *Mainzer Landstrasse* on the north and *Marienstrasse* that surrounds the area from both west and south. *Marieninsel* was and still is a subject of many debates, suggestions and design visions, mainly due to the potentials of its favourable location. However, the project being realized within the area is standard reconstruction of an existing high-rise and construction of a new one that put on hold realization of many highly ambitious proposals for the site (image 4.51: 3, 4). Similarly

¹⁵⁵ *Die Gestalt von Hochhäusern prägt ihre nähere Umgebung, aber – im Verein mit anderen Hochhäusern – auch größere Stadtquartiere. Die kleinräumliche Verortung, die Gliederung der Baumassen und Fassaden und die Auswahl von Formen, Materialien und Farben ihrer äußeren Gestaltung erfordern eine sorgfältige Planung und einen intensiven Entscheidungsprozess unter Betrachtung von Alternativen. Dabei ist immer wieder neu zu reflektieren, welche gestalterischen Anforderungen sich aus der Nutzung des Vorhabens sowie aus dem Standort unter Berücksichtigung seiner näheren Umgebung ergeben. Anzustreben ist eine architektonische Form, die sich mit der Geschichte des Ortes auseinandersetzt und die das gestalterische Profil des zugehörigen Stadtquartiers unterstützt.* (*Hochhausentwicklungsplan*, 2008: 2)

¹⁵⁶ The only exception is the existing building on the northwest corner of the site, used by 'Die Komödie' theatre, which is not included into the newly developed area.

to this case, there are many other plans and projects within the financial district, whose realization is due to the current circumstances still not certain. However, analysis of all the ambitious plans and proposed designs at least offers an insight to the planners vision for the district in future.

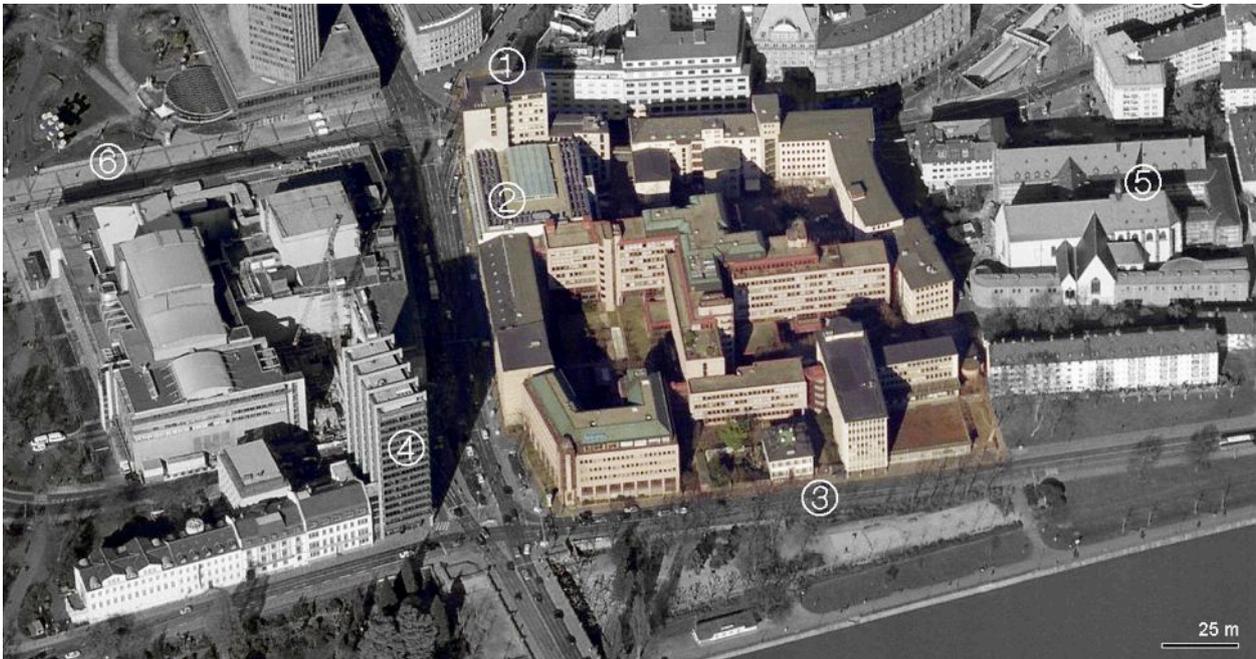


Image 4.52.

The situation of the 'Degussa' area before the reconstruction

Legend: 1- *Degussa* High-rise; 2- *Die Komödie* Theater; 3- neoclassical Hermann-Schlosser villa; 4- *Schweizer National* high-rise; 5- The Carmelite Monastery; 6- *Willy-Brandt-Platz* Square

© 2014 Microsoft Corporation & © 2013 BLOM. Source: www.bing.com/maps/ 2013-01-17; with author's additions

The area of the 'Maintor' project under current development, branded as the new 'riverside financial district',¹⁵⁷ has a long history ("The Riverside", June 2012: 18-19). Due to its location on the very edge of the historical urban core, it developed into a lively residential and commercial zone during the Middle Ages, where merchants bought and sold on both side of the city walls. During early 19th century, the city walls gave way to large green spaces that turned the zone into a popular destination for day trips and Sunday strolls instead. Significant build-up of the district occurred during the late 19th century, after the 'German Gold and Silver Refinery' (*Deutsche Gold- und Silberscheideanstalt*) was founded in the area in 1873; today known as '*Evonik Degussa GmbH*'. However, intensive spatial development that followed eventually closed the site off from the city, simultaneously breaking its important connections with the river (image 4.52). Such a situation lasted until 2001, when '*Degussa*' finally moved its headquarters

¹⁵⁷ 'The Riverside Financial District - MainTor Quarter' is the brand of the area, created and marketed by its developer DIC – Deutsche Immobilien Chancen AG & Co. KGaA. Source: <http://www.maintor-frankfurt.de> 2013-01-17

from Frankfurt to Düsseldorf. The attractive location that was left behind in the very entrance to the financial district was taken over in 2005 by *Deutsche Immobilien Chancen (DIC)*, with the ambition of undertaking its complete reorganization.



Image 4.53.

Historical street network revitalisation within 'Degussa' area

Sources: Frankfurt am Main Freie Stadtplan 1845 (detail), <http://commons.wikimedia.org>, 2012-08-02; Satellite foto, <https://maps.google.de>, 2012-08-02, with author's additions; 'Maintor' site plan, authors's drawing, based on <http://www.maintor-frankfurt.de>, 2012-08-02

As the state of closed, introverted and densely built office block could not contribute either to urban attractiveness or to the desired mixed use of the site,¹⁵⁸ the initiative came to fully convert the area into a cluster of compact masses (F1: Buch, 00:32:39), suggesting the historical paths and squares¹⁵⁹ that would communicate both with the riverfront nearby and the surrounding built environment (image 4.53). The historical street network was to reopen inside the block for the public, and thus the whole area is planned to adopt a typical inner city mixed use (F3: Schalk, 00:05:33, 6-12). The request for re-establishing the old street network came from the planning authority, along with the request for keeping the several existing buildings on the site, for whose preservation, however, the developer didn't show any interest (F3: Schalk, 00:31:41). The only two buildings to be kept on the site were the neoclassical villa from 1823 on the *Mainkai* ('*Main Palais*'), and *Degussa* high-rise ('*Primus*')¹⁶⁰ on the corner of the streets *Weißfrauenstraße* and *Neue Mainzer Straße* (Image 4.52: 3, 1). The '*Main Palais*', as the only remaining representative of the historic architectural setting, has its physical incorporation into the new ensemble planned through the rhythmic repetition of its basic form, but with the retention of stylistic contrasts. Its shift to cultural use should in addition contribute to the attractiveness of the entire area.

¹⁵⁸ Source: <http://www.stadtplanungsamt-frankfurt.de> 2012-08-02; „Maintor-Areal; Städtebaulicher Entwurf, Büro, Wohnen“

¹⁵⁹ The reconstruction of the historical pathways was a suggestion by the City Planning Office. (Interview Schalk)

¹⁶⁰ 'Degusa' high-rise is an office tower designed in 1953; after redesigning by KSP Engel und Zimmermann GmbH the building was renamed 'Primus'.

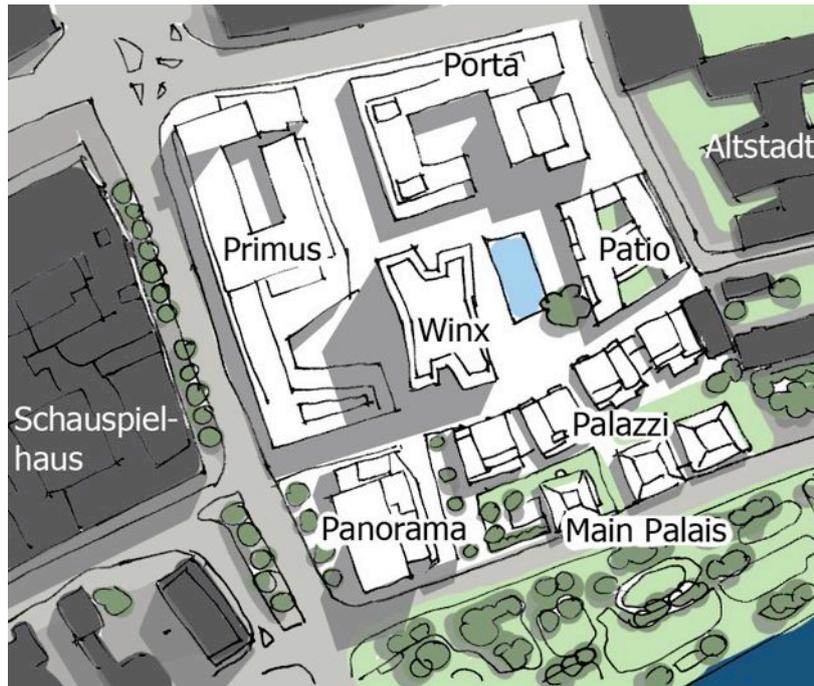


Image 4.54.

'Maintor' site plan

Author's drawings, based on <http://www.maintor-frankfurt.de>, 2012-07-31

The former 'Degussa' area owns its high development potential to its position among the most frequent streets of the city, on the contact zone between the financial district on the east, river Main on the south, and Altstadt on the east. Adjacent to the site is Carmelite Monastery (*Karmelitenkloster*) from the 14th century (image 4.52: 5). However, although the area belongs to *Altstadt* administratively and historically, the developer is marketing it as a part of the financial district (F3: Schalk, 00:05:33). Design and development of an area with such a position and importance certainly involves an opportunity to seriously influence the image of both of the financial district and of the whole city as well (image 4.55). Regarding the new developments within the site, three high-rise buildings are planned as new urban landscapes (*Hochhausentwicklungsplan*, 2008: 6); the centrally positioned 'Winx' tower is to reach 100 meters high,¹⁶¹ while the two smaller buildings on the sides, 'Porta' and 'Panorama', are planned to reach up to 60 meters.¹⁶² 'Primus' and 'Panorama' are set along the street *Neue Mainzer Straße*, as an introduction to the skyscrapers of the financial district, lining up further along the street (image 4.54). The 'Panorama' tower simultaneously corresponds with the existing 'Schweizer National' high-rise on the opposite side of the street. That was also one of the requirements of the planning authority (F1: Buch, 00:33:18) in order to collectively create an accent to the entrance from the bridge, forming by means of urban design a certain 'gate' for the

¹⁶¹ 'Winx' tower is of mixed office-residential use, designed by KSP Engel und Zimmermann GmbH.

¹⁶² 'Porta' on the north-east corner of the area is of mixed office-residential use, designed by KSP Engel und Zimmermann GmbH. 'Panorama' on the opposite corner is of the same mixed use; a design by Prof. Christoph Mäckler Architekten.

financial district (F3: Schalk, 00:05:33, 3; images 4.55; 4.56). In the context of functional transformation, besides the mixed office-residential use of the high-rise, the rest of the quarter is planned to serve mainly as an attractive urban residential area.¹⁶³ This came as another major request of the planning authority, ensuring about 20% of the floor area for residential purposes (F3: Schalk, 00:03:27, 9).



Image 4.55.

'Maintor' project visualization

Author's drawings, based on <http://www.maintor-frankfurt.de>, 2012-07-31



Image 4.56.

Developing 'Maintor' complex, with 'Maintor Porta' on the far right. April 2014

Author's photo, 2014-04

¹⁶³ 'Patio', by KSP Engel und Zimmermann GmbH and 'Palazzi', by Jo. Franzke Architekten and B&V Braun Canton Volleth Architekten GmbH.



Image 4.57.

Central *Taunusanlage* (north-eastern view) with current and planned developments

Legend: Current developments: 1- *TaunusTor* project at the site of the former *Commerzbank* complex; 2- T-11 office high-rise reconstruction; 7- *Crédit Suisse* office building site. Planned developments: 3- *Deutsche-Bank-Dreieck* area; 4- *FraSpa* tower site; 5- *Metzler-LHB* tower site; 6- *Marieninsel* area. Existing landmarks: A- *Citibank* tower; B- *Eurotheum*; C- *Main Tower*; D- *Garden Tower*; E- *Japan Centre*; F- new *Commerzbank Tower*; G- Old *Commerzbank* tower (1973); H- *Deutsche Bank* double tower; I- *Trianon*; J- *Skyper*; K- *Silberturm*.

© 2014 Microsoft Corporation & © 2013 BLOM. Source: <http://www.bing.com/maps>, 2013-01-21, with author's additions.

Asides from the '*Mainitor*' site that on the one hand introduces both new spatial and functional concepts, and on the other expanding the area of the financial district outside its established limits, the majority of the current and planned interventions are following the predefined and more customary development course within the existing spatial features of the central high-rise cluster (image 4.57). One of such projects is the current insertion of the '*TaunusTurm*' tower into the main skyscrapers axis along the inner-park. According to the actual high-rise development plan from 2008 (*Hochhausentwicklungsplan*, 2008) the attractive parcel between *Eurotower* and *Japan Centre* was determined as the site for another high-rise in line. The new office and residential complex represents the embodiment of the main planning course for the whole district – to finalize the skyscraper row along the edge of the inner city, along *Neue Mainzer Straße*. Such planning concept surely reflects its major role model in the iconic representation of power and reputation of New York City's Wall Street (image 4.58), but surprisingly enough also has its roots in the history and tradition of the site. Namely, the complex is being built in the exact spot of the former western gate of the medieval Frankfurt ('*Taunustor*'; image 4.59). The new project not only emphasizes the former location and function of the gate by creating a contemporary 'entrance' together with the opposite *Japan Centre*, but also respects and reflects the former urban spatial and functional organization. Such a reflection of the past is also determined in duality of the project's brand.



Image 4.58.

The view on the *Neue Mainzer Strasse* in Frankfurt (left) with the *TaunusTurm* visualization, demonstrating the role model in the Wall Street in New York City (right)

Left: Author's photo, 2014-02. Right: © 2014 Google, <https://maps.google.de> 2013-01-17



Image 4.59.

Evolved concept of enclosed inner city with 'entrance gates'

The *Galgentor* gate (predecessor of the *Taunustor*) on the map from the mid 16th century (left) and the current project emphasis to its historic location (right)

Left: picture in the public domain. Frankfurt am Main plan by Conrad Faber von Creuznach, 1552 (detail), <http://de.wikipedia.org>, 2013-01-21. Right: author's photo, 2014-02

Development of this high-rise within the main axis began with design entry from *Architekten Gruber + Kleine-Kraneburg*¹⁶⁴ that won the first architecture competition in 2000 ('*Hochhaus Kaiserkarree*') for the new headquarters of the *Commerzbank* partner-bank, *Rheinische Hypothekenbank*. The winning project made a positive impression on the jury with its architectural equivalency and simultaneous contrast with its surroundings,¹⁶⁵ regarding neighbouring *Japan Centre* and a 2-storeys historic building, as well as with gradual

¹⁶⁴ Source: <http://www.gruber-kleinekraneburg.de> 2012-08-02

¹⁶⁵ Source: <http://www.deutsches-architektur-forum.de> 2012-08-02

development of its architectural forms to reach 135 meters high skyscraper. The design from the start strictly followed the axis of already built skyscrapers, which came as a requirement of the city,¹⁶⁶ closing a wall of high-rise through this measure.



Image 4.60.
'TaunusTurm' under construction

The initial design from 2000 visually and formatively corresponded to the neighbouring *Japan Centre*. The current project is the third design update, which functionally and visually separates the complex on the dominant office skyscraper (left) and adjoining residential tower (right).
Author's photos, 2014-02

The project was, however, put on hold in 2001, due to the real estate crisis. The land was sold in 2007, and the new investor, *Tishman Speyer and Commerz Real*, requested some revisions of the winning project; the building became higher (160 meters) and slimmer, while the residential zone will be developed as a separate entity (image 4.60), as requested by the planning authority (F3: Schalk, 00:03:27, 6). However, the second attempt also led to a standstill. In April 2011 the construction finally began,¹⁶⁷ simultaneously with other changes in the plan. As a concession of the planning authority to ensure introduction of residential facilities (F3: Schalk, 00:03:27, 6-7), the office building was allowed to be even higher (170 meters),

¹⁶⁶ Source: <http://www.deutsches-architektur-forum.de> 2012-08-02

¹⁶⁷ Source: <http://www.taunusturm.com> 2012-08-02

while the adjoining residential tower became significantly lower (63 meters).¹⁶⁸ The new complex followed the recommendations of the high-rise plan, regarding its mixed functions and openness to the public in the ground-floor area, which corresponded to both the street and the neighbouring park. The design also underwent some changes in the shape, colour and materials; the office tower got a new striking, sloping end, the façade became lighter, with more glass surfaces and lighter natural tone (image 4.60), instead of the previously planned dark one.

Review of the many projects in planning within the financial cluster on one side reveals their compatibility with the recommendations of the high-rise development plan, alongside with progressive contemporary design suggestions, but on the other reflects the size of the gap between planning and actual situation. Many of the proposed designs are still waiting to be constructed. Their uncertain outcomes are a result of low demand for office spaces at the moment (F3: Schalk, 00:09:46, 1). However, according to the plans, these are the two most interesting zones to be redeveloped in the nearest future: the first involves completion of the main skyscrapers axis on the east, while the second includes redevelopment of the whole urban block of *Mariensinsel* on the opposite side (image 4.57).

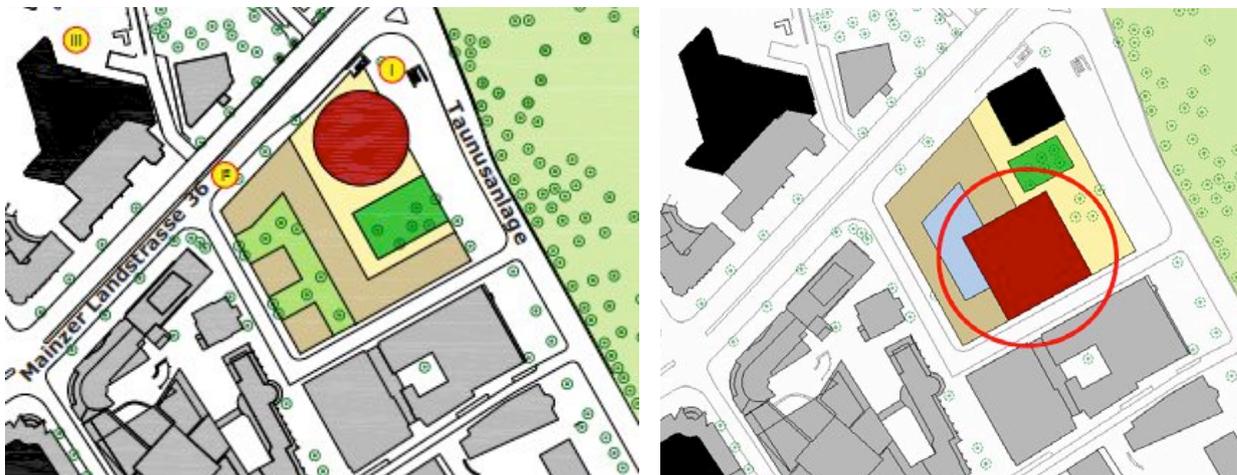


Image 4.61.
Mariensinsel in two different variations

Proposed by the high-rise development plans in 2007 (left) and 2008 (right)
© Jourdan und Müller PAS. Sources: *Hochhausentwicklungsplan, 2007: 25* and *Hochhausentwicklungsplan 2008: 7*.

One of the *Mariensinsel* projects is currently being finalised, while the other is about to commence. However, the more ambitious visions for this highly attractive location were abandoned. The planners interest for *Mariensinsel* began back in 2004, with the proposal for complete redevelopment of the site, involving the construction of a new 250-meter high

¹⁶⁸ Source: <http://www.taunusturm.com> 2012-08-02

skyscraper.¹⁶⁹ The second high-rise development plan introduced two less ambitious scenarios for the site instead; the first supported the previous idea of complete redevelopment of the block, with the construction of a lower skyscraper with a maximum height of 210 meters (image 4.61, left). According to the second variation, the existing 75 meters high building 'T11' would be retained and reconstructed (image 4.61, right). The 'T11' high-rise building was originally designed by architects Max Meid and Helmut Romeick, for the German headquarters of the *American Chase Manhattan Bank*,¹⁷⁰ and was in use since its construction back in 1972, until 2008 (image 4.62).



Image 4.62.

The 'T11' high-rise in its final reconstruction phase (left), with a detail of the new façade (right)
Author's photos, 2012-02

For the construction of the newly proposed tower, the most notable design proposals of the 2009 competition were by *Köchler Architekten* and *Schneider & Schumacher Architekten*. Both of the winning designs shared not only the strong geometric form and reliance on the current trends on the global architectural scene,¹⁷¹ but were also in favour of the prominence of the location itself (image 4.63). However, in 2011 the decision was finally made to renovate the existing 'T11' high-rise (image 4.62). The plans for its full modernization were made by *KSP*

¹⁶⁹ Source: <http://www.deutsches-architektur-forum.de> 2012-08-02

¹⁷⁰ Source: <http://www.taunusanlage11.de> 2012-08-02

¹⁷¹ Slightly distorted, geometric design with dominating diagonals and diamond shaped base, present on the proposition by *Shneider und Schumacher Architekten* (image 4.63: top right) follows a certain trend, set by some of the world's most famous architectural offices. Therefore this design entry has some resemblance with 'Hermitage Plaza' double tower by Foster+Partners, to be built in Paris, or with the 'Diagonal Tower' to be constructed in Seoul, a project by SOM Architects.

Jürgen Engel Architekten, planning its conversion into a modern, 'green building'. The initiative to reconstruct the existing building thus opted for the second, less attractive proposal for the location of the new skyscraper, which involved its dislocation deeper inside the block and away from the favourable section of the two main street axes. The winner of the following design competition for the new tower, organised in 2013, was *Müller-Reimann Architekten* from Berlin (image 4.63, bottom right). This rather conventional design proposes a construction of a high-rise complex, consisting of a skyscraper with commonplace grid façade that emphasises its verticality along the street front of *Taunusanlage*, and a lower and less striking high-rise along the *Mainzer Landstraße*. The only architectural elements that contribute to the attractiveness of the newly designed tower are its height, façade that emphasizes lightness and verticality, as well as prominence to the street front, contrasting the suggestion in the high-rise development plan.



Image 4.63.

'*Marieninsel Tower*': 2009 design proposals for the former skyscrapers on the corner (left; top right), and the winning design from 2013, next to 'T11' high-rise (bottom right)

Proposals from June 2009: *Köchler Architekten*, left, and *Schneider & Schumacher Architekten*, top right. Winning design from 2013: *Müller-Reimann Architekten*, bottom right.

Source: <http://www.skyscrapercity.com> 2012-07-31 & <http://www.mueller-reimann.de> 2014-04-12 (bottom right)

Adjacent to the *Mariensinsel* block, on the parcel Taunusanlage 8, the new premises for *Crédit Suisse* will be constructed according to the plans by *Prof. Fritz Novotny/MSM Meyer Schmitz-Morkramer Architekten* (image 4.64). The proposed design involves the introduction of a somewhat lower office building of around 65 meters and 16 floors¹⁷² that follows the high-rise development plan and provides 30% of its area for residential purposes. The construction began in late 2013, after a long and uncertain standstill. Similarly to the '*TaunusTurm*' project or to the developing *Maintor* complex, even to the latest design for the neighbouring tower on *Mariensinsel*, new design for the *Crédit Suisse* won't introduce significant architectural innovations. All these projects are instead following similar simplicity of design and efficiency of execution, fitting in this way into the customary architectural formulation of the latest generation of Frankfurt's high-rise office buildings.



Image 4.64.
Crédit Suisse office building, construction site
Author's photo, 2014-02

The second major zone planned for new developments within the financial district involves the main skyscrapers axis along the eastern edge of the inner-park area. Several skyscrapers are planned for build-up, and although most of them already have design proposals, their realisation is not certain. According to the present high-rise development plan

¹⁷² Source: <http://wpv-baubetreuung.de> 2012-08-02

(image 4.84), two new skyscrapers are proposed for insertion in the axis along *Neue Mainzer Straße*. ‘*Hochhauskomplex Neue Mainzer Straße*’ (also known as *FraSpa Tower*) is planned to replace the old *Frankfurter Sparkasse* high-rise from 1960 in *Neue Mainzer Straße* 57–59 (image 4.57: 4). The new building was supposed to be constructed on the attractive corner parcel created by the intersection of the two orthogonal city grids, intersection created as a result of the change of direction in the historic city wall systems. The new architectural landmark was supposed to be a joint investment of the *Frankfurter Sparkasse 1822* and *Württembergische Hypothekenbank AG*. The architectural competition held back in February 2001, won by the ambitious design by *KSP Engel & Zimmermann* (image 4.65), finally reflects potentially new trends in skyscraper design in Frankfurt. The proposed building consisted of two slender towers, reaching 197 meters height with 55 floors, whose design involved varying façades from different viewpoints, hiding its true volume when perceived from the Old Opera House Square nearby. Probably the most distinctive feature of the proposed project was its redefinition of the distinctive corner point of the *Taunusanlage* inner-park. The newly conceived corner structure extended the existing corner building in historical style with the modern glass and steel building insertion. Through the covered passage created by this way, between the existing house and newly planned skyscraper, the metropolitan image of *Neue Mainzer Straße* was supposed to get both straightened and visually extended (image 4.65: right).



Image 4.65.

FraSpa Tower visualisation and ground floor plan with the passage
 © KSP Architekten. Source: <http://www.ksp-architekten.de>, 2012-07-31

Further along *Neue Mainzer Straße*, on the long plot on the corner, between the planned ‘*FraSpa Tower*’ and the *Japan Centre* (image 4.57: 5), the new ‘*Metzler-LHB Bank tower*’ was

planned according to the design by *Gatermann+Schossig architects* (image 4.66). The main design features two, 175 meters high narrow wings, joined together by a common core, in a similar way as proposed for the 'FraSpa Tower'. In this manner, an accent was placed on slenderness and elegance of the towers. The transparent central core, housing the vertical communications, enables free view from all of its floors, which ensures a dynamic perception of the building and surrounding urban space as well. The towers open themselves to the north-eastern side of the plaza, where the main access point is located. The simple aluminium structure of the façade from transparent and opaque glass is monochrome, and was planned to enable natural ventilation of the building. Construction of the both 'FraSpa' and *LHB Bank* towers is delayed and uncertain (F3: Schalk, 00:09:46, 5-7).



Image 4.66.

Metzler-LHB Bank tower visualisation

© GATERMANN + SCHIOSSIG, Cologne, Germany. Source: <http://www.gatermann-schossig.de>, 2012-07-31

Finally, the biggest area planned for redevelopment within the financial district is the site owned by the *Deutsche Bank*, as a large portion of urban block between the *Roßmarkt* Square, *Junghofstraße*, *Neue Schlesingergasse* and *Große Gallusstraße* (image 4.57: 3; image 4,67). The site can be characterised as of great importance, representing a contact zone between the old city (*Altstadt*) and the financial district itself. The former *Deutsche Bank* headquarters building from the early 20th century on the corner (*Roßmarkt* 18), partially under monument

protection, has an important position, as it provides a proper façade for the historic square in the *Altstadt* district, thus playing a role of a buffer between the old and new city quarters (image 4.67: 1).



Image 4.67.
Deutsche-Bank-Dreieck area (Frankfurter Stadthöfe)

Legend: 1- Former Deutsche Bank headquarters building from the beginning of the 20th century; 2- Old Deutsche Bank tower from 1971, planned for revitalization

© 2014 Microsoft Corporation & © 2013 BLOM. Source: <http://www.bing.com/maps>, 2013-01-21, with author's additions

Design competition for the site, owned by the *Deutsche Bank* in *Große Gallusstraße* 10-14 was held in February 2000.¹⁷³ Architectural duo *Murphy & Jahn* from Chicago won the competition for the new *Deutsche Bank* 'MAX' Tower (image 4.68), followed by the design by Frankfurt-based architecture office *Köhler Architekten*. In the sequence of events, the construction was agreed between the two finalists. The project involved an over 200-meter high office tower with 50 floors in the inner city that would seriously rival the nearby new *Commerzbank* Tower. The investor *Deutsche Bank AG* entrusted the realisation to the *Deutsche Grundbesitz Management GmbH*, who planned to realize the project in the following five years. There were also negotiations in the later period with the European Central Bank (ECB) to take over the site as its new headquarters, but since the ECB decided to build

¹⁷³ "Nur Gewinner; Hochhaus-Wettbewerb „Max“ in Frankfurt / M. entschieden"; Source: <http://www.baunetz.de> (2012-08-04) from 29.02.2000

premises of its own on another site, the project finally came to a standstill in 2002.¹⁷⁴ There were no indications that the project would be realized since. However, its attractive location continued to occupy the planner's attention. Therefore, another competition of the students' works from five German architecture faculties was held in 2011, with the winning design holding the slogan '*Frankfurter Stadthöfe*'.¹⁷⁵ The future design of the location foresees a fragmented structure with urban courtyards, involving a new 'low energy office high-rise' over 200 meters high, and the conversion of the existing 22-storeys tower of the old *Deutsche Bank* into modern and exclusive apartments. The realisation of this project remains unclear as well (F3: Schalk, 00:09:46, 1-5).

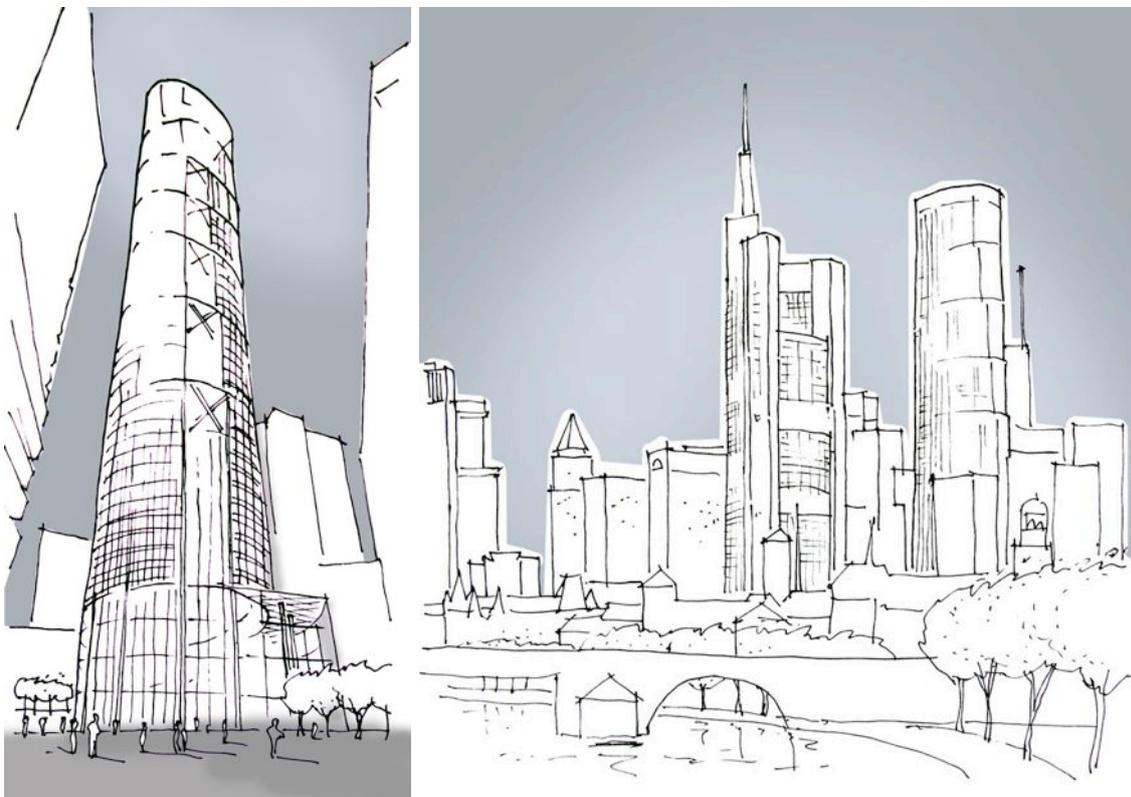


Image 4.68.

MAX office tower complex (*Hochhauskomplex MAX*), winning design from 2000 by Chicago based architecture office Murphy – Jahn
 Author's drawing, based on Murphy – Jahn's design. Source: <http://www.murphyjahn.com> 2012-07-31

According to the analysis of the planned and on-going projects in the high-rise cluster of Frankfurt's financial district, it could be concluded that it is possible to determine a general trend in the construction of high-rise buildings, possibly established by the completion of the *Opernturm* in 2009. However, such contemporary architectural formulation is strongly influenced

¹⁷⁴ "Sieben Höfe und ein Turm"; Source: <http://www.fr-online.de> (2012-08-04) from 15.07.2011

¹⁷⁵ "Sieben Höfe und ein Turm"; Source: <http://www.fr-online.de> (2012-08-04) from 15.07.2011

by the past and tradition as well, as the façade of the *Opernturm* reflects the natural stone from which the neighbouring Old Opera House was built, and interprets façade elements and openings in a rather conventional fashion. Architectural articulation of the '*Mainitor*' project also relied upon such a plain approach, finding it convenient as a result of its vicinity to the historic districts of the city. As a result, besides many already executed buildings with outstanding characteristics, financial district could get less attractive and undesired, uniform appearance that lacks innovative solutions, with new skyscrapers and high-rise buildings that are following an overall design pattern. Such a situation is even more dramatic, as many potentially iconic projects with innovative qualities were put on hold, while their realisation is still uncertain.



Image 4.69.

Lighting Master Plan, *Bankenviertel*

© B.A.S. Architekten. Sources: www.stadtplanungsamt-frankfurt.de/ 2012-08-02 (left), www.bas-architekten.de 2012-08-02 (right)

Planning the introduction of new skyscrapers into the existing metropolitan setting, as well as their architectural formulation are, however, just a few of many activities regarding further development of Frankfurt's skyline and city image. Besides many manifestations¹⁷⁶ that

¹⁷⁶ The 'SkyArena' manifestation promotes the skyline of Frankfurt by treating the facades of the skyscrapers as a huge projection screen; 'Das Wolkenkratzfestival' (Skyscrapers Festival) attracts many admirers of skyscrapers by opening them for the public, and

are utilizing attractiveness of the skyline for cultural production, variety of its visual representation plays an equally important role for drawing the international attention and its promotion as an asset of the city. Therefore, the High-rise Development Plan in this context also involves recommendations for illumination of the skyscrapers. Similarly to other global metropolises, the main aim is to create an authentic night vision for Frankfurt's skyline, as its huge impact on the overall image of the city was already recognized. The planning officials of the city in cooperation with *B.A.S. Architects + Conceptlicht* developed '*Masterplan Licht Bankenviertel*', with the main goal to develop a strategy for setting the public space, architecture, building illumination and signage into new relationships, creating the frame for the future urban lightning. The new master plan for illumination follows a global trend, suggesting the wall surfaces left in the dark - an effect that should make the surrounding buildings appear immaterialized, brightened from inside (image 4.69). With concepts like this, urban space is transformed into a playground for creation of great variety of urban images that are in this case justified by different use of urban space during night and day. Through such concepts, Frankfurt used its skyline scenography for achieving targeted urban identity that also functions as a screen for the projection of desired urban image.

turning them into places of various cultural events; The International High-rise Award is a manifestation held every two years in Frankfurt since 2004, which honors advanced and innovative skyscrapers design from all around the world.

4.3.3. Frankfurt Case 3 (Brownfield Redevelopment): Ostend Riverfront

4.3.3.1. Case Area Description

Contemporary Ostend district originates from the so-called *östlichen Außenstadt* (eastern Outer City) developed outside of the historical urban core in the 19th century. Nowadays, the district is incorporated into *Ortsbezirk Innenstadt 4*, and occupies a large territory east of Frankfurt's *Innenstadt*, along the river Main to include the whole port area (*Osthafen*), which dominates in size, structure and functions. However, since the end of the war, the whole district is marked by constant changes in variable dynamics. The most affected by the current redevelopment trend is certainly the attractive riverfront area on the south of the district.



Image 4.70.

Ostend Riverfront (*Ostend Mainufer*) - borders of the area

© 2014 TerraMetrics & © 2014 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (© 2009), Google. Source: maps.google.de 2012-12-31, with author's additions

Ostend Riverfront (*Ostend Mainufer*) is located between the major urban axis that runs along the streets *Sonnenmanstrasse* and *Hanauer Landstrasse* on the north, and the river Main on the south (image 4.70). Due to the proximity of the port (*Osthafen*) and the Wholesale Market Hall (*Grossmarkthalle*), the zone used to be considered a low-income working-class neighbourhood, but this feature recently began to change, due to many constructions,

renovations and structural changes already completed within the area. The riverfront of the Ostend district is actually facing an extensive conversion from the typical port and industrial area, along with its supporting functions, into a brand new and highly attractive mixed-use urban unit, involving residential, office, education, cultural and sport facilities instead, followed by the new urban green extensions.

4.3.3.2. Historical Circumstances

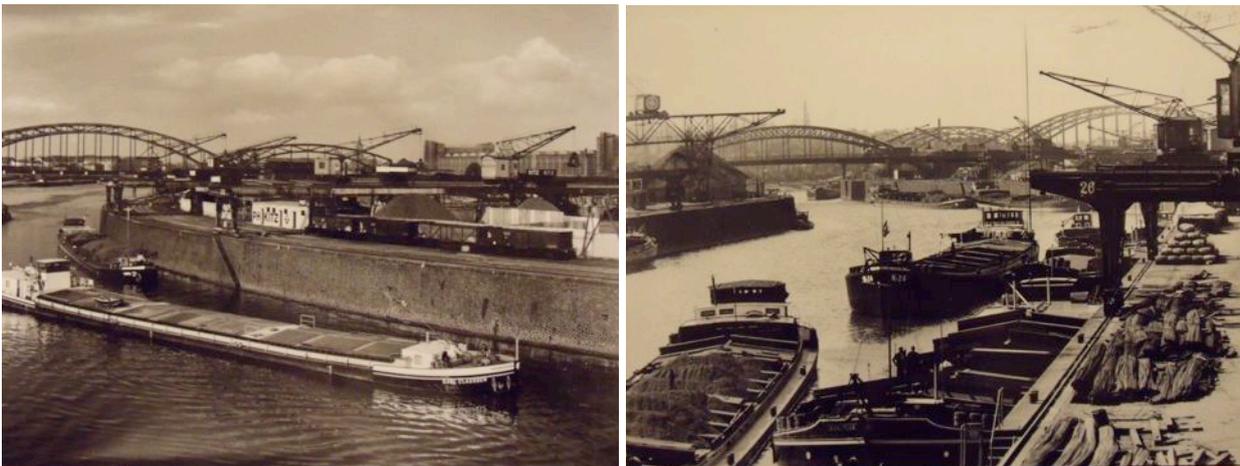


Image 4.71.

Former port and industrial character of the site

Left: area of the future *Hafenpark* with the Wholesale Market Hall in the background (1959);
Right: the view on the Eastern Port (*Osthafen*) from the river (1963)
© *Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main*, left: Willy Kleim, S7C 1998/29.495, right: S7C 1998/29.505

The southern part of the Ostend district has always been one of the less affluent parts of the city, having a long history of industrial centre (*Newsletter* 5, 2012). Its favourable position along the river Main attracted industrial and logistics companies to develop their facilities and many warehouses, serviced by the harbour railway. Manufacturers, workers and retailers, often with foreign background, were all attracted by the job opportunities and lower rental price ranges in the area. However, along with the weakening of the industrial sector during the last decades, the port and shipyard areas along the river became underused and partially neglected, which initiated a necessity for their conversion and urban reintegration (image 4.71). Since the last decades of the 1980-es,¹⁷⁷ due to both its attractive location alongside the river, and its proximity to the city centre, Ostend Riverfront is under comprehensive urban regeneration and overall transformation, along with its functional transition from industry to

¹⁷⁷ Source: <http://www.stadtplanungsamt-frankfurt.de> 2013-01-25

services, greatly initiated and supported by the arrival of the new European Central Bank (ECB) headquarters.



Image 4.72.

The Wholesale Market Hall with its surroundings in 1978

Author's drawing, based on a historical photo by Aero Lux Oberursel, source: www.stadtplanungsamt-frankfurt.de, 2013-01-23

European Central Bank was established when the Maastricht Treaty was signed back in 1992, with the task to administer the monetary policy of the Eurozone member states, while Frankfurt was elected a host-city for the newly established bank headquarters (*New ECB Premises*, 2010: 4). This important institution of the EU started operating in 1998, in rented offices at several locations within Frankfurt's financial district.¹⁷⁸ The initiative for constructing its own headquarters building emerged from the need to bring all the employees together on one site. It was justified by the European Court of Auditors recommendation to all the EU institutions, which favours owning the premises as more economical in the long-term, rather than renting office space (*New ECB Premises*, 2010: 4). In 1998, the quest for the most suitable location in Frankfurt for the new ECB premises begun, involving possible 35 sites. Feasibility study prepared by the Frankfurt based architecture office *Jourdan & Müller* in 1999 (*Newsletter 1*, 2008) recommended the site of the old wholesale market as suitable for the construction of the

¹⁷⁸ The main seat of the ECB is the "Eurotower" at Kaiserstrasse 29; the other two locations are an office building that formerly belonged to Commerzbank (Neue Mainzer Strasse 32–36) and the "Eurotheum" (Neue Mainzer Strasse 66).

new ECB premises, where the existing Wholesale Market Hall (*Grossmarkthalle*; image 4.72) could be well incorporated into the new design. The site was already well integrated in the infrastructure systems, it fulfilled the spatial and security requirements, and it offered sufficient space for eventual further constructions and extensions.¹⁷⁹ The purchase agreement between the City of Frankfurt and the ECB was signed early 2002 (*The Grossmarkthalle*, 2010: 4-5).



Image 4.73.

Ostend Riverfront in 2008, as cleared site for the upcoming extensive construction works
© 2014 Microsoft Corporation & © 2013 BLOM. Source: <http://www.bing.com/maps/>, 2013-01-22

Development of the new ECB headquarters basically became the logistical core for the former wholesales market redevelopment, but also stands out as a flagship project for upgrading the whole surrounding zone. The converted and reintegrated listed building of the Wholesale Market Hall (*Großmarkthalle*) on the site (image 4.73), represents heritage with a strong intangible component in its history and architecture that together play an important role in the overall redevelopment strategy. It was built between 1926 and 1928, as a central wholesale market for Frankfurt and its surrounding (*The Grossmarkthalle*, 2010: 4-5), designed by the Town Planning director of that time, architect Martin Elsaesser. The classic modern style building was at its time the largest free-spanning pre-stressed reinforced concrete hall in the world and also the city's tallest building at the same time (*New ECB Premises*, 2010). The 'Gemieskersch' or 'vegetable church', as it was called locally, has been fulfilling its original use since it has been built in 1928. However, during the war years from 1941 to 1945, the National

¹⁷⁹ Source: <http://www.ecb.int/ecb/premises/intro/vision/html/history.en.html> 2012-07-25

Socialists used the basement rooms of the Market Hall as a collective point for over 10,000 Jewish citizens from the city and its surroundings, to be later deported to concentration camps.¹⁸⁰ In subsequent events, western part of the Hall suffered severe damages, in particular the five most western concrete shells and parts of the western wing, which later served as the main argument for recent invasive insertion of the new design. Its undamaged parts were used by the U.S. Military after the war (*The Grossmarkthalle*, 2010: 5; 14) until its full reconstruction in 1954, which was however conducted with the slight changes in the original building construction (*The Grossmarkthalle*, 2010: 14). The relocation of the wholesale market in June 2004 to the *Kalbach* district, followed by preparatory works on constructing the new ECB headquarters, marked the final functional shift both for the Ostend Riverfront and for the old Market Hall building.

4.3.3.3. Spatial Analysis and Landmarks

Ostend Riverfront is generally a poorly built area, intersected by many railway lines, originating from its industrial background. However, due to its peripheral position in regards to Frankfurt's *Innenstadt* district, it still serves as a significant road and rail traffic intersection. The most important urban axis has a peripheral position on the far north of the site that is perpendicularly intersected by the railway line, which unequally divides the area on its eastern and larger western part. On the other side, the former major port railway ran along the riverside, which is nowadays incorporated into a green park area. Such a dense traffic network required comprehensive planning for its integration within existing and new infrastructure, as a major prerequisite for the current extensive redevelopment of the site. Additionally, Ostend Riverfront at present also represents a gap in the landscape plan for enclosed green belt around the whole city (*GrünGürtel*) that made its linkage into the green urban system a priority for landscape planners (image 4.75: D).

Complete redevelopment of the Ostend Riverfront started with the construction of a completely new, mixed-use neighbourhood of office spaces, shops, gastronomy and attractive residential units with the view on the river (image 4.73; 4.74: 5). The recent extensive development, constructed between 2008-2010 in a triangular form, involved arrangement around the newly established street grid. *Oskar-von-Miller-Strasse* represents the central axis in this new system, while *Horst-Schulmann-Strasse* is the marginal one, separating the district from the neighbouring area of new ECB premises. With the completion of this project, the urban zone

¹⁸⁰ Source: <http://www.stadtgeschichte-ffm.de/service/gedenktafeln/grossmarkthalle.html> 2012-07-24

was further extended towards the west, also providing a fine connection with the future ECB headquarters. Further associated extensions of the green area along the river (image 4.75: 2) is in accordance with the vision for conversion of the attractive riverfront strip along the entire river flow through the city. Reconstruction of the riverbank involved preservation of both of the listed port cranes on the shore (image 4.74: 3), as well as introduction of a modern design for a restaurant building¹⁸¹ into the site with industrial history (image 4.74: 6).

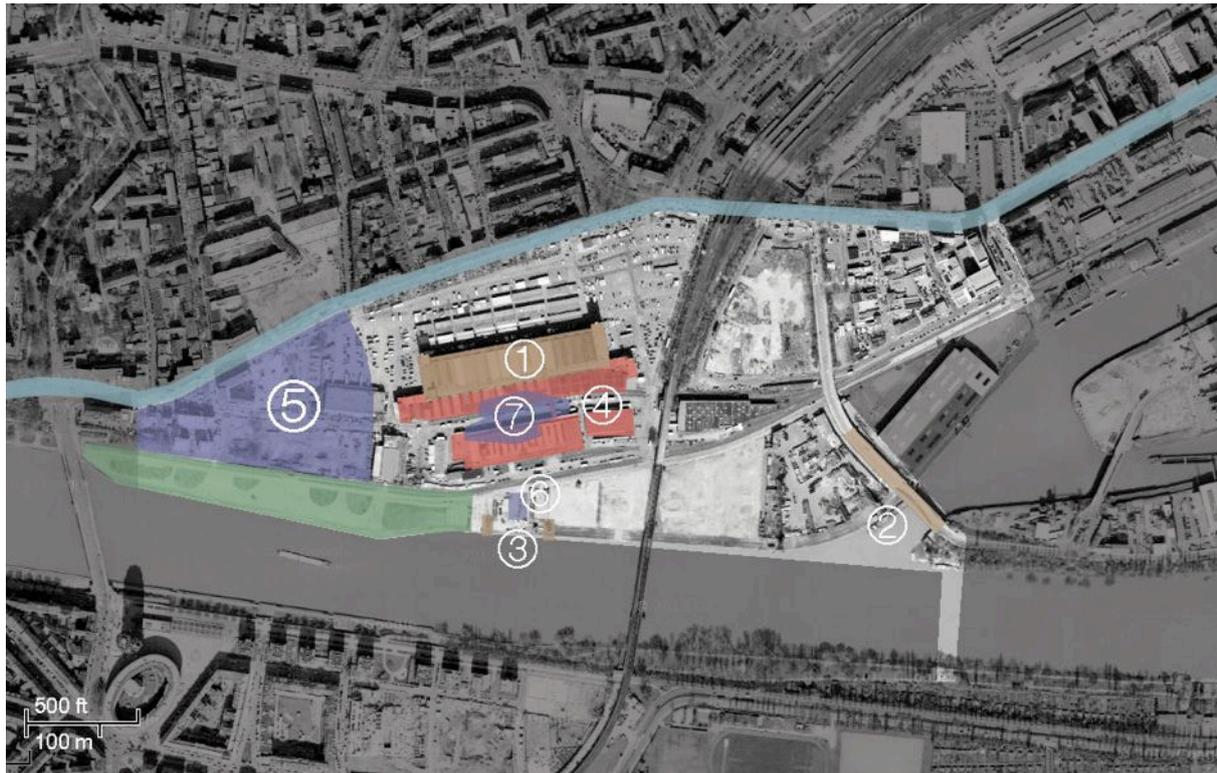


Image 4.74.
Ostend Riverfront spatial and landmarks analysis

Legend: Heritage landmarks (in brown: 1- *Grossmarkthalle*; 2- *Honsellbrücke* Bridge; 3- preserved port cranes); Destroyed ('unwanted') heritage (in red: 4- *Importhalle*); Contemporary developments and landmarks (in violet: 5- new residential and office blocks; 6- modern restaurant building; 7- the site of the double ECB towers in construction); Main urban axis (in blue: *Sonnenmanstrasse-Hanauer Landstrasse*); Green areas (in green: *Mainuferpark*).

© 2014 TerraMetrics & © 2014 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (© 2009), Google
Source: <https://maps.google.de>, 2012-12-30, with author's additions

Regarding landmarks, the area is certainly dominated by the centrally located Wholesales Market Hall, which as an elongated structure oriented to follow the river course (image 4.74: 1). The building itself consists of three main parts; the elongated hall is flanked on the each end by an eight-storey wing building, linked to four-storey annex buildings, which were split into restaurants, flats and the customs area. The western wing building housed

¹⁸¹ The building was constructed according to the winning design by *Architekten Schubert & Seuß* from Darmstadt. The restaurant was opened in October, 2012.

wholesaler's offices and checkout area, while the eastern wing housed additional stalls and cold storage rooms. As until a few decades ago, goods were delivered by train, a densely built railway infrastructure was located south of the hall. The environment of the hall, however, suffered extensive eradication as a preparatory phase for the upcoming construction works. The *Importhalle* (image 4.74: 4), originally located south of the main building, as well as other smaller buildings of the complex were pulled down as 'unwanted' heritage, prior to the handover of the site to the ECB, which was justified by their allegedly poor state of repair (*The Grossmarkthalle*, 2010: 4-6). Built heritage that was found insufficiently attractive was planned to be replaced by a new landmark, involving contemporary design of the double ECB towers (image 4.74: 7). The historical bridge *Honsellbrücke* (image 4.74: 2), built in *Art Nouveau* style in 1911 and nowadays a listed heritage structure, marks the division between the brownfield sites for redevelopment and the port area, and is also scheduled for preservation and upgrading (image 4.74: 4; C).

4.3.3.4. On-going and Planned Development Analysis

The most important on-going project within Ostend Riverfront area is certainly the comprehensive conversion of the former wholesale market complex into the new European Central Bank headquarters (image 4.75: 1). Its irregularly shaped, almost trapezoidal site is located in the vicinity of the *Osthafen* docks, covering a total surface area of approximately 120,000 m², and is surrounded by *Holzmannstraße* on the East, *Sonnemannstraße* on the North, newly established *Horst-Schulmann Straße* on the West and *Eyssenstraße* on the South. Simultaneously with the realization of this extensive project, the existing infrastructure within the site is being redeveloped, along with conversion of the surrounding brownfield sites into parks and green areas for recreation. On the riverfront itself, the former shipyard *Ruhrorter Werft* becomes *Mainuferpark*, as an extension of the green promenade along the river (image 4.75: 2). Further eastwards, around 40,000 m² of the former port, the *Hafenpark* was designed for various sport activities and free time (image 4.75: 3). Furthermore, as a part of infrastructure upgrading, the newly constructed bridge *Mainbrücke Ost* (image 4.75: 4) should together with the renovated historical *Honsellbrücke* improve accessibility and connectivity of the developing *Ostend* district, relieve its traffic, and provide a direct connection with the southern districts *Sachsenhausen* and *Oberrad*.



Image 4.75.

Ostend Riverfront – planned (yellow) and on-going developments (red)

Legend: On-going projects: 1-New ECB premises; 2- *Mainuferpark* extension; 3- *Hafenpark*; 4- *Mainbrücke Ost*.
 Planned projects: A- Main Square shopping center (*Honsell-Dreieck* area); B- *Grossmarkthalle* Memorial; C- *Feuerwache/Molenkopf* hotel high-rise; D- Green Belt extension (*GrüneGürtel Lückenschluss*)
 © 2014 TerraMetrics & © 2014 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (© 2009), Google
 Source: <https://maps.google.de> 2012-12-30, with author's additions

The regulation of other sites within the Ostend Riverfront is still in the planning phase, and involves further upgrading of the surrounding brownfield land located in the vicinity of the future ECB, which plays a flagship role for upgrading the whole area. Important planned interventions concern the development of the so-called *Honsell-Dreieck* area (image 4.75: A) and construction of the *Grossmarkthalle* Memorial (image 4.75: B). Furthermore, with the establishment of the new route over the river along the bridges *Honsellbrücke* and *Mainbrücke Ost*, the head of the peninsula located between both bridges is planned to be accented with a new high-rise hotel, with attractive views of the newly developed areas, as well as of the financial cluster and its iconic skyline (image 4.75: C). With the complete conversion of the brownfield sites on Ostend Riverfront, Frankfurt is not only going to get an attractive mixed-use neighbourhood on the riverside, but also an important extension of its skyline towards the east (image 4.76), for which the current High-Rise Development Plan was submitted to exclusive modifications.

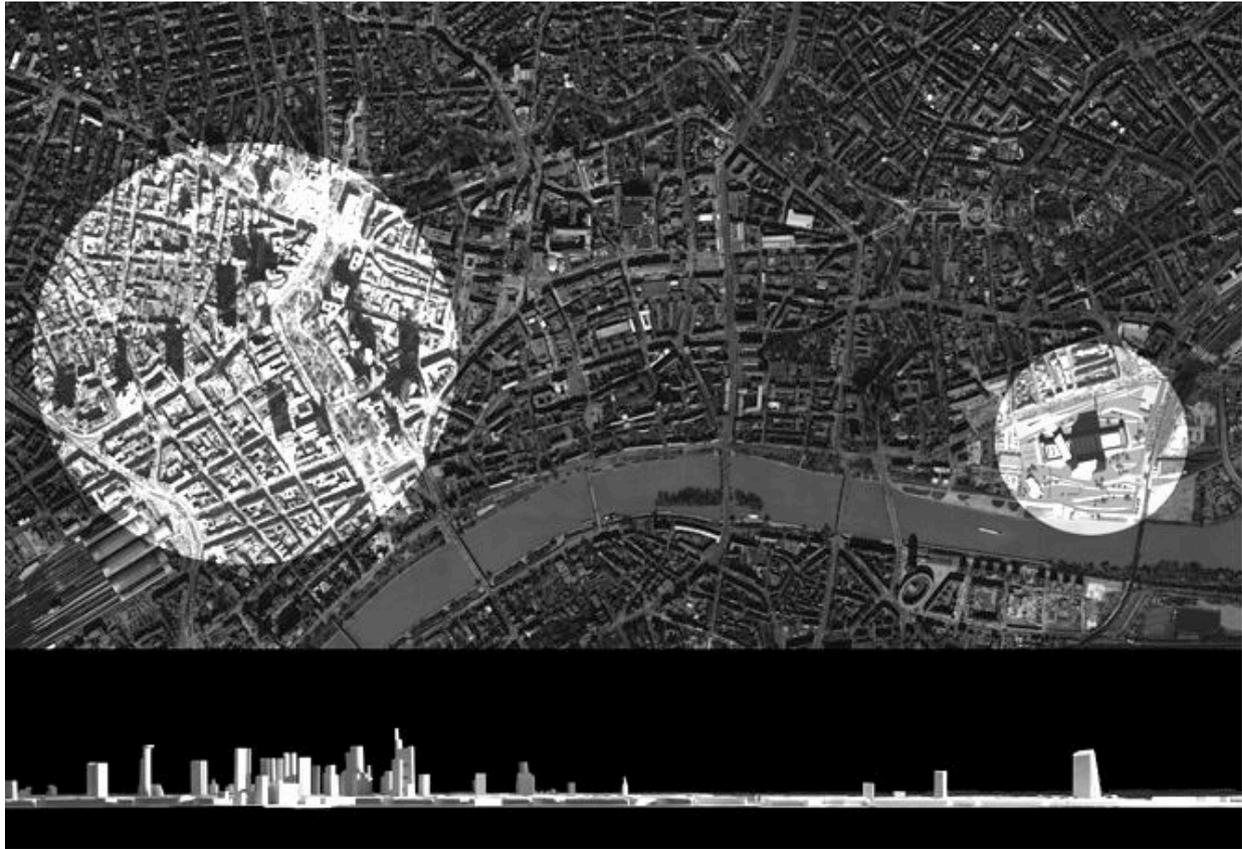


Image 4.76.
Urban proportions and impact on the skyline

According to the project designers, CoopHimmelb(l)au architectural office, the starting point for design of the new ECB towers were the urban perspectives of the city of Frankfurt. As the picture shows, high-rise cluster of the financial district occupies a densely built area west from the city centre, while the new ECB office towers are solitary skyscrapers on the far east, which strongly reflects the figure of the city's skyline.

© COOP HIMMELB(L)AU, Project European Central Bank (ECB), Frankfurt, Germany (2003-2014).
Source: <http://www.coop-himmelblau.at> 2013-01-25

Construction of the new European Central Bank premises started in 2010, according to the revised design concept by Viennese architecture office *Coop Himmelb(l)au*¹⁸² (image 4.78, left), which won design competition in 2005 (*New ECB Premises*, 2010: 4). The whole complex is expected to be finished and ready for use in 2014. Besides functionality and sustainability as the key elements of the competition brief and the jury's decision-making process (*New ECB Premises*, 2010: 5), the design was expected to satisfy various functional requirements and to facilitate open communication and interaction at every level. Flexibility and adaptability in the structural and spatial design also hold an important place in the vision of investors (*New ECB Premises*, 2010: 5). Additionally, sustainability took into account environmental issues, technical efficiency and functional requirements starting from the planning phase, but also other elements, such as urban regeneration and social aspects (*New ECB Premises*, 2010: 11-14).

¹⁸² Source: <http://www.coop-himmelblau.at/site/>



Image 4.77.

New ECB site plan

© COOP HIMMELB(L)AU, Project European Central Bank (ECB), Frankfurt, Germany (2003-2014).
Source: www.ecb.int 2013-01-25



Image 4.78.

The new ECB premises design (left) and the Bank of America Tower (2004-2009) in New York City, by COOKFOX Architects (right)

Left: © ISOCHROM.com, Vienna, Project European Central Bank (ECB), Frankfurt, Germany (2003-2014), <http://www.coop-himmelblau.at> 2012-07-24. Right: photo by Bosc d'Anjou, 2011-01-29, CC BY 2.0, <http://commons.wikimedia.org> 2014-04-14

The winning design solution first went through an optimisation phase, conducted in collaboration between the ECB and Frankfurt authorities, in order to meet the revised functional and spatial requirements, reduce costs of the construction, as well as integrate the former wholesales market site into the city's infrastructure.¹⁸³ The optimised design concept foresees a building ensemble, which should emerge through conversion of the existing Wholesales Market Hall and its incorporation with the newly designed facilities. The three main elements of the future ensemble (table 4.3) are the hall itself, with the new internal structures: newly designed double high-rise skyscraper, joined by an atrium, and the entrance building, which connects the two dominant elements into a unique ensemble. The whole complex on the site (image 4.77) also includes underground car parking and ancillary buildings, accommodating gatehouses and logistics centre. The total gross floor area of the new ECB premises amounts to approximately 185,000 m² (*New ECB Premises*, 2010: 8).

THE NEW ECB BUILDING ENSAMBLE					
1. DOUBLE TOWERS		2. ENTRANCE BUILDING		3. GROSSMARKTHALLE	
Gross floor area	App. 110,000 sqm	Gross floor area	Ca. 3000 sqm	Floor area of the hall	App. 12,500 sqm
Floor area	Between 700 and 1,200 sqm	Height	27,5 m	Height/ Length/ Width	App. 23 m/ 220 m/ 50 m
Height/ North tower	App. 185 m; 45 floors			Height of the wing buildings	32,5 m
Height/ South tower	App. 165 m; 43 floors			Floor area of the wings	App. 975 sqm

Table 4.3.

Technical data of the three main components that are making the new ECB headquarter
Based on the official data by ECB; <http://www.ecb.int/ecb/> 2012-07-25

The official project description¹⁸⁴ elaborated by the architectural design firm *CoopHimmelb(l)au* states that the starting point for the design of the towers were actually the urban perspectives of the city of Frankfurt. The shape, orientation and heights of the towers were designed in such a manner to get a 'striking profile' that is visible from all important reference points in the city centre and from the river Main. In this way, the designers not only intend the new towers to become a new landmark of the Frankfurt's skyline, but also its characteristic feature. The double high-rise itself consists of two polygonal office towers, connected by a glazed atrium, and is designed on the model of the latest trends in architecture

¹⁸³ Source: <http://www.ecb.int> 2013-01-25

¹⁸⁴ Source: *The New Premises of the European Central Bank (ECB) in Frankfurt am Main - Detailed Design*, 2007

in major global cities (image 4.78). With interchanging, connecting platforms and bridges between the two towers, the entire new design seems to rely both on the 'vertical city' and 'hanging gardens' concepts.



Image 4.79.

The initial phase of the project - demolition of several sections of the *Grossmarkthalle*
Author's photo, 2010-08-25



Image 4.80.

Controversial entrance building breakthrough (visualisation)

Left: © ISOCHROM.com, Vienna; <http://www.deutsches-architektur-forum.de> 2012-07-24

Right: © RTT, www.ecb.int 2012-07-24. Project European Central Bank (ECB), Frankfurt, Germany (2003-2014)

Within the frames of the new project, the Wholesales Market Hall was assigned the role of 'urban foyer', which should accommodate the public facilities of the ECB, such as exhibition areas, visitors' centre, cafeteria and conference rooms (*The Grossmarkthalle*, 2010: 3; 14). The new contents are to be integrated into the Hall in the form of a 'house-in-house' concept that involves independent building structures within, which insures a compromise between integration of new functional areas required by the new purpose, along with ensuring the

continual existence of the monument in its original substance. Planned displacement of public and representative activities within the listed building with such an approach insures openness and accessibility of the built heritage.

One of the most aggravating factors in project design and realization certainly concerned heritage status of the Wholesales Market Hall and a certain paragraph in the German law that protects the authorship of the architect (*'Urheberrecht'*; F3: Schalk, 00:53:05). In agreement with historic preservation authorities, the project should insure restoration works, returning the building to its original state to match the original 1928 design as much as possible, including resurrection of certain construction elements that have been concealed over time (*The Grossmarkthalle*, 2010: 5; 10-13). However, many controversies followed the development of the project, especially regarding the removal of the annex buildings and the retention of the original concrete grid façade. Certainly, the main controversy was triggered by the planned connection between existing and new parts of the complex, which technically involved its intersection through the Hall (image 4.79). The new entrance building of the complex was designed to represent a physical and optical link between the two main building parts, as well as to mark the main entrance into the complex from the *Sonnenmannstrasse* (image 4.80), which implied demolition of several of the 15 concrete segments of the Hall with historical value. The architects conceived such a symbiosis of past and present in order to finally produce a new landmark for the city, of both old and new components equally complementing each other.¹⁸⁵ The destruction, necessary for project implementation, was justified by the damage occurred during the 2nd World War. Since the western parts of the hall were reconstructed, and therefore do not represent an original part of the building, the incision for the new entrance to the ECB complex was finally accepted as the correct procedure to be made in the part of the building claimed as not genuine (image 4.79). However, it left the professionals divided on this issue: some find it right to intersect the old building, as it put an accent on the main façade and is an introduction to what follows behind (F1: Buch, 00:20:12; F2: Neitzke, 7/12), while others think the opposite (F3: Schalk, 00:53:05; 7). Even the former mayor of the city, Petra Roth, on the occasion of laying the foundation stone for the new project, reflected not only to the importance of the project for the development of Ostend and the city as a whole, but also noticed that the City of Frankfurt is a symbol for such seemingly confronted enterprises, where 'old' and 'new' or

¹⁸⁵ "Not only does architecture have the job of providing a shell for functions, but its architectural aesthetic must also allow three-dimensional crossreferences to be produced to the culture of our globalised society without denying its location. The dialectic of old and new – the carefully renovated Großmarkthalle and the new set of towers – will mirror this synchronicity." From the speech made by Wolf D. Prix from the Coop Himmelb(l)au office, regarding to the laying of the foundation stone for the ECB's new premises, 19.05.2010.

'historic' and 'future-oriented' must compromise in order to complement each other and create new kinds of aesthetical values.¹⁸⁶



Image 4.81.

The conversion of the Ostend Riverfront
and simultaneous extension of Frankfurt's skyline towards the east

Left: ECB/KingAir Lufffoto (detail). Right: © ESKQ. Project European Central Bank (ECB), Frankfurt, Germany (2003-2014).
Source: <http://www.ecb.int> 2013-01-23

The project for the new ECB premises is certainly looking to produce a new landmark, whose typology will not only make it a new icon for the city and a new supplement to its skyline (image 4.81), but most probably the towers could also become a new symbol of Europe and the EU.¹⁸⁷ The project is also expected to promote Frankfurt as the 'city on the river' (*New ECB Premises*, 2010: 7), as a link between Frankfurt's Ostend and the river Main. Finally, the overall conversion is in fact a flagship project, which should raise the profile of the whole area and promote urban regeneration of the district as a the contribution to sustainability issues. Aside from the conversion of the surrounding brownfield land to large, green zones, the sustainability project also involved carefully planned energy design, including rainwater harvesting, heat recycling, efficient insulation, natural ventilation, efficient solar protection and low-energy lighting, as well as use of geothermal energy for heating and cooling (*New ECB Premises*, 2010: 12-14). However, besides all the positive effects that renewal is expected to trigger, it is

¹⁸⁶ „Frankfurt „Die Stadt“ symbolisiert in solchen Vorhaben, dass sich Gegensätze wie „alt und neu“ oder „historisch und zukunftsorientiert“ keineswegs unversöhnlich gegenüberstehen, sondern einander ergänzen und daraus eine neue ästhetische Qualität schaffen können. Ein weiterer wichtiger Aspekt ist die städtebauliche Entwicklung des Ostends. Der Neubau der EZB ist ein bedeutender Mosaikstein in der Entwicklung des gesamten Viertels, das schon seit Jahren einen großen Aufschwung erlebt, sowohl als Wirtschaftsstandort als auch als Wohnquartier, mit den in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft der EZB gelegenen Wohnanlagen, mit der Weseler Werft als eine der beliebtesten Flaniermeilen und geplanten Cafés.“ Taken from the speech by the mayor Petra Roth on 19.05.2010.

¹⁸⁷ Source: 'The International Herald Tribune'; <http://global.nytimes.com/> by Dougherty, Carter; 16 November 2004. Retrieved from <http://en.wikipedia.org> 2013-03-12

also important to reflect the issue of gentrification that has already begun due to rising rents and property prices, which threaten to change the population structure along with the aesthetic and functional shifts of the district.

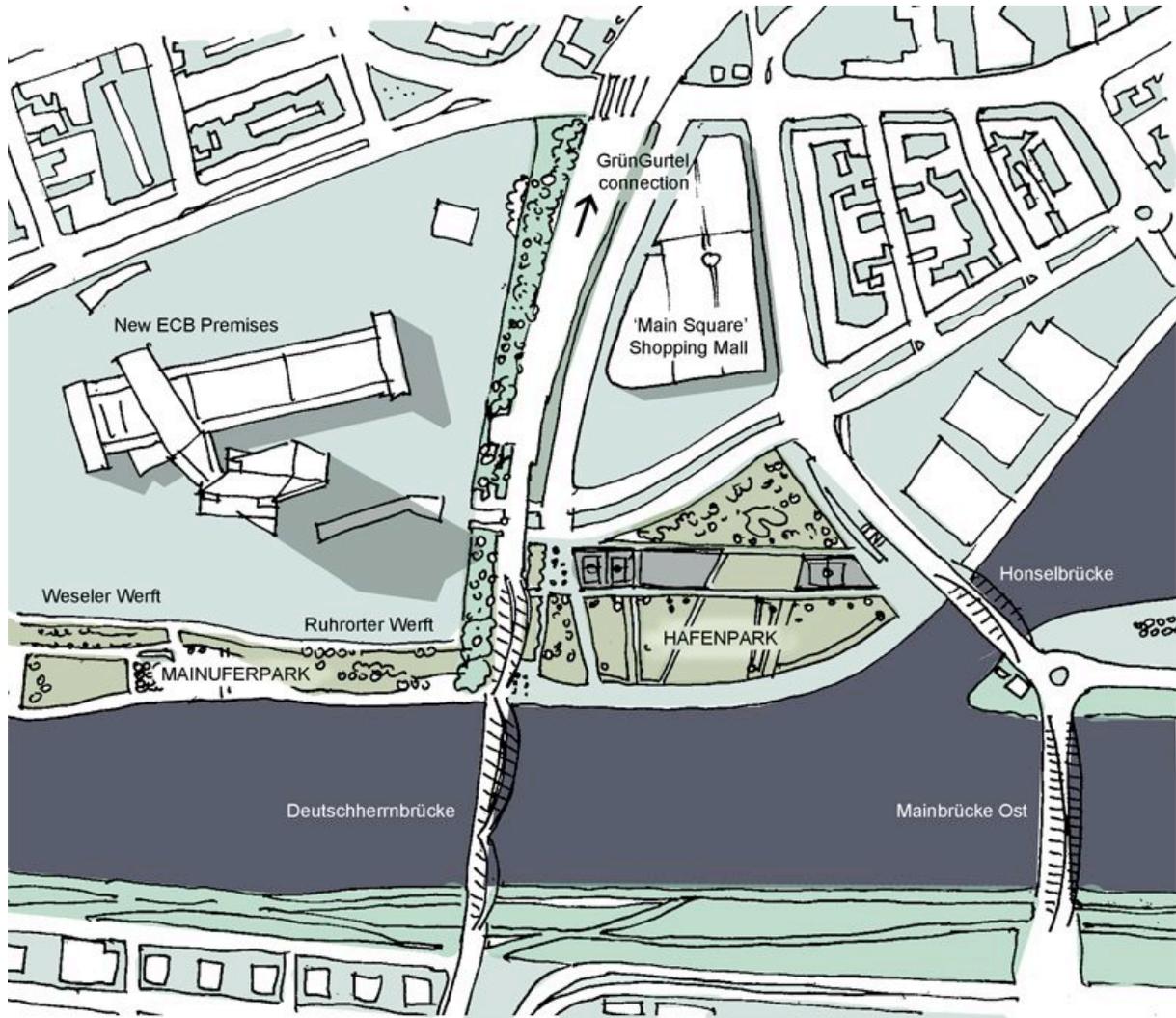


Image 4.82.

The new green areas along the riverfront in Ostend district
Author's drawing, according to the plan by <http://www.sinai.de> 2013-01-25

As the site of the new premises of the ECB is located at the intersection between the two important urban green spaces in Ostend district, this remaining gap between the *Ostpark* and the riverside is planned for connection and integration. These important urban green spaces consist of the *Mainuferpark*, which runs along the riverside, and the *GrünGürtel*, which represents the green ring around the city. Conversion of the former shipyard *Ruhrorter Werft* on the riverside, which was out of use since the 1980-es, should provide a green extension of the *Mainuferpark* promenade until the *Deutschherrbrücke* railway bridge, and further east through the construction of the new *Hafenpark* (image 4.82). Extension of the *Mainuferpark* finally opened the district to the riverside that has a favourable position regarding the perception of the

skyline, Wholesales Market Hall, the river and its bridges, which is recognized by the city planning authority. For this reason, a new café-restaurant with viewing platforms opened in 2012, combined with the preservation of the two heritage-listed coal cranes from 1911 and 1912 (image 4.83). The new three-storey building of concrete and glass was introduced into the environment and reflects its former industrial character, reviving the existing heritage by integrating one of the cranes into its viewing platform. Restoration of the cranes and development of the catering facility on the riverside are, besides landscaping that will follow, the final phase in redevelopment of the promenade along the river, to mark the entrance into the following *Hafenpark*.

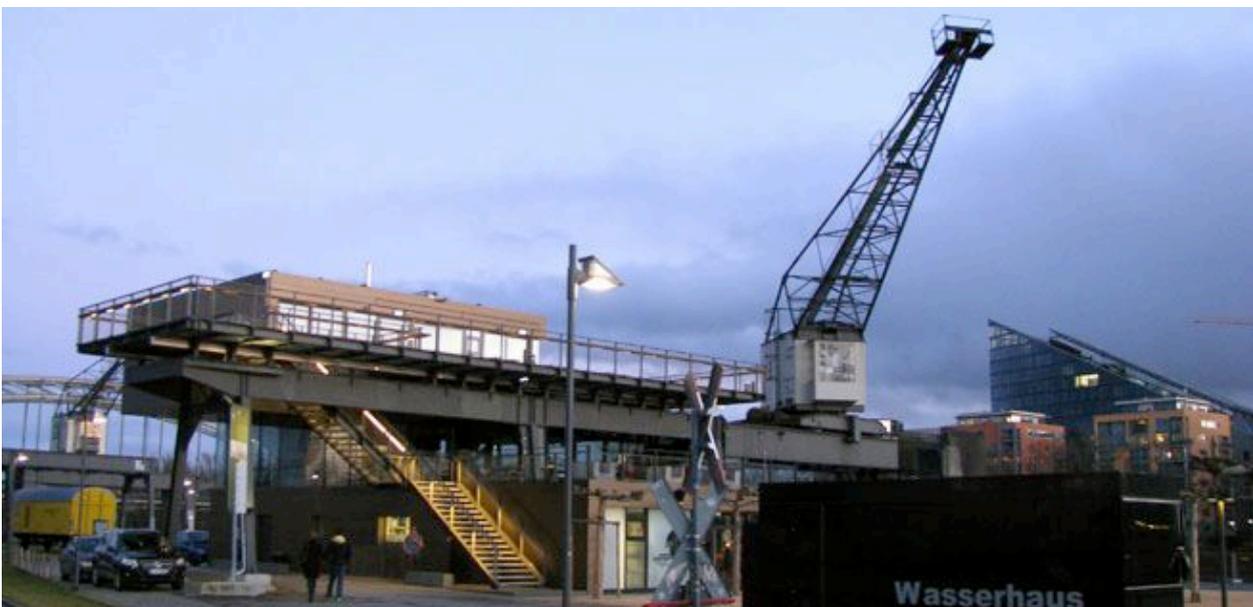


Image 4.83.

Café-restaurant with viewing platform and a historical crane on *Ruhrorter Werft*.
Design by *Schubert & Seuß Architekten BDA*. Author's photo, 2014-02

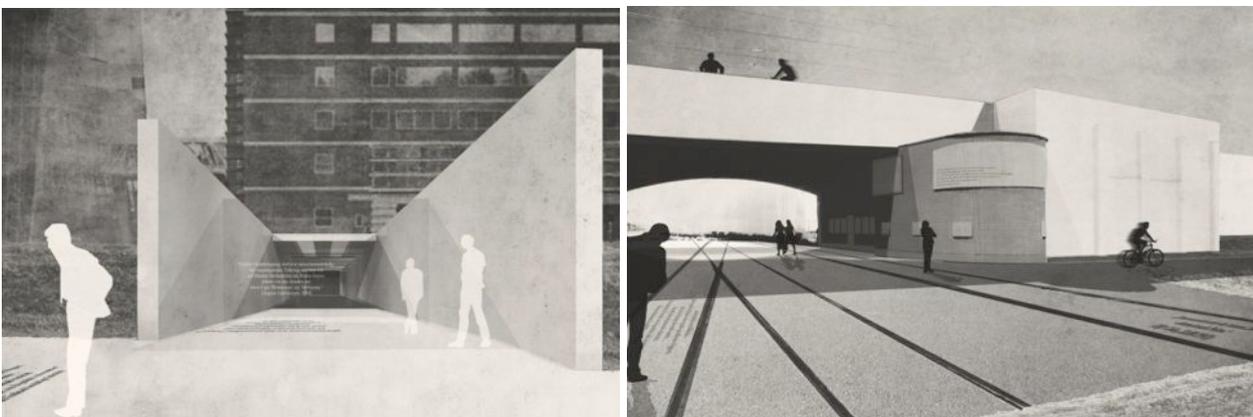


Image 4.84.

Grossmarkthalle Memorial – winning design by *KatzKaiser* office, Köln
© KatzKaiser, Köln / Darmstadt. Source: <http://www.katzkaiser.de> 2013-01-26

As a final touch to the whole complex, a construction of a memorial is foreseen that should keep the memory on the deportations of thousands of Jewish citizens from the basements of the Wholesale Market Hall during the Nazi dictatorship. The project in the final preparatory phase is integrated in the surrounding landscape areas, designed in the form of a ramp that from the green stripe of the *GrünGürtel* symbolically leads into the basements of the Hall (image 4.84). The memory of past events from the dark chapters in history was preserved through symbolical utilization of the existing facilities, such as basement of historical significance and network of railway tracks, whose symbolical perception is to be facilitated by the newly introduced elements, such as the ramp itself and the numerous quotes to be engraved along the way.



Image 4.85.

Winning design of the developing *Hafenpark*: view of the playground with central sport facilities (left) and skatepark (right)

Design by 'Sinai' - Faust Schroll Schwarz Freiraumplanung + Projektsteuerung GmbH
Author's photo, 2014-04

Behind the idea of *Hafenpark*, which opens at the end of the riverside promenade (image 4.85), stands the City Municipality, who organized a design competition in 2010 for a large, empty area between the river and its bridges. It was created as one of the initiatives with the purpose of turning Frankfurt into a 'Green City', supported by online public participation, in the form of a questionnaire to determine wishes and suggestions of the citizens themselves.¹⁸⁸ In contrast to rapidly developing and changing Ostend district, the main idea was to save the vast brownfield area on the riverside for an open green zone, based on the theme 'sport and movement' that was missing in the city as such. The winning design of the future *Hafenpark* arranged the zone as a compromise between areas for various sports and free time activities,

¹⁸⁸ Source: <http://www.main-frankfurter-osten.de> 2013-01-25

and natural, green promenade along the riverside (images 4.82; 4.85). The future park is therefore functionally divided in its northern part involving areas for skaters, centrally located stripe of both sport facilities (volleyball, basketball) and playgrounds and climbing areas, and finally pleasant meadow area in its southern part, with views on the skyline and the river, and with a gastronomy centre under the arches of *Honsellbrücke* Bridge, also planned for renovation.

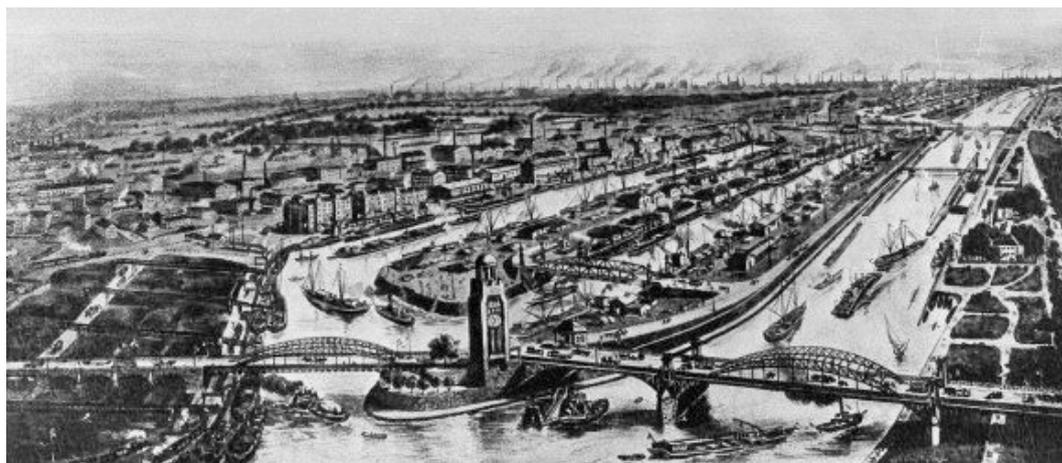


Image 4.86.

Vision for riverbanks connection in *Osthafen* from ca. 1900.

On the left is the arch of the existing *Honsellbrücke* Bridge, with the planned extension on the right, realised a century later with the construction of the new bridge, *Mainbrücke Ost*.

© *Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main*, S7A 1998/14.814

Along with the full conversion of empty areas into parks, the whole riverside is also subjected to extensive infrastructure reconstruction. The idea of connecting Ostend with the southern district of *Sachsenhausen* dates back in 1907,¹⁸⁹ when the city had plans to construct a bridge at the edge of the *Osthafen* pier (image 4.86). The realization of this idea came a hundred years later through the architectural competition for the design of the new bridge, based on its unrealized historical predecessor, and was won by the architect Ferdinand Heide together with the *Grontmij GmbH* (image 4.87). The new urban landmark over the river is designed as a steel arch structure, 175 meters long, 24 meters high and 24 meters wide. It respects both tradition and its natural environment, keeping the previously proposed simple arch and existing materials used, in order to achieve a harmonious ensemble with the listed *Honsellbrücke* Bridge from 1911.¹⁹⁰ Additionally, the new design was conceived without supporting piers, to keep the existing green intact along the riverside. On the other side, the new design corresponds with the surrounding urban environment in a wider scale, fulfilling

¹⁸⁹ Source: <http://www.neue-mainbruecke-frankfurt.de> 2013-01-26

¹⁹⁰ Source: <http://www.stadtplanungsamt-frankfurt.de> 2013-01-26

demands for attractiveness as well, through the structure of illuminated crossed cables that are to emit a delicate shimmer of light at night. The net of light is to produce interesting optical effects, reflecting itself in the surface of the river and framing the image of the skyline and *Osthafen* docks. Finally, the whole ensemble should be finalized with the construction of a 60-meter high-rise hotel with a spectacular view that should embellish the peak of the pier, between the two bridges (image 4.88). The location foreseen by the High-rise Development Plan originates, in fact, in the historical plans that suggested the construction of a lighthouse on this prominent site (image 4.86). The new high-rise hotel is still in the planning phase,¹⁹¹ but its realization is still uncertain.



Image 4.87.
New bridge *Mainbrücke Ost* by *Ferdinand Heide Architekt BDA*
Author's photo, 2014-04

The last important brownfield site that is scheduled for conversion is the so-called *Honsell-Dreieick* triangular shaped area between the major road and rail traffic routes. On its northern part the construction of a large shopping centre 'Main Square' is planned (image 4.82). The planned building in the near vicinity of the future ECB towers is to cover a total area of approximately 82,000 m². This development aims to support mixed-use character of the area,

¹⁹¹ Feasibility study for construction of a high-rise hotel on this relatively small parcel has already been compiled on the request of the city by *Heide Architekt* office, which finally gave a positive verdict. (Source: <http://www.stadtplanungsamt-frankfurt.de> 2013-01-26)

by including diverse planned functions: a shopping mall, cinema, hotel, gastronomy, offices and parking facilities.¹⁹²



Image 4.88.
Molenkopf - possible location for a new high-rise between the bridges
Honselbrücke (left) and *Mainbrücke Ost* (right)
Author's photo, 2014-04

¹⁹² Source: <http://www.main-frankfurter-osten.de> 2013-01-26

Rotterdam Case Study Analysis

5.1. Rotterdam in the Contexts of its Identity

5.1.1. Location, Demographics and Economy Overview

After Amsterdam, Rotterdam is the second largest city of the Netherlands,¹⁹³ the largest port in Europe, and the third busiest port in the world.¹⁹⁴ The city is located in the western part of the country (image 5.1), in the province of South Holland (*Zuid-Holland*), and is part of the so-called '*Randstad*' area, known as the economic centre of the Netherlands. The city officially covers 319,35 m², 205,90m² of which is land and 113,45 m² are water areas.¹⁹⁵

The commercial and strategic importance of Rotterdam is mostly based on its convenient location, which provides a vital connection with the North Sea through the New Meuse River (*Nieuwe Maas*). The waterway in delta, formed by the rivers Rhine and Meuse (*Maas*), divides the city in two equal halves: northern and southern, which are connected by several bridges and railway tunnels. The city centre is historically located on the northern riverbank, but along with the recent urban development trends, its further extension to the south has already commenced. Due to the mentioned strategic location, good connections within the region and the proximity to the heart of industrial Europe through a massive rail, road, air and inland waterway distribution system, Rotterdam is nowadays considered as one of the major

¹⁹³ Source: *The City of Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Self-Evaluation Report* (2009): 15.

¹⁹⁴ The data is according to the category "total cargo volume" of the American Association of Port Authorities (AAPA) for 2009 (<http://appa-ports.org/>).

¹⁹⁵ Sources: Centre for Research and Statistics (COS), Rotterdam Facts & Figures (2009): 11; *The City of Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Self-Evaluation Report* (2009): 15.

international port and commercial centres, operating for many years as the 'gateway to Europe'.¹⁹⁶



Image 5.1.

Rotterdam location within the Netherlands (left) and within South Holland province (right)

© 2014 TerraMetrics & © 2014 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (© 2009), Google
 Source: <https://maps.google.de>, 2012-11-13, with author's additions

According to the official statistical data for 2012, there were 617,347 people living in the city,¹⁹⁷ and over 1,1 million inhabitants within the Rotterdam region (*Rijnmond*;¹⁹⁸ image 5.2). The entire population of South Holland province is expected to continue its rising trends, with forecasts of reaching approximately 660,000 inhabitants in 2030 in Rotterdam only.¹⁹⁹ Around 47% of the urban population has an immigration background, with the total of up to more than 170 nationalities living in the city nowadays.²⁰⁰ Many non-western immigrants principally originate from the former Dutch colonies Suriname and the Antilles, as well as from the Cape Verde Islands and Turkey (Van Ulzen, 2007: 25), while most African immigrants have Moroccan origins.²⁰¹ However, the education levels of the migrant labour force, as well as their household earnings, are still generally lower than those of the native citizens. In addition, southern areas of

¹⁹⁶ *The Netherlands: Gateway to Europe*, Time Magazine US, Friday, Jun. 21, 1963 (<http://www.time.com/>)

¹⁹⁷ Source: COS Bevolkingsmonitor (2012), <http://www.rotterdam.nl/onderzoek>

¹⁹⁸ Rijnmond literally means *Rhine Mouth* or *Rhine Estuary*, and is also known as Stadsregio Rotterdam (the Rotterdam Urban Region or Greater Rotterdam Area).

¹⁹⁹ Source: *Bevolkingsprognose Rotterdam 2013-2030* (2012): 5.

²⁰⁰ Source: Rotterdam Facts & Figures (2009): 7.

²⁰¹ Source: *The City of Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Self-Evaluation Report* (2009): 19.

Rotterdam are significantly falling behind in general, lacking in working places and burdened by social problems (R3: Blok, 01:01:09) that created an evident gap in average household income, compared to the higher national level. The unemployment rate in 2007 reached 7,4%, which is also surpassing the Dutch average of 4,5%.²⁰²

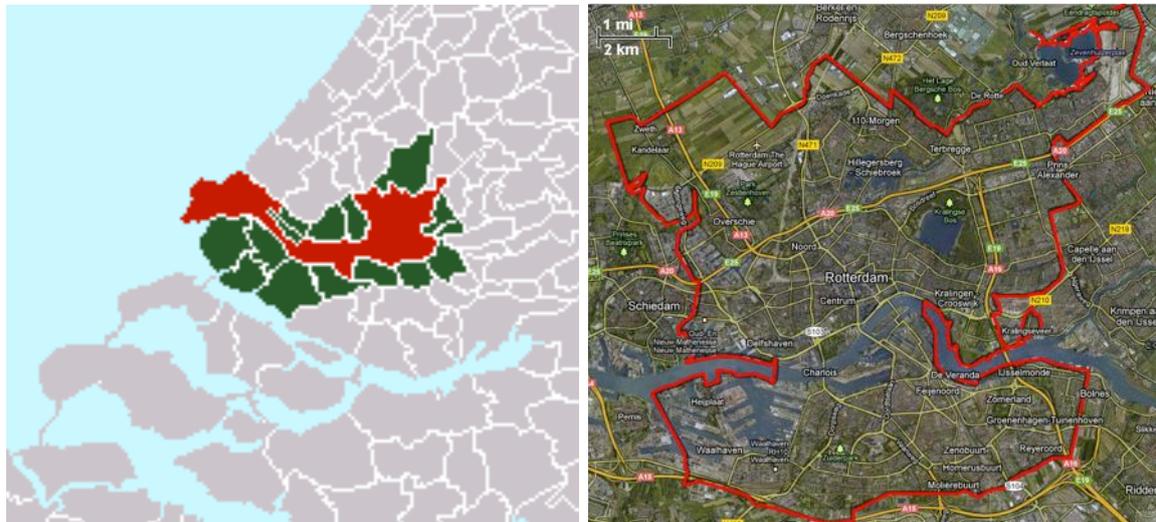


Image 5.2.

Greater Rotterdam area (*Stadsregio Rotterdam; Rijnmond*), showing the city and the port in red (left), and Rotterdam Municipality borders without the port area (right)

Left: <http://commons.wikimedia.org> 2014-04-02. Right: © 2014 TerraMetrics & © 2014 Google

Source: <https://maps.google.com> 2012-11-14, with author's additions

The major factors of the city's economy are its business services and trade,²⁰³ being that the service sector showed the highest growth rates during the recent period. The most important economic driver of Rotterdam is certainly its strategically located port of international significance, which is currently Europe's largest, and one of the top 5 most important ports in the world – after Shanghai, Zhoushan/Ningbo and Singapore.²⁰⁴ Development of the port-industrial complex of such proportions initiated establishment of the traditionally port-related activities, such as transport and communication that even nowadays hold a large share in the city's sectorial structure. Besides the significant dominance of the port and related activities, other important development assets are the city's location within the *Randstad* region, its proximity and access to highly educated labour force and its diverse economic structure. Such an atmosphere continues to attract international services and companies to the city, which are in particular further expanding the port itself, thus still being very important for the city's competitive potential.

²⁰² Source: *The City of Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Self-Evaluation Report* (2009): 19.

²⁰³ Source: *The City of Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Self-Evaluation Report* (2009): 22.

²⁰⁴ Source: *Rotterdam Facts & Figures* (2009): 7; 18.

Between 1998 and 2003, Rotterdam was positioned relatively well on national and international rankings. It has also already won the titles of European Capital of Culture (2001), European Capital of Sports (2005), City of Architecture (2007) and European Youth capital (2009).²⁰⁵ However, there is a significant decline in its national economic performance lately, evident in its drop from 20th to 53rd position in 2007.²⁰⁶ In addition, in terms of international business connections, the *Randstad* area ranked 5th on the global level, but Rotterdam itself placed 29th within European networks.²⁰⁷ By the Loughborough University group's 2008 inventory, Rotterdam is nowadays listed as a gamma world city.²⁰⁸ It is also classified as a 'specialized pole' city due to its 'gateway' functions, placed in between the *international hub* and *regional pole* category. However, it is still a ranking level below the country's capital and its prime rival Amsterdam, which is listed as an *international and knowledge hub*,²⁰⁹ as well as an alpha world city.

5.1.2. Historical and Spatial Development Analysis

Rotterdam has a rich history of urban planning and development, dating long before the 2nd World War, although the post-war plans and interventions left the most visible effects today, as a consequence of severe war destructions.

The city owes its formation to the commodities of the place, where the small river *Rotte* used to flow into the *Nieuwe Maas* waterway. The first protective dikes and dams were built in the region due to the frequent floods in the mid 13th century. The wooden dam in the area of today's Rotterdam itself was constructed around 1270, on the place where *Hoogstraat* and *Binnenrotte* streets nowadays meet (Van de Laar, 2007). Small fishing port thus continued to develop, especially after the Old Port was constructed in around 1328.²¹⁰ However, despite definitive town privileges,²¹¹ and regardless of population growth that at that time already reached about 2,000 inhabitants,²¹² many older, richer and more influential towns and cities of the region for a long time after continued to overshadow medieval Rotterdam (Van de Laar, 2007).

²⁰⁵ Rotterdam Facts & Figures (2009): 27.

²⁰⁶ Source: *The City of Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Self-Evaluation Report* (2009): 16.

²⁰⁷ Source: *The City of Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Self-Evaluation Report* (2009): 16.

²⁰⁸ GaWC - The World According to GaWC 2008 (source: <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/> 2012-11-09)

²⁰⁹ Source: *The City of Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Self-Evaluation Report* (2009): 16.

²¹⁰ Key Figures Rotterdam 2006, <http://www.rotterdam.nl/> 2012-11-09

²¹¹ The definitive town privileges were granted on June 7th 1340, by count William IV of Holland (Van de Laar, 2007)

²¹² <http://www.portofrotterdam.com/>

The first significant expansions of the port was built in 1350, when the important shipping canal *Rotterdamse Schie* was completed, which was the prerequisite for the port of Rotterdam later to develop into the local transshipment centre between Holland, England and Germany. During the 16th century, further extensions of the port fostered urbanization of the city that reached between numbers of 8,000 to 10,000 inhabitants around 1560 (Van de Laar, 2007). At that time, the Great Church (Church of St. Lawrence), built during the 15th and 16th century, already dominated the image of the town centre, while the *Grotemarkt* Square was established in 1557, when a 'new bridge' was built over the *Steigersgracht* waterway (Van de Laar, 2007). During the last decades of the 16th century, the major fortifications were completed, and the new riverside town expanded southward from *Blaak* and *Nieuwehaven* towards the *Maas* River, as a result of the new trading opportunities with France, England and Scotland (image 5.3). As the port gained it importance, it soon became the seat of one of the six chambers of the Dutch East India Company (*VOC - Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*), which included Amsterdam, Delft, Enkhuizen, Middelburg and Hoorn. By the mid 17th century, Rotterdam finally ascended to the rank of the Republic's second trading and shipping town, right after Amsterdam (Van de Laar, 2007).



Image 5.3.
Rotterdam map by Carolo Allard, 1689.

With the spread towards the southwest, towards the banks of the Maas River, the characteristic triangular urban structure is finally defined during the early 18th century
Stadsarchief Rotterdam, RI-30-II

The subsequent modest harbour development occurred during the 17th century, and didn't lead to significant economic growth, as Rotterdam had serious troubles exporting industrial products. Until the middle of the 1700-es, the North Sea was easily accessible, but the advent of larger ships and natural alterations of the inlet caused difficulties in navigation through natural passages.²¹³ The population of the city even slightly decreased at this point and fluctuated between 44,000 and 47,000. After the *Zalmhaven* was constructed, there was nearly no need for any further expansion of the town. However, the appearance of the merchant city itself evolved further (image 5.4), with distinguished private housing and fine new buildings constructed by municipal authorities and religious bodies. The gradual recovery of the town's economy occurred after 1750, and by 1800 the population rose again to 57,000 (Van de Laar, 2007).



Image 5.4.

The view of Rotterdam from the waterfront

A detail that accompanied the plan of the city by Matthäus Seutter, from 1696. The heights of the city verticals, dominated by St Lawrence's Church, is slightly exaggerated
Stadsarchief Rotterdam, RI-37

The transit through the port further increased during the mid 19th century; this time as a result of industrialization and free customs legislation. Rotterdam's population grew to 90,000 people; the majority of the city's inhabitants however still lived inside the limits of the moats (Van de Laar, 2007). As a result of the harbour expansions, the trade centre and shipping shifted to the west (image 5.5), but during the mid 1850-es, the westward expansion reached its limit. The town centre was already densely built, overpopulated, and was a very unhealthy environment to live in, as most of the inhabitants didn't have own drinking water supply. The lack of an adequate drainage system caused many diseases, like cholera and smallpox, which were the trigger for necessary improvements in water management. On the other side, with the completion of the New Waterway (*Nieuwe Waterweg*) in 1872, the west access to the North Sea was directly opened, enabling mass transport with Germany and particularly with the Ruhr

²¹³Source: <http://www.macalester.edu/> 2012-11-09

region that had already bloomed as a result of the on-going industrial revolution. The new demand for port functions and Rotterdam's location contributed to the further growth and development both of the city and its harbour, which then began to expand on the south bank of the river (image 5.6). The connection with the new part of the town from the other side of the river was finalized when the *Binnenrotte* street was covered over, in order for a railway viaduct to be built on top of it in 1877, followed by the completion of the Williams Bridge (*Linker Maasoever*) in 1878. The extension of the town that followed was essential in order to satisfy the demand for cheap homes for the working class. The population rapidly grew again, increasing from 210,000 to 515,000 inhabitants in just 30 years, between 1890 and 1920 (Braun, 2008).

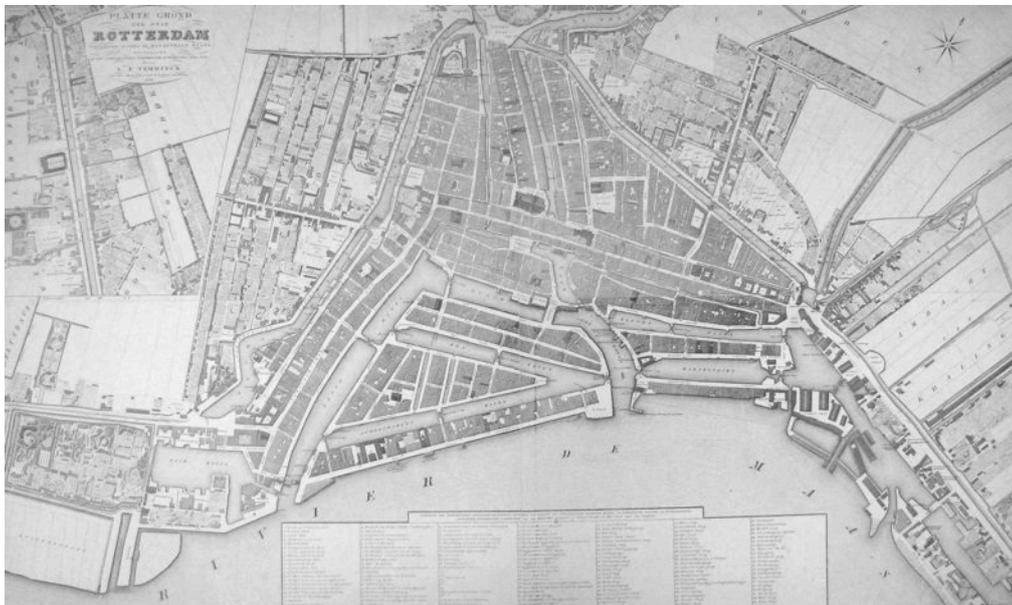


Image 5.5.
Plan of Rotterdam by Leonard Temmnick from 1839.

As a result of reduced threat of war, the city gradually spread outside of its moats, outgrowing at the same time its historic triangular shape. The area outside the moats were firstly occupied by gardens, that were later built over (Van de Laar, 2007). The plan is the first to be based on measurements, and is more accurate than maps from previous periods.

Stadsarchief Rotterdam, I 53.01A

Rotterdam from the turn of the centuries already had a reputation of being big, modern and enterprising, with expectations to overtake the country's first city, Amsterdam; at least in terms of size. The city's docks however were already more important than those of Amsterdam and began drawing level with the ports of London and New York (Van Ulzen, 2007). The booming city's population made the town council establish greater control over the city's growth, launching the plans to deal with the urban expansion. Within the historic centre, the old town moats were gradually filled for their conversion into the connecting roads. The most drastic intervention was moving the city centre towards the west, when the mayor A.R. Zimmerman

turned *Coolsingel* moat into a representative boulevard, to develop a new administrative and commercial centre of the town. Implementation of the ambitious and radical traffic plans within the old city triangle was prevented by the outbreak of the 1st World War, and due to lack of funding. However during the inter-war years, modern, large, technological Rotterdam build up a solid reputation as a modernist city, with its functional design of the 1920-es and '30-es. At this time, the city's appearance commenced its radical change, firstly because of the early high-rise, based on the model of American cities – especially on Chicago (Van Ulzen, 2007), and secondly as a result of increased motorised traffic. Besides Amsterdam, the most celebrated examples of Dutch Modern Movement architecture were built in Rotterdam, such as the *Van Nelle* factory, *Bergpolderflat*, *Café De Unie*, the *Bijenkorf* department store and the *Spangen* and *Kiefhoek* housing.



Image 5.6.

Map of Rotterdam from 1930, showing its expansion from the triangular urban matrix
Stadsarchief Rotterdam, 1895-1014

Simultaneous growth and development of the city and the port was again abruptly stopped by the 2nd World War. The German army invaded Netherlands on May 10th 1940, bringing the Dutch army to capitulation four days later after aggressive bombardment of the city. During the so-called 'Rotterdam Blitz', the entire historical town and parts of the port were destroyed, leaving 900 dead, 77,000 homeless and some 24,000 houses totally destroyed.²¹⁴ Only several iconic buildings survived the bombing, such as the then badly damaged St Lawrence Church, the White House, and the *Schielandshuis*. Part of the *Coolsingel* Street also

²¹⁴ Source: Key Figures Rotterdam 2006, <http://www.rotterdam.nl/> 2012-11-09

remained undamaged, with the City Hall, the Post Office, *Beurs*, HBU bank building and *Bijenkorf* department store (Van Ulzen, 2007; Van de Laar, 2007). However, many historical buildings that could have been restored were demolished during the rubble clearing process that followed (Van de Laar, 2007). The bombardment not only brought the city's growth to a standstill, but was also a major turning point in overall development of Rotterdam (image 3.5).

The vision of the city's future in the post-war period was at first marked by the idea of continuity between the inter-war years and the post-war reconstruction. Decision for initial reconstruction was made in May 1940, followed by the Witteveen's 'Basic Plan' in the end of 1941 (Van de Laar, 2007). First of all, this plan emphasized the importance to retain the characteristic triangular form of the 17th century, but didn't advocate for the old city to be restored to its previous state. The intention was instead to halve a number of homes, and to expel the industry from the city centre. Finally, the new centre of Greater Rotterdam at *Hofplein* Square was anticipated; not only as a central traffic point, but also as a cultural centre. The plan for the modern, metropolitan city, based on its historical layout, was well received, although the difficult economical situation and lack of resources postponed its immediate implementation until May 1946. The priority was the reconstruction of the port and industrial area, as it would leave a far larger economic footprint on the country, than rebuilding of the city's central districts would. Ironically, further extensions of the port were filled-in using rubble from the war times.²¹⁵ Restoration of the city centre finally began in the 1950-es, and was conducted through to the 1970-es with the significant changes in the 'Basic Plan'. Witteveen's assistant Cornelis van Traa introduced the 'Foundation Plan' for reconstruction in 1946, advocating for an entirely different city than what existed before, with a modern road system addressing the urban problems associated with the increasing use of the automobiles. The plan was fundamentally a zoning plan, based on four main urban functions: traffic, work, housing and recreation (Van de Laar, 2007). The plan thus determined cultural area along the *Schouwburgplein*, financial area along the *Blaak-Westblaak*, commercial and administrative area along the *Coolsingel*, while the area between *Coolsingel*, *Westblaak*, *Westersingel* and *Weena* became a special shopping area. In addition, the new boundaries for the central zone were determined,²¹⁶ with *Zuiderpark* on its edges, as a green separation belt for the new outlying housing projects. (Van de Laar, 2007).

The simultaneous reconstruction and expansion of the port that followed since the 1950-es took over the role of driving force for the Rotterdam's forthcoming expansion and progress. Development of the new port areas such as the *Botlek* (1955-1966), *Europoort* (1957-1970) and the first *Maasvlakte* (1967-now) made Rotterdam the world's largest port back in 1962. During

²¹⁵ Source: <http://www.portofrotterdam.com/> 2012-11-09

²¹⁶ For the boundaries of the new central zone were determined the following streets: *Blaak*, *Westblaak*, *Westersingel*, *Weena*, *Goudsesingel* and *Groenendaal* (Van de Laar, 2007).

1965, the city itself reached the highest population level in its history so far (732,000 inhabitants), as well as the highest industrial employment, reaching 116,000 jobs (Braun, 2008). Till 1970, Rotterdam was a relatively small and cosy city, but with a certain identity crisis due to historical discontinuation of its development progress. However, the most important period of modern Rotterdam development certainly occurred in the time frame between 1970 and 2000, when the urban, cultural and economic climate of the city radically changed. Under the influence of the new city government during the 1970-es, a general shift among the planners occurred towards mixed-use development, which is reflected in the city's 'Structure Plan', developed between 1974-1978. The city council opted for a more 'compact' city, and therefore advocated for more housing within the city centre, easily accessible using public transportation. At that time, new styles of apartments, offices and buildings for cultural use, as well as recreation facilities were built.

The economic recession of the 1980-es, when Rotterdam lost around 70,000 jobs – mostly in shipbuilding and ship repair – initiated the change in the economical structure of the city. The port and petrochemical complex was no longer the prime job generator, but business, services, finance, leisure and retail also became important factors in the employment structure. The port also continued to develop, constantly requiring more space for its growing associated activities, which caused the first spatial separation of the port and the city, with harbours moving away in the direction of the North Sea (Braun, 2008). In the atmosphere of rising changes, the city council launched the 'Inner City Plan' in 1985 (Van de Laar, 2007) that focused on development of the four particular areas in the downtown area: parks on the western side (*Park Triangle*), central zone (*Central Diamond*), right coast of the Maas River (*Riverside City*) and Rotte tunnel. The first to support the emerging metropolitan vision for Rotterdam was the strengthening 'creative class' that started to take concrete shape by the end of the 1980-es (Van Ulzen, 2007). Fostering metropolitan identity resulted with the new business centre *Kop van Zuid* that started to emerge in the 1990-es on the south banks of the river, as the major post-war harbour (re)development outside the city centre. The iconic project was conceived as a trigger for further redevelopment of the abandoned port areas along the riverside.

During the last several decades, the city of Rotterdam invested a lot in adapting to new conditions of urban competition by means of physical reconstruction of its central area and re-imaging of its cultural identity on an international level, also achieving social objectives for regeneration (McCarthy, 1998). By the year 2000, with the gradual development of its new look with a dominating skyline, Rotterdam got a reputation as the most metropolitan city of all Dutch cities, and has since been widely considered as a modern, 'American' city (Braun, 2008) in European context and proportions.

5.1.3. Spatial Analysis

5.1.3.1. Urban Structure



Image 5.7.

Central Rotterdam satellite view

© 2014 Microsoft Corporation. Source: <http://www.bing.com/maps/>, 2013-01-13

The urban structure of Rotterdam is clearly determined by natural conditions of the environment on the one side, and on the other by extensive engineering activities, mostly concerning water management that was closely related to the former intensive port activities within the central urban areas (image 5.7). However, nowadays the port and the city are two separated physical entities. The shift of the extremely elongated structure of the port to the cityscape is clearly marked by the massive jagged structures of *Waalhaven* harbour on the left riverbank, and *Nieuw-Mathenesse* harbour on the opposite side. The uppermost influence on the spatial organization of the city certainly has the meandering flow of the New Meuse waterway, dividing it in the two major areas: primordial northern and residential southern area, interconnected by three bridges and several underground tunnels. The northern urban borders are not clearly restricted in physical terms, while the southern edges are flanked by the city's biggest park, *Zuiderpark*, located among the extensive pre-war and post-war residential neighbourhoods. Such spatial organization lead to the division of the whole municipality into four distinct but unofficial districts: *Rotterdam-Noord*, *-Oost*, *-West* and *-Zuid*. Officially, there are currently 14 administrative boroughs (*deelgemeente*), which were once self-contained towns

and villages along the waterway and have now joined together following their gradual expansion.²¹⁷

The structure of Rotterdam today reveals the orthogonal extensions from the historical matrix leading to the west and north. Although pre-war interventions gradually moved the centre of Rotterdam to the west over the drained and filled canals, the traditional street pattern is despite massive war destructions still partially recognizable within the so-called 'historic triangle'. The downtown area, called '*Rotterdam Binnenstad*', is generally divided into six historic neighbourhoods, although some contemporary planners used to describe the central zone as a comprise of four distinctive and diverse areas: the so-called 'Central Diamond' area, developed west of the historic city core around the pedestrian *Lijnbaan* street; the 'Park Triangle' on the south-west, the 'Riverside City' on the waterfronts, and the 'Tunnel Route', created after the central railway line that crossed the city was relocated underground (Van de Laar, 2007: 72; 76). Recent significant expansion of Rotterdam centre over the several surrounding districts mostly occurred due to the latest conversion trend. The historic neighbourhoods of the waterfront area are especially distinguished marked by the many former port canals that were redeveloped from industrial into attractive commercial and residential urban areas in the recent decades. Due to such circumstances, the water remained deep within urban fabric and became a significant determining element of the 'Riverside City'. The redevelopment trend of former industrial activities inheritance into an attractive urban structure also recently spread onto the two major peninsulas. Through such interventions, the city centre expanded down to the river and simultaneously boosted its recognizable landmarks. *Wilhelminapier* and *Katendrecht* thus became dominant elements not only within the waterfront strip, but they are also important visual marks for the city as a whole. On the other side, the Northern Island (*Noordereiland*) has a particularly prominent position within the overall structure of Rotterdam, due to not only its central location, serving as important link between the northern and the southern districts, but also to the fact that it retained most of its historical architecture and traditionally fragmented urban structure. The nearby Central District around the Central Station is another emerging zone that dominates over the Rotterdam structure, the business heart of the city. Together with the developing *Wilhalminapier* on the southern bank of the New Meuse River, they are creating the main high-rise axis of the city. In contrast to high diversity of the central districts, the vast areas south of the waterway (*Rotterdam-Zuid*) are a mixture of both contemporary residential areas and the modernistic residential structures, built in the after-war period.

²¹⁷ Source: www.rotterdam.nl, 2012-10-23

As a result of the previous analysis, it could be concluded that the most significant influence on the modern-day urban structure of Rotterdam, besides its natural features, were the former port activities, on-going redevelopment of its abandoned industrial areas, as well as war destructions and post-war renewal. The main elements of Rotterdam urban structure are therefore the rebuilt historic triangle and its western expansion, the emerging high-rise axis between Central District and *Wilhelminapier*, and the extremely diverse waterfront area, with redeveloped and still developing abandoned port areas, as a physical link with the modest and densely built pre- and post-war working residential areas of the south.

5.1.3.1.1. Land Use



Image 5.8.

Schematic analysis of land use plan for Rotterdam

Author's draft, based on a detail of Rotterdam Metropolitan land use plan by METREX - The Network of European Metropolitan Regions and Areas, <http://www.eurometrex.org> 2012-11-13

Land-use planning in Rotterdam is certainly strongly influenced by the former major trends of the post-war interventions. The consideration of the city rather as different units of smaller urban areas than as one physical entity, as well as favouring of motorized traffic, characterized Rotterdam as spatially incoherent and the most car-friendly city of all Dutch cities (R2: Arends: 00:51:44). But besides the legacies of the past, there are also several contemporary characteristics in the land-use planning of modern Rotterdam to be determined.

First of all, its Metropolitan Region has a special feature that its central vein is, namely, one of the largest port areas of the world. In addition, the Dutch planning and urban governance system is one of the few among the welfare states that retained central control in the development of land and property (Stead & Tasan-Kok, 2013). However, due to the challenges caused by highly-dynamic development trends during the industrialization or its decline in the post-industrial society, as well as by recent climate change threat that became a serious issue of all the cities in similar geographical positions, Rotterdam could be considered as the most advanced in the fields of planning, climate change and spatial planning compared to other Dutch municipalities (Stead & Tasan-Kok, 2013: 212).

According to the official statistical data for 1990,²¹⁸ Rotterdam Metropolitan Region covers a total of 74,400 ha (image 5.8), which covers distinct entities of the city, the port, as well as the territory of the surrounding region itself. Within the entire area, the residential zone covers 13%, nature and recreation 11%, agriculture 33%, infrastructure 6%, greenhouses 2% and other urban areas 4%. The region involves a large seaport with many related industrial and transport activities, making up 9% of the territory, where internal water areas cover 16% and the North Sea 5%. The rest is dedicated to the airport (0,2%) and non-urban land (5%).

The overall contemporary planning process in Rotterdam is carefully monitored by the three levels of government; national, provincial, and finally local.²¹⁹ Although provinces are responsible for the coordination of planning policies, they also have legal control over the planning within municipalities, approving the municipal land use plan.²²⁰ Land use plans for the city are highly detailed, comprehensive and transparent, subordinated to the city's spatial plan. In order to stimulate involvement of citizens in the local policy, the city is divided into boroughs with its own administrative bodies for execution of land use planning projects, to complement the city's administration.²²¹ The main goals of land-use planning are nowadays set to improve the overall negative aspects of the current situation in Rotterdam, as a result of the post-war planning decisions, post-industrial functional shifts and climate change issues. Regarding the downtown area, the unsuitable decisions from the past involve strict separation of the functions, which as a consequence turned the former historic centre of Rotterdam into an exclusively shopping and business district, with very few housing. New trends now involve mixing functions rather than their former strict separation (image 5.9). On the other hand, new planning strategies also support different identities of the downtown districts. This finally means that despite the on-going trend of mixing functions in Rotterdam's central districts, planning should

²¹⁸ Source: METREX The Network of European Metropolitan Regions and Areas, data for 1990; <http://www.eurometrex.org> 2012-11-13

²¹⁹ Source: *The City of Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Self-Evaluation Report* (2009): 27.

²²⁰ Source: *The City of Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Self-Evaluation Report* (2009): 27.

²²¹ Source: *The City of Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Self-Evaluation Report* (2009): 28.

insure retention of their recognizable spatial and functional qualities. Central *Lijnbaankwartier* and *Laurenskwartier* are thus to remain the shopping heart of the city, just as *Museumskwartier* and *Scheepvaartkwartier* are to retain their role of urban cultural centres.



Image 5.9.

Programmatic overview of Rotterdam downtown: residential (red); offices (light blue); community and culture (purple); shopping (yellow); education (green)

© City of Rotterdam, Department Urban Design. Source: *Kartenatlas*, march 2011: 25

5.1.3.1.2. Public Open Spaces

Public open spaces within the inner city of Rotterdam occupy a considerably vast area, which was seen for a long time since its reconstruction in the 1960-es as an empty, visitor-unfriendly and even unsafe place. For these reasons, the city municipality undertook many actions for densification of the once destroyed centre, and on the other side for loading it with countless amenities for 'leisure shopping', special events, and festivals. The most important public spaces of contemporary Rotterdam (image 5.11) are generally organized within the interconnected network of four main urban axes, stretching through the main central districts

(*Binnenstad*) in the north-south direction, classified as the main *cultural*, *pedestrian* (leisure shopping), *traffic* and *marketplace* axis (image 5.10).

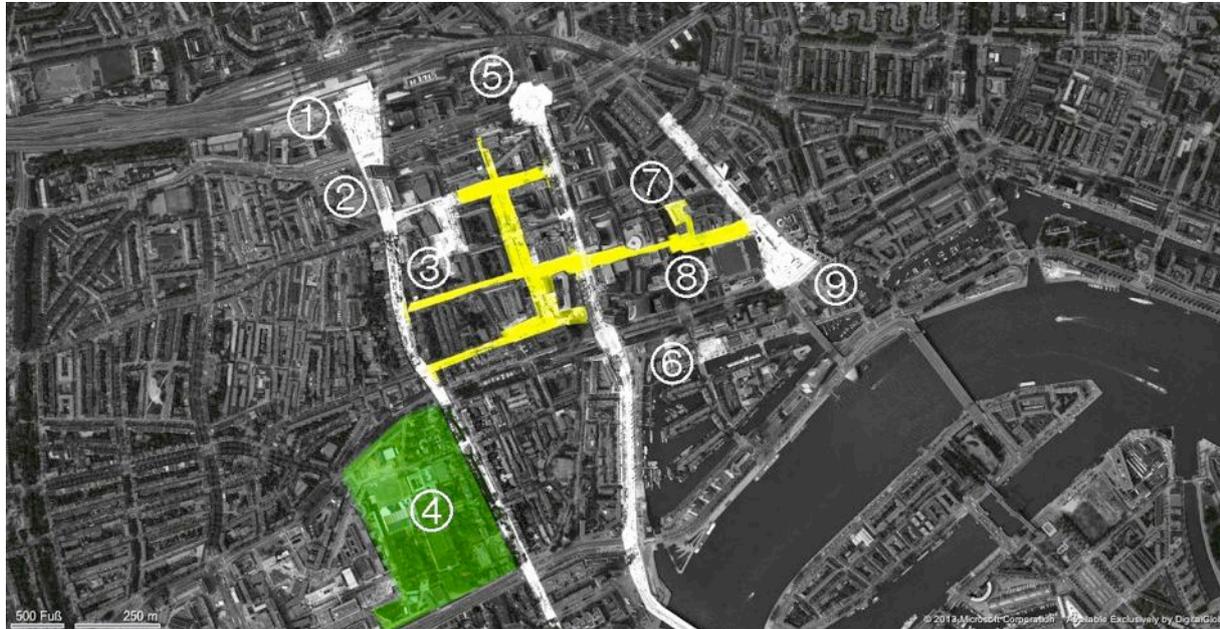


Image 5.10.

Rotterdam downtown main public spaces network.

Legend: 'Cultural axis': Stationsplein (1), Kruisplein (2), Schouwburgplein (3), Museumpark (4); Main boulevard axis along Coolingsingel Boulevard: Hofplein (5), Plein 1940 (6); Main pedestrian zone (in yellow): Vlasmarkt (7), Kerkplein (8); Binnenrotte Street market axis: Blaak (9).

© 2014 Microsoft Corporation. Source: <http://www.bing.com/maps/> 2013-01-13, with author's additions

The 'cultural axis' on the far west of the central area begins with the squares *Stations-* and *Kruisplein*, whose traffic and parking facilities have both been recently relocated underground to make a particularly representative entrance to the city through pleasant pedestrian area, and thus provide a direct connection between the inner city and the Central Station. The axis runs further along the *Westersingel* promenade with public art situated along the canal and public greenery, connecting cultural facilities cluster at *Schouwburgplein* Square and Museum cluster within *Museumpark* on the far south. The axis finally ends with the waterfront and *Het Park* in *Scheepvaartkwartier*, which is the biggest green urban zone of central Rotterdam. Within this area, known as 'the green triangle', all sorts of festivals and open-air events are held.

The main pedestrian zone of the city is a network of several streets and squares located around the *Lijnbaan* Street as a backbone, which is considered as one of the oldest car-free shopping streets in Europe (R2: Arends: 00:11:22). Designed in the 1950-es, *Lijnbaan* is an example of early corporate public place design, and was considered a test for such a concept. The street is perpendicularly intersected by the pedestrian *Korte Lijnbaan* and *Stadhuisplein*

streets, *Van Oldenbarneveltplaats* and *Beursplein* streets, and finally by *Binnenwegplein* Street. The *Beurstraverse* within *Beursplein* Street is in fact a sunken passage that runs below the street level of the busy *Coolsingel* Boulevard within the 'traffic axis'. Such an attractive and innovative design of a public place provided pedestrian connection of the two main shopping streets *Lijnbaan* and the *Hoogstraat* Street within the historic triangle.



Image 5.11.

Some of the most prominent open public spaces in Rotterdam

Cultural axis (first row): Stationsplein, Westernsingel, Schouwburgplein; *Pedestrian zone* (second row): Kerkplein, Beurstraverse, Lijnbaan; *Main boulevard axis* (third row): Coolsingel, Hofplein, Plein 1940; *Binnenrotte market axis* (fourth row): Hoogstraat, Binnenrotte, Blaak Square)
 Author's photos, 2012-09

The main urban boulevard and traffic axis starts at *Hofplein* roundabout square and runs further through the central *Coolsingel* Boulevard and *Schiedamsedijk* street to the iconic Erasmus Bridge, which is a major connection with the southern Rotterdam areas. The biggest public place in Rotterdam, *Binnenrotte* Street, is however still not regulated enough, after underground relocation of the former railway. The vast, empty area that remained on the surface is nowadays a highly versatile urban space, which is twice a week turned into a city market, but is deserted during the rest of the week. The street ends with the busy *Blaak* station square, and is set for the imminent redevelopment, to improve the missing public sport facilities within the city centre.

5.1.3.1.3. Urban Patterns

The overall physical structure of Rotterdam carries a strong influence of the location, topography and water management activities on the city building. The presence of the river meanders and of the many canals, as well as the dynamic construction of the new port facilities and its gradual conversion into urban areas caused a variable flow of the existing urban grid. The overall image of the physical plan of Rotterdam imposes a high variety of urban pattern manifestation forms, ranging from ordinary rectangular, to symmetrical with diagonals, triangular and curvilinear (image 5.12).

Some incomplete and insufficiently developed or disproportionate pockets within the urban fabric of Rotterdam were left standing, disregarding post-war reconstructions. The historic street pattern in the downtown area is visible only in its basic layouts, however mostly constructed during the post-war renewal with completely new building principles. This approach created large regular blocks instead, arranged within the former spontaneously developed irregular or curvilinear urban setting (image 5.12: a. *Laurenskwartier West*). However, preserved traditional scheme is still to be found outside of the historic centre, in the intact housing areas, characterized by extremely long rows of houses with narrow parcels, forming regular structures in the areas between the broad rectangular or diagonal urban boulevards (image 5.12: b. *Nieuwe Westen and Middelland*).

In some areas, the structure is fully or partially adjusted to the topographical features, both in the cases of traditional or contemporary development, ranging from rectangular to curvilinear patterns (image 5.12: c. *Oude Noorden*; d. *Waterfront* and *Noordereiland*; e. *Katendrecht peninsula*; f. *Kop van Zuid Entrepot*). Old residential areas in the south are characterized by the typical rigid form of traditionally dense rows of houses, arranged in regular rectangular schemes, with symmetrical diagonals and triangular patterns (image 5.12: h.

Bloemhof). In addition, modernistic urban schemes could also be observed in the southern parts of the town. They are characterized by the large parcels and freestanding urban blocks, surrounded by plenty of green areas and arranged in a certain rhythm. The modernistic schemes are either embedded or completely physically isolated from the existing environment (image 5.12: g. *Pendrecht* and *Zuidwijk*, settlements completely surrounded by the park as a buffer zone), or are simply overlapping with the adjacent patterns (image 5.12: i. *Carnisse*).



Image 5.12.

Rotterdam urban patterns (left to right): a. Laurenskwartier West; b. Nieuwe Westen and Middelland; c. Oude Noorden; d. Waterfront and Noordereiland; e. Katendrecht peninsula; f. Kop van Zuid Entrepot; g. Pendrecht and Zuidwijk; h. Bloemhof; i. Carnisse.

© 2014 Aerodata International Surveys, Cnes/Spot Image, DigitalGlobe & © 2014 Google
 Source: maps.google.com 2012-10-23, with author's additions

5.1.3.2. Visual Form



Image 5.13.

Rotterdam: view on the city from the northeast (Euromast tower) and from the southwest to waterfronts

Above: photo by Steve Cimolino, 2010-07, CC0 1.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org> 2013-07-14.

Below: author's photo, 2012-09

Rotterdam's reputation as a global city is largely due to its international port. During the centuries, these facilities were also one of the important factors in the creation of the visual form of industrial city. Due to the gradual shift of the port's centre of gravity towards the west in the direction of the North Sea, which occurred in the first half of the 20th century, many areas along the city's waterfronts were left empty since, which were seen as an outstanding possibility to develop new attractive areas on the riverside and to upgrade the overall city image on a different level. Since the turn to the 21st century, Rotterdam made a strong shift in assuming an image of a global metropolis (Van Ulzen, 2007), that is no longer associated with the port, but mainly with the dominant visual form of its developing skyline that activated a variety of *global city* imaginaries within (image 5.14). The opposed historical forms, as carriers of *traditional* image and identity, remained present as well; however due to the extreme extent of war destruction within the downtown area, such visual forms are cohabiting alongside newly developed iconography, or could be found in their more genuine setting among surrounding historical districts.



Image 5.14.
Rotterdam Skyline

Central high-rise axis (above); western view on USA-like skyline from the river (centre) and developing Kop van Zuid high-rises from the west (below)
Author's photos, 2012-09

The most dominant characteristics of the visual representation of Rotterdam are the following:

- Panoramic views seen from the river (image 5.13; 5.14), surrounding access roads, rails, and natural environment is dominated by the skyline, which is of rather dispersed type, elongated in layout from the Central District cluster to reach the waterfront area. The panoramic views generally reveal relatively homogeneous environment, sunken in an abundance of urban green, but strongly contrasted by dominating, heterogeneous high-

rise cluster, emphasizing the downtown zone. The skyline itself is characterized by significantly incoherent image regarding building heights, shapes, styles, even colours and rhythm.

- Axial views are generally varied, especially in the downtown districts, ranging from straight, wide and clear to curved, narrow and monotonous ones, mostly as a result of the post-war development within elements of historical matrix, also strongly marked by the presence of many former port canals. The most important axial views are indicating the significant built structures and the new tall buildings, but are often perceived in layers of overlapping backgrounds.
- Sequential vision along the visual corridors is similar to the axial views, significantly varying from relatively homogenous views along the smaller streets in downtown areas, to quite heterogeneous along big urban boulevards and especially in the high-rise area.
- Bird's-eye views, ranging from satellite images (image 5.7) to the views from many strategically located, dispersed high-rise buildings (image 5.13) provide many possibilities to perceive the city from a different perspective. Views on Rotterdam from above reveal a strong mix of contrasts; not only in terms of old and new, but also involving contrasting building heights, shapes and styles, and are even influenced by incoherent relation between built and un-built areas, such as broad river surface, many canals within urban fabric, vast urban green or still undeveloped areas.
- Landmarks are numerous and extremely diverse, mostly organized along the high-rise axis, ranging in types, forms, colours and building styles. Most of them are grouped in compact clusters, such as new skyscrapers on *Wijnhaven* Island or *Wilhelminapier* peninsula; however they retained a great deal of individuality (image 5.15). One of the common manifestations is the visual overlapping of the historic and newly constructed landmarks.



Image 5.15.

Several generations of Rotterdam's diverse landmarks

St. Lawrence Church (1449-1525); *Het Schielandshuis* (1665) with *Schielandtoren* (1996); *Witte Huis* (1898); Hotel New York (1917) with Montevideo Tower (2005); City Hall (1920); *Groothandelsgebouw* (1953); *Het Steiger Church* (1960); *Euromast* (1960); Central Library (1977); Beurs-World Trade Center (1940; 1986); Cube House (1984); *Gebouw Delftse Poort* (1991); Robeco (1991); Blaak 555 (1996); *Erasmusbrug* (1996); *Delftse Poort Monument* (1995); Millenium Tower (2000); World Port Center (2000); The Red Apple (2009); *Linea Nova* (2012); *De Rotterdam* (under construction since 2010).

Author's photos, 09-2012

5.2. Urban Identity Building in Rotterdam

5.2.1. Urban Brand Marketing

5.2.2.1. Marketing Strategies and Goals

The Municipality of Rotterdam opted for a particular form of urban brand marketing, designed as a joint effort of all the relevant municipal institutions, with the common leitmotif: 'one city - one image'. *The Chief Marketing Office Rotterdam* is thus, since its establishment in 2006,²²² primarily responsible for branding policy and management in a coordinating role, through cooperation and collaborative partnerships between a variety of stakeholders, including the municipality, business community, relevant city institutions, event organizations, tourism sector and general public as well. Marketing itself of both the city and its region is a prime task of the *Rotterdam Marketing* organization, setting as its most important aim to "entice tourists and business people to visit Rotterdam".²²³ The institution is thus generally responsible for tourism management in a range of both leisure activities and activities for business tourists, in terms of promoting participation, boosting turnover, and promoting improvement of the city's image for its target groups.²²⁴ These goals are to be achieved through policy advice, information and service provision, product and activity development, and promoting partnerships in the areas of business and recreational tourism.²²⁵ *Rotterdam Info* also operates within the institution, and is especially focused on promotion of the city for visitors.

In order effectively to shape the city's international signature, as a compilation of various core business-marketing strategies and as a framework for brand communication of many different parties involved (*Rotterdam Brand Strategy*, 2008: 3), the Chief Marketing Office developed the official brand strategy *Rotterdam World Port World City* in 2008 (*Rotterdam World City*, 2009: 5). The long-term strategy, as urban marketing tool, is an integral part of the economic and social plans of the city, also supporting and strengthening the course of the spatial development strategy *Rotterdam Urban Vision 2030*. As involved in the work of all marketing, communication and strategy departments of the Rotterdam municipality, the Chief Marketing Office developed a simple brand tag or 'signature', "Rotterdam World Port World

²²² Source: The Chief Marketing Office Rotterdam, <http://www.rotterdamworldbrand.nl> 2012-11-08

²²³ Source: Rotterdam Marketing; <http://en.rotterdam.info> 2012-10-04

²²⁴ Source: Rotterdam Marketing; <http://en.rotterdam.info> 2012-10-04

²²⁵ Source: Rotterdam Marketing; <http://en.rotterdam.info> 2012-10-04

City”,²²⁶ as a tailor made approach (image 5.16). The simple word game, featuring ‘world’ as a key word in various promotional campaigns emphasizes global and cosmopolitan aspirations of the city, and easily introduces many different stakeholders and domains under the umbrella of a single brand; e.g. World Port, World Architecture etc. In this way, all stakeholders joined forces in the production and promotion of a corporate identity, in accordance with the adopted strategy ‘one city-one image’.



image 5.16.

Rotterdam ‘signature’, emphasizing global identity within the image of the city, and its variations

Source: <http://www.rotterdamworldbrand.nl> 2012-11-09

Overall marketing activities of the municipal authority and its associated organizations are expected to increase national and international awareness of the Rotterdam brand, emphasize its qualities, potential, and increase the city’s offer, as well as to strengthen the (inter)cultural identity of Rotterdam through the power of numerous nationalities²²⁷ of the city (*Rotterdam Brand Strategy*, 2008: 9). *Rotterdam Marketing* established ten facts about the city,²²⁸ taking them always into account, for promoting Rotterdam in the frames as a cosmopolitan, entrepreneurial, ‘budget-friendly’, vibrant city of knowledge, architecture, heritage and design. The brand also implies Rotterdam as the city of festivals and events, with long experience in trade and shipping, and with the most important assets in its port (‘Gateway to Europe’) and strategic location in Europe. The final aim of both marketing and the official brand strategy is certainly to attract more companies, investments, visitors, residents and students to the city and its port. In order to fulfil all the excessive tasks, the *Rotterdam World Port World City* strategy involves public-private partnerships, synchronized cooperation with all the relevant municipal partners²²⁹ and other partners, and further linking and broadening of networks. As the focus is set on the customer needs, it is also targeting intensification of the cooperation with

²²⁶ There is a minor step in linguistic terms from *wereldhavenstad* (world port city) to *wereldstad* (world city). (Van Ulzen, 2007: 25)

²²⁷ In the campaign launched by Rotterdam Marketing in 2000 ‘Rotterdam zindert’ (Rotterdam sparkles), the city was unmistakably presented as a ‘multicultural’ one. (Van Ulzen, 2007: 27).

²²⁸ Source: Rotterdam Marketing; <http://en.rotterdam.info> 2012-10-04

²²⁹ Relevant municipal organisations in fields of culture, transport, marketing, business and cooperation.

Rotterdam's trade and industry. Implementation of the strategy comprises its visualisation, based on effective motto and its continual and versatile use, combined with the strong images. As Rotterdam is to be promoted as a young, innovative, dynamic, hip, and trendy city with rich history and heritage (*Rotterdam Brand Strategy*, 2008: 31), the brand put a special emphasis on modern architecture, urban development and design (*Rotterdam Brand Strategy*, 2008: 31). Positive influence of awareness and perception of the city is achieved through the use of images showing landmark and avant-garde architecture, involving "new and relevant imaginary" and supported by "smiling people on pictures" as an asset (*Rotterdam Brand Strategy*, 2008: 11).



Image 5.17.

Promotional billboard for World Port Center office spaces on Wilhelminapier
Author's photo, 2012-09

Coordination and synchronisation between the different parties focusing of the promotion of a desired image is the main strength of the strategy; however, the focus on the various target groups is essential. Promoting new urban locations, projects and iconic architecture in order to attract possible investors is a widely present activity in Rotterdam, in a variety of forms (image 5.17; 5.18). Marketing and promotion of the current urban developments and important architectural projects is also covered by the strategy (*Rotterdam Brand Strategy*, 2008: 31). Similarly to Frankfurt and many other global cities, such a promotion works in both directions; on one side, new capital investments are secured through a successfully promoted city, while on the other promotion of the new iconic developments represents the city itself as an equally attractive environment (image 5.18). Rotterdam brand strategy recognizes the great importance of visual media in reaching such goals, and thus proposes at least one of the existing city icon

features on photography for various promotional purposes (*Rotterdam Brand Strategy*, 2008: 333).

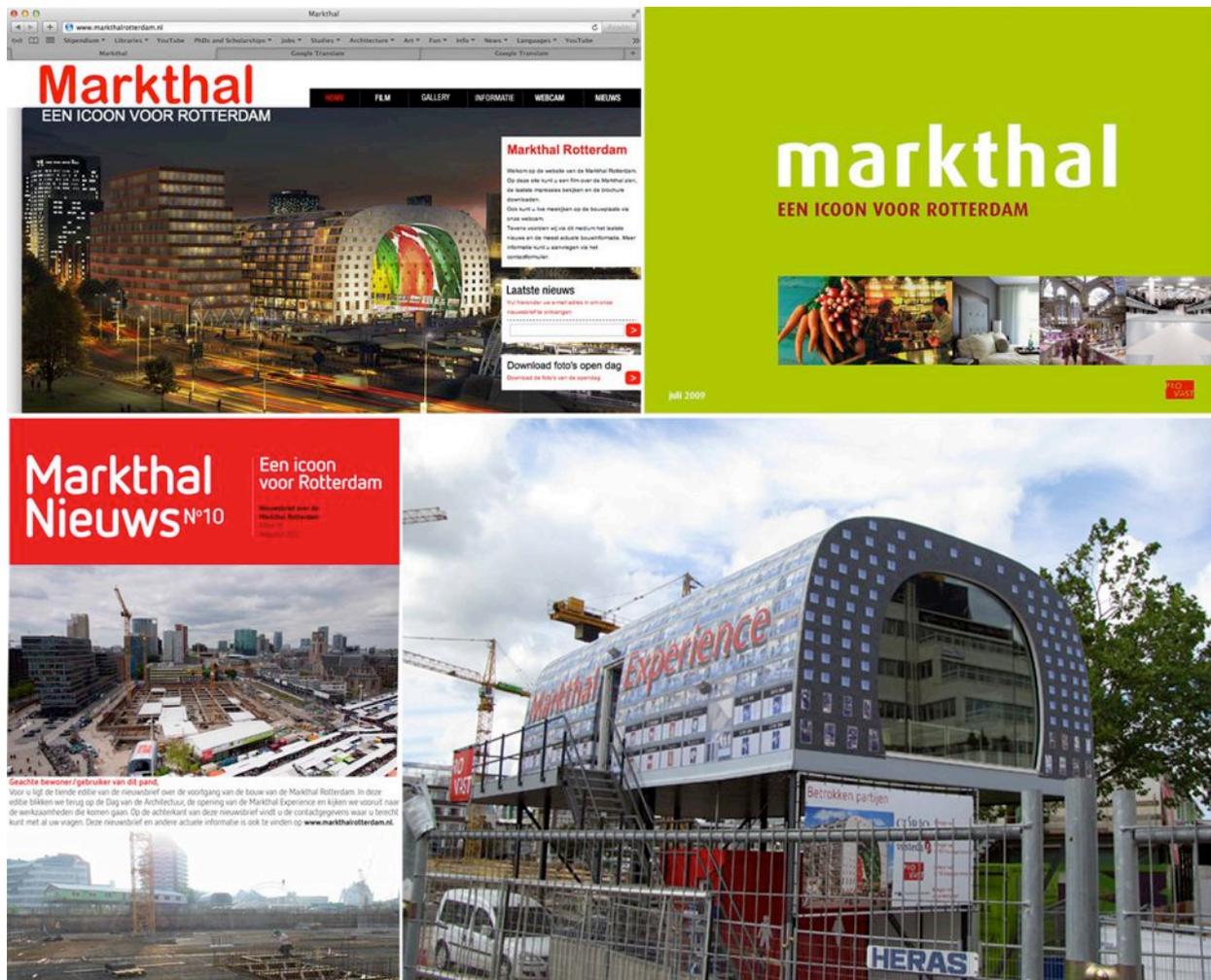


Image 5.18.

Branding urban projects in Rotterdam example: New Markthal website, brochure, leaflet and building model in scale 1:10, as an info and showroom “Markthal Experience”

Sources: <http://www.markthalrotterdam.nl> 2012-11-12; author's photo below right, 2012-09

5.2.2.2. Media-generated Image

According to the rules established by the official marketing strategy, the image of Rotterdam is arranged in such a way as to transfer the identity of international, modern, bustling, and cosmopolitan city. It is present in many communication media in printed or electronic form, such as postcards, tourist maps, various publications, movies, documentaries, websites etc. Starting from the existing official, historic insignia (image 5.19, left and centre), for the purpose of overall modernization and in accordance with the principle of unified urban image, the Municipality of Rotterdam initiated the process to acquire a new city logo (image

5.19, right) that was to be used by all municipal departments. The introduction of a new logo also favours the image of a modern, open and innovative city, and is putting an emphasis on the strong connection between the city and its river/port, within its traditional colour palette.



Image 5.19.

Coat of arms and the flag of Rotterdam. Far right is the new universal Rotterdam logo, symbolizing “a city with the river in its heart”, by Studio Dumbar, Rotterdam

Source: Historisch Archief Community www.wikipedia.org 2012-11-08 & Studio Dumbar <http://studiodumbar.com> 2012-11-08



Image 5.20.

Cover of the 20th ‘Rotterdam Panorama’ calendar for 2013, by photographer Paul Martens
© Fotografie Paul Martens, www.fotopulmartens.nl

The most typical and the most common media-generated image of Rotterdam, according to Van Ulzen (2007), implies all the four basic ingredients of the standard metropolitan iconography, already heavily emphasized for imaging some of the well-branded world cities, like Berlin, Paris and great American cities. Flows of traffic, high-rise, city lights at night, and docks and river (Van Ulzen, 2007: 72) are all proven to be the best factors for determination of the desired metropolitan image. Through their utilization, Rotterdam is drawing considerably parallels to the global megacities. The origins of this trend could be determined after the plans for the future skyline were presented to the public in the late 1980-es, when the press

particularly popularized current generally accepted expression ‘Manhattan on the Maas’, clearly anticipating the city’s aspirations. However, a real convenient fact for promoting a desired identity of a global city occurred in the 1990-es, when Rotterdam became a popular location for filmmakers, as a suitable metropolitan setting for commercials and movies (Van Ulzen, 2007: 17-28). The city council used this opportunity further to stimulate international promotion of the city, not only by offering many conveniences for the filmmakers, but also with the establishment of Rotterdam Fund for the Film and AV Media. Since then, the media generated image of a city is carefully planned and executed to transmit the desired message of a bustling metropolitan city.

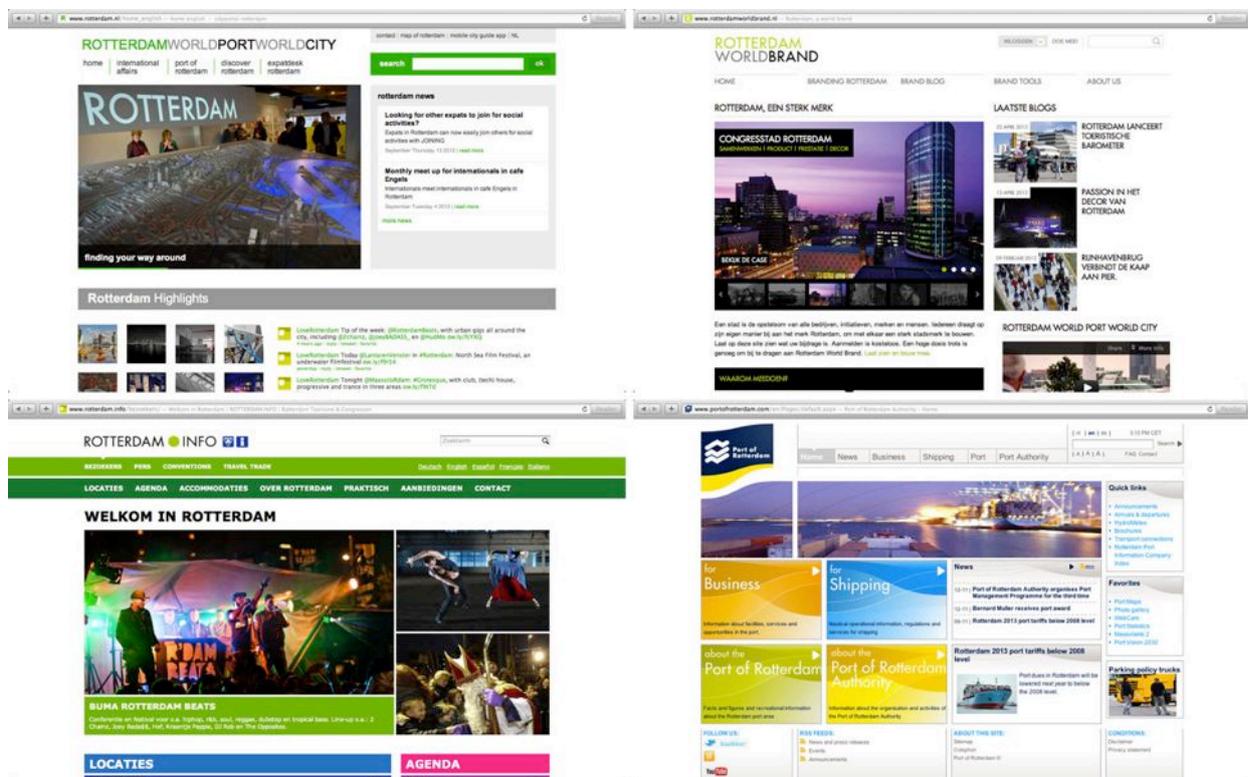


Image 5.21.

Rotterdam Branding websites (left to right): Rotterdam Municipality City Portal (<http://www.rotterdam.nl>), Rotterdam Marketing (<http://www.rotterdamworldbrand.nl>), Rotterdam Info <http://www.rotterdam.info>), Port of Rotterdam Authority (<http://www.portofrotterdam.com>)
Screenshots, 2012-11-12

Urban representation created through images, postcards, posters, calendars – above all photography – took such an approach to suggest metropolitan status, and is often creating an illusion of a city being larger than it actually is. Such representation inevitably involves vast panoramas, high skyscrapers, and plenty of urban lights; a concept developed by Rotterdam-

based photographer Paul Martens²³⁰ (Van Ulzen, 2007: 11-17; image 5.20). The Rotterdam City Map for tourists (image 5.22), firstly published in 2001, was developed on similar principles, reflecting another example of deliberately created metropolitan image of the city (Van Ulzen, 2007: 8-11) that put an emphasis on the stereotypes of a global metropolis, such as high-rise, modern architecture, and plenty of central districts with various identities. Similarly, the most important official websites of Rotterdam Municipality (image 5.21) are transmitting an image in accordance with the desired urban identity. Besides much practical information, Rotterdam is generally represented as a hypermodern global city, with rich cultural life, numerous landmarks, attractions, heritage and contemporary architecture that among its many districts with distinguished characters has lots in its offer 'to see and do' for tourists, visitors, shoppers and investors.



Image 5.22.

Rotterdam tourist map, constructing an image of metropolis through favouring high-rise and contemporary architecture and emphasizing various identity of different downtown districts

© Rotterdam Partners, Source: <http://en.rotterdam.info> 2012-11-01

²³⁰ Paul Martens Photography, <http://www.fotopaulmartens.nl>

5.2.2. Strategic Planning and Development

5.2.2.1. Development Strategies and Plans

The Municipality of Rotterdam adopted in 2006²³¹ for a concise and comprehensive long-term strategy, with the ambitious title *Rotterdam Gateway to Europe*, as a framework for the spatial and economic development of the city and its port. The strategy sets its focus on achieving excellent port, modern and complete downtown area, and Rotterdam as international hub until 2030 (*Rotterdam Gateway to Europe*, 2006: 11). Under the umbrella of such general vision that implies the city and its port as inseparable and mutually reinforcing entities, respective specialized strategies were further developed, in order to deal with all the diverse but interlinked overall objectives in depth. Its spatial translation, *Rotterdam Urban Vision (Stadsvisie Rotterdam, 2007)*, puts additional emphasis on the creation of attractive residential city to strengthen competitiveness of Rotterdam in the race for new residents, companies and visitors. The City Council also approved *Port Compass* in 2011 that within the framework of general vision sets its focus primarily on the port and industry development (*Port Vision 2030*, 2011).

Starting point of the vision for Rotterdam in 2030 was the current problem of overall weakening of the southern *Randstad* region, as less developed 'knowledge economy' compared to its northern part, making it the most aggravating factor to catch-up with the rivals. Therefore, the importance of urban development acceleration and radical modernization of the city's economy was emphasized, in order for Rotterdam to remain attractive for companies and investments. In addition, the strategy considers it necessary to cease selective migration of the graduates and creative class, mostly as a result of insufficient dwelling and residential facilities in the city. The mission for the next two decades is therefore strongly based on the two linked keystones: to work for a strong economy and more employment opportunities, and to create an attractive residential city, with the balanced composition of its population. The *Rotterdam Urban Vision* strategy thus adopted the so-called 'oil slick effect', based on the principle of "what is strong will generate strength, what is weak(er) will derive support from what is strong" (*Stadsvisie Rotterdam, 2007: 6*). Priority is therefore given to the port, promising economic growth sectors and popular residential districts to the modern city centre on the river. Creating the strong economy within the new development strategy means transition from industrial to knowledge and service economy, based on the further development of the medical and creative sectors. Further on, realization of the conditions to locate business in the port itself should

²³¹ "Rotterdam Gateway to Europe" strategy was released for consultation in January 2007, aiming the local authorities to develop it further.

additionally enable Rotterdam to strengthen its competitive position, and to become a centre of knowledge and trade, as well as a leader in efficiency, sustainability and innovation. Development of the port as a global hub and Europe's industrial cluster should thus in return enable a boost for urban economy (*Port Vision 2030*, 2011).

As a second major objective, attractive residential city is to be achieved not only through a good housing program, but also through development of public spaces with metropolitan character and indispensable facilities. A catalytic role in this process is given to unique architecture, heritage buildings preservation and water management (*Stadsvisie Rotterdam*, 2007). Besides solving socioeconomic and spatial problems of the Rotterdam South by taking advantage of enhancing the existing qualities of the Rotterdam North, the strategy also focuses on the central urban areas, favouring building and improvements of the existing urban facilities, while sparing the outskirts. Further development of the city centre thus involves the following steps; generally, the central public places standard is planned for enhancement, traffic routes should be slowed down, quality of life strengthened, and identity of various central districts sustained. Downtown areas strengthened in this way should turn into great crowd-pullers, such as *Stationskwartier* and *Wilhelminapier*, also securing permanent accessibility of the city (*Stadsvisie Rotterdam*, 2007: 8). Finally, development along the river focuses on the excellent port, the gradual transformation of abandoned port facilities into urban areas, as well as to attractive and fully-fledged city centre (*Stadsvisie Rotterdam*, 2007: 8).

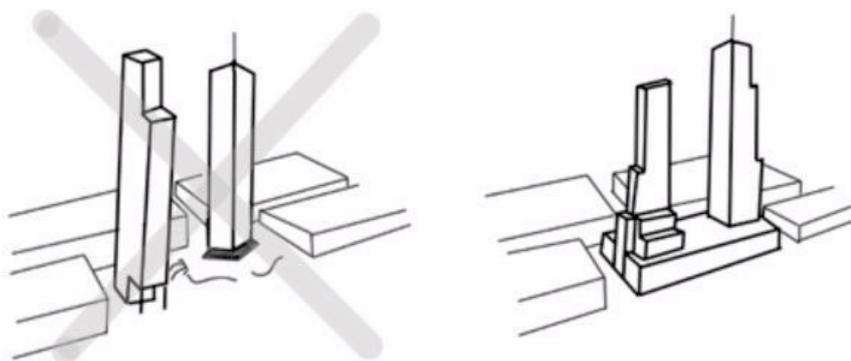


Image 5.23.

Non-desired and desired architectural form of the high-rise within the "City Lounge" effect
© City of Rotterdam, Department Urban Design. Source: *Binnenstad als Citylounge*, Oktober 2008: 46.

For the most attractive central urban districts of Rotterdam - so called '*Binnenstad*', the city municipality developed a separate spatial economic policy to mediate the accelerating growth in a desired manner until 2030 (*Binnenstad als Citylounge*, 2008). The main problem regarding the existing centre of Rotterdam is actually direct consequence of the war destructions and incomplete after-war reconstruction, which produced urban space with poor

functional diversity, low quality of public spaces and lack of recreational areas. Although crowded during the day, the city centre provides insufficient residential facilities, and is therefore less visited and even deserted during the evening. In addition, the strategy considers city centre as not compact or differentiated enough, and therefore not enough valuable and competitive. Therefore, the densification process of the devastated centre that started back in the 1980-es should further accelerate and strengthen. The key task of the policy is to finally develop Rotterdam downtown areas into a certain 'city lounge' of desired activities, meaning a quality place for local residents, businesses and visitors to meet, in which to spend time and enjoy, and as such to provide an essential contribution to the overall quality of life in Rotterdam (*Binnenstad als Citylounge*, April 2008; October 2008). Most of the main goals of the strategy are to be executed through public space design, better traffic management, production of quality pedestrian zones for free wandering, and strategic use of the ground floors ('plinths') in the centre (image 5.23).

To achieve desired 'top-class, city lounge' features, the *Binnenstad as City Lounge* strategy sets the following ten major points: (1) further densification of the area with various functions to get a more compact and more 'urban' city²³²; (2) transformation of the outdoor space into the city's calling card, through design and management of the outdoor space in the heart of the city centre; (3) more room in the heart of the city centre for pedestrians; (4) improvement of greenery for the cleaner air and less noise in the city; (5) implementation of the new requirements of the high-rise policy, such as greater comfort and experience at the street level; (6) cultural-historical heritage, monuments and architecture used as opportunities for (re)development; (7) improvement of the opportunities for the public to make use of the river city; (8) concentration of the new cultural facilities in the central areas and preferably in the focus areas; (9) business activities remaining in the centre, concentrated in *Stationskwartier* and on *Wilhelminapier*; (10) priority to initiatives by market parties, willing to enter long-term commitments for integrated area development (*Binnenstad als Citylounge*, 2008: 9).

In order to achieve all these high aims, the plan defined six 'ambitions' (image 5.25). The ambition for achieving smart economy involves fostering of business services, medical sector and creative economy, in order to create a city centre that is an attractive place for knowledge intensive activities, and an environment that provides many opportunities for the exchange of knowledge for individuals and businesses. Living in the city-centre should be achieved through densification of the central areas with additional 5,000 homes till 2015, with an improvement in the quality of residential environment, appropriate to city-centre lifestyles. With the creation of

²³² 5,000 homes, 600,000 square metres for business, 80,000 square metres for retail and leisure, more hotel rooms and 5,000 parking spaces in multi-storey car parks should achieve almost 20% densification in comparison with the current situation (*Binnenstad als Citylounge*, 2007: 1).

an attractive and distinctive array of facilities, the arrival of more businesses, inhabitants and visitors is expected, and thus the ambition for boosting culture, leisure and shopping should be fulfilled. In order to avoid dissociation between high-rise and street-life, and to foster private and public life intermingling (image 5.24), the defined 'groundscraper' ambition was elaborated, while the River city ambition aims to make full use of the city on rivers by making the waterfront area more attractive for residents, visitors and entrepreneurs. Finally, to create an attractive, sustainable public space with an improved balance between pedestrians, cyclists and cars, the strategy sets its last ambition for achieving a 'connected city' (*Binnenstad als Citylounge*, 2008: 24-73).



Image 5.24.

"Nutshell" high-rise area; yellow - the high-rise area, violet - the transition zone
© City of Rotterdam, Department Urban Design. Source: *Binnenstad als Citylounge*, Oktober 2008: 48.

Besides all these ambitious aims, the strive for achieving metropolitan identity is setting a special focus on development of the skyline. The city's high-rise policy was firstly created back in the 1990-es and was later updated within the new vision for the downtown areas. The *Binnenstad als City Lounge* strategy on one side recognizes the importance of high-rise architecture as deeply rooted in the pre-war strives of Rotterdam to become a modern city. Architectural experiments, innovation and daring are thus important and praised features that are to keep on distinguishing Rotterdam from other cities (*Binnenstad als Citylounge*, 2008: 62). High-rise buildings in the downtown zones were therefore the logical step for the new, future-

oriented and innovative modernism, from which the identity of Rotterdam is in fact derived. On the other side, the strategy also strives to insure continuity of the urban fabric, endangered by the increasing amount of solitary high-rise, through introduction of plinths on the street level (image 5.23). Through clustering of the high-rise buildings, and limitations of the building heights within these clusters, the strategy aims to preserve the developing skyline and thus ensure it as an important iconic feature of the city (image 5.24). Further explorations marked as necessary regard issues such as volume of the high-rise in relation to plot size, visual quality, and their effects on urban microclimate (*Binnenstad als Citylounge*, 2008: 51-53).

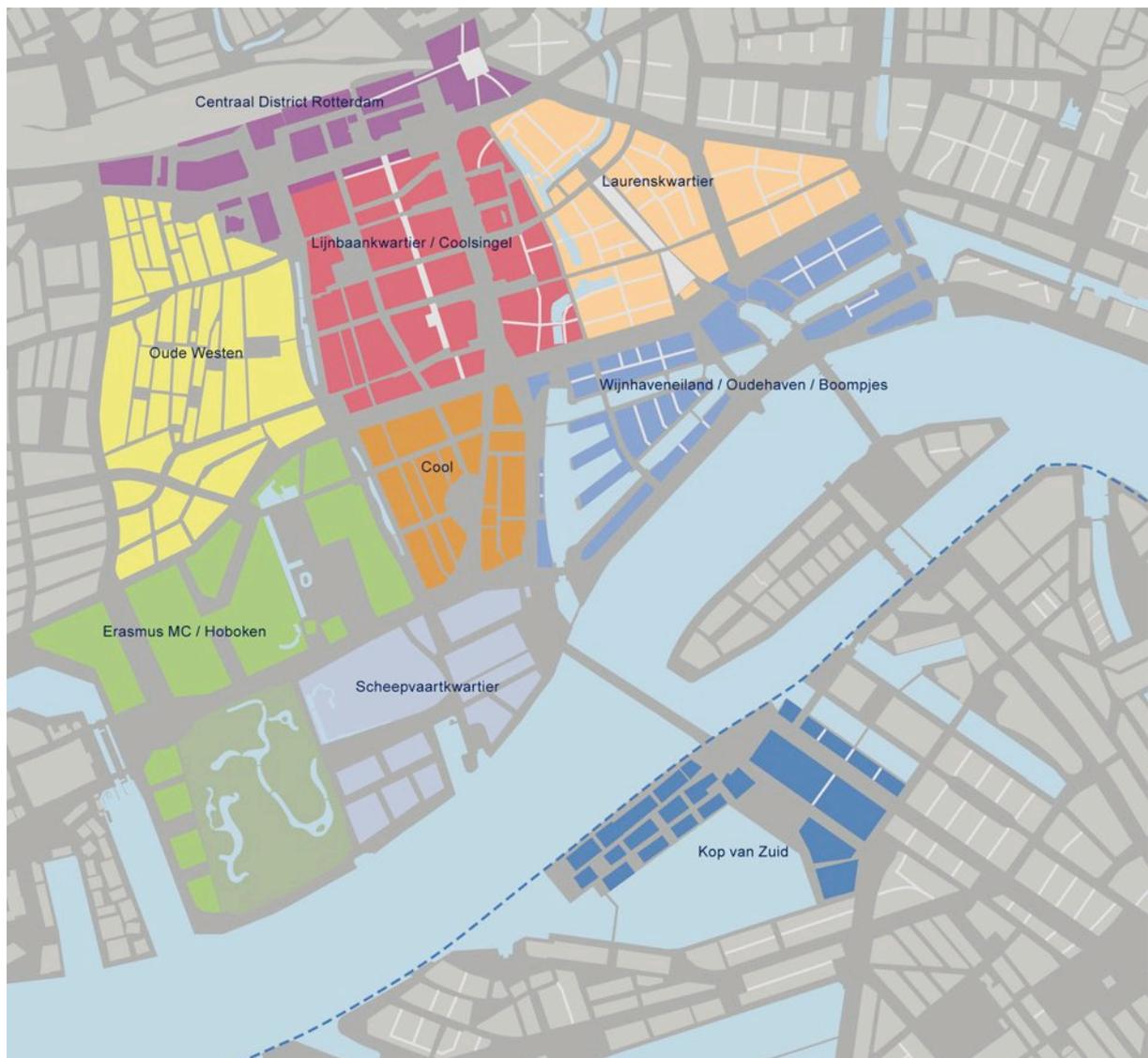


Image 5.25.

The 'ambitions' to be applied to the central city districts in the period 2008-2020.

Central District (in violet) is both the main transportation hub and the leading business area of the city. The central downtown zone ('city') encompasses *Lijnbaankwartier* and the western part of *Laurenskwartier*, along the *Coolsingel* Boulevard (in red). *Oude Westen*, *Cool* and *Laurenskwartier* (in yellow/orange) are informal, creative and/or student districts. The 'River City' represents the area along the river, between *Scheepvaartkwartier*, *Wijnhaven/Oudehaven/Boompjes* and *Wilhelminapier/Kop van Zuid* (in blue).

© City of Rotterdam, Department Urban Design. Source: *Binnenstad als Citylounge*, April 2008: 10.

Regarding the centre of Rotterdam, the *Binnenstad as City Lounge* strategy is spatially focused on the central nine city districts (image 5.25), and is strongly supporting their diversity. *Cool* and *Oude Westen* districts are then to be transformed into a major place for creative economy and culture. The old merchant docks around *Wijnhaven*, *Oudehaven* and *De Boompjes* should get upgraded into an attractive working area, with more facilities for city centre dwelling. The mixture of old and new in the historic water-city of *Scheepvaartkwartier* is to be supported, as is its unique quality and potential. Both Central District and *Wilhelminapier*, connected by the 'cultural axis', are to get further developed into central urban areas for business, high-rise and areas with international allure. Within the Erasmus MC (medical centre) room for businesses related to the medical sector shall be provided, including the improvement of the links between the hospital and the city. Finally, the old and distinguished heart of the city, composed by the central districts *Laurenskwartier*, *Lijnbaankwartier* and *Coolsingel*, is to play a significant role in the creation of the desired urban atmosphere through a better mix of functions (such as hospitality, culture, outdoor space, diversity in the range of stores), and further densification with homes and facilities.

5.2.2.2. Current Development Areas Overview

In order to achieve the main objectives, as defined by the *Rotterdam Urban Vision* strategy, to reach both strong economy and attractive residential city, (*Stadsvisie Rotterdam*, 2007), thirteen area developments have been designated as crucial. These zones are called 'Very Important Projects' (VIP Projects), and are including the following areas (image 5.26, left): *Laurenskwartier* (1), *Stationskwartier* (2), *Coolsingel / Lijnbaan* (3), *Ahoy / Zuidplein / Pleinweg* (4), *Stadionpark / new football stadium 'De Kuip'* (5), Erasmus Medical Centre – *Hoboken* (6), Science and Business Park *Schieveen / Wegen Noordrand* (7), *Stadshavens*: RDM shipyard, *Waalhaven-Oost*, *Rijn-Maashaven* (8), *Maasvlakte 2* (9), *Hoeksche Waard* (10), *Kop van Zuid* residential environment: *Rijn-Maashaven*, *Parkstad*, *Afrikaanderwijk* (11), *Groot Hillegersberg* residential environment: *Laag Zestienhoven* and *Schiebroek Zuid* (12), and the existing housing stock of *Oud Zuid* (13).

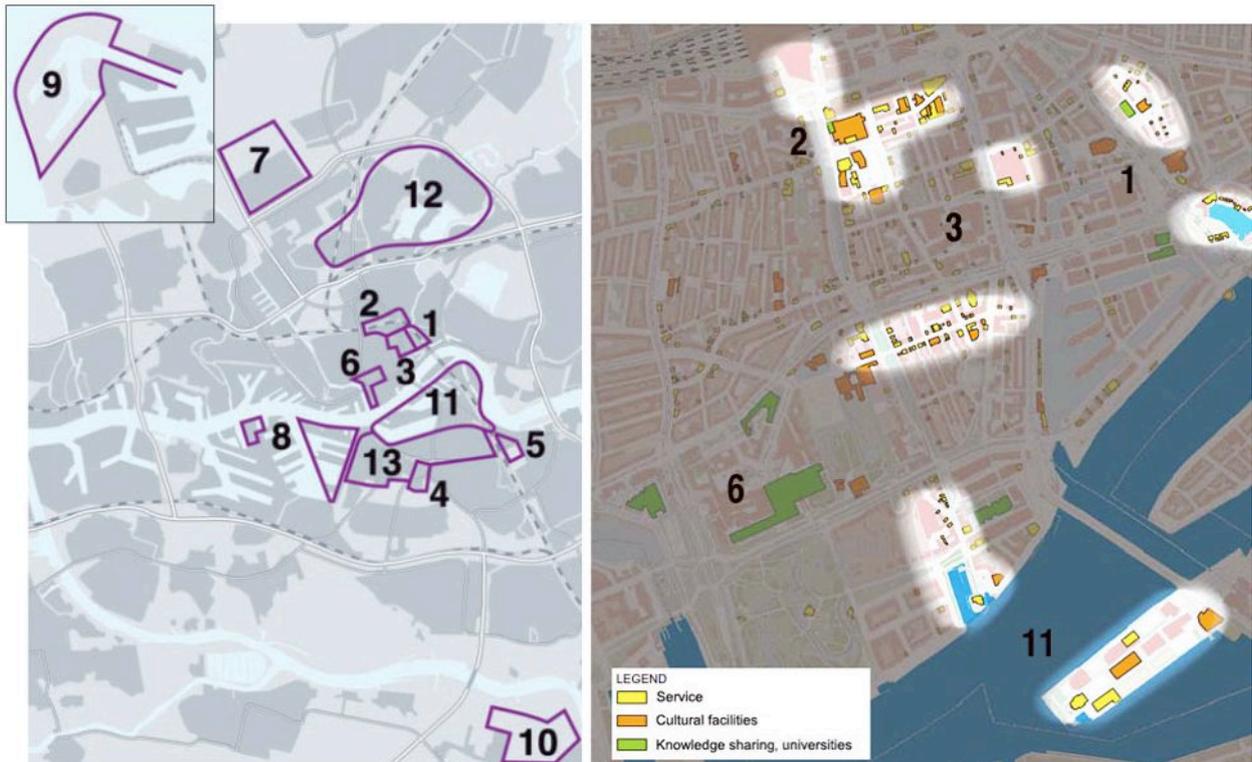


Image 5.26.

VIP projects in Municipality of Rotterdam (left) and its compatibility with the expansion of 'city lounge' quality in the central quarters (right).

The VIP projects in the downtown area are:
 Laurenskwartier (1), Stationskwartier (2), Coolsingel/Lijnbaan (3),
 Erasmus Medical Centre – Hoboken (6) and Kop van Zuid (11).

© City of Rotterdam, Department Urban Design. Sources: *Stadsvisie Rotterdam*, 2007: 11 & *Binnenstad als Citylounge*, October 2008: 41, with author's additions (picture right)

Out of the thirteen VIP projects, five are located within the central city districts (image 5.26, right) and are thus involved in the expansion of the desired 'city lounge' quality. These projects in general involve densification of the historic *Laurenskwartier*, extensive transformation of the former *Stationskwartier* into the international business centre of Rotterdam Central District, *Coolsingel* boulevard and *Lijnbaan* shopping street improvements, renovation of the Erasmus Medical Centre and the whole *Kop van Zuid* area, including the developing iconic high-rise cluster on *Wilhelminapier* peninsula.

5.3. Analysis of the Selected Areas in Rotterdam

According to the previously established research methodology, the following three areas exist in Rotterdam, selected as relevant for conducting a detailed analysis that follows (image 5.27);

1. Regarding the historic centre case:

The western side of the Laurens Quarter (*Laurenskwartier-West*),

2. Regarding the business district case:

Rotterdam Central District (former *Stationskwartier*), and

3. Regarding the brownfield redevelopment case:

Wilhelmina Pier (*Wilhelminapier*), *Kop van Zuid* district.

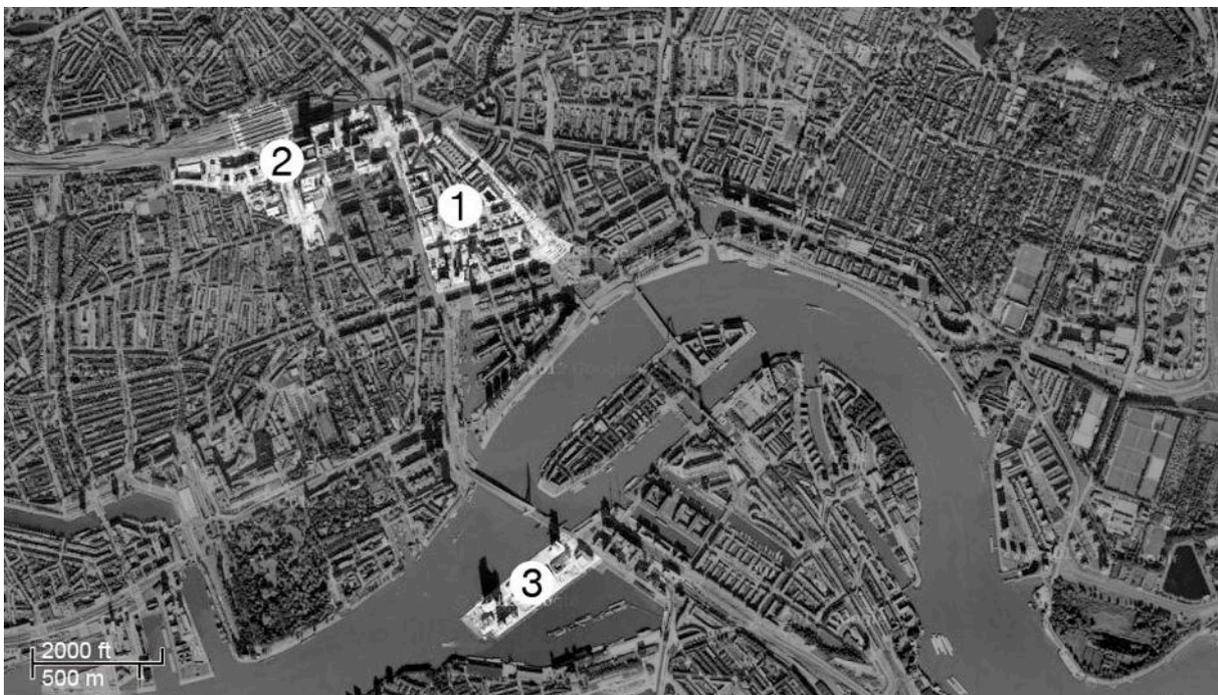


Image 5.27.

Rotterdam satellite image with the areas in focus highlighted

Legend: 1- Laurens Quarter-West; 2- Central District; 3- Wilhelmina Pier

© 2014 Aerodata International Surveys, Cnes/Spot Image, DigitalGlobe, Landsat & © 2014 Google

Source: maps.google.de 2012-12-31; with author's additions

5.3.1. Rotterdam Case 1 (Historic Centre): *Laurenskwartier West*

5.3.1.1. Case Area Description



Image 5.28.

Laurens Quarter district (*Laurenskwartier*, bordered in white), with its western area highlighted (*Laurenskwartier West*)

© 2014 Aerodata International Surveys, Cnes/Spot Image, DigitalGlobe & © 2014 Google
Source: maps.google.de 2012-12-31, with author's additions

Laurens Quarter (*Laurenskwartier*) is a central, historical urban area of Rotterdam, named after its most important landmark from the medieval times, St. Lawrence Church. The district exists as long as the city itself, as it actually represents the whole former territory of Rotterdam (*Landstad*) until the gradual urban expansion of the 17th century – firstly to the river on the south (*Waterstad*) and later towards the west. The quarter presently covers the north-western part of the so-called ‘historical triangle’, and is bounded by the streets *Goudsesingel* on the East, *Pompenburg* on the North, *Coolsingel* on the West and *Blaak* along with *Burgemeester van Walsumweg* on the South (image 5.28).

Due to the heavily destroyed state of the Laurens Quarter after the 2nd World War, the central urban functions were relocated further westwards. Nowadays, the quarter doesn’t retain its former significance and has gained a slightly different character. Its heterogeneity, insufficiently defined urban setting, and urban spaces of various qualities mostly characterize its

present condition. Such a state is illustrated by the ratio of constructed and open spaces of 35% to 65% (*Master Plan Laurenskwartier west* - concept, 2007: 2), which is usually opposite regarding central urban areas in general. As a result, the district at present does not fully meet all the qualifications of the downtown area, and is thus subject to many strategies and projects for its upgrading.

Both spatially and functionally, modern Laurens Quarter is divided on the two main parts by its central axis, running along *Binnenrote* Street. The eastern part is almost fully developed in the after war period, and is characterized by residential character and rather modest architectural expression. On the other side, the so-called Laurens Quarter West (*Laurenskwartier West*) bears a much stronger character of an urban centre. Its area extends between the streets *Blaak* on the south, *Pombenburg* on the North and reaches *Coolsingel* Boulevard on the west (image 5.28).

Although the centre of the modern city is relocated further to the west, Laurens Quarter West still represents an important and attractive transitional zone of the central urban functions. It is nowadays a mixed-use area with some iconic historic and contemporary structures, and involves the most of the current or planned upgrades, which together evoke historical significance of the place on the one side, and on the other shape Rotterdam's identity as desired.

5.3.1.2. Historical Circumstances

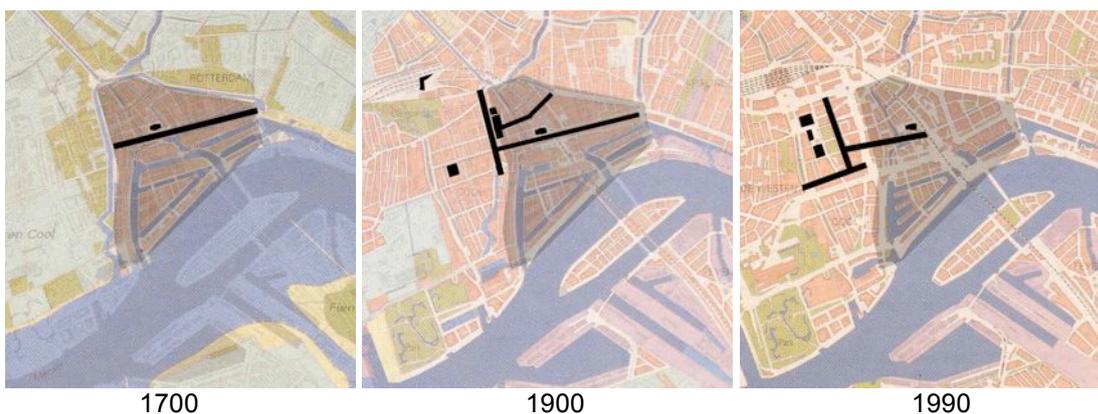


Image 5.29.

Gradual transfer of central urban functions of Rotterdam from its seminal core in Laurenskwartier towards the west
© KCAP. Source: *Master Plan Laurenskwartier west* - concept, 2007: 13.

The city centre of Rotterdam bears a strong imprint of historical circumstances that despite the immense war destructions, includes planned relocation of the central functions several times in its development background (image 5.29). As a consequence, Rotterdam is nowadays characterized by relatively large but incoherent down town zone that consists of the three main areas through which the centre evolved in history – each carrying imprints of different trends in urban planning.



Image 5.30.

The view of today's *Binnenrotte* Street in 1720

The *Rotte* river was in its place till 1877, when it was filled for the railway viaduct.
Source: Zevenbergen, 2010: 13

Until the last decades of the 19th century, the area of the contemporary *Binnenrotte* Street was in fact the *Rotte* riverbed (image 5.30). On its former riverside, built on the site of the prior parish church, now stands the only remaining monument of the medieval history of the city – the iconic St. Lawrence Church²³³ (*Grote of Sint – Laurenskerk*) that used to mark the very heart of medieval Rotterdam since its construction between 1449 and 1525. In the nearby *Hoogstraat* Street ('High Street') was also the seat of the municipality, established in the 14th century. Gradually, the area got other landmarks, some of which are still preserved. The *Schieland* District Water Board built a new home for itself in 1665, on the southwest of the district. The so-called *Schielandshuis*, designed by Jacob Lois, soon became one of the main attractions of Rotterdam's centre, and is nowadays the only 17th century building to have survived the bombing. As Rotterdam during the 18th century developed into a leading merchant town, its gates were no longer needed in its original purpose, although they were still used for

²³³ The architect of the gothic basilica remained unknown. The Church of St. Lawrence was badly damaged in May 1940, but was restored from 1951 to 1968. The last comprehensive conservation works were undertaken in 2010 and 2011. Source: <http://www.monumenten.nl>, 2012-09-12

embellishing the city centre. The predecessor of the iconic Delft Gate from the 16th century was thus demolished in 1766, when architect Pieter de Swart was commissioned to build a new, highly prestigious *Delftse Poort*. The gate was completed in 1772, and remained one of the most prominent elements in the appearance of the city²³⁴ until its destruction in 1939 (Van De Laar, 2007: 27). The attractive western part of the Laurens Quarter around *Binnenrotte*, with both ecclesiastical and secular central functions and numerous landmarks, remained as the absolute urban centre of Rotterdam until the last decades of the 19th century, when significant development began, followed by rapid urban expansions.

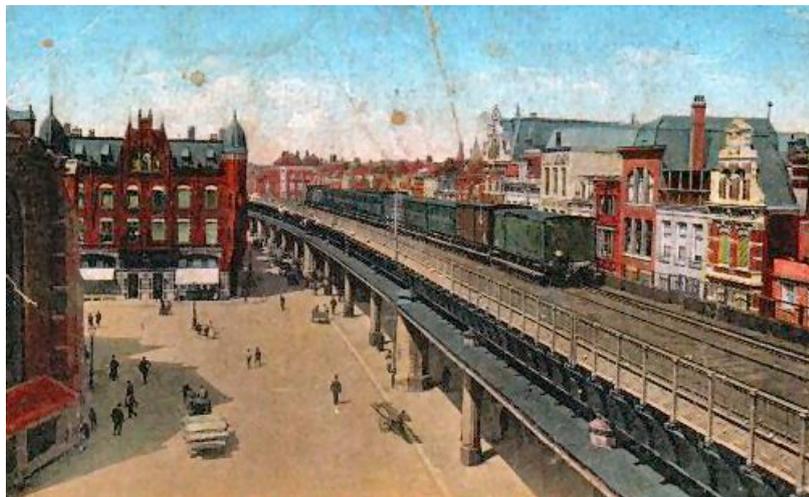


Image 5.31.

Binnenrotte as the street with the railway viaduct (1910)

Picture in the public domain. Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org> 2014-04-24

Due to rising development of the southern Rotterdam areas, the crucial railway link with developing southern districts was finally achieved in 1877, after long debates regarding the allowance for the new railway viaduct to run straight through the historic centre, on the place of contemporary *Biennenrotte* Street (image 5.31). This planning decision certainly caused not only numerous controversies at that time, but also left far-reaching consequences on further development and urban structure of the downtown zone. On the other side, around 1900 Rotterdam faced another challenge, as it already turned into an important port city, confronting spectacular growth. Congested centre and uncontrolled urban growth were the two main reasons for the City Council finally to adopt a strategy in 1905 (Van De Laar, 2007) that implied the construction of the new administrative facilities on the edge of the 'historical triangle'. The prime task of the strategy was both to confirm the success of the port metropolis, and to serve as a flagship project for further developments in its surroundings.

²³⁴ Van De Laar (2007: 27) compares the significance of the *Delftsee Poort* for the visual impression of the 18th Century Rotterdam with the significance that Erasmus Bridge has today.

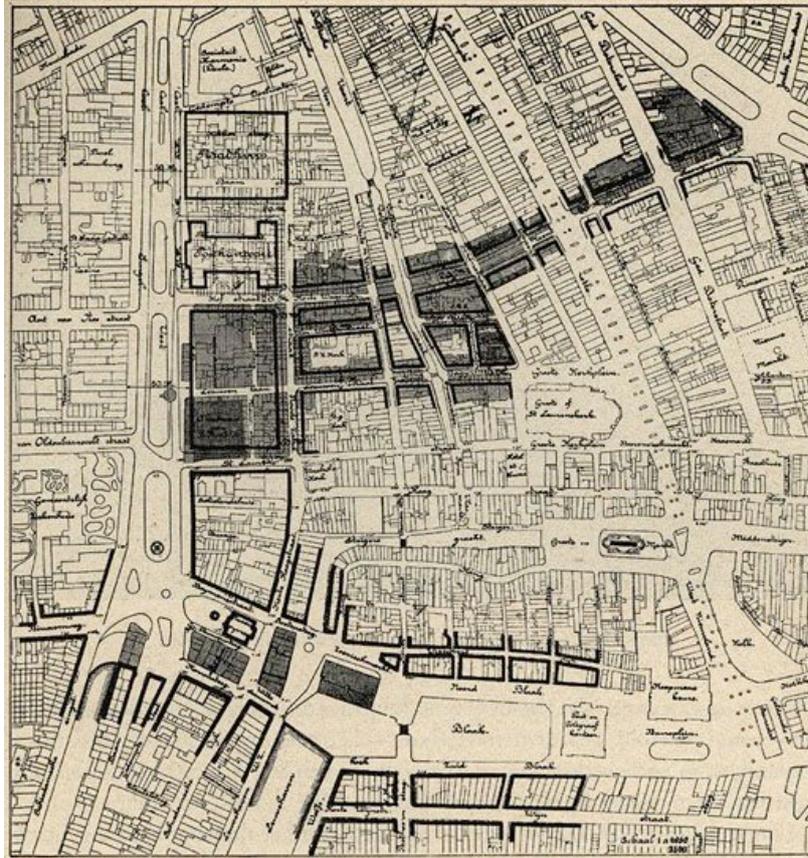


Image 5.32.

Burgdorffer's plan for Rotterdam city centre from 1913

The thick lines above left are showing the outlines of the new City Hall and main Post Office introduced on the site of the former *Zandstraat* Neighborhood. Slightly above the middle is the route for the construction of the Meent street, as an improvement for the traffic situation.

Stadsarchief Rotterdam, 1980-353. Source: Van De Laar, 2007: 44.

According to the plan (image 5.32), the new representative centre was to replace the dilapidated red-light district of *Zandstraat*, and to induce further expansion towards the west, over the filled urban canal *Coolvest* (Van De Laar, 2007). The relocated centre involved an idea of modern, broad and representative urban boulevard with monumental architecture. After closed competition for the new City Hall, commissioned by the municipality of Rotterdam, the building was constructed on the site between 1914 and 1920, according to the design by Prof. Henri Evers, in neo-renaissance style, with neo-Romanesque and neo-Byzantine influences.²³⁵ Almost simultaneously, the new main Post Office was planned to replace the old existing one. It was built in 1923, next to the new City Hall, according to the plans by architect G. C. Bremer in neoclassical style, with some Art Deco elements.²³⁶ In this way, the *Coolsigel* Boulevard gradually took over the role of new Rotterdam's centre, through systematic displacement of the central urban functions to the western edge of the Laurens Quarter (image 5.33). Further

²³⁵ The building was thoroughly restored between 2008 and 2010 by Putter Partners, who also turned the spaces under the roof into a restaurant and meeting rooms. Source: <http://www.monumenten.nl> 2012-08-06

²³⁶ Source: <http://www.monumenten.nl> 2012-08-06

development of the new centre assumed strong influence of modern town planning trends that were abruptly disrupted by the outbreak of the 2nd World War.



Image 5.33.

The view on Coolsingel, 1940
Stadsarchief Rotterdam, PBK 1994-122

As Laurens Quarter suffered great annihilation after the war was over, the area needed to be reconstructed. The debris was cleared away (image 5.34), however, the remains of some monumental buildings that could be repaired were also included in this (Van De Laar, 2007). Reconstruction of the infrastructure began around 1940, with renewed and widened canals and waterways.²³⁷ According to the 'Basic Plan' for reconstruction of the down town area, the planners confirmed a clear choice for Rotterdam to get a new, modern city centre (R2: Arends, 00:11:22, 10-12). The significant changes involved division between the functional land surface and the architecture, streets adapted for motorized traffic, and centre extended further westwards, till the *Westersingel* Street. The part of the city west of the Laurens Quarter, *Lijnbaan* Quarter, was turned into a special shopping area.²³⁸ For the comprehensive task of rebuilding the city, *Stadstimmerhuis* was built in 1953, behind the existing City Hall, from where the reconstruction of the city was directed in the after war period.²³⁹ As some parts of the

²³⁷ Source: Laurenskwartier bestemmingsplan, IMRO-idn: NL.IMRO.0599.BP1022Laurenskwrt-on01, Gemeente Rotterdam (Laurenskwartier zoning plan by the Municipality of Rotterdam), chapter 3.2. Cultuurhistorie <http://dsvro.dsv.rotterdam.nl>

²³⁸ The special shopping area extends between the streets *Coolsingel*, *Westblaak*, *Westersingel* and *Weena*.

²³⁹ Both the City Hall and the main Post Office are national monuments (*Rijksmonument*), while *Stadstimmerhuis* has been proclaimed a municipal monument in 2000. Source: <http://www.stadskantoor-rotterdam.nl/> 2012-08-06

Coolsingel Boulevard were undamaged, including the City Hall, Post Office, Hotel Atlanta, Exchange, HBU centre, *Schielandshuis* and *Bijenkorf* department store (Van De Laar, 2007: 56), the boulevard kept the role of city's administrative centre in the forthcoming period.



Image 5.34.

Laurenskwartier after the war destructions (1940)

Picture in the public domain; U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Nr. 208-PR-10L-3.
Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org> 2014-04-24

By the early 1970-es, the inner city was already characterized by a cold and business like appearance, as a consequence of the post-war planning decisions, which was the main reason for the planners to give up the previously adopted modernistic approach (R2: Arends, 00:11:22, 17-20). In the following period, *Coolsingel* Boulevard was reduced to four lanes, bicycle paths were laid out, coffee pavilions erected, flower tubs and trees planted on the pavements (R2: Arends, 00:29:11, 9-11). Aside from this, the city council advocated for more housing in the inner city (R1: Knoester, 8/12; R2: Arends, 00:11:22). Rotterdam centre had about 25,000 homes with 100,000 inhabitants before the war. After the war (ca. 1970), its population was reduced by three-quarters, with about 10,000 homes with only 25,000 inhabitants (*Master Plan Laurenskwartier*, 2007: 12). Therefore, during the 1970-es and '80-es, housing was predominantly inserted into the remaining empty areas of Laurens Quarter, mostly in the volumes made up of smaller units, as a result of the search for the more human, small-

scale structures.²⁴⁰ However, those enterprises further weakened the medieval urban structure and created an almost suburban environment in the heart of the old town, with houses arranged around the canals and oriented towards the water areas. The Inner City Plan, launched by the city council in 1985²⁴¹ already excluded much of the Laurens Quarter from the so-called 'Central Diamond' area that defined the development of the Rotterdam's centre, with the exception of the eastern side of *Coolsingel* Boulevard. Regarding architectural elements, the main achievements of this period were the construction of the City Library (1983), restoration of the *Schielandshuis* and the transformation of the *Blaak* Square (1993).



Image 5.35.

Master Plan *Laurenskwartier West*, 2007 (borders of the plan in dash-dot line)

© KCAP & dS+V. Source: *Master Plan Laurenskwartier West* - concept, 2007: 29.

Regarding the recent planning and interventions within the western part of the Laurens Quarter, there was a large open space left for the recovery of the historical *Binnenrotte* canal, after relocation of the railway underground in 1993. However, the romantic idea was never realized. The space was turned into a market instead, but still remained in the planners focus for renewal. The latest planning trend for Laurens Quarter West goes in the direction of improvements and reconnections with other central areas, due to its still incomplete appearance

²⁴⁰ Source: Laurenskwartier bestemmingsplan, IMRO-idn: NL.IMRO.0599.BP1022Laurenskwrt-on01, Gemeente Rotterdam (Laurenskwartier zoning plan by the Municipality of Rotterdam), chapter 3.2. Cultuurhistorie <http://dsvro.dsv.rotterdam.nl>

²⁴¹ The Inner City Plan concentrated on the development of the four particular areas: the Park Triangle, Central Diamond, Riverside City and Tunnel Route.

(R1: Knoester, 3/12, 5). Sunken and partially underground pedestrian passage of *Beurstraverse*, built in 1996 by the architect Pi de Bruijn, illustrates the first intervention to revive historic city centre by relocating 'fun shopping' underground, which connects the former and the current main shopping streets, *Hoogstraat* and *Lijnbaan*. The very central area of the Laurens Quarter West is nowadays being carefully developed, according to the special Master Plan prepared by the City Municipality in 2007 (image 5.35).

5.3.1.3. Spatial Analysis and Landmarks

Despite the fact that spatial structure of the city during the last thirty years was significantly diluted, the outlines of the medieval city are still preserved in their modified version, and thus remained recognizable to a certain degree. Essentially, the inherited structure involves routes (lines), a system of spots (areas) and individual icons (points);²⁴² however spatial hierarchy disappeared after the war. The cityscape of Laurens Quarter nowadays is characterized by significant historic stratification and is built up as a patchwork of solitary objects, with compositional considerations subordinated to the individual architectural expression, and/or the size of the building volumes. Distinctive urban and architectural expression reaches back to pre-war times, followed by the after war reconstruction in the 1950-es, significant interventions during the 1970-es and 1980-es, and finally by recent developments (image 5.36).

The western side of the Laurens Quarter could generally be considered as a medium to low build-up area. It is surrounded by busy urban boulevards, with the exception of the pedestrian *Binnenrotte* Street on the far east, which turns into a partially landscaped green area on its northern end, and turns into the important traffic square *Blaak* on its opposite end (image 5.37: G). The networks of open urban canals, which are generally following their historical traces, are dividing the area longitudinally in the middle. The water that penetrates deep into the district provides a special setting for the urban spaces and structures, with many reflections, bridges, and buildings that correspond to the water surface. Furthermore, the territory of the district is also divided across, on its northern, central and southern part, by the route of the main street for motorized traffic *Meent* on the north, and the pedestrian axis along the *Hoogstraat* Street on the south. The pedestrian axis actually involves several squares, interconnected by the central axis, running along *Hoogstraat* and *Beursplein*, and further under the *Coolsingel* Boulevard on the western side, through the sunken passage *Beurstraverse*. The sequence of

²⁴² Source: Laurenskwartier bestemmingsplan, IMRO-idn: NL.IMRO.0599.BP1022Laurenskwrt-on01, Gemeente Rotterdam (Laurenskwartier zoning plan by the Municipality of Rotterdam), chapter 3.2. Cultuurhistorie <http://dsvro.dsv.rotterdam.nl>

squares along this axis begins with the *Binnenrotte* market square, and runs further over historical market square *Grotemarkt* under current development, *Grosskerkplein* around the Church of St. Laurence, and *Vlasmarkt* Square, which is actually the spot where the pedestrian route meets the axis of urban canals (image 5.37).



Image 5.36.
Laurenskwartier historic stratification.

Majority of the built structures are from the 'reconstruction period', 1940-1970
© KCAP. Source: *Master Plan Laurenskwartier West* - concept, 2007: 17.

As there is not much left from the historical centre of Rotterdam, the main legacy from the pre-war times is thus mainly preserved within the traces of the medieval urban structure and especially in its triangular outline. In comparison with the eastern part, the portion of the Laurens Quarter western from the *Binnenrotte* has far less spatial coherence and represents a collection of objects with varying heights, widths, shapes and quality. The north and north-eastern areas of the Laurens Quarter West have dominating residential character, but despite its functional and stylistic homogeneity, they represent a mixture of both various residential types and architectural forms. Western and southern areas are of less spatial, functional, architectural and stylistic coherence, reaching up to the several skyscrapers clustered on the far south. Such incoherence produces, however, various landmarks. Historical iconic buildings are relatively rare; besides St. Lawrence's church, *Schielandshuis*, and the reconstructed Delft Gate monument (image 5.37: 1; 6; A), the representative row of buildings from the 1920-es along the

Coolsingel Boulevard is important, including the City Hall and the main Post Office (image 5.37: 2; 3), as symbols of the early modernization of the centre and its gradual shift towards the west. The complex was extended eastwards with the construction of the Municipal Offices (*Stadstimmerhuis*) in the 1950-es, as well as with the modernistic *Beurs* World Trade Centre from 1940 further along the Boulevard, with a glass high-rise added in 1984. The most recent objects within the area involve the high-rise cluster from the late 1990-es, surrounding the historical *Schielandshuis*: residential *Schielandtoren* (1996); *Robeco* Tower (1991); *Blaak 555* (*Fortis* Bank; 1996) (image 5.37: C; D; E), as well as office building *Blaak 31* (2010), as a part of the new arrangement of the *Grotemarktplein* Square (image 5.37: F).



Image 5.37.

Laurens Quarter West: spatial and landmark analysis

Legend: Heritage landmarks (in brown: 1- St. Lawrens Church; 2- City Hall (*Stadhuis*); 3- Former Central Post; 4- Municipal offices (*Stadstimmerhuis*); 5- *Beurs* World Trade Centre; 6- *Het Schielandshuis* (Historical Museum); 7- *HUF* *pand*; 8- City Church *Het Steiger*); contemporary landmarks (in violet: A- Delft Gate reconstruction; B- *Hofdame* Apartmentcomplex; C- *Schielandtoren*; D- *Robeco* Tower; E- *Blaak 555* (*Fortis* Bank); F- *Blaak 31*; G- *Blaak* Station); main pedestrian zone (in yellow); main urban roads (blue); urban canals (light blue); green area (in green)

© 2014 Aerodata International Surveys, Cnes/Spot Image, DigitalGlobe & © 2014 Google

Source: maps.google.de 2013-01-28, with author's additions

5.3.1.4. On-going and Planned Development Analysis

The historic and cultural significance of the Laurens Quarter is indisputably immense, being the place where Rotterdam rose from, where the first dam was placed on the *Rotte* River and where eventually the city deprived its name. Half a century after the fatal destructions, the results of the post-war reconstructions presently reveal a situation that refers to a mixture of various versions of a never completed modern city (R1: Knoester, 3/12). The Municipality of Rotterdam therefore took the initiative for comprehensive revitalisation of the area, developing an urban concept for the Laurens Quarter on two levels; firstly as an umbrella concept for the entire area (image 5.38), and secondly as a very detailed development plan for the core area around the *Binnenrotte* marketplace. The revival of the district is to be achieved through harmonization of several equally important activities – historic architecture preservation, redevelopment of public spaces, introduction of new buildings, as well as of some new features.



Image 5.38.
The concept of *Master Plan Laurenskwartier West* from 2007

Legend: Projects in progress (in yellow) show the major interventions on reviving the western side of the *Binnenrotte* Square; Studies in progress (in red) mostly include restoration of the historic *Hoogstraat* Street and extension of the City Hall; Planned studies (in brown) reveal the trend of street fronts closure and thus adaptation of the City Library basis to support restoration of the historical street network.

© KCAP. Source: *Master Plan Laurenskwartier West* - concept, 2007: 93.

Within the Laurens Quartier West there are currently the two main development zones to be determined (image 5.39). The first area is located on the south-east of the district and involves activities on urban densification, public spaces redevelopment and strengthening the historical urban structure legibility for the old urban core of Rotterdam (image 5.39: 2, B, C). The redeveloping block is spatially defined by the streets *Westnieuwland* on the east, *Hoogstraat* on the north, *Dominee Jan Scharpstraat* on the west and *Blaak Street* on the south (image 5.39: 2; B). The second development area is on its opposite, western side, and includes renewal and partial conversion of the central administrative cluster from the early 20th century, consisting of the municipal premises and former post headquarters (image 5.39: 1, A). This representative cluster mainly corresponds to the *Coolsongel Boulevard* on the west, and is bordered by the *Meent Street* on the south, *Haagseveer* and *Raamplein* on the east, and *Doelwater Street* on the north.

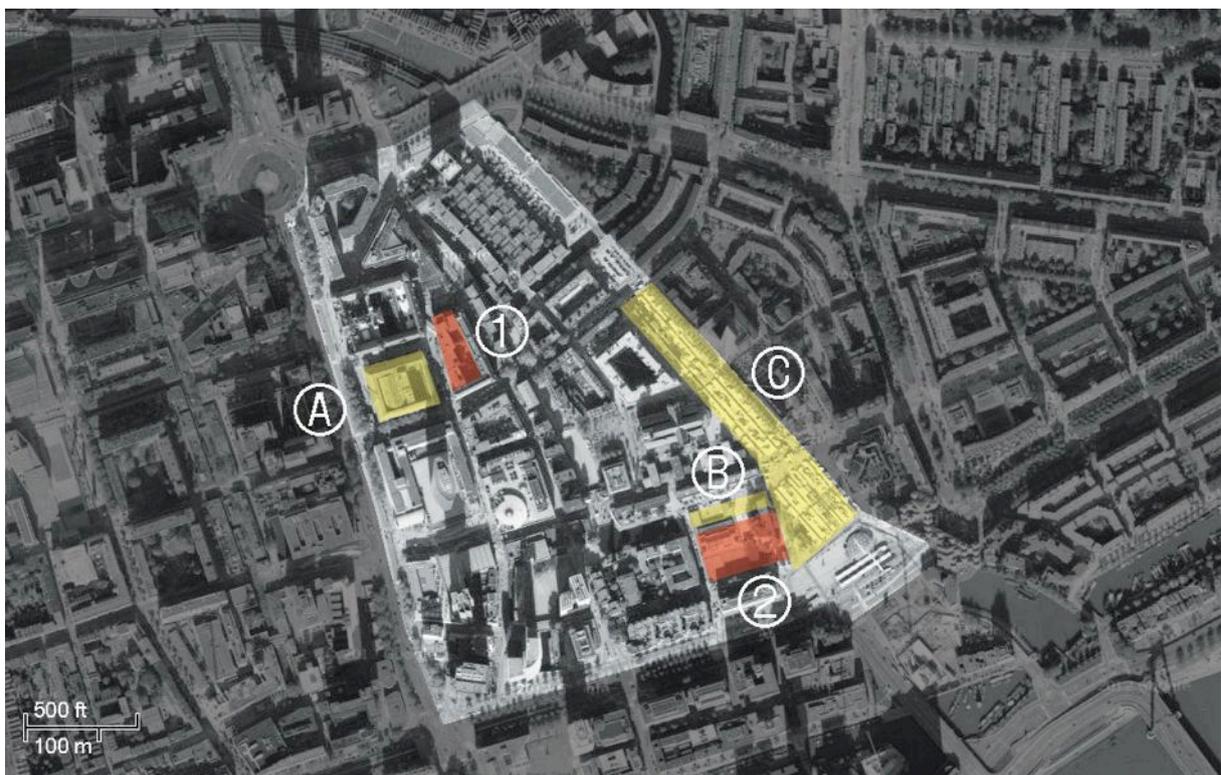


Image 5.39.
Laurenskwartier West– planned (yellow) and on-going developments (red)

Legend: 1- City Hall Extension (*Stadskantoor*); 2- Market Hall (*Markthal*); A- Main Post Office reconstruction/conversion to shopping mall; B- *Rotta Nova* apartment building; C- sportpark at *Binnenrotte*
 © 2014 Aerodata International Surveys, Cnes/Spot Image, DigitalGlobe & © 2014 Google
 Source: <https://maps.google.de> 2012-12-30, with author's additions

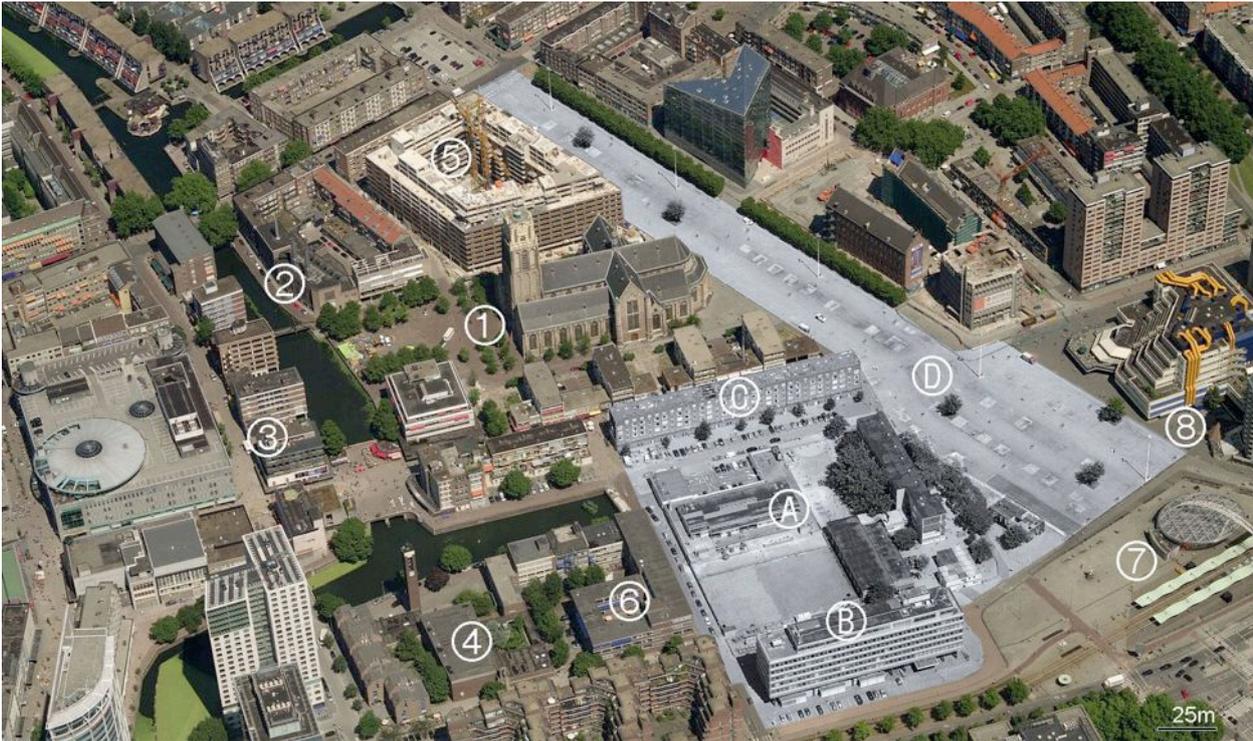


Image 5.40.

South-eastern development zone (before interventions)

Legend: Developing and area in planning: A- *Markthal* site; B- Demolished *Cebeco*-building, recently replaced with the new *Blaak 31* office building; C- *Rotta Nova* site; D- Sportpark at *Binnenrotte*. Surroundings; Heritage sites: 1- St. Lawrence Church with *Grotekerkplein* Square; 2- Heating Plant (*Stadsverwarmingscentrale*); 3- HUF building (1953); 4- City Church *Het Steiger*; New developments: 5- *Hofdame* Apartmentcomplex; 6- the school building; 7- *Blaak* Station; 8-City Library

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Source: <http://www.bing.com/maps/> 2013-01-31, with author's additions

The current Master Plan for the Laurens Quarter West (image 5.40) reveals full conversion of the historic city centre of Rotterdam around *Binnenrotte*. According to the Plan, more than 60% of the territory should involve public or semi-public space, as the quarter currently doesn't meet all the criteria of the central zone (*Ontwerpbestemmingsplan*, 2011). The historic area itself consists of the three main squares; *Grotekerkplein* around the church, historical marketplace *Grottemarktplein* and the current marketplace *Binnenrotte*. The works on upgrading the historical core started back in 2009, with the renovation of the buildings from the 1950-es (*Merkelbach en Elling*)²⁴³ between the *Grotekerkplein* Square and the *Hoogstraat* Street. In the same year, a new multifunctional urban podium complemented the use of the Square itself.²⁴⁴ Further activities and plans are concerning current upgrade of the vast *Binnenrotte* area, in its segment from the *Hoogstraat* Street on the south to the *Meent* Street on the north (image 5.40: D), as well as the on-going full conversion of a whole urban block (image 5.40: A, B, C), inspired by its historical role of the former market square (*Grottemarktplein*). The

²⁴³ The renovation of the buildings was finished in 2009 according to the project of *Matthias Veen Architectuur*.

²⁴⁴ Urban Podium on *Grotekerkplein* was built in 2009, according to the design by *Atelier Kempe Thill Architects*.

most important tasks within were the introduction of the new Market Hall (*Markthal*) as a flagship for development of the entire historical core, as well as the planning of the surrounding open public spaces (image 5.41). The overall goal of the planning for the area around *Binnenrotte* is to finally achieve a clear and recognizable urban structure, through visual and functional linking up of diverse solitary objects, striving at the same time for mixed-use character within the old city centre (R1: Knoester, 6/12, 5).



Image 5.41.

Grotemarktplein visualisation - the view from *Binnenrotte* Square: *Blaak 31* (left), new Market Hall (centre) and *Rotta Nova* high-rise (right)

© ProVast, den Haag, 2013, <http://provast.nl/en/>

The execution of the iconic design for the new Market Hall started in 2009, on the site where the city was founded and where its historical market square used to be (image 5.41; 5.42). To enable the construction of the building, previous incoherent, closed and less attractive block of the two district schools needed to be demolished. Designed by Dutch architects MVRDV,²⁴⁵ a highly mixed-use project is being realized as a brand new urban typology, which represents a sort of reconciliation between the history and tradition of the market on the one side, and the city strategy that supports both innovative architecture and more housing in the centre on the other side (R2: Blok, 00:34:26). Innovative design of the new Market Hall includes 228 residential units organised in an arch format, as a hybrid of public market and apartment

²⁴⁵ The MVRDV won the competition in October 2004. Source: <http://www.markthalrotterdam.nl> 2012-09-12

building.²⁴⁶ During the day, the Hall should have the role of a marketplace, with food-related stores on the ground floors, while during the night the building should remain equally present in the cityscape through its residential function, and gastronomy on the ground floors. In this way, both the maximal utilization of the object and liveability of the public spaces in its vicinity are ensured.



Image 5.42.

Market Hall visualisation

© ProVast, den Haag, 2013, <http://provast.nl/en/>

The innovative design itself consists of a huge arch structure of 110 by 70 meters, 40 meters high (image 5.42). The front and the backside of the new Market Hall will be covered with a flexible suspended glass façade, as a compromise between maximum transparency and minimum structure, as well as a requirement of the new Dutch law for food markets to be closed.²⁴⁷ The interior arch surface will be covered by LEDs for a changeable and attractive interior. The building's orientation and position on the parcel is equally important as its design, as it links up with the natural flow of the public circulation of the train station and the main shopping streets, at the same time taking shape of and putting an emphasis on the central open public space of *Binnenrotte* Square. As a final result, highly innovative design of the new Market

²⁴⁶ The new Market Hall with the total of 100,000 m² provides 12.000 m² of commercial space, 228 apartments, and an underground parking area on 4 levels, with 1.200 parking spaces (sources: <http://www.mvrdv.nl> 2012-09-12 & www.provast.nl 2012-09-12)

²⁴⁷ Source: <http://www.mvrdv.nl> 2013-02-04

Hall and its attractive location will most likely produce a new urban icon.²⁴⁸ The project is a result of the public-private partnership,²⁴⁹ and is expected to be completed in 2014.



Image 5.43.
Planned Rotta Nova (left) and De Hofdame from 2007 (right)

These two buildings are representing the new environment for the historical St. Laurence church in between them. The simple, withdrawn design, in combination with the use of traditional material, was aimed to create a compromising environment for the historical heritage.

Left: © de Architecten Cie, <http://www.overhd.nl/rottanova> 2013-01-31. Right: author's photo, 2012-09

As a transitional zone from one of Rotterdam's inner city boulevards, the new office building *Blaak 31* by KCAP Architects & Planners²⁵⁰ was constructed next to the new Market Hall site in 2010 (image 5.41; 5.40: B). The new 23.000 m² of downtown office space enabled urban intimacy for the striking redevelopment in the urban core, providing at the same time a street profile with public functions. Opposite the Market Hall, the new residential high-rise *Rotta Nova* was planned. Although the works on clearing the land began in 2008, construction of the high-rise that was supposed to flank the access to the historic *Hoogstraat* Street from the vast public space of *Binnenrotte* Square was put on hold (image 5.43, left). The mixed-use apartment block, in the form of a series of towers varying between three and eight floors, is designed by *Frits van Dongen Architectcs*²⁵¹ and *De Architecten Cie*,²⁵² and was supposed to offer different housing types, introducing diversity of living qualities within a single building complex. The ground floor is planned for commercial use that was supposed to contribute to

²⁴⁸ The opinions regarding the design of the new Market Hall in Rotterdam are quite divided. According to the visitors comments of the websites <http://www.worldarchitecturenews.com> and <http://www.archdaily.com> on 2013-03-19, the opinions reach extremes; some find it 'ugly', others but think it is 'beautiful'. However, ugly and/or beautiful, awkward and/or attractive, the innovative design for the new Market Hall in Rotterdam is likely to fulfill its prime task to provide desired recognizability for both the marketplace and the whole city.

²⁴⁹ The new Markt Hall project is being developed as a public-private partnership. Project developer Provast is the contractor, Vesteda Investor invests in the construction through purchasing 102 apartments, Vastgoedfonds Rodamco partly invests in shops and restaurants, while City of Rotterdam owns the garage. Source: www.top010.nl 2013-02-04

²⁵⁰ KCAP Architects & Planners, www.kcap.eu 2012-09-12

²⁵¹ van Dongen – Koschuch Architects and Planners, <http://vd-k.eu>

²⁵² Source: de Architecten Cie, <http://www1.cie.nl>, 2013-06-03

both the layout restoration and liveability of the historic shopping street of *Hoogrstraat*. Further connections with tradition and history of the site were supposed to be achieved through the name of the complex itself, which refers to the predecessor of modern Rotterdam in the settlement of *Rotta* (which used to occupy the site around year 1000). Furthermore, the proposed use of red brick, as a traditional façade material, aimed to evoke the old Rotterdam architecture in its colour and material use, and at the same time to refer to the urban unit of *Grotekerkplein* Square, along the *Binnenrotte*. Both with its elongated structure and height, planned *Rotta Nova* high-rise was supposed to demarcate the striking design of the new Market Hall from the historical core on the *Grotekerkplein* on the opposite side. Next to the iconic St. Lawrence church on this square, *De Hofdame* apartment complex by Klunder Architecten²⁵³ was completed in 2007, as one of the first new constructions within the on-going extensive upgrade of Laurens Quarter (image 5.43, right). Giving continuation to the concept of solitary objects should, however, support the establishment of an urban entity with the surrounding buildings, which have distinguished features, such as St. Laurens Church or City Library from the 1980-es, despite the high historic stratification.



Image 5.44.

Plan for the urban sportpark at *Binnenrotte* by *Shift A+U* and *Paul Zuidgeest Landschapsarchitectuur*

© Shift architecture urbanism. Source: <http://www.shifta.nl> 2012-09-24

²⁵³ Source: Klunder Architecten, <http://www.klunderarchitecten.nl> 2013-06-03

Final renewal of the former historic centre could not be considered complete, without improvements to the controversial *Binnenrotte* Square. The main issues besides historic ones, regarding redevelopment of this vast, centrally located and attractive area is certainly its low level of utilization. The square currently functions as a market two days a week, but is otherwise quite deserted. Therefore, the Municipality proposed its redevelopment involving some new and attractive contents. The main idea was to create a new urban meeting point with highly diverse use. According to the winning design (image 5.44), the *Binnenrotte* square will be turned into a central green and recreational area, with the possibility of its conversion back into market square when needed. The project took the advantage of the elongated shape of the square, in order to establish an urban track with sport fields arranged in the middle, including a new plaza to meet the needs of cultural manifestations. Former urban canal, later important railway line, and nowadays semi-active market square are once again converted in order to respond to the needs of contemporary urban residents, through the introduction of sport activities and urban green into the city centre itself. Versatile use and attractive urban space are also to contribute to liveability of surrounding open urban spaces.

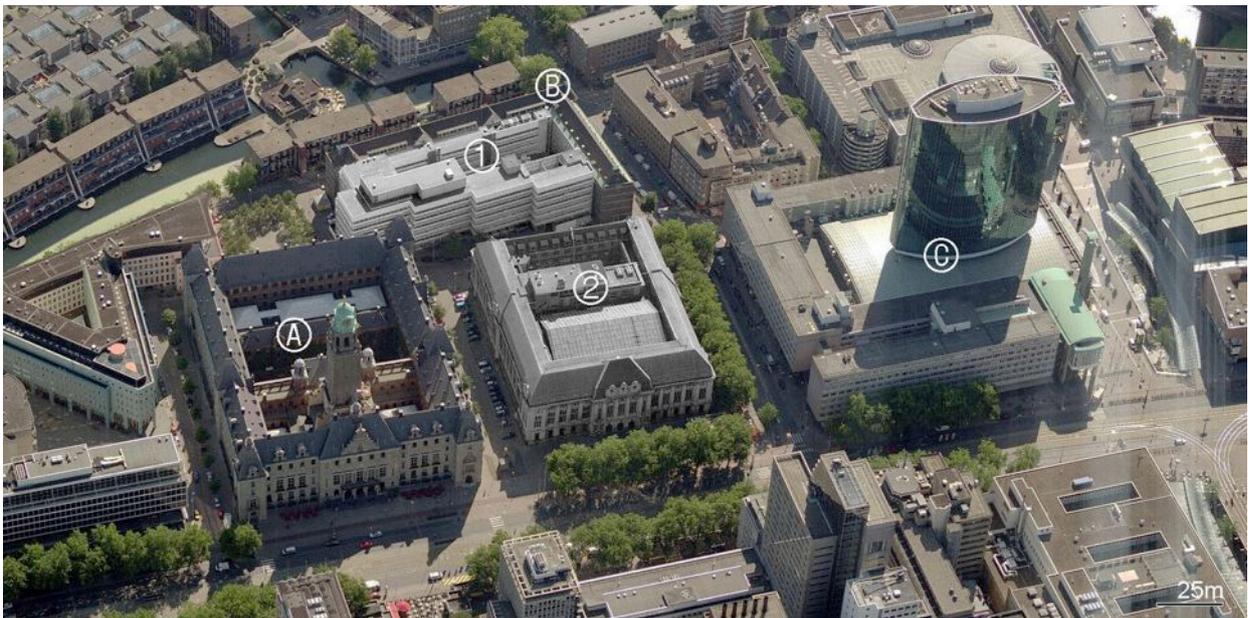


Image 5.45.
Historic administration cluster in Coolsingel Street (*Raamplein*)

Legend: Development areas: 1- City Hall extension area (*Stadskantoor*); 2- main Post Office. Existing landmarks: A- City Hall (*Stadhuis*), B- Municipal offices (*Stadstimmerhuis*), C- *Beurs* World Trade Centre.
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Source: <http://www.bing.com/maps/> 2013-01-31, with author's additions

Although the later developed central zone that runs along the *Coolsingel* Boulevard is on the far east of the quartier, this second zone of interest spatially and historically refers to the Laurens Quarter West (image 5.45). The area is marked by the cluster of several free-standing

historic buildings in a variety of architectural styles: the City Hall (*Stadhuis*) and the former main Post Office, both from the first half of the 20th century, and the 'Timber-yard building' (*Stadstimmerhuis*) from the 1950-es, together with its upgrade from the 1980-es. The former administrative cluster is to be subjected to various interventions for increasing its attractiveness, ensuring its mixed-use character, and restoration of its historical significance.



Image 5.46.

The planned *Stadskantoor* and the surroundings; visualisation

© OMA. Source: www.oma.eu 2012-08-06

The design competition for the extension of the City Hall was organized by the City of Rotterdam in 2009, followed by both public feedback and professional jury deliberation. The 1st prize was awarded to the design entry by *OMA (Office for Metropolitan Architecture)*²⁵⁴ in collaboration with Werner Sobek and engineers *ABT* (image 5.46). The choice was justified by the perfect combination of innovation and suitability for the surrounding context. Rem Koolhaas, the owner of the *OMA*, stated that his vision was that the area of new design needs “subtlety and ambiguity in the midst of an overdose of form”.²⁵⁵ Thus, the ‘formless’ heap of smaller modulated elements used, according to Koolhaas,²⁵⁶ aimed to construct the desired shapes from impressive and symmetrical structures that form a decent glimpse through the nearby City Hall and Post Office, to delicate and accommodating ones that provide the relationship with the existing monument (image 5.47).

²⁵⁴ Office for Metropolitan Architecture OMA, by Rem Koolhaas, <http://www.oma.eu>

²⁵⁵ Source: <http://www.oma.eu>, 2012-08-06

²⁵⁶ “What is now needed may be subtlety and ambiguity in the midst of an overdose of form. We propose a “formless” heap, consisting of smaller elements that are shaped to perform a number of major and minor responsibilities. Where necessary the shape can be formal and impressive, almost symmetrical - for instance, from the *Coolsingel*, glimpsed between the two survivors - and where desired, it can be delicate and accommodating - for instance in its relationship with the existing monument, *Stadstimmerhuis*.” From the statement by Rem Koolhaas; source: www.oma.com 2013-02-04



Image 5.47.

City hall Extension (*Stadskantoor*) by OMA

Interpolation with the municipal building *Stadstimmerhuis* from the 1950-es (left) and the view through *Stadhuisstraat* Street - axis between the City Hall and the Post Office
 © OMA. Source: www.archdaily.com 2012-08-06



Image 5.48.

Model of the area with the new *Stadskantoor* by OMA

© OMA. Source: <http://www.archdaily.com> 2012-08-06

New municipal building by *OMA*, called *Stadskantoor*, is therefore to become a mediator between the three existing historical buildings in its surroundings, and a unity of its own at the same time. It will replace the demolished construction from the 1980-es, to form a joined structure with the 'L' shaped listed building *Stadstimmerhuis* from 1953 (image 5.48). The new building is to have a highly mixed-use,²⁵⁷ including municipal services, offices and residential

²⁵⁷ The total area of the project is 48.400m²; Stadswinkel XL covers 8.700m², municipal offices: 15.700m², residential 10.400m², additional public spaces 3.400m², retail 1.600m², parking 8.600m². Total number of floors is 20, of which 3 are underground. The maximum height of the building reaches 63 meters. Source: <http://www.oma.eu> 2013-02-04

units. Regarding the structure, OMA conceived a modular, cubistic building, having a steel structure with small box-shaped cells, gradually setting back from the street as the structure is rising into the two irregular peaks, with gardens for the apartments located on the higher roof terraces. The innovative structural system generates a lot of versatility both in construction and in program, due to its specially designed units, which should be easily added or dismantled from the structure. In this way, taking into consideration changes in demands and use over time, the building will have the potential to house residential and office space in a variable ratio. Its ground floor, called *Stadswinkel XL*, should maintain the role of an urban square, as the building construction enables the public space to spread over its street level, encouraging active engagement between the newly designed building and the urban environment. Design responded to the requests of the competition and it is already considered as the “most sustainable building in the Netherlands”,²⁵⁸ due to both its glass façade that uses unprecedented energy efficiency, and its climate system that stores warmth in summer and cold in winter, releasing this energy when required.

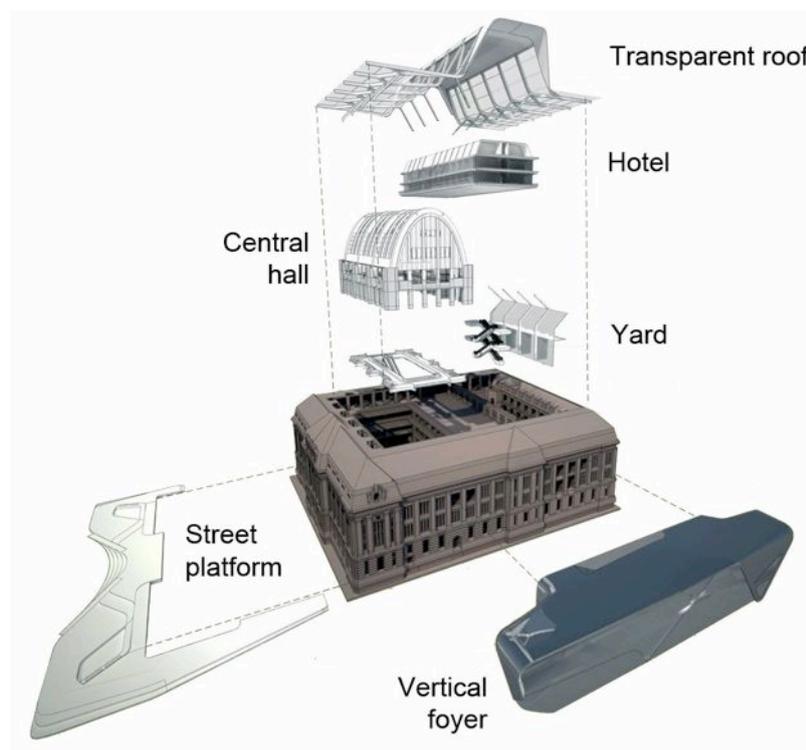


Image 5.49.

Rotterdam post reconstruction; the main project components, stand 2012.

With the latest redesign, the components of street platform and vertical foyer were dropped.
 © UNStudio, 2007. Source: <http://www.unstudio.com> 2012-08-06, with author's additions

²⁵⁸ Source: <http://www.oma.eu>, 2012-08-06

The revival of the administrative cluster also involves a planned intervention for the conversion of the nearby former main Post Office building, intervention initiated by both the Rotterdam Municipality and Rotterdam Post. After the former Post Office had been decommissioned and sold to three development companies in August 2007, it was decided that the listed monumental building should be turned into a shopping centre, due to its favourable location within the shopping district, on the corner of the busy *Coolsingel* Boulevard and *Meent* Street. The competition for the reconstruction and modernization of the former Post headquarters won Ben van Berkel of Amsterdam-based *UN Studio*.²⁵⁹



Image 5.50.
Post Rotterdam Urban Destination project, stand 2012

UN Studio project visualization
© UNStudio, 2007. Source: <http://www.postrotterdam.com> 2012-08-06

In this case, the task of adapting the listed building for contemporary needs involved integration of new and monumental. The winning design at first included a combination of urban landscape, a vertical foyer, realignment of the central hall and a hotel development (image 5.49).²⁶⁰ The former Post Office is planned to be transformed using a mixed-use concept named

²⁵⁹ UN Studio website: <http://www.unstudio.com>

²⁶⁰ Source: <http://www.postrotterdam.com> 2012-08-06

'Post Rotterdam Urban Destination', in the form of a five-story 'house of lifestyle brands',²⁶¹ including retail facilities, restaurants, cafes and bars, combined with the originally planned luxury hotel on the top floor.²⁶² The extension to the shopping street in front of the building aims to function as a public platform, offering spaces with different functional possibilities, such as for exhibitions, performances, concerts etc. The second major intervention concerns significant glass structure to emphasize and frame the entrance, functioning as a contrasting element to indicate architectural presence and absence at the same time (image 5.50). Post war roof was proposed to be exchanged with a glass one, allowing daylight to penetrate the future shopping-mall spaces. The originally planned 70 meters hotel high-rise was dropped in the early stages of project development, and the street platform and vertical foyer were recently abandoned too. The opening of the renovated attractive historic building, with an area of 34,320 m² for the new facilities, was planned for 2014. However, the project was revised again, and soon after put on hold.

²⁶¹ UN Studio makes the difference between their vision for the former Post Office and a regular shopping mall. Therefore, they created the term "house of lifestyle brands", especially for this occasion.

²⁶² Source: <http://www.postrotterdam.com> 2012-08-06

5.3.2. Rotterdam Case 2 (Business District): Rotterdam Central District

5.3.2.1. Case Area Description

As its name implies, Rotterdam Central (also known as *Stationskwartier*) is a centrally located urban district, developed closely to Rotterdam Central Station, and bordered on the north by its dense railway tracks. The area is clearly bounded by the major roads as well; *Coolsingel* Boulevard marks its eastern edges, while *Henegouwerlaan* Street is on the west. The most significant high-rise cluster of Rotterdam is formed along the *Weena* Street. Developed gradually in the post-war period, this is the busiest traffic route of the district, also representing its major backbone (image 5.51).



Image 5.51.

Rotterdam Central District

© 2014 Aerodata International Surveys, Cnes/Spot Image, DigitalGlobe & © 2014 Google
Source: maps.google.de 2012-12-31; with author's additions

The Central District is basically a residential neighbourhood, traditionally also known as the business centre of the city. In fact, it is probably the only European location, where international business district, high-speed public transport and city centre share the same space. Due to its dense railway connections, the district also holds the role of urban gateway to Rotterdam, and is often symbolically labelled as an area where “Rotterdam and Europe

meet".²⁶³ In addition, the proximity to both the airport and the port facilities is in favour of the ongoing transformation of the district into a prime location for international business service offices. As important traffic routes are heavily intersecting the area, in order to facilitate their proper functioning and further development, as well as to support further transformation into an attractive mixed-use central urban district, there was a growing necessity to reconcile these two opposite but interdependent tasks. The Central Station itself, along with its surroundings is, since 2007, under comprehensive reconstruction to expand its importance as a transport intersection of both regional and international significance. Rotterdam Central is therefore currently facing dynamic changes, not only regarding its traffic infrastructure, but also concerning its overall transformation into an attractive mixture of living, working and leisure.

5.3.2.2. Historical Circumstances

The district area was previously occupied by the city Zoo (*Diergaarde*), opened in 1858 (Van De Laar, 2007: 55). Just before the outbreak of war, the Zoo was moved slightly to the north, in order to enable improvements of the traffic flow to the west of the city. Some of the street names within the district still recall this former function (*Diergaardesingel*). On the site of the former Zoo, a new residential area was planned, according to modern urban planning principles. Although the project was never carried out, it served as an inspiration for the initial reconstruction directions in May 1940 (Van De Laar, 2007: 55).

The most important building of the district was firstly opened on June 3rd 1867, as the *Delftsche Poort* railway station, completing the railway line between Amsterdam and Rotterdam. At that time, the station was actually just outside of the city area. The surrounding district as it is known today developed much later, during the gradual reconstruction followed by Rotterdam bombardment in the 20th century. The following station building was constructed in the post-war period as well, according to the design by Sybold van Ravesteyn (image 5.53), and was in continuous use from 1957 to 2007 (*Crimson Architectural Historians*, 2009: 18). Following further development of the city and requirements related to the significant increase of the number of passengers, its potentials had gradually been outgrown, and is therefore currently being replaced with the new one.

²⁶³ Source: www.rotterdam-centraldistrict.nl 2012-08-07

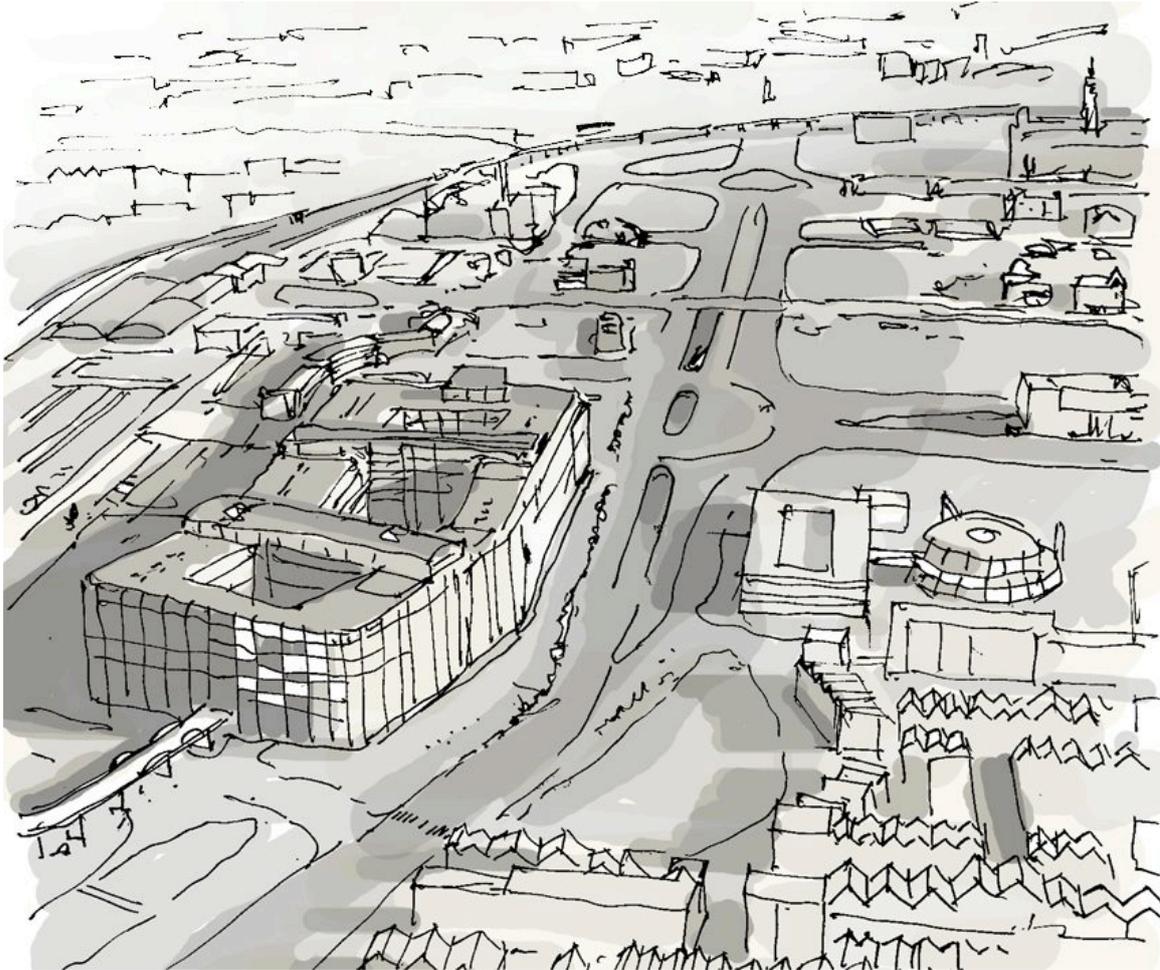


Image 5.52.

Central District in the 1950-es; view on the *Weena* Boulevard from the West

The Wholesale Building (left) and the Construction Centre (right) were dominating the empty space of the present-day busy boulevard.

Author's drawing, according to Crimson Architectural Historians, 2009: 18

Introduction of the *Weena* Boulevard was a part of the Basic Plan for reconstruction, as future central traffic connection between *Hofplein* and *Beukelsdijk*. However, since the intensive works during the 1970-es, the only buildings on the area were The Wholesale Building (*Groot Handelsgebouw*), the Construction Centre (*Bouwcentrum*) and the Central Post. The Wholesale Building from 1953 was actually the first to be constructed on the future Boulevard, next to the Central Station (image 5.52). Designed by the architects Hugh Maaskant and Van Tijen, this building was just as important as it was innovative at that time, as Rotterdam lost most of its important wholesale infrastructure during the bombardment, and thus individual rebuild would have been far too expensive. The building was renovated and reopened in October 2005,²⁶⁴ getting back its original features and colours both outside and in the interior space. The Wholesale Building nowadays stands for the oldest building of the district, one of the first major

²⁶⁴ Source: <http://www.groothandelsgebouw.nl> 2012-08-07

constructions in the post-war period in Rotterdam, and the largest commercial building in the Netherlands.²⁶⁵ This national monument and a symbol of post war reconstruction²⁶⁶ is currently a multi-tenant office building with over 160 tenants, which incorporates shopping and leisure functions within its floor area of 130,000 m².²⁶⁷

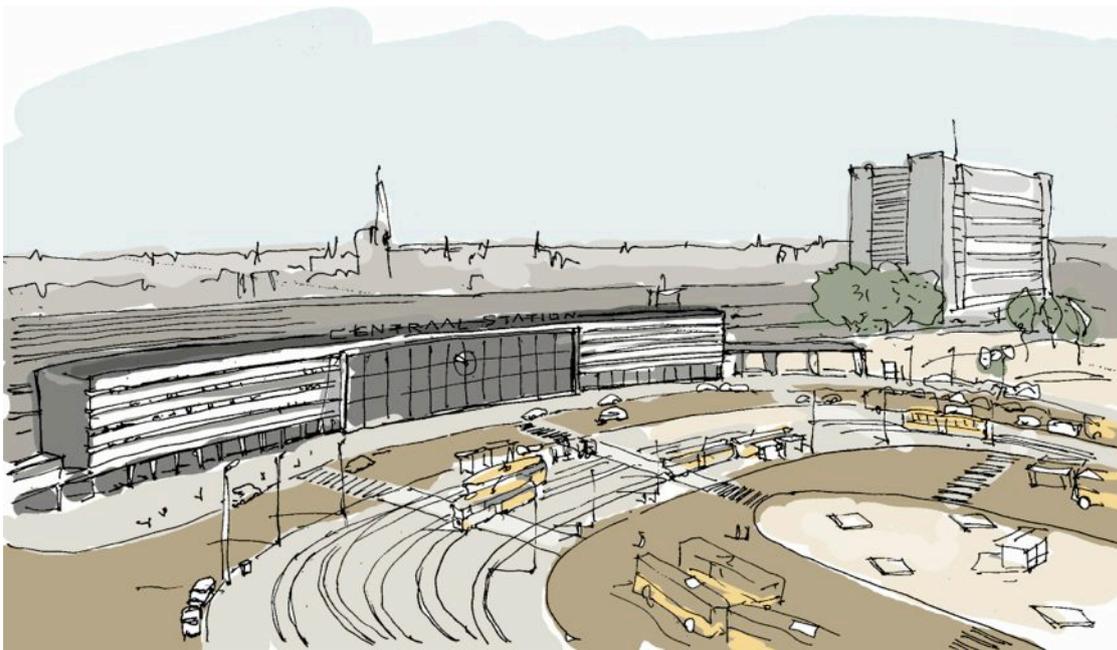


Image 5.53.

The old building of the Rotterdam Central Station in 1960

Author's drawing, based on a photo 'Station CS Rotterdam', Nr. 163103, Het Utrecht archief, <http://www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl>

On the initiative of the Royal Institute of Dutch Architects, another distinguished structure within the district, the Construction Centre (*Bouwcentrum*), was established in 1946. Architect Joost Boks was commissioned to design the building, which opened in 1949,²⁶⁸ at the edge of the destroyed city centre, which was at that time the very heart of the reconstruction area (image 5.52). The former Central Post was closely located, designed by the brother Kraaijvanger, and was built during the same period, from 1954 to 1959.²⁶⁹ Both of these heritage-listed buildings²⁷⁰ were recently renovated and are still in use; The Construction Centre retained its original office and exhibition function, while the Central Post was turned into offices and stores, getting eight new floors on top of its original seven.

²⁶⁵ Source: <http://www.groothandelsgebouw.nl> 2012-08-07

²⁶⁶ Source: <http://www.monumenten.nl> 2012-08-08

²⁶⁷ Source: <http://www.rotterdam-centralsdistrict.nl> 2012-08-07

²⁶⁸ Source: <http://www.monumenten.nl> 2012-08-08

²⁶⁹ Source: www.centralpost.nl 2012-08-07

²⁷⁰ In 2010, Bouwcentrum was given the status of national monument (Rijksmonument), while the former Central Post Office received the status of municipal monument.



Image 5.54.

Western view on the big construction site of the *Weena* Boulevard, late 2012

Left side: the Wholesales Building in the foreground, followed by the *Delftsee Poort* twin towers, and *Weenatoren*.
Right side: *Weenapoint* in the foreground, and *Millenium Tower* in the background.

Author's photo, 2012-09-18

The earliest high-rise of the district finally marked the eastern entrance to the *Weena* Boulevard after the mid 1960-es; *Rotterdam Hilton*²⁷¹ was built in 1964, while the first skyscraper of the district, *Hofpoort* building,²⁷² in 1976. The 68 meter high high-rise *Weenapoint* was constructed opposite it in 1970, next to the Construction Centre. Gradually, the *Weena* Boulevard was given its recognizable shape. But aside from some constructions on the north side of the district during the late 1980-es, further significant build up continued in the 1990-es. The *Weenatoren* office and residential tower, built between 1982-1990 by *Klunder Architecten*,²⁷³ was the tallest tower of the Netherlands at the time of its construction, reaching a height of 120 meters. Along *Rotterdam Hilton* building, the *Fortis ASR* was constructed in 1990,²⁷⁴ followed by the internationally prominent office building *Weena 200* in 1993, designed by *Brouwer Steketee Architecten BV Rotterdam*.²⁷⁵ However, the most prominent modernistic landmark of the district was constructed between 1989 and 1992, on the parcel flanking the Central Station. The 150 meters high *Delftsee Poort* twin towers (Delft Gate) designed by

²⁷¹ *Rotterdam Hilton* is a 36 meters high-rise, designed by Maaskant Huig. Source: Emporis GmbH; www.emporis.com 2012-08-08

²⁷² Former "Shell" building is 95 meters high skyscraper, designed by ZZDP Architecten. Source: Emporis GmbH; www.emporis.com 2012-08-08

²⁷³ Source: <http://www.architectureguide.nl> 2012-08-07

²⁷⁴ *Fortis ASR* is today the headquarters of the *Shell Chemicals Europe*. It is 64,25 meters high-rise, designed by *ZZOP Architects*. Source: Emporis GmbH; www.emporis.com 2012-08-08

²⁷⁵ Source: <http://www.architectureguide.nl> 2012-08-07

Bonnema Architekten were built for the headquarters of the insurance company *Nationale Nederlanden*. They became one of the most recognizable office buildings of the city, and until 2009 they were the tallest buildings in the Netherlands (image 5.54).

One of the latest iconic skyscrapers of the district is postmodern *Millenium Tower*²⁷⁶ (image 5.54) that is positioned to mark the access to the city from the Station Square. The so-called 'red carpet' of Rotterdam leads further through the adjoining *Kruisplein* Square and then further south, along the famous 'culture axis', which represents the most important link between the district and the city itself.

5.3.2.3. Spatial Analysis and Landmarks

Considering the fact that the Central District was nearly completely developed in the post-war period provides an explanation for the strong imprint of modernist ideas that characterize the whole area, both in its spatial structure and urban landscape. The highly busy *Weena* Boulevard that runs through the centre of the district is actually defined as one of the major roads within the post-war urban network, a result of the planners' vision for easy accessible car-friendly city. The second dominant spatial feature began to emerge during the 1980-es, boosting the city's desire for high-rise buildings. Many empty parcels around the spacious boulevard made it a perfect place for executing the vision for a new, economic vital city of skyscrapers.

Central District is currently a nearly completely build-up area, with medium to high density. Simple and clear spatial structure of the district is fully formed along the centrally located *Weena* Boulevard in the east-west direction, dominated by its central intersection with the pedestrian zone (image 5.55). Important connection with the neighbouring *Coolsingel* Boulevard is established through a roundabout formed by the *Hofplein* Square at the far east. The beam of railway tracks on the very edge of the area restricts extension possibilities towards the north, and represents a certain backward zone at the same time that is beyond the district's focal points and orientations. Centrally located pedestrian zone, oriented in the north-south direction, starts with the joint squares of *Stationsplein* and *Kruisplein* before the railway station building, intersecting with the busy boulevard over the *Weena* Tunnel. The main idea behind the pedestrian axis is to serve as an urban 'red carpet' that opens up in front of the station and leads further to the city, through the link with an attractive 'cultural axis'.

²⁷⁶ *Millenium Tower* is the home of *Hotel Manhattan*. It is 130 meters high skyscraper, built between 1997-2000 by *WZMH Architects* and *AGS Architekten*. Source: Emporis GmbH; www.emporis.com 2012-08-08



Image 5.55.
Central District: spatial and landmark analysis

Legend: Heritage landmarks (in brown): 1- Groot Handelsgebouw (1953); 2- Bouwcentrum (1949); 3- Central Post (1959); 4- Henry Moore wall relief (1955). Contemporary landmarks (in violet): A- Weenapoint high-rise (1970); B- Millenium Tower (2000); C- Weena 200 (1993); D- Fortis ASR (1990); E- Rotterdam Hilton (1964); F- Weenaflat (1984); G- Weena Tower (1990); H- Weena Center (1990); I- Unilever (1992); J- Gebouw Delftse Poort, (1992). Unwanted heritage (in red): K- former station building. Main pedestrian zone (in yellow); main urban roads and railways (blue); green area (in green)

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Source: maps.google.de 2013-01-28; with author's additions

Since 2000, the City Planning Office treats the axis from the inner city to the left riverbank as Rotterdam's prime high-rise zone. The high-rise cluster around the *Weena* Boulevard marks the starting point for the skyline axis stretching further towards the south. Landmarks are therefore numerous, comprised mostly of the high-rise from the late 1980-es and 1990-es. Most of them were firstly built to mark the open public space entrances, and are generally clustered along the eastern part of the boulevard, between the *Hofplein* and *Stationsplein* squares, forming a sort of equivalent to the New York City's Wall Street. Within the district, there are currently four skyscrapers higher than 100 meters.²⁷⁷ These building are visible from nearly every open public place of the inner city, and are playing an important role in urban image and identity formation for the whole Rotterdam. On the other side, heritage landmarks are rare; however, their integration within the growing urban landscape is quite successfully achieved, with the exception of their original function that often needed to be

²⁷⁷ The skyscrapers of the Central District are Delftse Port 1 (1992; 151 m) , Millenium Tower (2000; 149 m), Weena Toren (1990; 106 m) and Weena-Center (1990; 104 m).

adapted to fit within the new role of the district. One of the exceptions is the old station building from the 1950-es that was recently fully demolished, and is currently being replaced by a new building, which caused many mixed opinions (Van De Laar, 2007: 76-77).

5.3.2.4. On-going and Planned Development Analysis

Behind the logistics for initiating overall development and upgrade of the Central District stands the flagship project for the new railway station building, centrally positioned within the district. Due to its favourable location as the southern gateway to the Netherlands, Rotterdam is already the first stop for high-speed trains from Paris and Brussels. In addition, the distance from the highly frequent Amsterdam Schiphol Airport will be significantly shortened, due to development of the *RandstadtRail*²⁷⁸ (Tiry, 2005). Such favourable circumstances should create great advantages by upgrading the whole station district into an attractive, mixed-use area with international allure. The main issue regarding the previous state, including the station building from the 1950-es, was its inability to meet the increased transport demands, as well as its distant and fairly isolated position in relation to Rotterdam's downtown core. Therefore, physical boundaries of the project and its programme for the surrounding area greatly exceed those of the transport facilities (Tiry, 2005), and involve redevelopment of large parts of the district's area.

Currently, there are two main development zones to be determined within the site. The first zone is under excessive reconstruction, starting from the iconic station building itself, and includes upgrading of the interconnected open public places ahead – *Stationsplein*, *Weenatunnel* and *Kruisplein* – to achieve the high-quality connection with the 'cultural axis' that runs southwards, along *Westersingel* Street (image 5.56: 1-5). The second zone is still in the planning phase, and includes extensive revival of the underdeveloped and partially neglected trackside strip, currently in the district's background (image 5.56: A-C). This zone starts with the *Schiekadeblok* (between the streets *Delftsestraat* and *Schiestraat*) and *Delftseplein* east of the station building, and continues along the *Conradstraat* on the west.

²⁷⁸ *RandstadtRail* is a network in the southern part of the Randstadt conurbation, connecting The Hague, Rotterdam and Zoetermeer. It consists of metro-like and light-rail lines, mainly using former train and existing tram tracks.

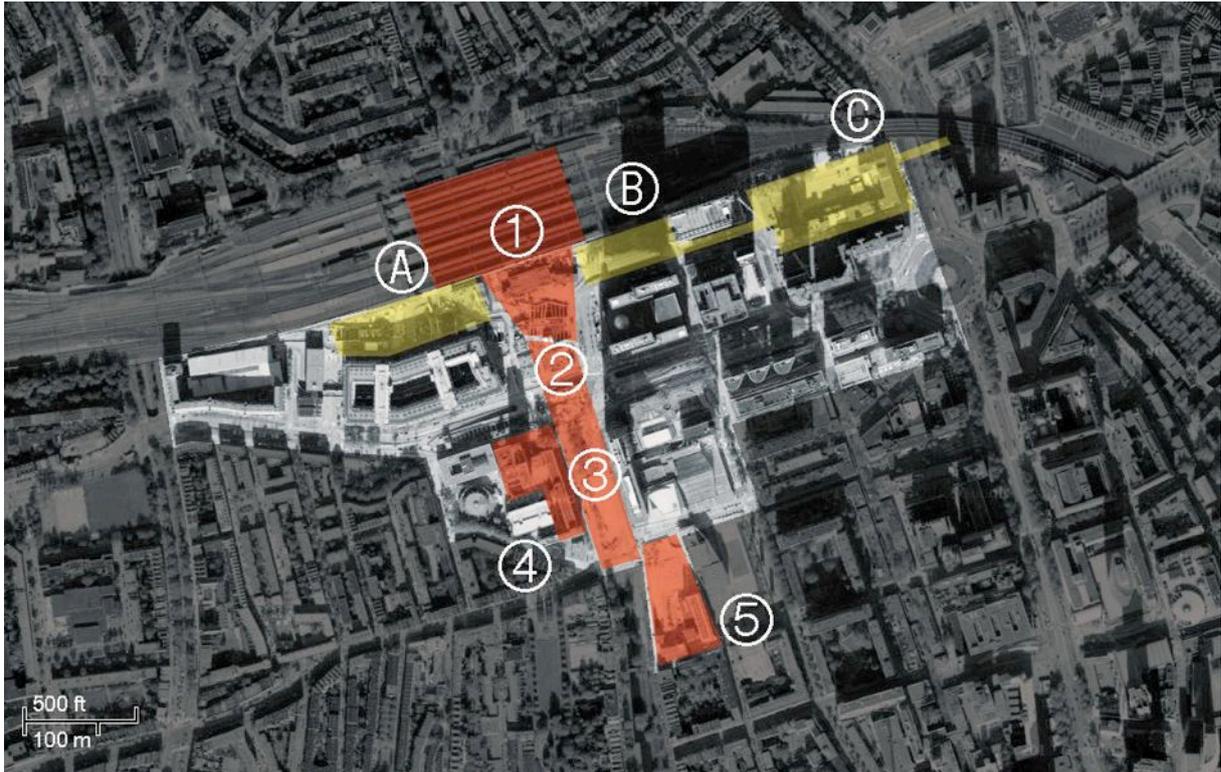


Image 5.56.

Central District– planned (yellow) and on-going developments (red)

Legend: 1- Rotterdam Central Station new building; 2- *Stationsplein* Square; 3- *Kruisplein* Square; 4- *First Tower*; 5- *De Calypso* residential high-rise; A- *Conradstraat* Street high-rise and BUS hub; B- *Delftseplein* Street high-rise; C- *Schiekadeblok* high-rise with inner *Weenaboulevard*.

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Source: <https://maps.google.de> 2012-12-30, with author's additions

Strategic reconstruction of the area around the station commenced as a highly transparent process, on the basis of a public private partnership between the City of Rotterdam, Dutch Railways, *Rodamco* Nederland and ING Real Estate.²⁷⁹ The contractors firstly commissioned British Architect William Alsop to develop an ambitious Master Plan for the surface area of 20 hectares in the city centre of Rotterdam, including the design of the station building itself (image 5.57). '*Masterplan Rotterdam Centraal*' was presented in April 2001; however, the Municipality later found it too ambitious and expensive (*Structuurvisie*, 2011: 14). For this reason, a new urban development plan for a smaller scale project was launched in 2008, prepared by the Rotterdam based *Maxwan architects + urbanists* that adopted some of the features of the previously developed ideas. The main ambitions of the new plan were to set the district in balance, insure vibrant streets, establish connections to urban networks and sublime public spaces (*Structuurvisie*, 2011: 10), which were expected to provide “a key to the transformation of an isolated, unattractive business environment into a well-connected, lively

²⁷⁹ Source: Planum Magazine online; <http://www.planum.net> 2013-02-06

part of downtown Rotterdam”,²⁸⁰ as its authors claimed. A set of guidelines was provided for the large number of diverse projects within the area (image 5.58), including open public places design and construction of a new bus terminal.



Image 5.57.

Previous design of the new Central Station, programmed with cultural spaces and offices

The project by the British architect William Alsop was never realized, as Rotterdam Municipality considered it 'too expensive'.

© ALL Design. Source: <http://www.all-worldwide.com> 2013-02-06

Upgraded Central District is supposed to provide up to 600,000 m² of mixed use. With the completion of the multi-modal station itself, the international transport hub with the gross floor area of 20,000 m² is expected to serve over 300,000 travellers a day in 2025, offering access to *RandstadRail*, high-speed rail line (HSL), regular trains, buses, trams and metros.²⁸¹ Regarding development of the most important interchange of the HSL system in all of Netherlands, the government has designated the redevelopment of the area as a key national project.²⁸² For Rotterdam this is one of the best means to support the city's further development (R2: Blok, 00:38:38). Besides the upgrade of important transport facilities, the spacious and transparent new station hall designed by *Team CS*²⁸³ (image 5.59) is to get a sculptural character of a new, iconic urban landmark, which – according to its authors – should provide a

²⁸⁰ Source: Maxwan Architects + Urbanists, www.maxwan.com 2012-08-09

²⁸¹ Source: <http://www.rotterdam-centralsdistrict.nl> 2012-08-07

²⁸² Source: Planum Magazine online; <http://www.planum.net> 2013-02-06

²⁸³ Team CS is a cooperation of *Bentham Crouwel Architecten*, *Meyer en Van Schooten Architecten* and *West 8* urban design & landscape architecture.

'metropolitan identity'²⁸⁴ with its prominent design and construction. On the other hand, its design responded to the requirements of the master plan, providing significantly deeper penetration within the public space, and thus cutting the way to the urban landscape of Rotterdam, simultaneously framing its views for the arriving visitors.

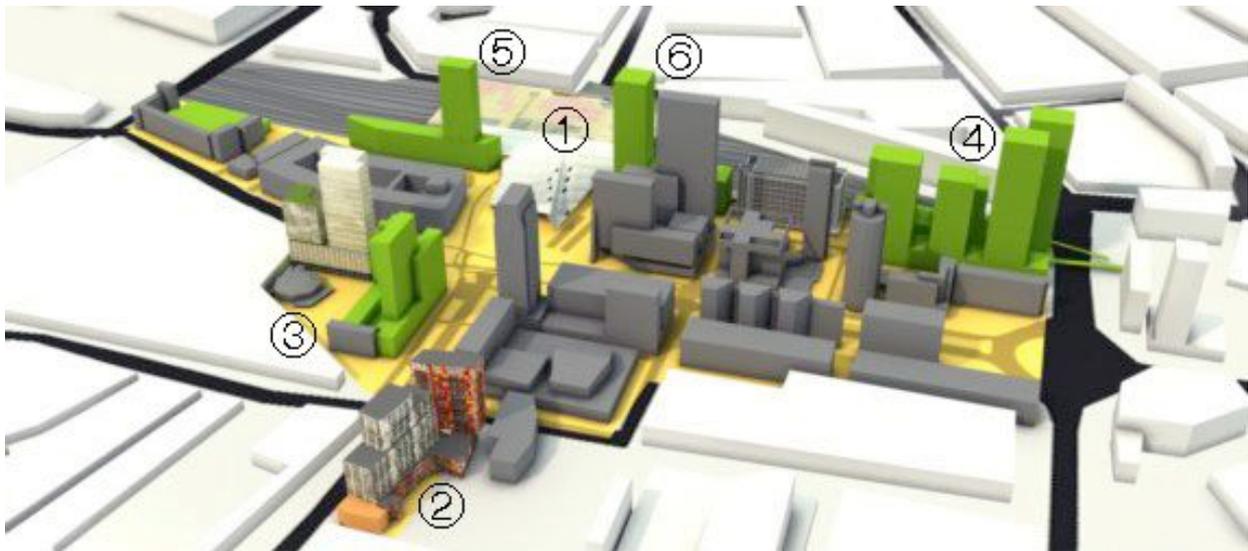


Image 5.58.

Digital model of the Central District shows the vision of the completed upgrade. The areas of planned interventions are marked in green.

Legend: 1- Rotterdam Central Station new building (2012); 2- *De Calypso* (2012); 3- First complex (2014); 4- *Schiekadeblok* high-rise complex with inner *Weenaboulevard* (2020); 5- *Conradstraat Street* high-rise; 6- *Delftseplein Street* high-rise

© Rotterdam Central District. Source: www.rotterdam-centraldistrict.nl 2012-08-07, with author's additions

Connection with the Rotterdam downtown area, unofficially called 'the red carpet of the city' (R2: de Grave, 00:56:54) was realized along with the adaptation of the station building, through simultaneously performed upgrade of the surrounding open public spaces. As busy motorised traffic from the *Weena Boulevard* until then represented a physical cut, its traffic was relocated underground with the completion of the *Weenatunnel*, enabling annexation of the Central District to the inner city. In this way, the idea of urban environment and its railway zone becoming a single entity is made reality, where the Central District literally plays a role of an entrance to the city. The façade of the new station moved closer to the *Weena Boulevard*, pointing to a promenade from the public transport terminal. The new unconstrained pedestrian connection will lead over the newly planned *Stationsplein*, over *Weenatunnel* and *Kruisplein Square* to the city's popular 'cultural axis' (image 5.60). In this way, the squares shall become urban green oases, with parking relocated underground.

²⁸⁴ Source: West 8 urban design & landscape architecture b.v.; <http://www.west8.nl> 2012-08-08



Image 5.59.

Rotterdam Centraal new station building with the Station Square (*Stationsplein*) in the foreground, visualization

© CC Little Planet. Source: <http://www.littleplanet.nl/> 2012-08-07

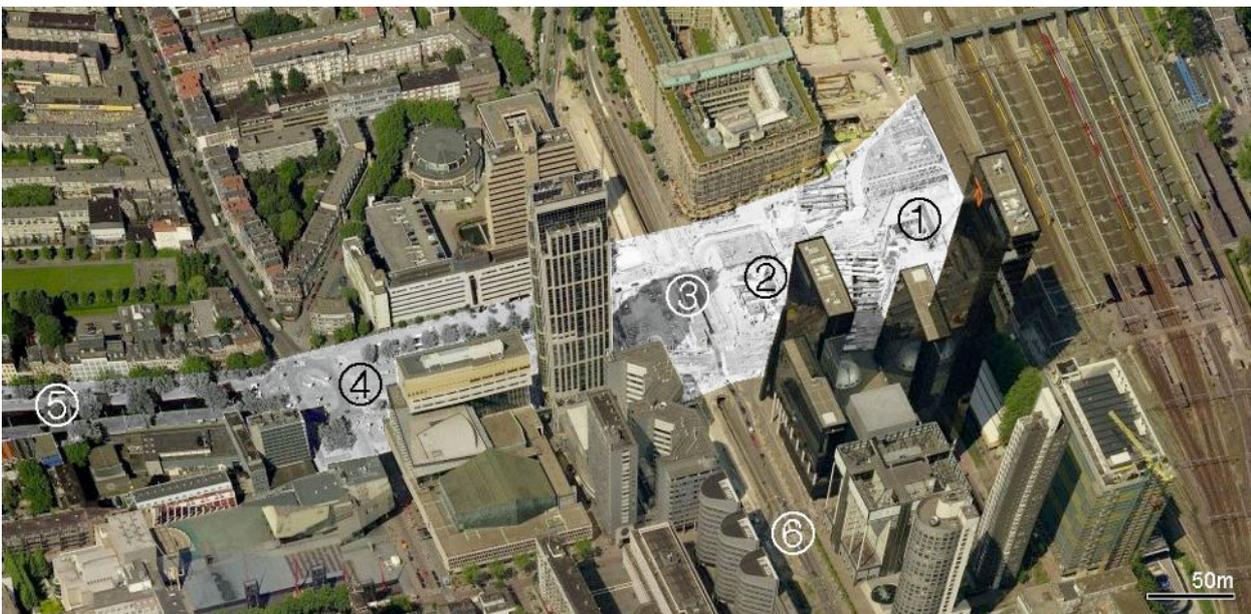


Image 5.60.

Central District pedestrian squares;

Legend: 1- The location of the new station building; 2- Station Square with the underground facilities: public transport connections and a bicycle park (*Stationsplein*, 2013); 3- *Weenatunnel* for motorized traffic under the *Weena Street*; 4- *Kruisplein* Square with underground car park (2014); 5- Connection to the 'cultural axis'; 6- *Weena Boulevard*

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Source: www.bing.com/maps 2013-02-05, with author's additions



Image 5.61.
 “De Calypso” visualisation

Double high-rise clusters, with the new St. Paul's church on the right (above);
 side view with the façade detail (below left); connection with the street (below right)
 © ALL Design. Source: <http://www.decalypso.nl> 2012-08-08

Regarding planned functions of the other facilities, the completed District is expected to offer a total of 300,000 m² of new accommodation for national and international offices and business services. The existing housing within *Weenatoren*, *Weenahof* and *Weenaflat* should be supplemented by approximately 1,000 new homes. In addition to offering stores, restaurants and cafes, the district will also provide easy access to the inner city's facilities, such as cinemas on neighbouring *Schouwburgplein* Square, galleries, cafes and restaurants. One of the important architectural projects in its final phase is a new mixed-use building complex (image 5.61), developed on the place of the former 'Holiday Inn' hotel, 'Calypso' cinema and St. Paul's church (*Pauluskerk*) from the 1960. Offices, housing, hotel and new shops, as well as the modern replacement of the former church will become the new facilities of the complex *De*

Calypso, designed by the British architect William Alsop (*Alsop Architects*).²⁸⁵ The complex consists of two high-rise clusters, both 70 meters high, designed in an attractive modern style with some elements of deconstructivism in the sloping, colourful façade panels that create the impression of movement. The new St. Paul's church was designed as a compact five-storeys building, leaning against the complex. Together with the neighbouring *Millennium Tower* and developing *First Tower* on the opposite side of the square, *De Calypso* builds a cluster that shall complement the public realm of *Westersingel* Street and *Krusplein* Square nearby, enhancing the pedestrian route along the 'cultural axis' of the city (image 5.62).



Image 5.62.

The impression of the new Central Station, with the *First Tower* in the background
FIRST Rotterdam, Architect: Branimir Medic © de Architekten Cie, www.cie.nl. Source: <http://www.maarsengroep.nl> 2012-08-08

Construction of the *First Tower* is the initial project for the planned expansion of the *Weenapoint* area. The current complex comprises of approximately 42,000 m² of office space, reaching up to 110,000 m² of the mixed-use space after the new development is complete.²⁸⁶ After the construction of the first object on the site, the *Bouwcentrum* hall in 1949, the first extension was made in 1956, when a rectangular block was added along the *Weena* Street, while the following 15-storey *Weenapoint* high-rise was constructed in 1970.²⁸⁷ Further planned

²⁸⁵ Source: Alsop Architects <http://www.alsoparchitects.com> 2012-08-09

²⁸⁶ Source: Top010 Rotterdam, <http://www.top010.nl>; 2012-08-09

²⁸⁷ Source: Top010 Rotterdam, <http://www.top010.nl>; 2012-08-09

redevelopment should be completed in several phases, with the vision of a new urban environment with international allure. Up to four new towers of a maximum of 135 meters should be constructed on the site. According to the plan, the national monument *Bouwcentrum*, a wall sculpture by Henry Moore, and the office tower *Weenapoint* should remain on the location. During the first redevelopment phase, mixed-use *First* high-rise with a rectangular base-block of 35 meters and a tower 130 meters high²⁸⁸ should be constructed to provide new housing, hotels, offices, catering, and leisure activities (image 5.63). Placed on the corner of *Weena* Street and the new square, this building will be the prime focal point from the new station building and an indicator of the new urban axis. The connection with the existing buildings on the parcel is made through a fully glazed conservatory, serving both as a windbreak and as a transparent entrance to the court, laid out as a city garden. Design of the building, especially its detailing and materialisation of the natural stone and concrete facades, strongly refers to the architecture of the post-war Wholesale Building (*Groothandelsgebouw*) across the street.²⁸⁹ The building is designed entirely according to the latest available sustainability insights.



Image 5.63.
The *First Tower* impression

The visualisation reveals the tendency to integrate new design with the architecture of the existing Weenapoint high-rise (left) and the Wholesale Building (right)

FIRST Rotterdam, Architect: Branimir Medic © de Architekten Cie, www.cie.nl. Source: <http://www.maarsengroep.nl> 2012-08-08

²⁸⁸ Source: de Architekten Cie. Amsterdam; <http://www1.cie.nl> 2012-08-09

²⁸⁹ Source: de Architekten Cie. Amsterdam; <http://www1.cie.nl> 2012-08-09



Image 5.64.

Trackside strip redevelopment on the urban development plan from 2007

Legend: 1- The new bus station; 2- planned high-rise in the *Conradstraat* Street; 3- the new station building; 4- Planned high-rise in the *Delftseplein* Street; 5- former Central Post, renovated in 2009; 6- planned *Schiekadeblok* high-rise complex; 7- *Weenaboulevard*; 8- planned connection with *Hofplein* (*Luchtsingel*)

Source: *Structuurvisie*, 2011: 48; with author's additions.

© City of Rotterdam, Department Urban Design

The secondary development cluster of the district lies along its very northern edge along the trackside, and is still in the earliest planning phase. However, due to its relevance, this cluster could not be considered as secondary at all. Although the vicinity of the tracks do not seem to contribute much to the attractiveness of the location, the site has an excellent visibility from the train, and as such is a great potential for the city's presentation. Additionally, it is the only available location within the district with enough area for rise and compaction, as well as for all complementary facilities of urban densification. As such, this area will probably accommodate most of the facilities that Central District strives to offer. The future biggest high-rise complex of the area is planned to replace the existing buildings on *Schiekadeblok* (R2: Arends, 00:35:50), on the eastern corner of the site, between the former Central Post and *Hofplein* Square. The complex will have its own fully equipped boulevard (image 5.64), connecting the Station Square to the east and *Hofplein* to the west, over the wooden pedestrian bridge. The new *Weenaboulevard* is planned to become the new hotspot of bustling city life, providing possible development of 240,000 m² of various mixed-use spaces.²⁹⁰ Facilities for working, shopping and culture during the daytime, with residences, restaurants, bars, casino,

²⁹⁰ Source: <http://www.rotterdam-centralsdistrict.nl> 2012-08-08

clubs and hotels are already planned for, taking over the prime functions outside working hours.²⁹¹ Other high-rise buildings are planned in a central location within the District, at *Delftseplein* and *Conradstraat* Street, flanking the new station building on both its sides. The *Delftseplein* high-rise, located at the beginning of the new boulevard should provide 45,000 m² of offices and public facilities (*Rotterdam Central Business District – an Insider’s View*, 2012: 11), and a new taxi rank. *Conradstraat* Street development area opens up directly towards the Station Square. The old bus station is planned for upgrade and relocation from the Station Square into the area between the historic Wholesales Building and the new high-rise in the *Conradstraat* Street (image 5.65). Up to 60,000 m² could be developed on this site, mostly destined for office spaces (*Rotterdam Central Business District – an Insider’s View*, 2012: 11). The whole complex is due to be constructed in stages, in a time frame that ranges from 2012 to 2020.



Image 5.65.

The planned bus hub between the listed Wholesales Building (left) and the planned high-rise at *Conradstraat* Street (right)

Impression by *Maxwan architects + urbanists*

© Maxwan Architects+Urbanists. Source: <http://www.maxwan.com> 2012-08-08

²⁹¹ Source: WeenaBLVD, <http://www.weenablvd.eu> 2013-02-07

5.3.3. Rotterdam Case 3 (Brownfield Redevelopment): *Wilhelminapier, Kop van Zuid*

5.3.3.1. Case Area Description

Kop van Zuid is a developing district of Rotterdam on the southern bank of the *Nieuwe Maas*. It is located opposite the city centre, on a head-like peninsula where the river loops quite abruptly, after which the district was named ('Southern Headland'; image 5.66). The modern *Kop van Zuid* is actually built on the old, abandoned port area with docks around the *Binnenhaven*, *Entrepothaven*, *Spoorweghaven*, *Rijnhaven* and its most attractive *Wilhelminapier* (Wilhelmina Pier) that used to represent a spatial disruption between the northern and the southern areas of Rotterdam. Post-industrial redevelopment of the former port is therefore even more important, as it represents the missing link for unification of the two physically separate parts of the city.

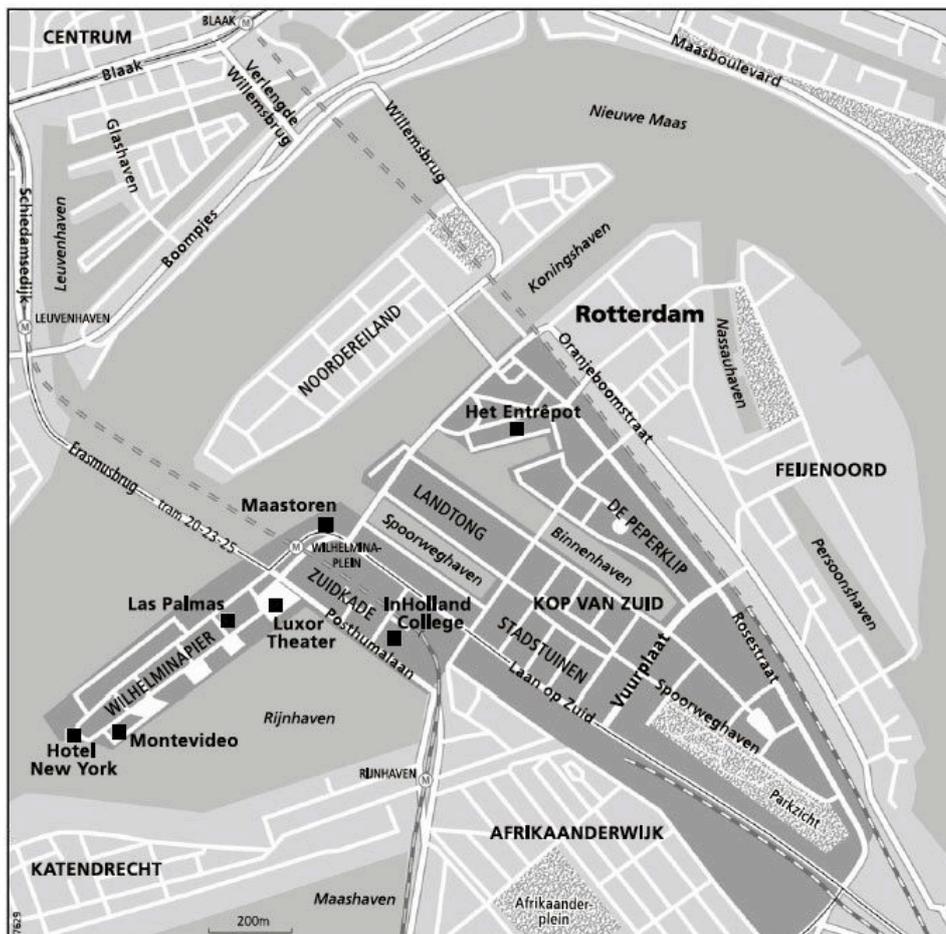


Image 5.66.
Map of *Kop van Zuid*, with *Wilhelminapier* in the left corner
© Doucet et al., 2010: 132

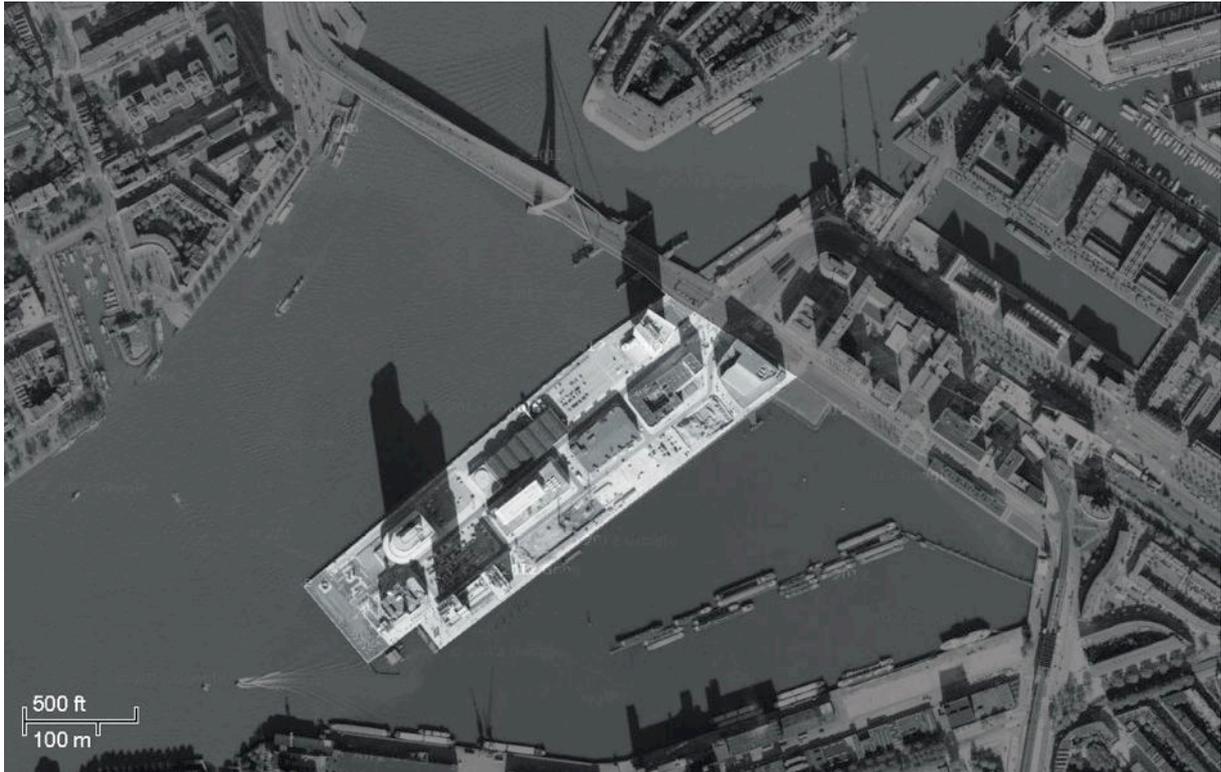


Image 5.67.

Rotterdam: Wilhelmina Pier (*Wilhelminapier*) peninsula of *Kop van Zuid* district

© 2014 Aerodata International Surveys, Cnes/Spot Image, DigitalGlobe & © 2014 Google

Source: maps.google.de 2012-12-31, with author's additions

Wilhelminapier itself is a relatively small former pier of the *Kop van Zuid* district, situated along the river at the foot of the Erasmus Bridge (image 5.67). Its single land border runs along *Posthumalaan* Street, as a continuation from the bridge itself. Due to its favourable location and despite its modest size, the peninsula nowadays represents the major symbolic element of the post-industrial conversion of the port areas, and is, in conjunction with the Erasmus Bridge, the key element in strategies for creation of an image of Rotterdam as an important metropolitan city. The area was recently connected to the city centre through the construction of the bridge, extensions of the tram system and the establishment of a new metro station at *Kop van Zuid*, as well as the use of water taxis, crossing the river and linking up the visitors' attractions.

5.3.3.2. Historical Circumstances

Until the shift of the port activities downstream to the mouth of the river occurred during the 1960-es and 1970-es (Doucet et al, 2010), *Kop van Zuid* served as a port area with docks, a shipyard, and a terminal for transoceanic liners on *Wilhelminapier* (image 5.68). The newly built harbours for the large oil carriers and the container ships on the new location made the vast waterfront close to the city centre free for the new uses. These large abandoned areas on the

river became a gap between the northern and southern part of the city, surrounded only by poor residential areas of the port and other riverside industry workers. In addition to new uses, they were cut off from the river and poorly connected to the city centre. Therefore, the forthcoming massive redevelopment became inevitable; however, the potential of this zone wasn't fully recognized until the late 1980-es²⁹² (Van Ulzen, 2007: 193).



Image 5.68.

The view on *Holland-America Line* building on *Wilhelminapier* in 1959
Provinciaal Historisch Centrum Zuid-Holland, CC BY 2.0. Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org> 2014-03-31

Named after Queen Wilhelmina, *Wilhelminapier* has always been the most attractive area of the whole *Kop van Zuid*. It was the site of the former office and departure hall of the shipping company Holland-America Line (HAL), which carried passengers to the United States until 1972 (Van Ulzen, 2007: 199; image 5.68). It is estimated that over 90,000 cabin passengers and 400,000 third-class passengers started their journey over the ocean from this place, looking for a better life in the New World.²⁹³ In addition to its location advantages, common memory, and strong symbolic values that *Wilhelminapier* carries as a former contact zone between Rotterdam and the rest of the world, they contributed to the planner's greater interest for the pier itself, to turn it into a megaproject as a flagship for the entire waterfront regeneration.

²⁹² The town planner Wittveen, however, recognized the importance of the river-crossing back in the 1930-es in the same place where Erasmus Bridge stands today. (Van de Laar, 2007: 74-75).

²⁹³ Source: <http://www.wilhelminapier.nl> 2012-08-13

The early plans of the city council for developing *Kop van Zuid* didn't include more than constructing social and temporarily housing for the inhabitants whose homes were renovated or rebuilt. However, the architectural section of the Arts Council recognized the outstanding value of this location for the future image of Rotterdam (Van Ulzen, 2007). The council therefore organized the AIR event (*Architecture International Rotterdam*) in 1982, with the theme 'The Image of the City' (Mandoul & Rousseau, 2009: 47-48). Five world-class architects from abroad were invited to take part in this workshop. The architects Aldo Rossi, Oswald Mathias Ungers, Josef Paul Kleihues, Derek Walker and Richard Meier gave ideas on how *Kop van Zuid* should be developed, but according to Van Ulzen (2007), they were not asked to make a design or master plan, but to develop an *image*, or an *impression* for the city. Even though none of the impressions brought to development an actual plan, this project still influenced enormously in shifting this part of Rotterdam to the international focus, along with all its potentials.

During 1987, the city finally based the planning for the area on the two studies: *Vernieuwing Rotterdam* and *Nieuw Rotterdam*, both of which had a global approach, with an focus on socio-economic revitalisation in development of services (Mandoul & Rousseau, 2009: 48). In this way, a new connection between the city and the river should be established, which would on the one side retain collective memory of the place, but on the other produce a desired image for Rotterdam as an international metropolis. In the same year, *Teun Koolhaas Associates* finally prepared an urban master plan for what later became known as 'New Rotterdam'. The former director of the urban development office Riek Bakker had a crucial role in ensuring implementation of the plan, advocating for the *Kop van Zuid* redevelopment and insisting on its connection with the city centre, as an extension of the Inner City Plan (Van Ulzen, 2007; Van de Laar, 2007). To illustrate the metropolitan vision for the area, a journalist of the '*Rotterdams Nieuwsblad*' first described *Kop van Zuid* as '*Manhattan on the Maas*' (Van Ulzen, 2007: 197), which was later to become its recognizable brand.

Since the early 1990-es, the *Kop van Zuid* is a mixed-use, municipally led²⁹⁴ waterfront regeneration project, as a distinction from many other flagship projects (Doucet et al., 2010: 133). Its peculiarity involves not only economic, but also some social goals to be achieved, which are not always found in these types of developments. The project realisation started in 1993, and was at first expected to be finished in 2010. The area should finally provide 400,000 m² of office spaces, 755,000 m² of apartments and 95,000 m² of other uses (Mandoul & Rousseau, 2009: 48). Besides the creation of higher-income housing, attracting offices to the city, bringing city centre functions to the riverside, and enhancing the Rotterdam's competitive position in the Netherlands and Europe (Doucet et al., 2010: 133), central to the project for the

²⁹⁴ Two branches of the municipal government: Housing and Urban Development and the Rotterdam Development Corporation are the leading stakeholders in the project.

former port area was establishment of the link between the northern and the southern parts of the city. The new link over the river had a double goal to reach: on the one side, to attract the potential investors, and on the other to unify the city economically, socially and physically (Doucet et al, 2010: 131). In order to complete these tasks, an iconic design was chosen for the new Erasmus Bridge (*Erasmusbrug*), constructed in 1996. The bridge connects two major boulevards, *Coolsingel* on the north bank, *via Schiedamsedijk*, and *Laan op Zuid* in the south. The new metro station *Wilhelminaplein* was established the following year, and presently most of the infrastructure in the area is complete. *Wilhelminapier*, the former headquarters of the Holland-America Line was developed under the coordination of starchitect Norman Foster, and had the most significant role as flagship project in its iconic, vertical city on the river.



Image 5.69.

Wilhelminapier in the midst of reconstruction, satellite view

© 2014 Microsoft Corporation & Pictometry Bird's Eye © 2012 Pictometry International Corp.

Source: <http://www.bing.com/maps/> 2013-02-11

The overall redevelopment of the pier is characterized by attractive skyscrapers and modern amenities, with many empty parcels to be developed (image 5.69). The former headquarters building – currently the Hotel New York – lost its previous domination over the pier with the construction of the skyscrapers, which in a way shows immense concessions of the heritage preservation officials, but also unscrupulousness of the developers. However, the building maintained its historical charm, and its rich background served for creation of a themed space. Additionally, the redevelopment succeeded in its tasks for creating a new image for the city. Van Ulsen described *Wilhelminapier* and this interesting mixture of tradition and modernity

as follows: “Seen from Hotel New York, Rotterdam is a city on the river, with a world-class port, in contact with the entire world, graced by an American-style skyline, with masses of space, where people behave in a worldly manner – having breakfast, lunch and dinner in public. Much more than a hotel cum restaurant, Hotel New York is nothing short of a spectacular stage set from which to experience Rotterdam” (Van Ulsen, 2007: 206).

5.3.3.3. Spatial Analysis and Landmarks

Wilhelminapier is an area under active redevelopment, with plenty of empty pockets where future skyscrapers shall be constructed (image 5.69). Probably the most characteristic elements of the pier are its skyscrapers and their interaction with the surrounding water, as well as its connection with the iconic Erasmus Bridge, together creating an inseparable sculptural ensemble. Besides its highly attractive appearance, *Wilhelminapier* has in fact a relatively simple spatial structure (image 5.70). It begins with the *Wilhelminaplein* Square on the other side of the bridge that actually hosts most of the infrastructure and transport facilities, external to the narrow space of the pier itself. The main street network within is in the form of an inner ring, running along the streets *Wilhelminakade* and *Otto Reuchlingweg* that are dividing the area of the pier on its two main spatial elements; the central longitudinal core, surrounded by the waterfront strip outside. The central axis consists of the lower row of historical buildings that support the values of common memory of the place. As the pier is almost completely surrounded by water, such a position provides an especially good visibility from the waterfront, as well as from the city. Therefore, the skyscrapers are planned along the outer strips, making their effect function outwards and thus influencing a great deal in the image making of the city. According to the Inner City Plan from 2000, the new developments on *Wilhelminapier* shall to extend the city’s high-rise cluster from the Central District down to the riverside. As such, the skyscrapers of the pier have an important role in designing the overall Rotterdam skyline.

The landmarks of the site are varied to such a degree that the ensemble at first seems to be fairly incompatible (table 5.1). However, the recognisability and unique character of *Wilhelminapier* was reached exactly through a game of strong contrasts between old and new, traditional and modern, and high and low. The oldest building and the only one from the 19th century on the pier is *’t Leidsche Veem* tobacco warehouse (image 5.70: 4), erected in 1896, restored, expanded and adapted for housing in 1998. Another warehouse *Pakhuismeesteren* was constructed in 1941 (image 5.70: 3), with its conversion into a mixed urban complex of shops, catering and lofts under way. However, the most iconic built heritage of the *Wilhelminapier* is certainly the Holland-America Line (HAL) complex. The office building, located on the very prominent location at the very end of the pier, is an example of *Art Nouveau* design

(image 5.70: 1) from architects J. Muller, Droogleever Fortuin and C.B. van der Tak, dating back to 1901-1920.²⁹⁵ The modernist terminal building (image 5.70: 5) was designed by the famous Rotterdam architects J.H. van den Broek and J.B. Bakema, and was built in 1949 (Van Ulzen, 2007: 199). After the major trend in the 1970-es, when the warehouses were turned into attractive office and residential spaces, the former HAL office building became iconic Hotel New York, while the Cruise Terminal building got a new use, hosting conferences, congresses, meetings and other events.

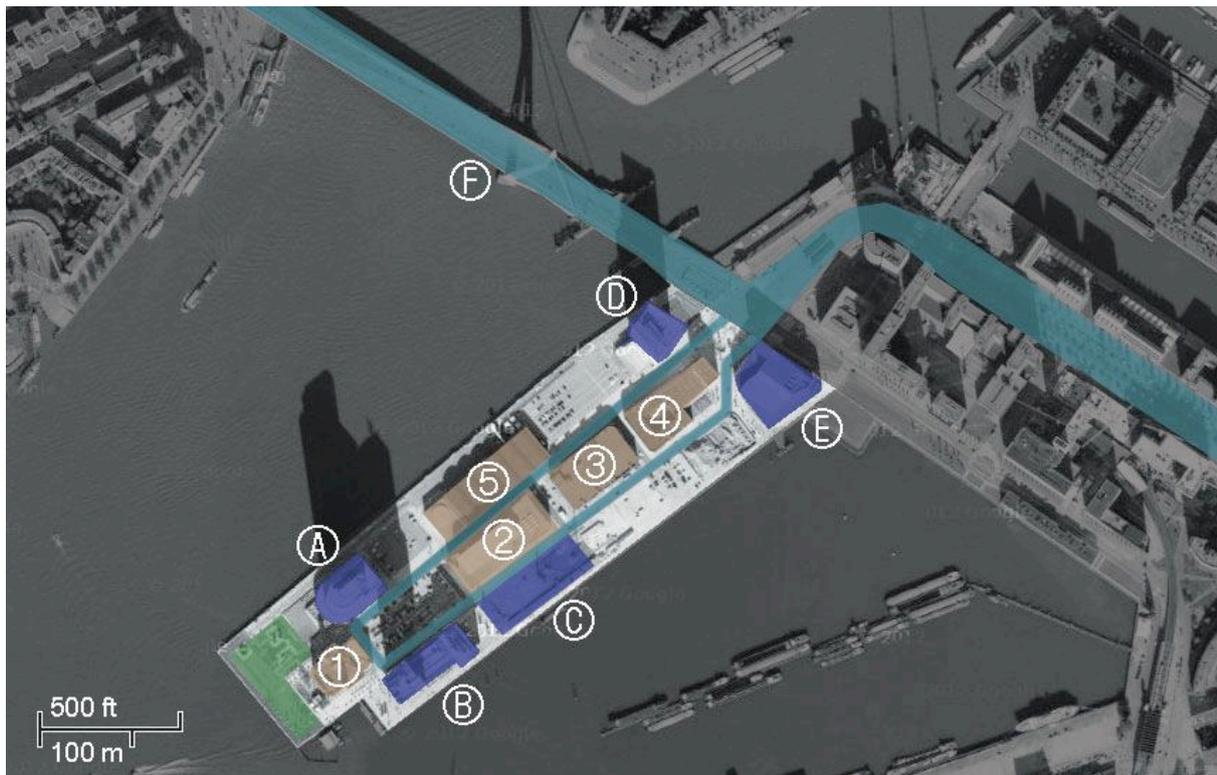


Image 5.70.
Wilhelminapier: spatial and landmark analysis

Legend: Heritage landmarks (in brown): 1- Hotel New York (1917); 2- Las Palmas Museum (1953; 2006); 3- *Pakhuismeesteren* (1941; 2013); 4- *t Leidsche Veem* (1896; 1998); 5- Cruise Terminal (1949). Contemporary landmarks (in violet): A- World Port Centre (2001); B- Montevideo (2005); C- New Orleans (2010); D- *Toren op Zuid* (KPN Tower; 2000); E- New Luxor Theater (2001); F- Erasmus Bridge (1996).

Main urban roads (in blue); Green area (in green)

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Source: maps.google.de 2013-01-28, with author's additions

The first high-rise on the site was KPN Telecom Office Tower (*Toren op Zuid*; image 5.70: D), developed in 2000. This building, with elements in the deconstructivist style of Renzo Piano, has a recognizable inclined façade that can be used as a billboard for graphic projections

²⁹⁵ Source: Hotel New York Rotterdam, <http://www.hotelnewyork.nl> 2012-08-13

with computer-controlled array of 896 green lights.²⁹⁶ In the following year, on the opposite corner of the pier, the new Luxor Theatre by Australian architect Peter Wilson was completed (image 5.70: E). Architectural office *Foster + Partners* was, on the one hand, involved in the development of the master plan for *Wilhelminapier*, but on the other also designed one of its most prominent high-rise buildings – the World Port Centre (2001; image 5.70: A). This 124-meter tall building is the headquarters of Rotterdam’s port management corporation. In combination with the luxury apartment tower Montevideo (2005; image 5.70: B), and the historic building of hotel New York in between, the World Port Centre creates a recognizable front for *Wilhelminapier* that gradually became the iconic representation of contemporary, metropolitan Rotterdam. The last skyscraper constructed on the site was the tallest residential tower in the Netherlands, the *New Orleans* by Álvaro Siza Vieira, completed at the end of 2010 (image 5.70: C). The pier continues to develop.

Nr.	Building	Year	Architect	Hight m/floors	Location
1	<i>'t Leidsche Veem</i>	1896; 1998	C.V. Seem	P+3 floors	Prinsendam 254
2	<i>Hotel New York</i>	1917	J. Muller, Droogleever Fortuin and C.B. van der Tak	P+2 floors	Koninginnehoofd 1
3	<i>Pakhuismeesteren</i>	1941		P+2 floors	Wilhelminakade 52-58
4	<i>Cruise Terminal</i>	1949			Wilhelminakade 699
5	<i>Las Palmas Museum</i>	1953; 2006	Renovated by Benthem Crouwel Architects		Wilhelminakade 330
6	<i>Erasmus Bridge</i>	1996	Ben van Berkel		
7	<i>Toren op Zuid (KPN Tower)</i>	2000	Renzo Piano	96/22	Wilhelminakade 123
8	<i>New Luxor Theater</i>	2006	Peter Wilson		Posthumalaan 1
9	<i>World Port Centre</i>	2001	Foster + Partners	138/33	Wilhelminakade 901-965
10	<i>Montevideo</i>	2005	Mecanoo	139,5/43	Landverhuizersplein 1-152
11	<i>New Orleans</i>	2010	Alvaro Siza	158/46	Otto Reuchlinweg

Table 5.1.
The list of buildings on the Wilhelminapier (2012)

²⁹⁶ Source: Renzo Piano Building Workshop; <http://www.rpbw.com> 2012-08-13

5.3.3.4. On-going and Planned Development Analysis

As already discussed, *Wilhelminapier* plays an important role not only as a flagship for further waterfront development, but also in both marketing and spatial development strategies of the city. In the frames of the 'Rotterdam Urban Vision 2030' spatial development strategy, *Wilhelminapier* was defined as one of the prime locations, whose transformation should make it a great 'crowd-puller' (Rotterdam Urban Vision, 2007: 8). Additionally, according to the 'oil slick' strategy, development of the pier could be considered as a strong backbone for the former port area that both 'generates strength' and 'supports what is weak' (Rotterdam Urban Vision, 2007: 6). Within these processes, unique architecture and redevelopment of built heritage were given a catalytic role in the process of upgrading public open spaces, initiating development of the surrounding urban areas, and achieving desired metropolitan identity of the city.

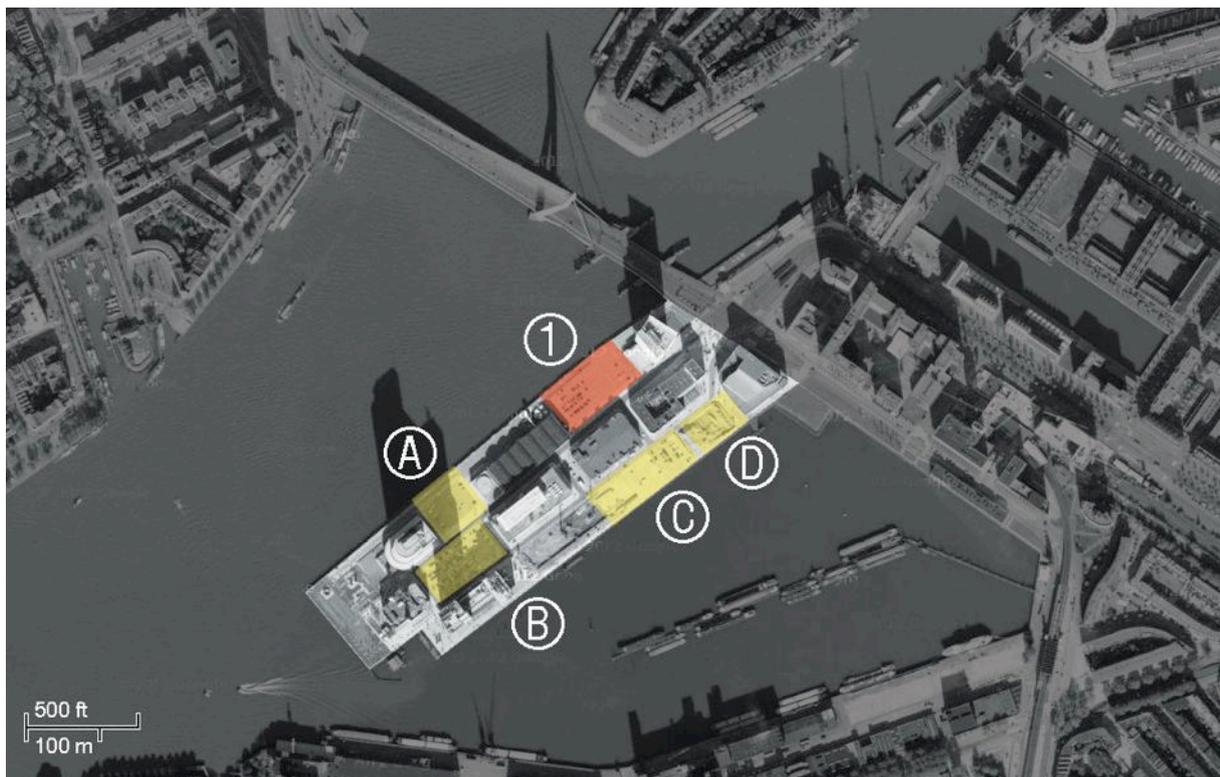


Image 5.71.

Wilhelminapier – planned (yellow) and on-going developments (red)

Legend: 1- *De Rotterdam* (exp. 2013); A- *Baltimore* (*Peter Stuyvesant*); B- *Chicago*; C- *Pier III* (*San Francisco, Boston, Philadelphia*); D- *Havana*

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Source: <https://maps.google.de> 2012-12-30, with author's additions

The iconic vision of the skyscrapers that are 'floating' and reflected on the water surface, as a dominant sculptural ensemble in Rotterdam's metropolitan cityscape (image 5.72), is in

fact a challenging, comprehensive project, whose realisation already exceeded its originally envisaged timeframes. Currently, about half of the area has been developed, but there is still much more to come in order the vision to be completed (image 5.71; table 5.2). Many formerly used buildings, such as the former HAL headquarters (hotel New York), the former arrival hall (now the Cruise Terminal), workshop buildings (now *Las Palmas*) or warehouses received a completely new function. The plan for *Wilhelminapier* is its complete transformation into mixed-use 'Manhattan of the Maas', with apartments, office spaces and other facilities to create an attractive neighbourhood, and with facilities such as hotels, shops, restaurants, cinemas and museums. Delayed work dynamics, however, are certainly caused by the current global financial crisis, which is probably the reason why there is at present only one project being realized on the pier. The multi-use complex *De Rotterdam*, now under construction (image 5.71: 1) is, however, one of the major projects within the whole ensemble. The insertion of a new hotel into the lower-rise central strip is in the plan (image 5.71: B), as is the completion of the side strip along the river (image 5.71: A, C, D). These would all bring the construction of Rotterdam's prime contemporary urban landmark to an end.



Image 5.72.

Wilhelminapier impression of the fully developed cluster
© Wilhelminapier.nl; <http://www.wilhelminapier.nl> 2013-02-12

ON-GOING AND PLANNED PROJECTS IN THE AREA				
No.	Projects	Architect	Ready	Location
1.	<i>San Francisco</i>	Cruz y Ortiz / Antonio Cruz	proposed	Eastern Wilhelminapier
2.	<i>Boston</i>	Cruz y Ortiz / Antonio Cruz	proposed	
3.	<i>Philadelphia</i>	Cruz y Ortiz / Antonio Cruz	proposed	
4.	<i>Havana</i>	Cruz y Ortiz	proposed	
5.	<i>De Rotterdam</i>	OMA	2013	Western Wilhelminapier
6.	<i>Baltimore</i>	Foster + Partners	cancelled	
	<i>Peter Stuyvesant</i>	KCAP	proposed	
7.	<i>Chicago</i>	Erick van Egeraat	canceled	Central axis
		Meyer en van Schooten	proposed	

Table 5.2.
The projects still to be executed on *Wilhelminapier*

The strategy for insuring the pier transformation into an iconic urban structure is based on hiring international ‘starchitects’, such as Renzo Piano and Norman Foster, whose designs are already completed on the site. *De Rotterdam* is one of developing skyscrapers on the northern waterfront, also designed by renowned architect, Rem Koolhaas from OMA (image 5.73). Together with the KPN building and the New Luxor Theatre, the new concept of ‘vertical city’ by Koolhaas is to mark entrance to the pier. The name itself recalls the maritime history of the area, as SS ‘Rotterdam’, one of the Holland-America Line famous ships that carried thousands of Europeans immigrating to the U.S. However, the name seems to be the only connection to the past that sustains common memory of the place. Three transparent 150-meter high towers, tightly interconnected to create a distinguished skyscraper, are being constructed next to the Erasmus Bridge. This ‘city in a city’, as a *utopian* innovation of the 21st century’s Rotterdam, brings a mixture of various possible functions within a gross floor area of approximately 160,000 m², making it the largest building in all of the Netherlands.²⁹⁷ Urban densification will be reached through diversity of both programme and form, and is the guiding principle of the project.²⁹⁸ Similarly to the organization of an entire city itself, there are areas for living (240 apartments), working (60,000 m²), catering (285 hotel rooms; 1,500 m² waterfront area) and leisure (8,000 m²).²⁹⁹ All the public functions are located in the pedestal of the building, which corresponds to the surrounding public spaces and the waterfront area as well (image 5.74). Its mixture of functions is reflected on its ‘deconstructive’ form of the skyscraper

²⁹⁷ Source: www.oma.com 2013-02-12

²⁹⁸ Source: www.oma.com 2013-02-12

²⁹⁹ Official De Rotterdam vertical City website, <http://www.derotterdam.nl> 2012-08-14

that does not create a singular form, but provides different sensations from various viewpoints in the city. Similar to the new *Stadskantoor* by the same office, *De Rotterdam* will also meet high sustainability standards.



Image 5.73.

De Rotterdam skyscraper visualisation (centre) - view from the Erasmus Bridge

© OMA. Source: <http://www.derotterdam.nl> 2013-02-12

Besides all design and sustainability innovations, introduction of the colossal structure of *De Rotterdam* 'vertical city' at the same time means extreme 'verticalisation' and densification of public spaces and functions within this iconic architectural structure itself (5.74). Such a concept could, however, seriously rival and threaten establishment of freely accessible public open spaces on *Wilhelminapier* itself, as well as their liveability. In this way, iconic *De Rotterdam* is designed as oriented either extremely inwards, attracting consumers and targeted users of the building, or extremely outwards, as a dominating feature of the overall city image. Its contribution to the surrounding urban open spaces doesn't seem to be significantly relevant, indicating the main role of the whole *Wilhelminapier* ensemble to primarily serve as an important tool for image making, branding and marketing.

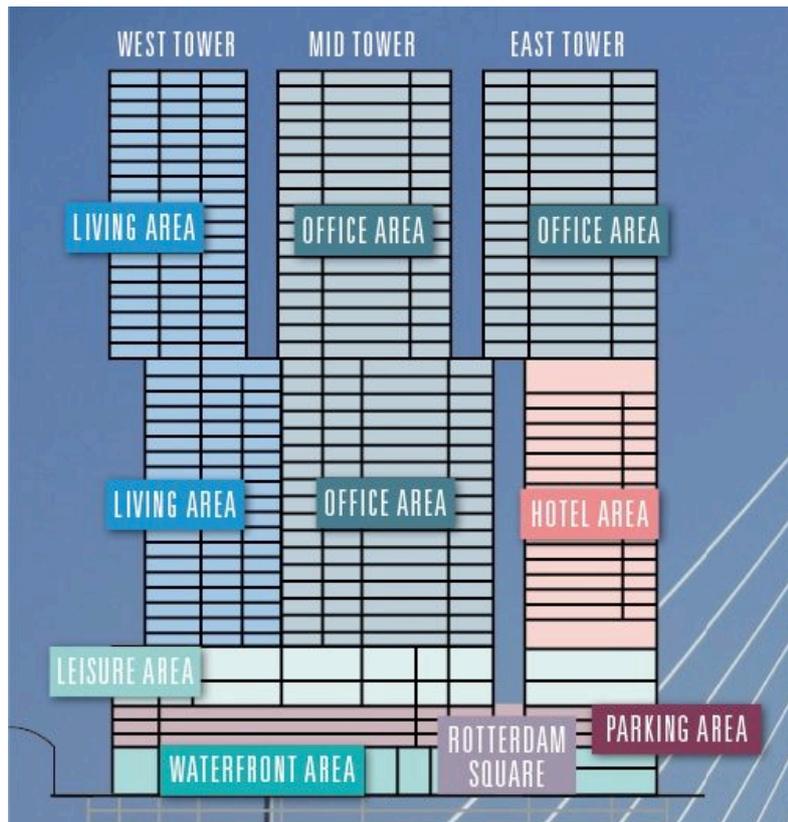


Image 5.74.

Spatial distribution of programmes within *De Rotterdam* 'vertical city'
 © OMA. Source: <http://www.derotterdam.nl> 2013-02-12

In the same axis along the waterfront, between the Cruise Terminal and the World Port Centre, another skyscraper is planned. However, construction of the *Baltimore* tower that was originally planned for opening in 2014 was cancelled. It was supposed to be the second office tower on the pier designed by *Foster + Partners*, and was expected to become the highest building in the Netherlands (image 5.75, above). Its design was completely focused on sustainability, and, as such, was supposed to set a benchmark for sustainable development and finally to establish Rotterdam as a leader in this area.³⁰⁰ City officials particularly welcomed such an approach, as Rotterdam is already the only Dutch member of the Clinton Climate Initiative, the alliance of 50 metropolises, with far-reaching ecological ambitions. Since its beginning in 2012, Dutch developer 'Provast' is conducting a feasibility study for a new mixed-used skyscraper for the location, which should symbolically carry the name of the last Dutch Director-General of the colony of New Netherland – nowadays New York. *Peter Stuyvesant Building* by KCAP Architects & Planners (image 5.75, below) is planned to reach 165 meters, with 50,000 m² of apartments, offices, restaurants, recreation facilities and parking.³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ Official Baltimore Project website, <http://www.shapingthefuture.nl> 2012-08-14

³⁰¹ Source: KCAP Architects & Planners, <http://www.kcap.eu> 2013-02-12



Image 5.75.
North-west view on *Wilhelminapier*, visualisations

Above: With planned 170 meters height, *Baltimore* tower by Foster + Partners was supposed to be the highest skyscraper, surpassing the recommended height for the pier of 150 meters. Below: New design for the former *Baltimore* plot by Peter Stuyvesant.

Above: © Foster + Partners. Below: © KCAP; <http://peterstuyvesantbuilding.nl> 2013-02-12

The southern waterfront is to be completed with the missing line of predominantly residential high-rise. The current stand of the planning involves the lower *Pier III* complex (image 5.71: C), ending with the *Havana* skyscraper (image 5.71: D) that puts an accent on the foot of *Wilhelminapier* itself, next to the New Luxor Theatre. The initial design of the buildings between the *New Orleans* and *Havana* towers was a collaboration of *Cruz y Ortiz Arquitectos* and Alvaro Siza in 2003, both based in Seville, Spain. The whole sequence of mostly residential high-rise should have been organized into four 150 meters-high towers, connected in sets of two by a plinth with public functions. However, the initially orthogonal plan was changed into zigzag one, to accent the slenderness of the buildings and to ensure more light and better views

for the flats. Under a new owner in 2008, one of the towers was eliminated and exchanged for two 75 meters-high towers³⁰² that made an influence on integration of the lower towers into the overall picture. The latest solution however provides the three lower objects of 71 meters height - *San Francisco*, *Boston* and *Philadelphia* - flanked by the two skyscrapers, existing *Montevideo* and planned *Havana* tower. Such a composition corresponds in dynamic setting of elevation changes. However, construction start still remains uncertain.



Image 5.76.

Hotel and congress centre *Chicago* by *Erick van Egeraat Architects*.

The building on the far right is the iconic hotel New York in the near vicinity.
© (designed by) Erick van Egeraat; <http://www.erickvanegeraat.com> 2013-02-12

Finally, the axis of substantially lower buildings along the central strip of the *Wilhelminapier* was planned to be complemented by the hotel and congress centre *Chicago* (image 5.71: B). The multifunctional building was supposed to provide spaces for congress facilities, shopping, leisure and catering. Also a new hotel was planned within the building that is expected to become a nightlife centre of the pier. The first design for the clients *ING Real Estate* and *Westcord Hotel* was made in 2005,³⁰³ for the same company that manages neighbouring hotel New York. Attractive design by *Erick van Egeraat Architects* involved highly versatile building, introducing its own atmosphere with round forms, lavish use of glass and lowered

³⁰² Source: Cruz y Ortiz Arquitectos, <http://www.cruzyortiz.com> 2012-08-14

³⁰³ Source: Erick van Egeraat Design, <http://www.erickvanegeraat.com> 2013-02-12

public garden (image 5.76). However, the new design for the location is apparently to be made by *Meyer & Van Schooten Architects*.³⁰⁴



Image 5.77.

Wilhelminapier ensemble (view from southeast), with the floating pavilions in the first plan
Author's photo, 2012-09-18

As a huge billboard for the whole Rotterdam, *Wilhelminapier* also became a stage for presenting a desirable image of environmentally aware city. Sustainability initiative, launched by the Municipality of Rotterdam, initiated building floating communities on the water of the *Stadshavens*.³⁰⁵ A pilot project for such an enterprise was the construction of the floating pavilions, showing how the aquatic environment of *Wilhelminapier* could look like in the near future. The complex of floating domes on the water aside the pier has been designed by architecture offices *DeltaSync* and *PublicDomain Architecten*. These innovative, movable structures turned the former port into an urban laboratory for testing the future forms of alternative and sustainable housing. Floating pavilions, as icons of building on the water, are expected to have a great deal in both identity and image building for the Rotterdam waterfront area and *Wilhelminapier* itself. The innovative and futuristic forms of experimental domes are already creating a harmonious ensemble with the iconic skyscrapers of the pier (image 5.77).

³⁰⁴ Source: Wilhelminapier Info, <http://www.wilhelminapier.nl> 2013-02-12

³⁰⁵ Source: Rotterdam Climate Initiative, <http://www.rotterdamclimateinitiative.nl> 2013-02-13

Comparative Analysis

6.1. Comparison Level 1: General Comparison

As McFarlane (2011) noticed, cities couldn't be considered in any other way than comparatively. In the frames of such a notion, Frankfurt and Rotterdam generally share many common similarities; in the first place regarding their size and location. Both cities are determined by their rivers, which play important roles not only for spatial organization, but also in historical, visual and economical terms. The cities are also occupying territories of approximately same proportions, having similar number of inhabitants, whose mixed and multicultural composition is equally showing rising trends. Although both have eccentric positions in spatial terms within the borders of their counties, where they politically do not enjoy status and role of countries capitals, Frankfurt and Rotterdam nevertheless hold a highly important role – not only on national, but also on international levels. These relatively small cities similarly owe their strong economic influence to the proximity of capital traffic facilities of international importance – the international airport for Frankfurt and the port for Rotterdam – that facilitated their launch into the competitive arena among many much larger global players in terms of size. Such outstanding advantages greatly supported their strives to become international centres for finance, commerce, culture, education and tourism. In an atmosphere of growing competition and global universalization of urban environments, despite their relatively modest proportions, these world metropolises found their own ways to further mobilize various means and strategies to attract new investments, tourists and residents, and to adopt strong international features that would correspond to their role and aspirations. On the one hand, all these features differ them from most of other European cities, but on the other hand, their specificities together with their similarities make them a relevant case to compare and investigate the variety of reactions to global trends and alternatives, which advanced European cities mobilise for establishing recognisable urban identities.

6.1.1. Historical and Spatial Development Comparison

From historical perspective, both Frankfurt and Rotterdam are strongly influenced by the devastation occurred during the 2nd World War. Considering these events as the major turning point in their spatial development, the two general periods could be determined within historical development course of the two cities; the first occurred in the pre-war times, when Frankfurt and Rotterdam developed their historical and traditional features, while the second involves renewal in the post-war times until present days, with gradually evolving modern urban identities.

Pre-war development of Frankfurt and Rotterdam includes relatively continuous and balanced urban evolution of medieval cities, with strong connections to their rivers, as well as their later expansion on the surrounding land. During this long chapter, both cities gradually established their historical features; Frankfurt used its five centuries of privileges as a free city-state to develop into a confident city of merchants and fairs, while Rotterdam grew and evolved from its early beginnings closely linked to its port development. Typical medieval cities had progressively increasing population and importance, developing within constraints of their defensive structures that influenced the gradual formation of highly compact urban structures. By the early 17th century, both cities reached the recognizable borders and features of their current historical cores, dominated by striking verticals of church towers on the main market squares. Development within the restricted, over time enclosed urban territory became overpopulated and extremely dense, and came to an end during the first half of the 19th century, with the demolition of the city walls in Frankfurt and filling of the defensive moats in Rotterdam, to enable gradual expansion to the surrounding areas. During the following years, Frankfurt experienced significant growth, as it became the centre of German political life, while Rotterdam owed its development to increasing transit through its port. At the turn of the century, both cities reached the status of big, modern and enterprising metropolises. Frankfurt developed its representative image, along with the major urban projects for upgrading of the surrounding districts. In such endeavours, the city started drawing parallels with Paris, already being one of the major centres for trade, finances and traffic in Europe. Rotterdam also carried out planned urbanization at the time when its docks finally became the dominant port in the country, thus beginning to compete with other important international ports, such as of London and New York. In years between the wars that slowed the overall development pace, both Frankfurt and Rotterdam largely supported modernistic ideas in similar ways, mostly through the projects for social housing, carried out in their outskirts. Pre-war development in both cities ended with the emergence of the very early high-rise based on the American model.

In contrast to relatively balanced development paces that were carried out in a similar manner, post-war development reveals highly diverse and inconsistent period that commenced

with extensive destruction during the 1940-es, and continued in the following decades of renewal, to the current efforts of both of the cities to sustain recognisability of their disturbed cityscapes. In both cases, bombing ravaged the historical cores, leaving only a few iconic buildings standing. What was not destroyed during the war, was lost forever when clearing the debris and through initial planning decisions. The resulting situation of the few remaining historical buildings in the centres of both of the cities are until today a witness of severe heritage filtration occurred at that time, when the main goal of the renewal was erecting a functional city as soon as possible. Besides the immense damage caused to urban tradition and identity, both cities also recognized a chance for new planning and urban reorganization to improve the former state within. However, the approaches to the reconstruction of historical cores in Frankfurt and Rotterdam were significantly different, with changing trends. Frankfurt started its renewal in the early 1950-es, opting for simple, modern style on the old road system. Nevertheless, this standpoint went through a complete turnover during the 1980-es, when the planners started to look back in history in order to 'heal the wounds' of the previous policies. On the other side, rising fascination in regards to the American modern and high-rise architecture shifted the planners' focus to the outskirts of the historical centre. Concepts for high-rise were, however, often substantially changed and updated. Such an inconsistency in planning for high-rise, followed by the shift towards the reconstruction of historical core, made Frankfurt gradually develop into a city of high contrasts. On the other side, Rotterdam similarly initiated an idea of continuity and retention of the characteristic triangular structure of its historical core, but soon rejected the idea to restore the city as it was before. Thus the notion of developing a modern, metropolitan city based on its historical layout emerged relatively early and was never fully abandoned, which in contrast to Frankfurt provided certain continuity in the early post-war development of Rotterdam. Such an approach, however, initiated other difficulties and consequences. The reconstruction of Rotterdam started in the 1950-es and was carried out throughout the 1970-es, and resulted with an entirely different city from what existed before, with a newly developed centre. Such a thorough urban reconstruction involved significant functional change, carried out through zoning and separation of urban functions. The shift that occurred since is mainly related to correction of such planners' decisions, mostly involving restoration of previously mixed-use character of the downtown zone. Moreover, the planning trend in both Frankfurt and Rotterdam has, since the 1990-es, focused more on upgrading the existing urban spaces, in order to make them more eventful and attractive.

With the decline of the industrial sector since the 1990-es, both of the cities are facing changes in their employment and spatial structure. Urban planning of Frankfurt suffered less from such socio-economic shifts, generally developing between the duality of traditionalism and modernity, and relying on advantages that such a principle may result with. However, Rotterdam faced a dramatic shift in its economy, with serious consequences on its spatial

development. Above all, as the port was no longer the main job generator, gradual separation of port and the city occurred, finally breaking strong historical and spatial bonds between them. Many empty areas left behind in the very heart of the city made Rotterdam develop comprehensive and highly innovative urban development concepts, in order to ensure redevelopment of its former industrial areas. The general shift from industrial sector to business, services, leisure, and retail in both of the cities initiated many different planning concepts for the conversion of former sites no longer in use.

6.1.2. Spatial Features Comparison

Although the urban structure of both Frankfurt and Rotterdam is strongly determined by the courses of their rivers that divide their territory into heterogeneous, historical northern and residential southern parts, Frankfurt is certainly characterized by more coherent and clear spatial distribution, with a rather centralized character (image 6.1). In addition, the main elements of its urban structure are clearly distinguished and organized into a hierarchical network that starts from the historical centre and expands in concentric outward layers. Within such a proper structure, high-rise area in Frankfurt was developed aside the concentric centre, introducing elements of strong asymmetry and contrast into the overall urban plan. On the other side, the centre of Rotterdam is of a more homogeneous spatial organization, with historical and modern high-rise schemes overlapping into an asymmetrically organized irregular urban structure. However, Rotterdam's riverfront has a much higher spatial ratio regarding the overall structure of the city. The vast former port and industrial areas redeveloped along the river, as well as its dynamic and unconstrained overlapping with central and high-rise areas, which make Rotterdam's heterogeneous riverfront dominate the surrounding environment. The distinct character of the urban structure of both Frankfurt and Rotterdam is also reflected in the variety of their urban patterns, as well as in their current land-use structure.

Land-use planning in both cities is a highly complex, carefully directed and monitored process. On the broader level of their metropolitan regions, Frankfurt generally carries features of agricultural and green environment, while on the other side Rotterdam is strongly characterized by high percentage of surfaces for port facilities and with internal water. Such a contrast is less noticeable on the land-use division for the both down-town areas that primarily bear the mark of a clear and strict separation according to their use. Functional segregation in Frankfurt is particularly noticeable within its financial district or along the main shopping street, but reaches far greater extremes in Rotterdam, especially regarding the presence (absence) of residential facilities in the down-town areas. Such a state is mostly a result of the post-war

planning that comprehended Rotterdam rather as a set of different units of smaller cities than one compact physical entity. In addition, planning after the war made both cities car-friendly, again with extremes in Rotterdam, that is considered to be the most car-friendly city in all of Netherlands. Land-use planning nowadays is mostly concerned with the mitigation of incorrect post-war planning decisions, set to improve all the negative aspects of the current situation. The trends for the down-town areas involve rising insertion of housing units aside from their shopping and business character, as well as of culture, education, green areas, and zones for pedestrians and bicycles. Finally, there are the two opposing trends determined in land-use planning for both of the cities, involving on the one side strives for mixing the functions within their central districts, while on the other strong supports of their recognizable and heterogeneous identities. Specificities of the post-war planning are also manifested in the distribution and character of the most important public open spaces in both of the cities. As planning in Frankfurt opted for duality, involving both traditional and modern, its public open spaces are generally organized along the two main urban axes in its central areas, themed on the city's history and tradition on the one side, and on its development as a modern metropolis on the other. Distribution and character of public open spaces in Rotterdam is far more complex and disperse, probably as a consequence of the former strict separation of functions, as well as of several relocations of its centre in the past. In addition, similar historical circumstances and development progress in both cities also produced a high variety of their urban patterns, although Rotterdam's suffered a slightly stronger influence of the location, topography and water management activities. Generally, however, there are the three main forms of urban patterns to be observed in both Frankfurt and Rotterdam. Irregular forms are mostly present in the central zones that contain both the influence of vernacularly developed structures and post-war renewal trends. Regular forms are mostly preserved as ordinary rectangular grids within the historical zones of urban expansion that in the case of Rotterdam often involves its triangular or curvilinear varieties. Finally, newer dispersed urban forms of the modernist era could be observed in the outskirts of both cities.

Regarding the visual form, both cities could be considered relatively unique in European proportions. Just as Frankfurt in Germany, Rotterdam is the only Dutch city to have acquired an image of internationally tinged, modern appearance to such an extent (image 6.2). Such an image is certainly supported by skyline that gradually took over absolute visual domination in the appearance of both cities. Panoramic views thus primarily reveal strong contrasts between relatively homogeneous cityscape and heterogeneous skyline in both cases, although their structure significantly differs. The skyline of Frankfurt is more of a clustered type, yet with the later dispersion trend that breaks its initial centralistic arrangement. Nevertheless, its peripheral position in relation to the centre along with spatial composition of its components still creates clear and easily perceptible image within its panoramic views. On the other hand, the skyline of

Rotterdam runs through the centre itself, assuming an elongated and disperse form that creates diverse and independent clusters within, reaching out to the waterfront itself. This trait makes it somewhat difficult to perceive it as a single unity, but rather as a set of diverse clusters, with distinguished features. Such a distinction in the case of Rotterdam's skyline is supported even further by incoherent heights, shapes, styles, colours and rhythms of its elements, which is less substantial in the case of Frankfurt. In addition, the element of water plays an important role in spatial interactions for both skylines; however it is more emphasized in Rotterdam's case, where waterfront high-rise cluster of the 'Riverside City' creates a distinguished entity on the river, important for recognisability of the whole city.



Image 6.1.

Urban structures comparison between Frankfurt (above) and Rotterdam (below)

Legend: historical core (dark red); extensions of historical core (light red); former defensive structures (yellow); high-rise cluster (dark blue); port, industrial and railway facilities (brown); riverfront (light blue); northern (light purple) and southern (dark purple) residential districts.

Above: © 2014 TerraMetrics & © 2014 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (© 2009), Google. Below: © 2014 Aerodata International Surveys, Cnes/Spot Image, DigitalGlobe, Landsat & © 2014 Google. Source: <https://maps.google.de> 2013-05-01, with author's additions



Image 6.2.

The iconic views of the skyline of Frankfurt and Rotterdam are their most distinguished visual feature.
 Author's photos; 2012-10-26 & 2012-09-19

The introduction of the skyscrapers into an existing urban surrounding used to carry the risk of dispersed sequential vision, but this issue was solved with the overall trend of street fronts homogenization in both of the cities. The creation of 'plinths' when introducing new high-rise became a rule both in Frankfurt and Rotterdam. The axial views in central areas of both cities are also under strong influence of the high-rise, characterized by high diversity and often created in such a manner as to expose important verticals. Numerous skyscrapers enabled many possibilities of birds-eye views of the cities as well. In contrast to Frankfurt, where office towers are mostly closed to public for security reasons, Rotterdam offers more possibilities for urban perception from the heights. Those views in both cities reveal mixes of contrasts, not only between building heights, but also regarding old and new, and build and unbuilt areas – especially in the case of Rotterdam. Recognizable skylines involve numerous landmarks, diverse in types, forms and building styles in both cases, often characterized by great individuality. Historic urban landmarks are also present in the visual form of Frankfurt and Rotterdam, but are inferior to the dominance of the new urban iconography.

6.1.3. Urban Marketing Strategies and Urban Brands Comparison

Organization, focus, activities and goals of the major institutions, responsible for branding Frankfurt and Rotterdam, clearly reflect the main features of urban branding and marketing strategies for the cities in question. Major issues, positive and negative outcomes, as well as the variability of such efforts are also manifested through the scope of media-generated images of the cities in question. Besides various approaches towards designing such strategies and their different success rate, the major expected outcome is to provide and improve the position of a city into the arena of global competitiveness.

Generally, Frankfurt development strategies are characterized by two main features; firstly, they are developed in close connection to the city's metropolitan region, and secondly

they generally focus diverse issues. In accordance to such specificities, strategies for urban branding and marketing of Frankfurt promote the region as a powerful and united entity, and are characterized by a certain duality: on the one side, the city aims to maintain its image of an important international financial and service centre, but on the other it strives further to develop assets for recreational and congress tourism. Such a duality involves branding and marketing institutions setting different focuses, mobilizing different strategies for achieving corresponding goals, and finally producing the two distinguished groups of media-generated image. The first focus is on branding business and promoting opportunities within the region that results with a media-generated image of Frankfurt that aims to draw foreign investments. Within an image that shows the city as top business location, international financial capital, and global transportation, commerce and fair hub, modernity and international features of skyline play an important role. On the other hand, actual marketing strategies also tend to promote diversity and to especially get rid of any negative connotation an image of a solely business-focused city can develop. Opposite media-generated image is aimed, therefore, to represent Frankfurt as an attractive city to visit and discover, suitable for various congresses and cultural manifestations. The main aim is to make the city attractive for broader target groups, through the promotion of its history, cultural enjoyment, attractive shopping etc. For such an issue, built heritage and traditional imaginaries of Frankfurt is often utilized. Reverse duality of Frankfurt's branding and marketing strategies, resulting in opposite media-generated images, is on the one side conflicting, but on the other set to represent diversity and thus target as many interest groups as possible. Based on its imaginaries, Frankfurt becomes both an attractive tourist destination and a place of investment.

In contrast to the complex marketing principle applied in the case of Frankfurt, Rotterdam municipality opted for a simple, corporate strategy that involves one image for one city. For such a purpose, there is a separate body established with the role to coordinate branding policy and management among all the relevant municipal institutions and other stakeholders involved in a joint effort of city branding. Marketing of the city and the region is, however, being conducted in close connection, with the main aim to attract both tourists and business people. Instead of addressing various interest groups with specially modified and adapted versions of city image, a comprehensive and universally attractive brand has been created and is as such presented to all the target groups. Single brand thus represents Rotterdam in the light of a cosmopolitan and entrepreneurial city of heritage, architecture and cultural manifestations, identifying its port and its strategic location as a gateway to Europe. Comprehensive Rotterdam brand is promoted through its versatile slogan that brings various city assets and stakeholders under the umbrella of a single brand. Media-generated image of Rotterdam is thus constructed of all the elements of metropolitan iconography, unambiguously representing an international and modern cosmopolitan city. Such an approach to marketing

aims to increase awareness of the Rotterdam brand and emphasize its potentials through careful filtration of desired elements within urban setting.

The results of marketing and branding activities in Frankfurt and Rotterdam could be illustrated by various quantitative means. According to a study dealing with the issues of branding made in 2010 regarding the brand strength, at the exact moment when the study was made Frankfurt was ranked 9th while Rotterdam ended far behind, taking 28th place. Regarding the asset strength, representing city's baseline brand potential, Frankfurt was again listed higher, taking 13th in comparison with Rotterdam's 30th place. Further on, regarding the brand utilization, Frankfurt is also ranked higher, taking 15th place, while Rotterdam was 20th (Hildreth, 2010). Other, more specific example of measuring branding activities is the European e-City award that ranks the best websites among 130 European cities for 2002/2003.³⁰⁶ According to such ranking, internet presentation of Frankfurt won 26th place, while Rotterdam got 47th position.³⁰⁷ Based on all the above rankings, it could be concluded that Frankfurt brand is developed to gain far more success in competitive frameworks.

6.1.4. Development Strategies Comparison

In order to foresee and control further economic and spatial development, both Frankfurt and Rotterdam developed several long-term strategies, both dealing with similar and specific issues, and striving for principally equal goals. One of the main challenges to deal with were the effects on the space and social structure, induced by changing economic structure, as a consequence of the shift from industrial to knowledge and service economy.

There are several levels of strategic development planning in Frankfurt and Rotterdam to be determined; the first is being conducted with a broader scope that in the case of Frankfurt implies synchronization, balance and integration with its metropolitan region, while in Rotterdam it involves planning in close connection with its port (PortVision 2030, 2011). In both cases, the goal is to produce highly competitive European regions with strong urban centres: in the case of Frankfurt such an ambition involves the establishment of a leading metropolitan region in European frames, while Rotterdam strives for the status of a global hub within Europe's industrial cluster.

³⁰⁶ Due to a lack of sponsorship there is no follow-up to the survey since 2003.

³⁰⁷ Source: City Mayors, <http://www.citymayors.com/features/e-cities.html> 2013-03-24

The second planning level concerns the urban area itself; the city of Frankfurt is seen as a core and engine of its metropolitan region, just as Rotterdam plays an important role for its port, in a mutual fashion. The main objectives of the strategies that are focused on urban areas in both cases are the creation of both strong urban economies and attractive residential cities as a prerequisite for greater competitiveness in the race for new residents, companies and visitors. In order to reach their goals, the strategies are to a varying degree mostly relying on urban development and effective marketing concepts, as well as on mobilizing efforts of all the stakeholders, including residents themselves. The starting point for creating such urban development strategies was in critical perception of socioeconomic and spatial problems, as well as of negative aspects, transferred by earlier adopted city image. Rotterdam had to deal with its former features of tough port and industrial city of the working class, while Frankfurt with its rooted representation of introverted business metropolis and cold financial centre, despite many successful urban development programs and projects realized. For such specific issues, the proposed solution involved special approaches, such as the development of a new marketing concept for Frankfurt that is to promote its many unknown potentials. As the industrial past of Rotterdam created the problem of significant differences in the development level of its north and former worker's areas of the south, great importance was put on accelerating and balancing development of the city. In both cases, however, the strategies were set to overcome specific problems in order to reach overall goals, similar to the objectives of every other global player. Another feature of urban development strategies for both of the cities is the recognition of important assets and positions Frankfurt and Rotterdam already hold. In the frames of their strategies, Frankfurt should therefore remain an important business location, just as Rotterdam should further develop its port of global importance, but with some additions and improvements that would generally lead to improvement of the overall urban image. Those upgrades concern internal issues, such as housing stock and increasing life quality that are also expected to have outward oriented effects. This means that the strategies should primarily meet the requirements of all the social groups in order to produce an attractive urban environment for keeping the existing inhabitants and attracting the new ones. As an 'attractive city', both Frankfurt and Rotterdam thus envisioned a charming residential city, with a balanced composition of its population, as a precondition for success and competitiveness. This goal, however, will not only be achieved with good housing programs, but also through improvement of the overall life quality, strengthening economic force and the creation of more employment opportunities. In addition, fostering culture, education, science and participation also has a role of rising importance. The creation of new events and sights, attractive built environment, heritage preservation, public spaces with metropolitan character and indispensable facilities are to contribute to urban attractiveness. Besides common objectives, the strategies certainly also deal with local specificities of the cities in question. In the case of Frankfurt, its strength was recognized both in its tradition as a free civic town and in its international character. In addition,

its strengths are also found in contrasts and diversities of its metropolitan region, and is therefore corporate planning strongly supported. The strategies of Rotterdam, on the other side, set their priorities on already strong assets, such as on the port, promising economic growth sectors, popular residential districts and the aspects of a modern city on the river, hoping that investing in its strengths would support the city to overcome its weaknesses.

Special attention in both of the cases is certainly put on the downtown areas and high-rise clusters, which are actually representing the most focused, third level in strategic urban planning. According to the previous strategies in which both Frankfurt and Rotterdam are striving to make their cities more attractive, improvement of their downtown zones is recognized as essential for the improvement of overall urban life quality. Such importance lays in the fact that 'Innenstadt' in Frankfurt and 'Binnenstad' in Rotterdam carry a certain symbolic representation of the whole city. The actual state of these zones is a direct consequence of war devastation and incomplete post-war renewal that created many weak points, such as unsatisfactory functional diversity or expected quality of public spaces, which is apparently a bigger problem in Rotterdam. Especially prepared spatial development strategies for the urban cores are thus expected to mediate their improvement in a desired way. The goal is to get vibrant, mixed-use areas for trade, services, habitation, culture and leisure time that would turn downtown areas into 'crowd-pullers' to attract residents, visitors and business, and finally to produce additional value for higher life quality and competitiveness. Strategies for both centres are relatively similar, both cases also supporting the diversity of central districts as a special spatial quality. On the other side, due to its outstanding importance in defining urban image and identity of contemporary Frankfurt and Rotterdam, strategic vision for high-rise and skyline also has an important role for the overall urban development. Sustaining skyline formation in a desired direction, as a highly attractive urban feature, is meant to foster a modern image and identity of the two cities, while high-rise themselves are expected to secure mixed-use in the street level, provide accessibility to its top floors and contribute to the quality of surrounding public spaces.

The most important areas of current developments show numerous activities on upgrading the historical centre of Frankfurt, while the most extensive developments are in its surroundings, such as the vast brownfield sites, set for full conversion into attractive mixed-use urban areas. Rotterdam designated thirteen crucial areas for achieving its adopted strategies' objectives, which are in fact comprehensive, extensive projects, expected to accelerate overall urban development. The most important areas aim to redevelop Rotterdam's historical core, to fully develop an attractive waterfront area, and to improve its less developed areas in the south.

6.2. Comparison Level 2: Selected Cases Comparison

6.2.1. Historic Centres' Case Comparison

Although primarily different in their general appearances, Altstadt in Frankfurt and Laurens Quarter in Rotterdam share many similarities. The most important feature of these quarters is certainly their immense historical importance, as places where both cities developed and expanded from. These areas are certainly important carriers of historical and traditional components for identification – both for the citizens and for the city as a built environment itself. However, although the areas still hold central positions within contemporary urban landscapes, severe destruction, partial renewal, and disputable development decisions significantly changed their present appearance, imposing new characters of central urban spaces. Moreover, gradual transition of central urban functions to neighbouring districts significantly disrupted the traditional role of these supreme urban centres. Thus, the complexity of the task to reconstruct demolished cities left some strong, still-present marks on both areas, making them mostly heterogeneous, partially developed urban settings with various qualities and shortcomings, as well as with lower built ratio, especially evident in the centre of Rotterdam. However, these areas are important as they shape the overall identity of both cities, as both Altstadt and Laurens Quarter West are still in the very focus of development strategies and interventions.

Due to the dramatic conditions that the war destruction caused, both Altstadt and Laurens Quarter West, in a certain period of their history, suddenly became blank 'canvases', where any further development decisions were a threatening influence that could even transform the formerly built identity of both cities as a whole. The planners were certainly aware of the importance and complexity of the task to rebuild a city centre, which involves a multitude of often contradicting possibilities; either to rebuild what was lost, most often through filtering the past out and reconstructing only the desired heritage, or to use the newly developed situation and to take a turn for a new iconic setting. The possibilities suddenly seemed to be endless. However, in both cases the decision of which way to proceed were in reality quite complex, as their centres were exposed to and affected by both of the main streams in slightly different proportions. Delaying the final decisions, the planners started intervening in the outskirts of the city centres, leaving the very central, most iconic areas for the latter rebuilding phases. Both cities also used the opportunity to modernize their historical core, mostly regarding its traffic infrastructure that was until then unable to respond to the needs of rising motorization. The option for modernization was initially favoured in Frankfurt, but soon it was gradually overpowered by traditionalism that to some extent continues to dominate until present days. On

the other side, the planners for rebuilding Rotterdam made a clear decision from the start for a new, modern city centre (image 6.3). Both cities, however, retained the traces of historical street structure and reconstructed or redeveloped the most of iconic built heritage, mainly in the manner of solitary and scattered forms out of their original contexts. But while Altstadt, besides its many new constructions, generally succeeded to maintain historical homogeneity of its landmarks, Laurens Quarter West is nowadays characterized by high variety of new constructions, with rare historical ones. Finally, relocation of the central functions occurred in both cities; in Frankfurt relocation was partial, where the Zeil Street, surrounding the Altstadt, took over the role of the main shopping street, and in Rotterdam it was nearly complete, as a result of previous pre-war interventions on the urban core expansions that continued in the post-war times with the establishment of the Lijnbaan Street.

The on-going and planned developments in both cities confirm the courses previously established. However, according to the cases formulated by Carmona et al. (2010: 154-158), the very centre of Frankfurt could be marked as an example of highly mixed introduction of new developments into the existing environment, starting with strong juxtaposition of the former Technical City Hall and Historical Museum, followed by stylistic uniformity of the houses on Samstagsberg, reaching out to the continuity detected in the interpretation of the local architecture on the example of the Schirn Art Gallery. Post-war stylistic shifts in the overall vision for the Frankfurt's old city ended with the recent decisions to omit strong contrasts, deciding to aim for stylistic uniformity of creative replicas within the *DomRömer* project, and for continuity in the new building of the Historical Museum, in historically inspired new designs for the *DomRömer* project, and for the new *Stadthaus am Markt*. In this way, Frankfurt made a big turn towards iconography that indisputably give connotation to a certain point of historical identification. The city thus currently reinvents its historical core, closing the gap made by the former particular concrete structures inserted in the 1970-es with a 'romantic' approach to filtration of urban architectural heritage (image 6.3). This basically implies revival of the old city from collective memory, with all the desired features that tickled imagination of the inhabitants and visitors; however, leaving out at the same time all the features that made medieval core of Frankfurt out-dated and in fact unsuitable to fulfil the needs and functions of a modern city and its inhabitants, long before its destruction in the turmoil of the war. Such a filtration of desired components for reconstruction is in a way creating an unclear situation, where it becomes harder to determine the original and partially preserved built heritage from their freely reconstructed environment. Staging the city in this way is also clearing away later historical layers, and is instead creating a sort of artificial built environment. Ignoring the later historical circumstances through deleting the unwanted layers of disruption by the post-war planning on the one side, and leaving some important infrastructural improvements on the other, certainly encourages conflict situations. Old vs. new and historical vs. modern is thus a trigger for many

other small conflictual hot spots that are yet to be solved within the decision to revive Frankfurt's old city. Only some of the issues Frankfurt's new-old historical core is facing at present are conflicts between proper reconstruction and contemporary building laws, regulations and technology, the burning issue of historical epoch to be reconstructed, as well as conflicts between historical use and contemporary needs. On the other side, such an enterprise creates a strong and somewhat desirable contrast to the neighbouring urban districts, and will surely bring satisfaction for a certain strata of the local residents, as well as more facilities and fabric for the tourism industry.



Image 6.3.

Different perspectives on how a historical core of a modern city should finally look like

Visualization of the Hühnermarkt Square in Frankfurt (above), showing the impressions during Christmas time (above; by HHVISION & DomRömer GmbH) and a night view on Markthall in Rotterdam's historical core (below)

Sources: <http://www.fnp.de> and <http://www.markthallrotterdam.nl> 2013-05-01

Above: © DomRömer GmbH. Below: © ProVast, den Haag, 2013, <http://provast.nl/en/>

Rotterdam, on the other hand, after the initial turmoil, still stands by early post-war decisions to create a modern urban centre. Historical environment and rare, solitary built heritage are in this case also used as a stage that should represent the whole city under a desired spotlight, but interpreted in a different manner. The loss of traditional environment and most of the built heritage was compensated by introduction of innovative, iconic architecture with a strong and bold effect. Instead of reconstructing the scenography for the scattered built heritage, the dominating option in Rotterdam involves sharp juxtaposition to create a recognizable urban environment. This option involves a strong individual effect of the newly inserted objects, and on the other side it creates another dimension that directly contrasts the iconic heritage buildings (image 6.3). Strong contrast as a tool to produce a recognizable city centre is achieved through mobilization of innovative iconography, such as in projects for the City Hall extension, and the new *Markthal*, but also through introduction of new functional contents – the Main Post Office conversion into a shopping mall or the creation of a sport park at *Binnenrotte*. Continuity of tradition is to be recognized in fragments, such as in the use of typical building material, reactivation of historical labels (street names, and new projects) or through fostering vernacular functions of the city centre, such as of habitation and trade. Joint effects of iconic historic and innovative features has its goal to produce an urban environment that would both support identity of a modern, open city, aware of its historical backgrounds.

Historic centres' case comparison between both case cities lastly reveals Frankfurt's city centre as multi-layered, developing environment, which through revival of its historical heritage offers a strong image, that contrasts with modern developments in its surroundings and thus create an urban identity of a heterogeneous, exciting city for everyone. On the other side, Rotterdam with its large and incoherent downtown zone strives to create an attractive and recognizable urban environment with high contrasts that should become integrated and contribute to its surroundings, producing an urban identity of open-minded, border-less and highly attractive built environment.

6.2.2. Business Districts' Case Comparison

Similarly to many other important world cities, the business districts of both Frankfurt and Rotterdam are the most important unconstrained carriers of modern urban identity that celebrate and praise the international and global position of the cities in question. These areas could in fact be labelled as the places where both cities represent themselves at theirs best, as equal participants under the spotlights of the global competitive stage. For such distinct urban areas, different building rules are certainly applied, which draw parallels with other major global

urban players, regarding both the spatial organization and architectural formulation. Therefore, business districts in both cases could be considered as highly distinct areas, characterized by a multitude of contemporary high-rise icons, carefully embedded into a complex jigsaw puzzle that as a result produces recognizable skylines.

Although planning for high-rise in Frankfurt went through constant reviews and alterations, as done in Rotterdam, it adopted the American model from its early stages. The mere spatial organization of Frankfurt's financial district, with high-rise arranged into 'walls' surrounding the central green area, it clearly draws parallels with the iconic New York City's borough Manhattan. The busy *Neue Mainzer Strasse*, in this case, plays the role of Wall Street. Similarly, Rotterdam's Central District is also organized along the *Weena* Boulevard, thus assuming an image of an important business metropolis. The skyline developed over time is, for both cities, a result of the contemporary, post-war urban planning, starting in the 1960-es and reaching its peak in the late 1980-es and early 1990-es; however in both of the cases, a gradual recession trend has been in place since the turn of the century. The financial districts of Frankfurt and Rotterdam have nowadays evolved into the most visible element of a modern city, often as the focus of many international star-architects, all of which made these areas function generally as a strong contrast in regards to their surrounding urban environment. However, despite many similarities, the business districts are also characterized by some specific elements. Aside from its highly modern features, the financial district in Frankfurt also carries certain elements of continuity in urban development, as it clearly reflects former presence of the city walls and puts an emphasis on its former gates. Rotterdam's skyline, on the other hand, represents a typical modern development, simply clustered along the conveniently laid central axis of the post-war urban network, along vast and empty area without any constraint to develop something new and particular. Furthermore, in order to stay in the race with other more advanced global centres – even with Frankfurt – Rotterdam's business district needed an additional trigger to get on its attractiveness and thus secure constant development pace. Innovative solution found, implies combination of all the common features of a business district, with other important and attractive functions of a contemporary city. The Central District in Rotterdam thus became a developing, dynamic, centrally located quarter, that bears a unique synthesis of all the characteristics of a city centre, financial district, and traffic node of international importance.

On-going and planned developments in both areas are, above all, aiming to mend the typically homogeneous character that generally characterizes financial districts. The trend is therefore not only to have offices present, but also to have mixed uses for living, traffic and leisure. Second of all, landmarks in both districts are certainly rich in quantity, but are generally poor in diversity and function. The fact that there are very few historical monuments offers, however, a situation that assumes rare conflicts for development and higher freedom for

innovative design. Frankfurt's financial district is currently reaching the river, through the development of a link on a special contact zone between the financial district, Altstadt and the riverside. The 'Maintor' project is mobilizing contemporary architectural iconography, but is at the same time taking care of the reestablishment of the historical squares and streets network, as well as of a careful incorporation of the existing structures, ensuring continuity where possible. The project, in addition, strives to ensure mixed uses, to accent the entrances to the financial district, and to improve the overall view on the skyline from the river. Other projects being realized in Frankfurt's financial district modestly enable further closure of the 'wall- street'; some of them reflecting the past only in the names of buildings newly inserted (e.g. 'TaunusTurm'). Planning is, on the other side, characterized by significant disproportions regarding what is being realized. There are many highly ambitious projects, whose construction is largely uncertain or has even already been cancelled for many reasons. The vision for the financial district of the future implies further construction of many new skyscrapers, mostly higher and much more modern than the existing ones; however, with a lack of daring and truly innovative design solutions.

Developments in Rotterdam's Central District are, on the other hand, implying a variety of important projects that upon their completion should change the image of the whole district, and significantly contribute to shaping the desired urban identity. Development of the Central Station will surely produce a new sculptural urban landmark with strong features and highly exposed architecture, whose task is surely to emphasize the city's metropolitan identity. The link to the pedestrian 'cultural axis' over the recently completed Weena tunnel is designed as a main representative entrance to the city, highlighting awareness of the importance of the first contact tourist and visitors make with the city. Corporate and carefully conceived planning for the whole district involves many other ambitious projects that should ensure highly mixed use of the overall area. However, some of such important developments, such as trackside strip redevelopment in the Central District, and further densification of the area are, similarly to Frankfurt, in the early and somewhat uncertain planning phase, although already heavily marketed.

6.2.3. Brownfield Redevelopment Sites' Case Comparison

The areas where contemporary cities are facing the most dramatic shifts certainly involve their brownfield sites; especially the ones that hold the prominent location within the overall urban structure. Strongly influenced by the former glorious port and/or industrial rise, both Frankfurt and Rotterdam are unsurprisingly characterized by such locations that again

came under the spotlight as industrialization began to decline. Abandoned areas in the heart of these cities were subjected to thorough redevelopment, with the goal to bring forth the newly established criteria for competitive international cities. Brownfield land in both Frankfurt and Rotterdam is, therefore, being turned into new bustling and attractive mixed-use neighbourhoods, ranging from housing and business, to services, leisure, and retail.

The most extensive conversions of the former brownfield sites in both cities are generally characterized by the similar potentials, features and significance. First of all, they occupy an attractive area in urban foreground, close to both urban centres and waterfronts, whose conversion is aimed to bring a significant spatial upgrade for the overall urban environment. Along with the execution of the *Europaviertel* project in Frankfurt, the conversion of the riverfront strip in the former low-income working class neighbourhood of *Osthafen* is the most extensive conversion currently occurring that is in fact intended to extend the centre of the city further east. Additionally, the redevelopment of the Ostend Riverfront will also compensate the rupture between the several intersecting major green belts of the city. Finally, its prominent location on the riverfront is accented by the most outstanding views on the skyline that the area provides. On the other side, upgrading the former abandoned port area with docks on the *Wilhelminapier* in Rotterdam is meant not only to extend the high-rise area to the waterfront, but is also to provide an important connection between the northern and the southern parts of the city, caused by demands of the former intensive port activity. Strong connection and interaction with the water that characterizes *Wilhalminapier*, ensuring its good visibility, high attractiveness, and iconic radiation, are the main reasons for converting the former docks into the new focal point of Rotterdam.

The most outstanding project in the Ostend Riverfront is certainly the new ECB complex that as such has the role of flagship project for the whole neighbourhood. The built heritage of the site, above all the Wholesales Market Hall, plays an integral part in the new concept for the area. However, partial demolition of the building arguably accomplishes both structural and functional needs of a new iconic ensemble and reveals a certain victimization of heritage for achieving high development goals. This project is thus not only an example of a strong stylistic juxtaposition with heritage landmarks, but also of a heritage that has been assigned a completely new, even alien use. A similar case is occurring on *Wilhelminapier* in Rotterdam, which lately has been characterized by its developing American-style skyline. As such, it stands in a strong contrast with the features of the piers' built heritage, mainly composed of inconspicuous, dull warehouses. Some weak elements of continuity could only be found in the thematic line of the overall development that reflects the history of overseas immigration, in which the pier played an important role. Therefore, in both cities, built heritage was used for its potential to create a particular sense of place, at the cost of losing a great part of its original meanings and role (image 6.4). However, besides the complete physical and functional

conversion of the former abandoned sites, the two outstanding developments also managed to completely change the overall appearance of the both cities in question. They caused a major impact on the established distribution of the high-rise, as well as on features of the skylines. The new ECB towers in Frankfurt are thus relocating the focus of high-rise distribution for the whole city, breaking up the cluster principle, and introducing a brand new element to appearance of the skyline. The skyscrapers of the *Wilhelminapier* are, on the other hand, an important elongation of the city's high-rise cluster that is in this manner extended to the river. In both cases, new high-rise is a strong element in the skyline disposition, designed to reach remarkable visibility from the city, waterfronts and the river itself. However, in contrast to uniform *Wilhelminapier*, many developing projects in the Ostend Riverfront are also supporting other layers of Frankfurt's identity, such as of a green city on the river. The 'Hafenpark' project focuses on the city as an attractive place for sport and movement. Extension of the 'Mainuferpark' in addition brings an interesting connection with the past through synergy of the historical port cranes with a new cafe restaurant with viewing docks. Optimal site location in these cases created viewpoints and perspective of the skyline into a dominating component of the projects. The element of city perception features even in infrastructure projects, such as for the new link over the river. The joint effect of the historic and the new bridge is a single example of continuity with the existing that still makes a contribution of its own through particular framing of the views on the skyline. However, while the projects on the Ostend Riverfront are mostly subordinated to the views of the city centre and its skyline, the iconic skyscrapers of *Wilhelminapier* in Rotterdam are *the ones* that are establishing referential viewpoints, as such representing an ultimate flagship for the whole city.

Internationally renowned architects, involved in both areas, will ensure implementation of innovative design with iconic attributes in order to keep both the Ostend Riverfront and especially the *Wilhelminapier* in Rotterdam under international spotlight. However, besides the role of recognizable design, sustainability is equally important in brownfield area conversion of both Frankfurt and Rotterdam, as a matter of competitiveness to create an image of an environmentally aware city. Therefore, the new iconic projects, such as ECB in Frankfurt or 'De Rotterdam' in Rotterdam, are practically combining these two important elements that are enabling legitimate competition with the similar projects globally, involving as much as possible new technological breakthroughs to promote and raise sustainability awareness.

Because of all the listed features, redevelopments of attractive, abandoned locations in Frankfurt and Rotterdam could be considered as the most iconic developments within the respective cities. As such, along with the business districts of both cities, these former brownfield sites are the most important urban stages where the new metropolitan identity is expressed. They are the places where both cities are shaping themselves as desired, forming the new metropolitan iconography in a nearly completely unconstrained manner, selectively

using the advantages of former symbolic elements to remember their historic use. The example of *Wilhelminapier* and Ostend Riverfront even show how relatively small urban areas, characterized by attractive location and iconic architecture, can act as effective urban stages, which shift the whole city into international focus. On the other hand, both cities are sharing the same risks, where such a complete and sharp conversion of urban spaces could also result with gentrification of the neighbourhood, eventually spreading to the whole city.



Image 6.4.

Domination of contemporary architecture with international iconography, creating similar striking and multilayered conflicting situation with surrounding environment and built heritage

New ECB premises in Ostend Riverfront in Frankfurt (left) and De Rotterdam in Wilhelminapier, Rotterdam (right).
Author's photos, 2012-07-08 & 2012-09-18

6.3. Comparison Level 3: Cross-comparison

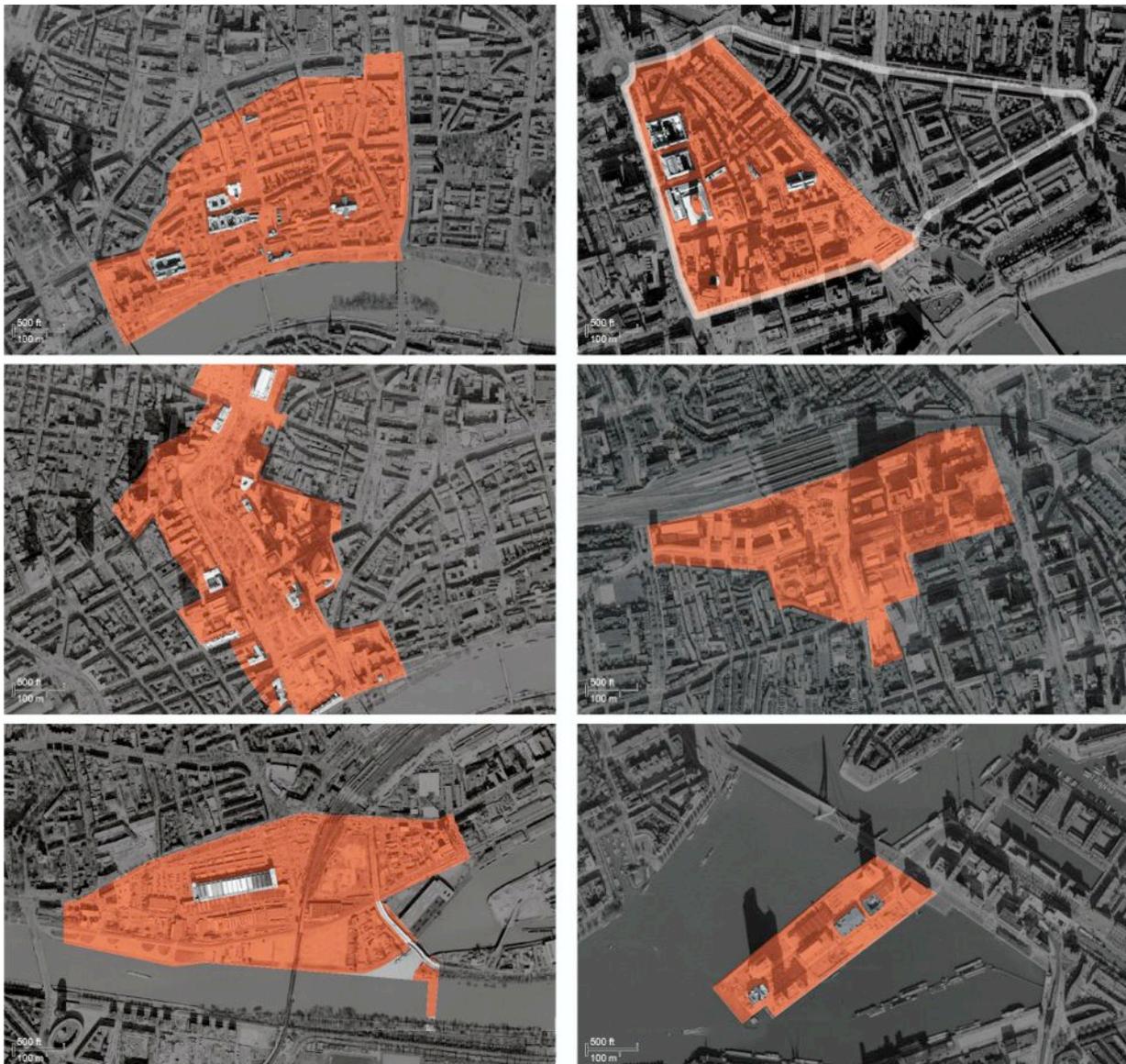


Image 6.5.

Schematic comparisons between selected cases in Frankfurt (left) and Rotterdam (right) regarding the scope of changes occurred since the post-war times.

Preserved and/or renewed prewar structures (highlighted) as the first layer in the palimpsests of the selected cases are showing the deficiency of historical visual identities and functions. The ratio of redeveloped areas (red) indicates tremendous scope of changes occurred within both of the cities since the post-war times till nowadays.

Left row: © 2014 TerraMetrics & © 2014 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (© 2009), Google

Right row: © 2014 Aerodata International Surveys, Cnes/Spot Image, Digital Globe & © 2014 Google

Source: <https://maps.google.de> 2013-05-01, with author's additions

Simultaneous insight into all of the areas covered by this research, as a third level of comparison, offers some general understandings of the scope, impact and importance of the changes occurred in both cities in focus. As already pointed out, historic cores of both cities were practically wiped out during the war, leaving the previously built city in fragments. According to the schematic comparison diagram that puts an emphasis on the scope of

changes occurred after the war in both Frankfurt and Rotterdam (image 6.5), it becomes clear that all the analysed areas went through equally tremendous transformation until present days, but apparently not only as a direct consequence of the war destructions. The comparison diagram thus shows the overall deficiency of the historical visual identities and functions, as well as complete turnover in all the affected areas of both Frankfurt and Rotterdam, and not only in their badly damaged historical centres. Business districts, completely developed in the post-war times, along with the post-industrial redevelopment of the former brownfield sites are thus in favour of multifaceted and complex phenomena of both urban change and identity building.

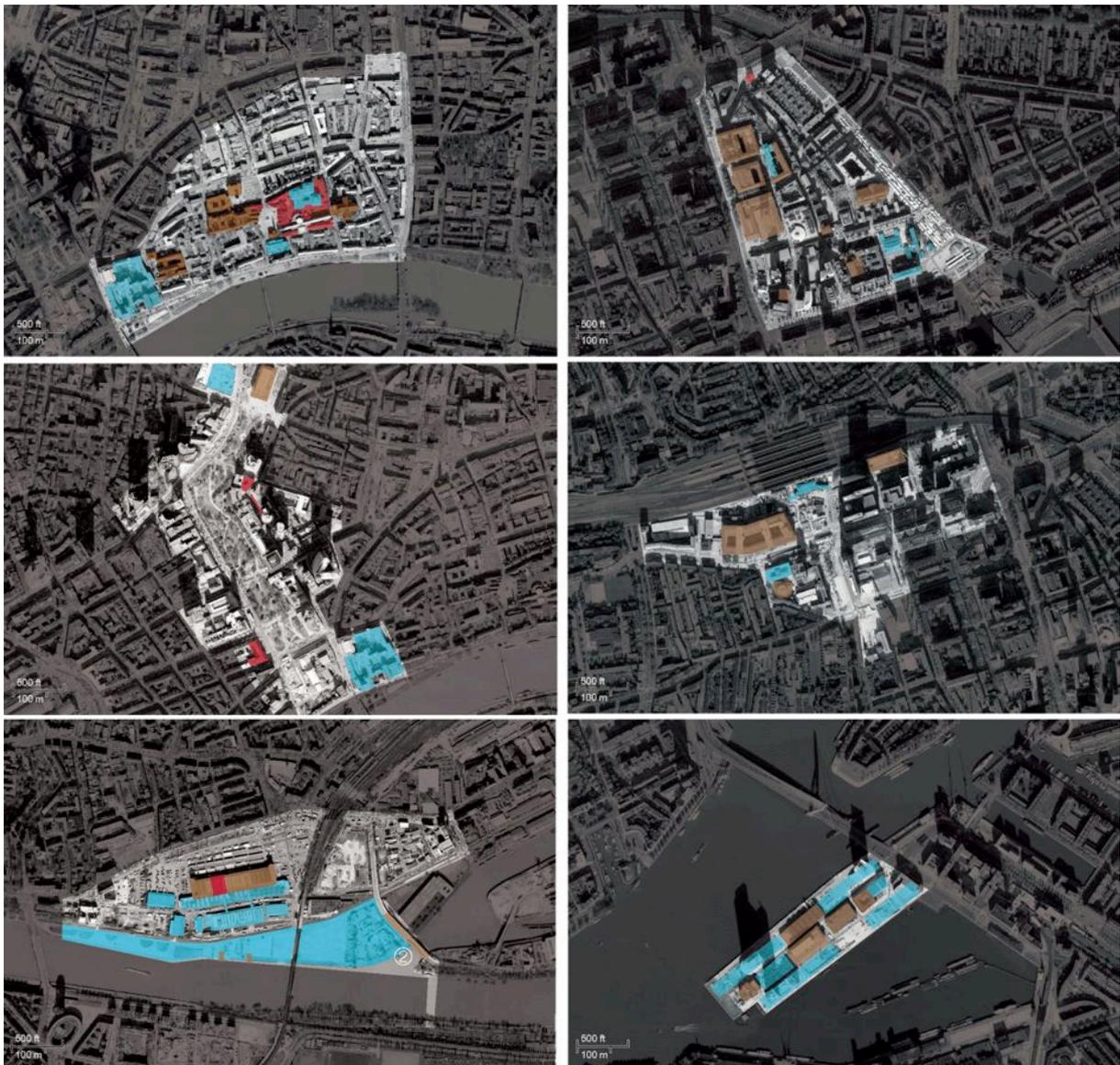


Image 6.6.

Schematic comparisons between selected cases in Frankfurt (left) and Rotterdam (right) regarding the treatment of heritage for urban identity building.

Legend: Existing built heritage (brown); unwanted, eradicated heritage (blue); manipulated and/or 'fake' heritage (red)
 Left row: © 2014 TerraMetrics & © 2014 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (© 2009), Google
 Right row: © 2014 Aerodata International Surveys, Cnes/Spot Image, Digital Globe & © 2014 Google
 Source: <https://maps.google.de> 2013-05-01, with author's additions

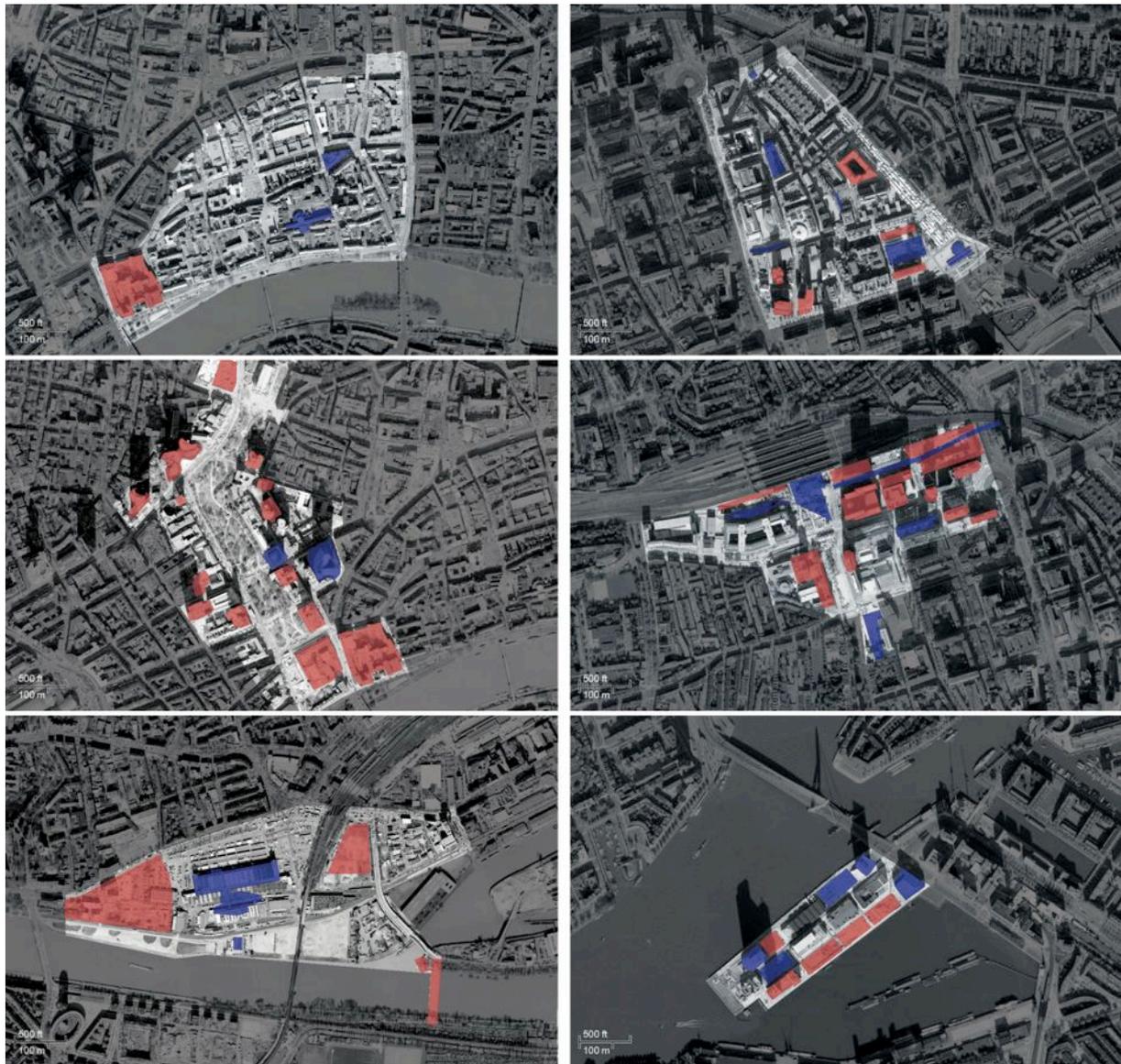


Image 6.7.

Schematic comparisons between selected cases in Frankfurt (left) and Rotterdam (right) regarding contribution to urban identity building of contemporary architecture with global iconography (red), with the special role of innovative design (violet)

Left row: © 2014 TerraMetrics & © 2014 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (© 2009), Google.

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Source: <https://maps.google.de> 2013-05-01, with author's additions

From today's point of view, overall treatment of tangible or even intangible heritage in both cities indicates high level of filtration in all areas in question. Unwanted heritage in Frankfurt and Rotterdam mostly involves achievements from the 1950-es to the 1970-es, whose interpolation within the existing environment quickly became disputable and lately is even considered mostly as inappropriate. Such a disruption seems to be mostly unwelcome in the central urban areas, as well as in both business districts (image 6.6), where its extremely traditional or contemporary innovative connotation could not deal with the avant-garde and unscrupulous character of the early modern movement. Brownfield redevelopment sites, on the other hand, represent a separate case in this context, as their industrial background didn't leave

much attractive heritage as a component for identity building and boosting urban attractiveness. Therefore, deliberate eradication of the facilities and infrastructure of the previous functions is most extreme precisely in these areas. The most outstanding example of heritage manipulation, in terms of producing new-old, even somewhat 'fake' heritage, is the most evident on the example of Frankfurt's historical core, while such phenomena haven't been clearly determined in Rotterdam's example.

The third comparison diagram indicates that the most outstanding contribution in shaping contemporary urban identity of both Frankfurt and Rotterdam is, however, made by contemporary architecture with global iconography (image 6.7). A particular share of innovative design is also evident. However, in contrast to the previous cases, this schematic diagram is generally characterized by the highest inconsistency between the two cities in question. While the historical core of Frankfurt didn't recently involve much of international style, planners and architects of Rotterdam on the contrary seem to insist on it. The situation is similar with the other areas, making the final impression that Rotterdam freely opted for high contrast and innovative design, while Frankfurt reserved business district and brownfield sites for contemporary iconography, keeping extreme innovations and experiments on the side.

6.4. Interviews Analysis and Comparison

Both in Frankfurt and Rotterdam, interviewing as a method of qualitative research focused on urban planners and designers as interviewees (table 6.1). Most of them are vocational architects and urban planners (F1; F2; F3; R1; R2-a), involved in the work of the most relevant public companies concerning the research focus; City Planning Department in Frankfurt and the corresponding institution in Rotterdam, Department for City Development. The focus of professional activities of the interviewees concerns mostly the central areas of both cities in question, while their professional range spans from the leading positions, involving department leaders (F1; R1) and heads of planning teams (F3), to specific projects managers (F2; R2-b), responsible urban designers (R2-a) and representatives of public-private partnerships (R2-c).

The analysis of the initial enquiry³⁰⁸ revealed the competences of the City Planning Department in Frankfurt, focused mostly on "elaboration of the main guidelines for the city's

³⁰⁸ Introductory questions were aiming for interviewees to introduce themselves and their position within the company, as well as to get insight on how the company is organized and what its main duties and goals are. After that, the interviewees were asked to define urban identity and explain what importance the issue has for their companies.

further development” (F2: Neitzke, 2/12). Such a task certainly encompasses a variety of activities, spanning from master and zoning planning, some land-use, traffic, and preservation planning (F1: Buch, 00:01:34), as well as planning for environment protection (F3: Schalk, 00:15:25). On the other side, the Department for City Development in Rotterdam is going through long restructuring processes (R1: Knoester, 2/12). Similarly, its main objective is to “work in a more integrated and efficient way on the city development” (R1: Knoester, 2/12; 3), with the main tasks defined as to prepare clear rules for building initiatives, to facilitate initiatives and initiate them if necessary. Their main goal is to “stimulate a durable economic development and urban quality in order to get an attractive and balanced city” (R1: Knoester, 2/12; 5-7; R2: Blok, 00:02:49; 5). Finally, both institutions have similar objectives, that are increasingly being reached through ever close cooperation with other departments, institutions and stakeholders in the city (F1: Buch, 00:01:34; F3: Schalk, 00:15:25; 2-3; R1: Knoester, 2/12; R2: Arends, 00:04:56).

Nr.	Name of the Interviewee	Institution	Position	Date of the Interview	Index
1.	Mr. Buch, Werner	City Planning Department Frankfurt	Head of Outer City Department	05.10.2012	F1
2.	Dr. Neitzke, Martin	City Planning Department Frankfurt	Project Manager, architect and urban planner	22.10.2012	F2
3.	Mr. Schalk, Nils	City Planning Department Frankfurt	Head of the Planning Team 11	24.10.2012	F3
4.	Mr. Knoester, Arjen	Department for City Development, Rotterdam	Senior Urban Designer responsible for Rotterdam City Centre	19.09.2012	R1
5.	a/ Mr. Arends, Emiel	Department for City Development, Rotterdam	Urban Planer/Designer for Rotterdam City Centre	19.09.2012	R2
	b/ Mr. Blok, Jan-Cees		Program Manager Rotterdam Central District		
	c/ Mr. de Grave, Oscar		Secretary of Public Private Partnership		

Table 6.1.
List of interviews conducted

When asked to define urban identity and to explain the importance of the topic for their institution, both groups of interviewees confirmed the high importance of the issue (F1: Buch, 00:00:34, 4-6; F3: Schalk, 00:24:37; R1: Knoester, 3/12). Interviewees from Frankfurt described urban identity generally as an issue that goes beyond the focus of their institution (F1: Buch, 00:03:54; 1-2), as being discussed in public, media etc., but at the same time as a part of their “daily work” (F2: Neitzke, 3/12). Frankfurt was mostly characterized as a city with “several layers of urban identity” (F1: Buch, 00:03:54; 42-45), as a consequence of many debates on how to reconstruct the city after the war that is, however, still an actual issue (F1: Buch, 00:00:34; 00:03:54; F3: Schalk, 00:21:29). The major features of contemporary Frankfurt are identified as

opposing each other; on the one side are skyscrapers and skyline, important for the newcomers, to whom “contemporary architecture offers certain identification” (F3: Schalk, 00:21:29, 9-10), while on the other side, old districts and historically inspired reconstruction are important for both inhabitants (F3: Schalk, 00:21:29; F1: Buch, 00:03:54, 30-45) and tourism development (F3: Schalk, 00:25:40, 9-11). Interviewees from Rotterdam had a slightly different, more complex standpoint. For them, urban identity is generally established by historic growth and development of the city, mixed with its inhabitants and typical features (R1: Knoester, 3/12) to create an “atmosphere of density in the streets combined with the wide range of possibilities for development and interaction for both groups and individuals” (R1: Knoester, 3/12; 1-2). The predominating identity of contemporary Rotterdam is less based on its historic features (R2: Blok, 00:08:00), but rather on the consequences of its industrial past, as well as on the clear post-war decisions to build a completely modern city (R2: Arends, 00:11:22). Such spatial features Rotterdam nowadays carry through its “no-nonsense self-image, the harbour development, the many foreigners, the destroyed and rebuilt city which still feels incomplete, and finally: the river” (R1: Knoester, 3/12; 4-6).

6.4.1. Focus on heritage and historically developed identity³⁰⁹

Heritage is considered “one of the ingredients of urban identity” (F2: Neitzke, 4/12), and as such has “very high” importance (F1: Buch, 00:13:42, 1) in development strategies of City Planning Department in Frankfurt. However, the position of monument protection authority is described as being rather “weak” (F3: Schalk, 00:28:06, 1) in comparison to the strong economic interests that in some cases implies opposite solutions (F3: Schalk, 00:28:06, 4-5). Similarly, heritage in Rotterdam is also considered important in development strategies over the last ten years (R1: Knoester, 4/12; R2: Arends, 00:22:09, 1), also including “the Rotterdam mental heritage of openness, idea-searching and cooperation” that was described as equally important (R1: Knoester, 4/12, 5-6). Nevertheless, with the overall trend of rising importance of heritage, both cities are experiencing similar problems of recognizing and ascribing heritage values to certain categories. Distinguished buildings and ensembles from the 50-es and 60-es in both of the cases are still not highly valued among the citizens and therefore not fully accepted as heritage, despite some clear recommendations of the planning authorities for their preservation (F1: Buch, 00:13:42; F3: Schalk, 00:28:06; R3: Arends, 00:22:09, 2-4).

³⁰⁹ Questions within this group were aiming interviewees to explain the importance of heritage in development strategies of the institution in focus. They were also asked to give an opinion regarding the post-war renewal, as well as regarding the place of preservation and/or renewal in actual development strategies of the case cities.

The results of the post-war renewal in Frankfurt have been described as a mixture of initial radical modernization and later tendencies towards renaissance of destroyed historic heritage (F1: Buch, 00:15:04; F2: Neitzke, 5/12) that are nowadays in some cases rather conflicting (F3: Schalk, 00:37:02). Post-war renewal of Rotterdam was, despite the lack of a strong heritage revival trend, also described with “very mixed feelings” (R1: Knoester, 5/12, 1; R3: Arends, 00:29:11) that are best described as follows: “on the one hand, the results strengthened Rotterdam in its identity of experimental field for modern architecture and urban planning, with some fine results we would like to keep. On the other hand, the rigid separation of functions and the sometimes harsh and open identity of the city space, dominated by traffic, does not offer the attractive atmosphere we like in our city centres” (R1: Knoester, 5/12, 1-5). In addition, the renewal is also in some cases considered as mostly functional; it was not “really nice, but it did a lot for the people” (R3: Arends, 00:29:11, 6).

Actual development strategies of Frankfurt, characterized both by the principles of the “European city” and “critical reconstruction” (F2: Neitzke, 6/12), take into consideration preservation and renewal of the local features of the city predominantly in the inner city itself (F1: Buch, 00:16:24; F3: Schalk, 00:38:25). However, a generally dominating trend in Frankfurt's planning is the contemporary, modern trend (F1: Buch, 00:15:04; F3: Schalk, 00:38:25). Rotterdam follows a similar strive, where “modernity and open mindedness still play a very important role in city-image” (R1: Knoester, 6/12). Similarly to Frankfurt, strengthening of the local features in Rotterdam is mainly present in the inner city itself, being one of the key features of the ‘City Lounge’ policy (R2: Arends, 00:35:50). Within this policy, more attention is devoted to small-scale initiatives, as traditional small-scale quality is regarded as not present enough in Rotterdam’s city centre (R1: Knoester, 6/12).

6.4.2. Focus on conflicts between traditionalism and modernity³¹⁰

Development, modernization and change in both of the cities were generally regarded as a rather favourable opportunity rather than as a threat of any kind for its urban identity. In fact, development and change were regarded as necessary ingredients for a vital city, not necessarily contradictory to historic preservation or urban identity that is going through permanent transformations anyway (F2: Neitzke, 7/12). In Frankfurt, change was particularly

³¹⁰ Within this section, the interviewees were asked to give their opinion regarding the relation between new developments and existing environments within the case cities. In these frames, it was important to find out if the professionals see development and change as a threat or opportunity for the city's identity, and if they noticed certain compromising between the new developments and the existing environment. Finally, their opinion was asked if the case city is following the global trend reflected in gradual loss of local and adopting international features.

seen as a chance to correct decisions from the early post-war years, in order to ensure desired city development in the future (F1: Buch, 00:17:46; F3: Schalk, 00:45:16). Similarly, interviewees in Rotterdam regarded change as a strong opportunity for development (R1: Knoester, 7/12; R2: Blok, 00:38:38; R2: Arends, 00:39:33), to an extent that even war destruction was described as a new opportunity for solving many problems of the historic city (R2: de Grave, 00:40:39; R2: Blok, 00:40:39; R2: Arends, 00:40:43). However, in contrast to Frankfurt, there were no initiatives known in Rotterdam that advocated for rebuilding of the old structures to revive lost historic identity (R2: Arends, 00:41:52).

Compromising between the new developments and the existing environment seems to be important, welcome and practiced in both of the cities, as a growing feature of the planning process itself (F1: Buch, 00:21:18; F2: Neitzke, 8/12; F3: Schalk, 00:46:20; R1: Knoester, 8/12; R2: Arends, 00:45:16; 00:46:04). However, the opinions about the trend of cities losing their local features and assuming international ones are mixed, even among the same case cities. In Frankfurt, the standpoint ranges from an opinion that the city is preserving its local identity within the inner city, while modern and future oriented trends are present mostly in the surrounding zones (F1: Buch, 00:23:53; F3: Schalk, 00:47:10). Similar standpoint involves assumption of international features, such as of skyline and high-rise, as in fact desired and as such important for city competitiveness (F3: Schalk, 00:47:10), while local identity is safely preserved among the old residential districts (F1: Buch, 00:23:53, 7-8; F3: Schalk, 00:47:10). The opposite standpoint implies that every city carries its own local and international specificities that are interconnecting in reality, which is also the case of Frankfurt (F2: Neitzke, 9/12). In the case of Rotterdam, its global and international atmosphere, involving the mixture of local and global scale, were seen as essential for its local identity, both in before- and after-war period (R1: Knoester, 9/12; R2: Arends, 00:51:44). In this sense, Rotterdam was characterized as “trend-setting in losing local features and inventing new ones of international character” (R1: Knoester, 9/12, 3).

6.4.3. Focus on change and modernity³¹¹

Architects and planners generally enjoy a wide range of freedom concerning their implementations within existing urban environment of both Frankfurt and Rotterdam (F1: Buch,

³¹¹ The last group of questions had the objectives of getting more insight on the issues and directives of change and modernization within the case cities. The first focus was on the introduction of new designs into the existing environment, concerning the extent of freedom given to the architects and planners, as well as on mechanisms to attract signature architecture (*starchitects*). Finally, the interviewees were asked for personal opinion regarding the direction the case city is taking at present and for their vision of it in the future.

00:26:19; F3: Schalk, 00:49:47; R1: Knoester, 10/12) that usually depends only on the specific urban situation (F2: Neitzke, 10/12). When concerning implementation of a skyscraper, the extent of freedom is practically unlimited, especially in the case of Frankfurt (F1: Buch, 00:26:19; F2: Neitzke, 10/12; F3: Schalk, 00:49:47), with the exception of appropriate urban fitting into the existing contexts of both of the cities (F2: Neitzke, 10/12; F3: Schalk, 00:49:47; R2: Arends, 00:46:04). New developments in Rotterdam are expected to enrich the existing environment (R1: Knoester, 10/12), where the architects maintain the freedom to interpret the few existing rules in the form of quality guidelines (R2: Arends, 00:46:04).

Signature architecture is equally desired and valued both in Frankfurt and Rotterdam, and it has been sought after intentionally in Frankfurt by the town councillors who, as a matter of former practice during the 1990-es, invited big names to realize their projects in the city (F1: Buch, 00:27:53). However, this practice in Frankfurt is no longer supported, as the strategies are rather based on ensuring quality architecture (F3: Schalk, 00:49:47) through competitions and welcoming the promotion of young and talented architects as well (F2: Neitzke, 11/12). On the other hand, signature architecture in Rotterdam has mostly been realized through architectural competitions (R1: Knoester, 11/12), always with many interested parties for carrying out such architecture. The reason for this lays firstly in the fact that important organizations based in Rotterdam, such as Dutch Architectural Institute or Berlage Institute, made it a favourable place for big international offices like OMA³¹² or West 8 to establish their bases in the city (R2: Arends, 00:56:31). Secondly, Rotterdam still offers many possibilities for new and innovative developments in the city centre as well, as there are still plenty of unbuilt spaces (R2: de Grave, 00:56:54). Spaciousness and freedom to establish their own architectural footprint, often involving development of a whole urban block, was quite an attractive opportunity for big names in architecture (R2: Arends, 00:57:39, 3-7). Thirdly, when developing big projects in Rotterdam, it is often required that the architecture offices have appropriate references and experience before even entering a competition (R2: Arends, 00:57:39, 7-9).

Regarding the final opinion about the direction that the city is taking at present, as well as the standpoints regarding the vision for the future, planners in both of the cities mainly agreed on the importance to maintain the existing features and characteristics, with further development of the identities already established. Such directions regarding Frankfurt involve preserving its role of an important traffic node, as well as its role as a seat of many banks and insurance companies (F1: Buch, 00:30:12), along with further strengthening both the

³¹² Architect Rem Koolhaas chose Rotterdam for the Dutch branch of his Office for Metropolitan Architecture OMA back in 1978 (Van Ulzen, 2007)

metropolitan region and Frankfurt as a 'global city' (F2: Neitzke, 12/12). In the case of Rotterdam, the accelerating growth and development factor is also very important (R2: Arends: 01:02:45). In addition, further development of urban identity of Rotterdam, as an important issue, involves the realization of the River City concept, that is to connect the centre and the Kop van Zuid area with the river, as the next essential step to make Rotterdam complete (R1: Knoester, 12/12).

Generally, as Rotterdam lost many elements of local urban identity, it now faces the challenge of identifying with and embracing the strong modern city identity, fighting against its weak points on the other side (R1: Knoester, 12/12). Such weak points also involve the necessity to improve the southern areas of Rotterdam, having lots of social problems, inadequate housing and lack of working places (R2: Blok, 01:01:09). Similarly, social problems were recognized as a key issue also in Frankfurt that should deal with the rising polarization between rich and poor, and should in addition become more sustainable and mixed in terms of functions, but less car-friendly. (F3: Schalk, 00:56:40; F2: Neitzke, 12/12). Further growth of inhabitants in Frankfurt is expected to balance the relation with the numerous working places within the city (F1: Buch, 00:30:12). Rotterdam is on the other hand particularly concerned with the issue of competition with the surrounding regions, tending to make the gap between Rotterdam and the other three big cities in Holland smaller (R2: Arends: 01:02:45). In terms of attractiveness, Frankfurt still needs to solve many issues to become more attractive city - less for tourists but more in terms of higher living quality (F1: Buch, 00:30:12). Rotterdam, on the other side, lacks marketing and promotion that is effective enough to finally present and promote adequately everything that the city has to offer, in order for its identity to attract more visitors (R2: de Grave, 01:08:08).

Part III:

CONCLUSION & REFERENCES

Summary and Final Conclusions

7.1. Summary

The study sets its focus on sustaining urban recognisability in the atmosphere of rising influences affecting the cities globally. This implies not only preservation or revival of the past and tradition for strengthening local identity, but also the potential of the new means of urban identity building, and of alternatives in innovative architectural and urban design for ensuring sustainable development. Through analysis and comparison of the two progressive European cities, and as a contribution to the studies that are emphasizing the importance of more comprehensive approach to the issues of urban identity, the questions of the research were sought to be answered through examination of particular elements in the essence of this phenomenon – namely regarding the role and manifestations of *traditionalism* in contemporary planning ventures, concerning the *conflicts and compromises between traditional and modern*, as well as regarding the influence of *change and modernity* on urban identity building.

The analysis and comparison of Frankfurt and Rotterdam on the *general level* revealed on the one hand similar approaches adopted towards urban identity building, which at some point could be considered as more or less universal for nearly every global(izing) city in present days. Such an approach involves utilization of every possible means available to maintain and improve urban attractiveness. Besides many general similarities, ranging from the course of pre-war historical development and positioning within national and international frameworks, to some elements of spatial organization and visual form, the two cities are on the other hand yet characterized by urban environments that are certainly developed – and are still developing – with significant distinctions of their own. At the first place, historical circumstances left a variety of marks on current spatial features of the two cities. In contrast to the relatively sound pre-war development chapters, post-war era brought many challenges and shifts in planning and decision-making that were generally torn between the needs for preservation and the objective

of modernisation. Such a duality is particularly noticeable in the case of Frankfurt, which is nowadays characterized by more coherent and clear spatial distribution that is organized into a highly hierarchical network, but with strong contrasts in its visual representations. Rotterdam, on the other hand, gained spatial features that are more disperse, often with new and old schemes freely overlapping and intertwining. Similarly, public open spaces in Frankfurt are generally 'themed', strictly divided into traditional and modern, while in Rotterdam they are certainly more homogeneous, but also more complex and disperse in spatial terms. However, the visual forms of Frankfurt and Rotterdam are strongly dominated by their centrally located skylines – a feature that makes these cities unique among European cityscapes. Their skylines also share similarity in the strong contrasts with surrounding urban environments, but they significantly differ from each other regarding their spatial organization, visual characteristics and the ways they interact with the waterfront.

The ways to preserve and upgrade spatial features, public spaces, and visual representation in both Frankfurt and Rotterdam include well-planned and highly diverse strategies. The complex processes of land-use planning is carefully directed and monitored in both cities. Its main trends involve mixing uses on the one hand, and supporting existing identities within central urban districts on the other hand. The analysis of strategies for urban branding and marketing of the two cities, as powerful means of producing and emitting desired identities, revealed high similarity of the set goals, although with utilization of different means to achieve them. As already mentioned, Frankfurt is generally characterized by a certain duality in all of its facets, which is present in its branding and marketing strategies as well. On the one hand, they aim to maintain the city's role of important international centre of finance and services, while on the other hand they strive for more assets regarding recreational and congress tourism. Such an approach also supports strong polarization of Frankfurt's images, generated and emitted through the media. In contrast, strategies for Rotterdam are gathered under the umbrella of corporate and harmonized activities, which generally seek to produce and maintain *one* multifaceted image for the whole city. Finally, the analysis of strategic planning revealed focus on several levels in both cases, spanning from metropolitan regions, over cities themselves, to the narrower focus on urban cores and high-rise clusters. Close relationships in planning between the cities and their metropolitan regions aim to alter as effectively as possible some negative implications of their former dominating features, no longer considered as desired for contemporary urban identity building. For Frankfurt those features concern its common image of impersonal financial centre, while for Rotterdam they refer to its less attractive port and industrial features. In these activities, down town areas still carry special and strong symbolic representations, however, with many weak points that are to be overcome through special long-term planning – such as their current functional diversity or unsatisfactory quality of public open spaces in both of the cases. Equally important is the task of sustaining development of the

skylines. On the one hand, these important urban clusters should through special planning chapters become more integrated with the cities, but on the other hand their distinctiveness and visual domination is to further be supported, in order to cherish the aspired attractiveness, recognisability, and above all 'global city' appearance.

The second level of analysis and comparison involved the *selected case areas* with the focus on historic centres, business districts and redeveloping brownfield sites, as places where the cities guard their history and tradition, develop global imaginaries, or where the most dramatic change takes place. Firstly, the comparison between the *historic centres* in both cases proved their ever-present importance, although severe destruction and partial renewal with shifty trends significantly reshaped their appearance, character, and role. As a consequence, they are marked today by gradual transition and expansion of central functions to the neighbouring districts. Another common feature is that both Frankfurt and Rotterdam used the opportunity to modernize their centres to some extent during the post-war developments. However, these decisions were, and still are, shifting in different intensity between traditionalism and modernisation, especially in Frankfurt's *Altstadt*, where later interventions and future plans are generally falling back to the old historical appearance. Such decisions highly contrast the modern developments in surroundings of the district, but also strongly support strategies advocating for heterogeneous and polarized urban identity. On the other side, *Laurenskwartier-West* in Rotterdam is envisioned as a mosaic of new and old elements interacting and overlapping more freely, to produce a certain new recognisability of the urban centre. Through this approach, which freely interprets the strong contrasts, integration of the historical core with the surrounding urban fabric of Rotterdam is also facilitated.

Secondly, the analysis and comparison of the *business districts* in both cities revealed their high distinctions, characterized by a multitude of high-rise icons with great individuality that together produces recognizable skylines. As such, they represent the most visible element of the cities, at the same time standing in strong juxtaposition with their surrounding environments. Although highly contrasting, high-rise cluster of Frankfurt's financial district in fact develops on the bases of historic continuity with the former city walls, while the respective *Central District* in Rotterdam represents highly contemporary development that was inserted along the conveniently laid central axis of the post-war urban network. On-going and planned developments are mostly aiming to further attractiveness of these particular districts, but also to mend the typically homogeneous character that generally characterises financial districts globally. However, there is still a serious disproportion between planning and execution, respectively between imagined and emerging identities in both districts of the case-cities.

Finally, analysis and comparison of the selected areas revealed that the most dramatic changes certainly occur on the *brownfield sites*, as a result of post-industrial declining trends.

Osthafen Riverfront in Frankfurt and *Wilhelminapier* in Rotterdam are experiencing thorough transformation into attractive mixed-use neighbourhoods pushed to the urban foreground. These former industrial and port facilities are even planned as iconic extensions of central urban areas. Such conversions are logistically set on the principle of flagship developments that involve common memory, built heritage, and innovative design – often combined in an optimal ratio. They certainly strongly affect the overall appearance of the cities, on the one hand through rearranging of the skyline, or by drawing the cities under the international spotlight through the projects of internationally renowned architects. On the other hand, selective use of the former symbolical elements is often utilized to reshape the common memory as intended. While desired elements are often modified or overemphasized, unwanted features of industrial past are usually simply demolished and thus permanently erased from the framework of urban reality. Although gained through such rapid and radical interventions, the final results are yet highly attractive and ‘trendy’ neighbourhoods, functioning as desired strongholds of ‘global city’ iconographies.

The following research step of *cross-comparison* of all the areas of interest provided a wider picture – first of all showing tremendous urban transformation that occurred in both Frankfurt and Rotterdam from the post-war times until present days. Aside from the overall deficiency of historical visual identities, paradoxically the high filtration of heritage in all the areas in question is still evident in both cities. In addition, the complete turnover occurring could be determined in all the affected areas, and not only in formerly devastated and nowadays mostly exposed historical centres. However, the most extreme conducted eradication of ‘unwanted’ heritage or its elements is occurring in the brownfield case-sites, where the new generation of metropolitan identities for the two cities is similarly undergoing its spectacular and well-devised rise. A special case of heritage manipulation could be determined in Frankfurt’s down town zone, cleared as much as possible of former modernistic interventions, to recreate a desired image of selected chapters of the city’s past. ‘International’ appearance and innovative design for fostering urban identity in Frankfurt is occurring in its business district or brownfield sites instead, while the planners in Rotterdam in contrast seem to insist on innovative solutions in all the areas equally, even in the central urban zone itself.

The high importance of all the issues regarding urban identity building and sustaining this identity was also confirmed in both cities through the semi-structured *expert interviews*. Planners in Frankfurt are indeed aware of the city’s polarized layers of urban identity, with both planning and marketing directed according to its dual nature. Such major features are in fact described as opposing; on the one side, there are skyscrapers and the skyline, important for newcomers and city’s image as a ‘global city’. On the other side, there are old urban districts, important for identification of inhabitants themselves, as well as historically inspired reconstruction that many experts don’t find proper, yet admit its importance for tourism

development. The experts of Rotterdam found the existing urban identity of the city less based on historical features, but rather on the persistence in post-war decisions to build a completely new, modern city. According to the experts of both of the cities, heritage does have a very high importance for identity building, although heritage protection authorities are seen as not holding strong positions, which enables compromising, but also manipulation of heritage, or even rising conflicts between *old* and *new*. The broadness in understandings of the concept of heritage goes far beyond the established standpoints particularly among the experts in Rotterdam, where idea-searching for new architectural ventures and openness to innovative solutions was also recognized as certain heritage of Rotterdam, even reaching out to the spheres of its tradition. The current standpoints regarding conflicting situations between *old* and *new* among the experts in Frankfurt involve decisions for post-war reconstruction as their major catalyst. Similarly, post-war renewal in Rotterdam is also subject to very mixed feelings among the interviewees. However, in both cases, the cities found ways to reconnect with the past to some extent; Frankfurt in radical reconstruction of its down town zone, while Rotterdam through initiatives that foster small-scale quality and mixed character of its city centre. Finally, changes are among professionals equally seen as a necessary ingredient of a vital city, as well as an important chance to correct the decisions from the past, and thus as a strong opportunity for desired course of development in the future. Therefore, compromising between new developments and existing environments is evaluated as a highly important activity for both cases. Similarly, the interviewed experts also considered maintaining already determined identities as highly important, in addition to their further development and stratification in the future.

7.2. Conclusions and Discussion

The processes, by which Frankfurt and Rotterdam strive to reach compromises for the conflicts occurring on various levels, were grasped through the three main groups of research questions that focus on the main indicators of rising changes affecting their identities, as seen from different perspectives. From the initial perspective of urban past, there are certain different standpoints observed in interpretations and utilizations of its components. The importance and actual role of *tradition*, *common memory* and *(built) heritage* are generally recognized as highly valued in strategic planning for identity building in both case-cities. Such evaluation of tangible and intangible components from the past was initially carried out through analysis of the post-war development history, which was marked by the highly versatile trend in Frankfurt. The course of modernisation prevailed in Rotterdam from the start, rather than opting for reconstruction or manipulation of the destroyed urban schemes. Such opposite standpoints left

significant marks on the current state of affairs. However, the importance of tradition, common memory and (built) heritage for strategic planning in both case-cities today is equally in providing necessary attractiveness and sense of place. In addition, past and its legacies are often considered as a convenient amenity base for identity building, important not only for tourism industry, branding and marketing, but also for providing important thematic framework for new development to take place. However, in some cases they are subordinated to manipulation, such as within certain romantic revival that takes place in the very heart of Frankfurt. Clearly demarcated from contemporary developments of its outskirts, this emerging urban quasi- 'island of tradition' adopted common memory and destroyed heritage as its main theme for the production of new-old identity for the city. The selection of convenient history chapters, simplification and adaptation, represents certain manipulation of the past for the sake of 'production' of heritage in down town Frankfurt, in order to reach upon the necessary level of diversity, recognisability and attractiveness of the urban environment. Such a thematic framework, driven by many factors reaching out of responsible planning and architectural praxis itself, is largely supported by the various forms of museumification of heritage, involving creative replication, historically inspired new designs, and conveniently designed new structures that fit into the traditional frameworks. On the other side, the overall trend widespread in Rotterdam strives to create relatively homogeneous entities. In this case, identity building is not being achieved through demarcation of heritage and tradition from new and contemporary, but rather through distinctive elements of interplay achieved between particularities of heritage and innovative design. Coexistence of *old* and *new* should through planning join forces in down town Rotterdam, in order to produce unique and recognizable urban features, which brings to the first plan the question of establishing an optimal interaction between these opposed elements. Finally, contrary to the claims that cities are becoming more alike, the case-cities are presenting two completely different ideas on how a centre of a global city should look like today. On the other side, although the most interesting examples of manipulation with past and heritage usually take place in central urban districts, in both Frankfurt and Rotterdam such activities could also be determined among some other investigated areas. In the cases of brownfield redevelopment sites, desirable heritage is the one that fits into the overall framework of expected urban identity, and therefore could serve as an initiator and thematic framework for future development. Apprehension and interpretation of selected past and its components are in such cases to some extent accented and overemphasized. However, heritage that cannot be used to produce an attractive and profitable urban identity is in most of the cases simply demolished, to give place to some new structures that are designed in such a way, to boost overall urban attractiveness and city image.

Relations between *preservation*, *transformation* and *modernization* in identity building for Frankfurt and Rotterdam are particularly diverse, although in their natural opposing

constellations. This implies direct or indirect conflicts between *old* and *new* observed at different levels in planned and on-going interventions of the case cities, which are ranging from juxtapositions within a single building or group of buildings, over conflicts occurring within urban districts, up to the level of the whole city. Aside from spatial, architectural, or stylistic conflicts, such strong contrasts, as observed in both cases, equally also affect functional tensions between former uses and new developments, as well as the gap between the planners' visions and the urban residents' expectations. As both cities on the one hand tend to preserve their existing identities, and on the other hand to upgrade them with some additional features, where global imaginaries play an important role, transformation is generally occurring as a process of selection of desired elements from the past and tradition, followed by its redevelopment into attractive and new. Thereby, some new functions and features are added, in a manner to correspond to the actual needs ascribed. Such transformation process surely often stands in a strong contrast with the heritage and tradition of every city, and this is no exception for Frankfurt or Rotterdam. The case of strict separation between tradition and modernity in Frankfurt is not only apparent in its spatial structure and visual form, but also in its branding and marketing activities, and generally present in its strategic planning as well. Such a polarised approach is rather focused on the best features of the two, finally producing *double identity* - each convenient for different purposes and target groups. These two forces are also overlapping in certain cases, jointly producing ensembles of striking but questionable features, as is the example of the project for new ECB in Frankfurt. Conflict between traditional and modern components is therefore sometimes even more accentuated to produce striking and unique experiences, as was already mentioned in the case of down town Rotterdam, or in its developing quarter *Wilhelminapier*. Rotterdam generally adopted strategies for achieving a unified urban identity, with the emphasis on the production of images of a metropolitan city that are not neglecting either its heritage or past, although these aspects are in the second plan. However, in most of the cases, compromise was achieved on a very subtle way, making tribute to urban past, but remaining consistent regarding to requirements by the urban future, as on the example of on-going extension of the Frankfurt's skyline to the riverfront, with simultaneous restoration of the lost historic urban structure. Such delicate interactions could also be determined in Rotterdam, either in delicate revival of historical red façades through new designs, or through different and innovative interpretations of historical designs or former functions. Therefore, in their quest for compromises, both cities apparently opted for a variety of different solutions.

It is already obvious that the influence of *change and modernity* on urban identity building in both case cities is immense and even has rising trends. Among the interviewed planning professionals, change is equally recognized as a natural feature of cities. It is seen as beneficial opportunity – not only to correct planning mistakes from the past, but also as a

chance for further development. In addition, complex and carefully carried out long-term planning and land-use management in both Frankfurt and Rotterdam have the objective of directing change, in order to ensure the desired development results. On the other side, analysis of the strategic planning, branding and marketing, as well as on-going projects and of those in the planning phase, revealed that all undoubtedly involve strong influences that originate in trends set by today's major global cities. Such tendencies are not new, as the great American cities have already often served as strong role models in the courses of post-war planning and development of both Frankfurt and Rotterdam. The emphasis given to skyline, river-fronts, city lights, and traffic in contemporary planning and marketing efforts of both cities confirm their current orientation towards the sensational imaginaries of the 'global city' ideal. Among others, this comes as a result of the strive to remain and improve their current position in the global competitive arena. As an example, in both Frankfurt and Rotterdam, special chapters of development plans are concerned with various aspects of their skyline development, as these are strong symbols of metropolitan identity. In addition, contemporary innovative, iconic, experimental, and star-architecture also change their identity to extraordinary proportions. Still, the current gap between the planners' vision for the future and the real conditions and possibilities for realisation of all the plans seems to be quite significant in both cases. Many highly ambitious and innovative projects in both case-cities share high uncertainty of their realisation, while the developments being executed often include modifications of the guidelines set by the planning authorities, as a result of necessary compromising. Contrary to attempts to control urban change to a certain extent, deviations from the adopted planning principles in both Frankfurt and Rotterdam are quite often due to a variety of versatile factors, in proportions specific for almost every case individually.

Based on all the data previously collected, analysed, compared, summarized, and interpreted, the *main conclusions* addressing the research design could be summarized as follows:

- While in Frankfurt certain production of heritage is taking place as a general exception, in most of the cases free interpretation of common memory, tradition and heritage in both cities mostly serve not only as a convenient base for identity building, but also as a powerful generator for contemporary development.
- The interconnections of preservation, transformation and modernization in identity building certainly create conflicting constellations that, however, through similar but different strategies in Frankfurt and Rotterdam still manage to produce certain recognizable and preferred urban identities.

- Finally, in the planning and marketing of both Frankfurt and Rotterdam, the major trends influenced by the global urban imaginaries and competition are clearly seen. However, the main feature of both of these cities regarding change and modernity is the significant gap between the visions set through strategic planning and the real conditions for realisation of the ever-ambitious plans.

Based on the results of the comparison between the case cities, the final conclusions of the research could retrogressively be drawn by analogy in order to create an overall image regarding the phenomenon of urban identity in the process of current rapid transformations. On the one side, some of the previously established hypotheses could generally be confirmed – respectively those regarding the rising importance of urban recognisability, as caused by the range of globally, economy-driven changes, as well as the hypothesis stating the significant contribution of innovative design for reaching such desired features. In the frames of the established conjunction between the new generation of changes and urban identities, long-term strategic planning could generally be considered a goal-oriented activity of the contemporary cities, aiming to direct such strong influences and achieve desired recognizable features, which recently evolved to some new means of urban identity building. Through the balance of imperatives by preservation, transformation and modernization, contemporary development strategies tend not only to ensure unique urban features, but also sustainable development. Thus, continuously recognizable features of developing environments are also indicating their sustainable course. Innovative design in such framework can have an extremely significant role, ranging from the production of new urban landmarks and icons, to flagships for initiating and attracting new developments. On the other side, opposing hypotheses regarding the emergence of local identity crisis in cities globally could be discussed more thoroughly. Concerning the rising competition and the ‘global city’ as a generator of utopian imaginaries worldwide, there are indeed some elements that could be considered as triggers for certain destabilisation of local urban identities, manifested in the threat to produce a world of similar cities everywhere. However, as already pointed out, conflicts in cities – between old and new, tradition and modernity, heritage and innovative design – are only some of the challenges for which contemporary cities need to resort to sustainable compromising. Such compromising could be apprehended as one of the prime features of contemporary cities that ensure they are functioning as systems. Compromising is nowadays particularly complex, as it interferes with the heterogeneous spheres of urban identity more than ever. In this way, it becomes a cornerstone for every proper planning activity, which finally aims to avoid unwanted consequences, as is the production of featureless or built environments resembling each other. Although in certain cases, planning can lead to such unfavourable outcomes, Czarniawska (Czarniawska, 2002) states that it is still not possible to reproduce exactly the same urban features in two different locations, as places are always different to some extent. On the other

hand, as Franck's (1998) considerations state that the fight for attention nowadays dominates our everyday culture, as our post-industrial society cherishes attractiveness and is not prone to curiosity. With the shift in consumption from products to brands (Frank, 2005), cities are becoming important advertising media, shaped according to the view of publicity with the highest goal of public impression. Besides merely copying from the past or from the more advanced cities globally, the best way for a city to attract attention is through its own attractive and recognisable urban environment, a fact which planners worldwide are already aware of. Therefore, although general universalization and internationalisation of architecture indeed represent the potential danger to produce a world of featureless cities, such scenarios could hopefully be avoided by the rising practice of both innovative design and long-term strategic planning, which is to ensure attractive urban environments. Driven by such trends, alternatives in architecture with innovative design for achieving necessary attractiveness nevertheless provide certain hope for urban recognisability in the future.

As discussed above, sustaining urban identity while facing rising changes is a difficult and complex task that contemporary planners are facing globally. Although a set of universal and good recommendations for success is hard to compose, the importance of sound relationships within any entity should certainly be stressed here – especially of balance, proportion, rhythm and order, which even the famous Le Corbusier often expressed in his texts and drawings, as can be seen in his drawing 'Mask of Medusa', enclosed at the very beginning of the dissertation (page 11). This drawing, full of symbolism, was used by Leonardo Benevolo in his famous review on history of the city,³¹³ paradoxically to point out to the former disadvantages of the historic cities and the opportunities that the modernistic vision offers. Although nowadays the understanding is somewhat inverted, such a concept where cities and change are seen as confronting elements eternally seeking *balance*, the concept could in fact be regarded as universal and timeless, and as such it could serve as an adequate illustration for the main issues this dissertation intends to expose. As previously pointed out, conflicts in cities occur constantly on many different levels, while the task of contemporary planning is to overcome such situations through the establishment of sound relationships within the urban entity. Searching for such optimal relationships between the build structures within a city through appropriate planning are likely to maintain and upgrade existing urban identity, which is then perceived as recognizable and striking. Therefore, contemporary planners should primarily be aware of the necessity of favouring the harmonious unity between the past and build urban heritage on the one side, and contemporary innovative design on the other, as the only solution for ensuring both sustainable and recognizable urban environments for the future.

³¹³ *The History of the City*, MIT Press, 1980

7.3. Closing Remarks

The main ideas behind the research concept refer to the interpretation of cities as highly dynamic systems, opposing the challenges caused by changeable and conflicting nature of its various subsystems, which in fact constitute constellations that create urban identities. However, the main challenge for establishing the adequate research design was certainly the complexity of the notion of *urban identity* itself, based on the various understandings and interpretations in literature of different scientific disciplines. In addition, grasping the range of overwhelming *changes* occurring globally nowadays was an equally extensive task. Dealing with such complex and ungraspable phenomena thus had to involve constrained focus, targeting their material manifestations in architectural and urban planning ventures in selected contemporary cities. The research is therefore limited only to the issues of urban identity in terms of particular distinctions of built environments and their general recognisability, excluding thereby a range of some other elements of identities closely related to the cities, such as for example its social, economical, or cultural components. The selection of the cities for the *case study* was another important challenge, as they certainly needed to involve more advanced urban environments in the frames of European cityscapes, concerning their physical transformation. As is already known, cities of the 'Old Continent' are to some extent burdened by the layers of their tradition and heritage that makes them both reluctant to change, or extremely vulnerable to any of its forms – at least in their downtown zones. For such reasons, the case-cities' selection, thought to be more legitimate with regard to the main research questions, was narrowed down to the cities whose cornerstone in heritage and tradition was to some extent disturbed and weakened, forcing them to look for alternatives rather than common restoration of heritage. Such urban environments that broadly experienced and adopted experimentation with innovative design and global iconography are in fact providing a glimpse into the future as such an option is becoming the dominating one. The final major challenge involved the approach to analysing and comparing the selected case cities. In order to fully comprehend such a complex phenomenon as urban identity, and in order to avoid any fragmented picture of these particular cities, the research methodology involved gradual understanding of the phenomenon. Such an approach ranges from broader perspective of the whole city and its official strategies, to the narrower focus on distinguished districts, determined as carriers of visual representation and recognisability for the entire urban entity. Both the general and specific analysis and comparison undertaken had its own advantages in dealing with the topic.

The importance of the research on urban identity and change in its broader context is in its emphasis on the need for overall understanding of the processes that are occurring globally,

as well as on their effects on the local levels. The empirical study using the example of Frankfurt and Rotterdam was mainly to provide a contribution to the research dealing with the challenges urban environments are facing nowadays from the narrower perspective of various means of planning as a powerful mean for sustaining locality and identity in contemporary cities. In this way, a gap in the existing literature on urban identity will be filled, characterized by a deficiency of empirical studies that consider the totality of effects of globalization and change on individual cases. In addition, the dissertation intends to sum up the trends in urban identity building, both in planning and in praxis, and through analysis and comparison to provide an insight into the current situation, and thus indicate possible future scenarios. A new view on these issues is supposed to serve as a possible inspiration for planners as well. However, the most important result of the research is the indisputable confirmation of the significance of urban identity, as a backbone for every sustainable planning.

Overall understanding of the concept of urban identity can only be complete if approached by other standpoints and disciplines, involving many other important factors and influences that were not considered in the frames of this study. Due to the complexity of the topic, the focus should certainly be kept on defining strategic and action-means for supporting urban identity, as well as on the influence it could have on overall development. In addition, new research activities could take in consideration many other cities from various perspectives, also with a special focus on some of the main elements of urban identity, such as on heritage or innovative design. However, it is also extremely important that urban identity be further investigated from various other standpoints, but as was in this case, as a feature of built environment from the perspective of planning. Such research could explain more precisely to which extent urban identity differs when envisaged by the city officials and planners, and perceived or wished for by the residents, visitors, or tourists themselves. At this point, it could also be important to investigate causes and consequences of the gaps between desired and developed identities, or between planned and constructed environments. Finally, important issue remaining concerns the ratio between actual role and sovereignty of planners and architects in decision-making for shaping urban identities today, and the influences of media, real estate market, international capital, global economy and important global players in general, as these relations are already known to be highly complex and multi-layered. These are all possible frameworks for forthcoming studies that would, similarly to this one, contribute to the better understanding of the complex future awaiting our changing cities.

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8.3. Abbreviations

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ECB – European Central Bank

F1; F2; F3 – Interviews / Frankfurt (see section 8.4.)

GPS – Global Positioning System

HAL – Holland-Amerika Line

HSL – High-speed rail line

ICT - Information and communication technology

LED – Light-emitting diode

OMA – Office for Metropolitan Architecture

R1; R2 – Interviews / Rotterdam (see section 8.4.)

SS – Steamship

8.4. Transcripts of the Interviews

8.4.1. Interview 1 (Case: Frankfurt)

Interviewee: Mr. Werner Buch, town planner, head of Outer City department

Interview has been made in the premises of the City Planning Department (Planungsdezernat Stadtplanungsamt), Kurt-Schumacher-Straße 10 in Frankfurt, on October 05th 2012.

a. Introductory Questions

1/12.

#00:00:23-7# interviewer: Could you please introduce yourself and your position within the institution?

#00:00:34-1# Mr. Buch: My name is Werner Buch and I am leader of the department Outer City. There are two departments within the Planning Department of Frankfurt; one concerning the Inner City, meaning downtown, the East and South of the city, and my competences are the North and the West from the core of the city, but I know very well what is going on within the downtown as well. We have had actually very big discussions about the identity of the city till now. It began right after the WW II, and it is going on till now, so it is a very interesting topic. Rotterdam is, I think, something completely different, as it has also been destroyed very much during the WW II, but has been rebuilt in a very new-fashion style.

2/12.

#00:01:30-4# Interviewer: How is the institution organized and what are its main duties and goals?

#00:01:34-1# Mr. Buch: We are doing master planning, the legally binding zoning plan, land-use plan in the cooperation with the Planungsverband.³¹⁴ We are even doing some kinds of traffic planning, statutes about preservation and any kind of informal plans for how to develop a part of the city. We are also dealing with some special development areas, like Riedberg and Am Martinszehnten, where we used special planning law, avoiding the land-price rise during the planning process.

#00:03:14-4# Interviewer: (Is there some cooperation with the DomRömer Institution?)

#00:03:19-2# Mr. Buch: Yes, our inner-city planning department has very much contacts with the DomRömer, but they are two different institutions, working very closely together. All the kinds of building permissions, renewal of the traffic and subway; there are many points we have to work together.

3/12.

#00:03:46-1# Interviewer: How would you define *urban identity* and how is this topic important for your institution?

#00:03:54-7# Mr. Buch: It is going beyond the issues of our institution; it is discussed in public, in the press etc., and

³¹⁴ Former Planungsverband Ballungsraum Frankfurt/ Rhein-Main, now Metropolregion FrankfurtRheinMain, planning association of the region.

we have to deal with it in the planning concerns as well. There was a big discussion right after the WW II, how to rebuild the completely destroyed inner city, and we actually did it in a double way. The first decisions were done in a modern way. The Römerberg, which was the old town hall of the city, got its *vis-à-vis* facades in the new type of building in the 50es, but soon they were turned down because the general opinion changed, in favour opposite of this completely new approach. Right after the WW II there were 2 types of examples how to reconstruct a city; very modern type of buildings along Berliner Straße, with the buildings from the 50es, with 4 floors and stores and department stores, and the cities rebuilt in the areas right around the Dom, from where one cannot actually see this modern style buildings. They have saddle roof and are a little bit pretending to be an old city. So there are both styles present, and there were big discussions in the 50es and 60es about that. What is also really unique for Frankfurt development after the WW II is that the square of the town hall left not reconstructed for a relatively long time. The facades of the central Römerberg stood free up to the 80es, so it was possible to see from the town hall to the Dom, which was really untypical because the whole inner city was actually densely built, before it was burned down in the last years of the WW II. So, the discussion of the identity of the downtown Frankfurt prolonged until the 80es, when it was finally decided to reconstruct the eastern facade of the Römerberg in the old fashion style. The reconstruction of these timberwork buildings was done in their old fashion style, on the existing underground garage. Right beside the Dom, our former office the *Technisches Rathaus* was built in the 1970es, but it was a big mistake. It ignored any kind of streets and squares, but before the destruction there were many small streets and places between the Römerberg and the Dom. The big mistake was to build the *Technisches Rathaus*, as it was completely *unmaßstäblich*; it was simply too big. It could have been stood in Niederrad or somewhere else, but it was not the type of a building to fill this gap between the Römer and the Dom. After we moved our offices to the new building, the discussion intensified on how to build in this area right around the Dom. The first plan of our planning office has been denied by the publicity, as we tried to reconstruct some places but with completely new architecture. The DomRömer project was developed in a completely different way. It was an attempt to reconstruct the timberwork city, supported by the public opinion and some historians and preservations authorities. They wanted to do it in a way of historic architecture. It would not be really historic, but it could only remind on the historic buildings, as there are so many building directives, energy savings, and such things, which don't allow complete reconstruction. In my eyes, they are doing a funny kind of architecture because they try to remind on something but in fact they have something new. It is a mixture between new buildings and new buildings. It is a funny thing; unique, still I think they are very successful because of the marketing they make. They are saying to rich people "you can buy yourself a piece of the authenticity" and they get it sold. I have never believed it, but they get it sold. They found a good way of marketing, but I don't know how will Frankfurt react on that. There were many TV reports about this DomRömer project, and the younger Frankfurter interviewed said they have been born in the late 50es, and they only know this area with the old technical town hall from the 70es; it is their Frankfurt. And the older ones said they know the old Frankfurt city as children and they would like to have it reconstructed. But the very old people say this would have been an urban renewal area because this area was not a comfortable place to live, but was going down in deprivation. So, there is a very complicated mix of meanings because of the younger old frankfurters and the older old Frankfurters and this discussion is led by now. There are several layers of urban identity, and it is focusing now on the DomRömer project. It is a question even for the historic preservation; which layer of history should be preserved. Additionally, there is an older layer they discovered after the bombing of the Frankfurt city, which could never been seen before.

#00:11:50-0# Interviewer: (So would you say it would be good to reconstruct everything in a completely historical way?)

#00:11:33-3# Mr. Buch: No. The *Ostzeil* was rebuilt in the beginning of the 80es and I think it was good to reconstruct that in the old fashion way, because it is a "living room" of Frankfurt. For the rest, to reconstruct few of the lanes and small places could be interesting, but without forcing it to be done in historic way. For this reason, and because of the decision from the 80es to get these row reconstructed in the old fashion way, it was agreed then to do something in a completely new manner, very new close to the Dom, and that was the exhibition hall - the Schirn, declared to contrast to the old fashion style. However, I don't know how will the future 2 and 3 story timber buildings fit in, if you see the big line of the Schirn and the new Town Haus, which actually never stood there.³¹⁵ I don't know what people will say, what will they feel...

b. Questions regarding heritage and historically developed identity

4/12.

#00:13:35-2# Interviewer: How important is heritage (both tangible and intangible) in development strategies of your

³¹⁵ Newly planned Stadthaus am Markt above the Archeologische Garten.

institution?

#00:13:42-2# Mr. Buch: Very high. We have historic preservation department, located in the same building, where planning and building is going on, and this is very good. Our historic preservation law is of the kind that the historic preservation authority can declare a building to historic preservation without asking the owners. They declare a *denkmal* and then they dictate what to do. Historic preservation plays a big role in our all doing. We have even buildings of the 50es and 60es that are under historic preservation now; the Zurich *hochhaus* was one, *Bundesrechnungshof*... It influences very much all of our doings, especially in the inner city but also in the outer city.

5/12.

#00:14:59-3# Interviewer: How would you describe the results of the renewal after the 2nd WW destructions?

#00:15:04-7# Mr. Buch: Well, we did it in a very mixed type. I heard a very good speech of an old colleague of mine called *Entscheidungen für Wiederaufbau* or Decisions for Reconstruction after the demolitions after the WW II. He compared Warsaw, where the Polish did a very fine historic reconstruction; Frankfurt did a mixture; and Brest, that was completely destroyed, and then rebuilt in the new style of the 50es, which came now under historic preservation. However, I think Frankfurt had a perfect mixture; both modern and old fashion style. The historic preservation is now present mainly in the inner city, while in the new planning areas we are doing new style.

6/12.

#00:16:12-2# Interviewer: Does actual development strategies take into consideration preservation and renewal of the local features of the city?

#00:16:24-6# Mr. Buch: Only in the inner city. I think there is another example where we had intensive discussions... We have Sachsenhausen, where an urban competition carried out for the former slaughterhouse area. The type of buildings there are single mansions, houses as points or dots in the first row and the blocks in the second row, trying to copy the Museumsufer. It was a kind of taking the existing example as the type of a new built area.

c. Questions regarding conflicts between traditionalism and modernity

7/12.

#00:17:32-0# Interviewer: Do you see development and change as a threat or opportunity for the city's identity?

#00:17:46-7# Mr. Buch: I think it is more a chance. We corrected decisions we made in the early years after the war and we try to repair it at the moment. It can only be done in a small way. I told you about the eastern facades of the Römer buildings. Where now the old fashioned building are, stood several buildings of the 50es that have been pulled down because it was not right to do it in a modern style way. In some way we try to document the past. We did it in the reconstruction of the Dominikaner Museum, where the memory was an element of design. In our new projects we still try to make the past more visible. In the very first years after the WW II, there were discussions who did most of the damage; the Royal Air force or the planners; I think the planners. The Schumann Theatre, a big art deco building on the other side of the central stations was preserved completely, but planners torn it down. The planners of our decade would have preserved it, because there were only few damages on this building.

#00:20:09-1# Interviewer: (What about *Grossmarkthalle* and the new ECB project?)

#00:20:12-0# Mr. Buch: *Grossmarkthalle* is something very special. I personally think it was in order as the *Grossmarkthalle* has lost its function completely. There was a big discussion going on about the entrance building, coming from the ECB. I think it was good to allow this entrance-building break through because it shows the main public façade. And one should see not only the *Grossmarkthalle* but also that something different is happening behind.

8/12.

#00:21:12-9# Interviewer: Is there compromising between the new developments and the existing environment?

#00:21:18-2# Mr. Buch: Yes. Planners who do a new project in the inner part of the city have always this duty. They should always remember the history of the place they are planning; they do it and they know they can win a project if they take care of the history of this place. For example, the project in the big Riedberg area; they reconstructed the old Roman road that was leading from the old roman city of Nida. It was a big element of this new planned area.

#00:22:25-4# Interviewer: (What about *Bankenviertel*; are there completely new rules for building?)

#00:22:38-6# Mr. Buch: This is a very special part of history, because Frankfurt was designated by the Americans to be the new capital, but the later government decided to take Bonn as capital and as a reward German National bank got its headquarters here. Following the decision to create the banking centre of Germany, all the private banks and insurances came along. Even besides the ways of electronic communication, they were seeking for physical closeness and they decided to have the Taunusanlage and Westend as their banking spot. The Westend story, which was influenced by the decision of taking the Bundesbank to Frankfurt and allowing to the private banks to build higher

in this zone, could be a PhD work of its own.

9/12.

#00:23:40-7# Interviewer: Do you think that the city is following the global trend reflected in gradual loss of local and assumption of international features?

#00:23:53-4# Mr. Buch: In a way yes, in a way no. As we are rapid growing city at the moment, we are trying to preserve history in the inner part and at the same way to be modern and future oriented. For example European quarter³¹⁶ or Riedberg have nothing historic, nothing to remind of. There are also new things along the River Main, reminding of some cranes that stood there, but this was an old historic side where now pedestrian and cycling ways are constructed. The museum riverside has been copied in Hamburg, with the string of pearls of museums. But we think we are doing both, keeping the history visible in the city centre and in the other areas we are trying to compete with New York, Paris or Tokyo, which are 20 or 50 times larger of Frankfurt.

#00:25:27-6# Interviewer: (Is there any institution that is doing city branding and marketing to support the competition mentioned?)

#00:25:34-7# Mr. Buch: Yes, we have the Tourism and Congress Limited, doing advertising for Frankfurt. We are trying to keep reminding them of the city of Höchst or others in the region, but they are refusing as they have enough to do to compare Frankfurt with New York or Tokyo!

d. Questions regarding change and modernity

10/12.

#00:26:14-2# Interviewer: What extent of freedom is given to the architects and planners concerning the existing urban environment?

#00:26:19-6# Mr. Buch: There are very few limitations I think. The European Central Bank is very new, it doesn't reflect any kind of history; Messe Tower as well, Deutsche Bank Towers, any high rise building. The only one who did a little bit of that was Mr. Meckler, who constructed the Opera Tower in the same material as the nearby Old Opera building. The big projects as the European quarter - they are all completely free in decisions. There are no strict rules to be followed, especially if you mean the high rises; I don't know any! The Westend Tower for example is crowned; it was an idea to give this building a crown, as a symbolic coronation, an unrestricted idea of the architect himself.

11/12.

#00:27:44-3# Interviewer: Are there some mechanisms to attract signature architecture (starchitects)?

#00:27:53-2# Mr. Buch: Yes, there are different attempts. Mr. Wentz, as town councillor of the 1990es got many international architects here; Richard Meier, Frank O. Gehry, Kohn Pedersen Fox, Helmut Jahn, who did the Messe Tower, Norman Foster, who did Commerzbank Tower... He actively influenced arrival of the signature architecture to Frankfurt. At the moment, the new town councillor, Mr. Schwarz didn't do it, Mr. Kunitz didn't do it as well, but I think Frankfurt skyline, comparing to other cities, is quite attractive to attract international architects; even the power of the banks and insurances itself is bringing famous architects to Frankfurt. And they are usually willing to follow this call.

#00:28:54-2# Interviewer: (So there is no competition for this names, they are simply invited to come and leave their footprint by somebody?)

#00:28:59-4# Mr. Buch: They are being invited, also proposals are given to them. In the 1990es, we invited Peter Eisenman, who did many things for us, to build Rebstockpark, even he never done an urban design before. We also invited Frank O. Gehry to build Bonames-Ost, also Aldo Rossi - we invited the world to come to us. Mr Wentz did invite these famous architects actively, but I don't know if we are still doing that at the moment - I don't think so.

12/12.

#00:30:06-5# Interviewer: What is your vision of the city in the future? What direction is the city taking at present?

#00:30:12-2# Mr. Buch: At the moment, we have a big growth of citizens. Now we have 700,000 inhabitants. In ten years ago now, nobody could predict this amount, nobody expected it. I hope it will go on and I hope Frankfurt will develop in the way to remain important traffic, banking and insurance city. My vision is to get a normal relationship between inhabitants and working places, because we have 500,000 working places and 700,000 inhabitants, which is not normal. For the number of working places we have, we should have a million or more inhabitants. I could imagine this is possible, there are many farmers and land in the north of Frankfurt and comparing to Munich, Frankfurt has 250 sqkm of land, and Munich 320 sqkm, but Frankfurt has 700.000 inhabitants, and Munich 1,5 million. The density

³¹⁶ Also known as Europaviertel.

of Munich is much higher than Frankfurt. The residents, who are not living here but not far away from here, want to keep it as it is now. They fear for the loss of fresh air etc. I think Frankfurt could develop in the direction Munich is going now. More attractive, less for tourists, but with higher living quality, higher percentage of parks, green spaces, more than agricultural areas.

e. Additional Questions

#00:32:30-8# Interviewer: Do you know something about the Maintor project that is being developed now?

#00:32:39-3# Mr. Buch: We are trying to make the Maintor accessible, because it was a closed block of the former Degusa. We thought this area should be crossable, as it is a number one location in the inner city. Previously, they didn't have any tenants, but now they have Union Investment, and they get it sold, and rented, I am sure.

#00:33:13-2# Interviewer: Was it a problem to develop something new there, because of the proximity to the old town centre?

#00:33:18-1# Mr. Buch: No, not at all. The decision was to build high-rise; the only thing is to respect the proportion of the Nationale Suisse tower. This was the first precondition, and the second was to build the second tower in accordance with the Nationale Suisse tower, to form a kind of entrance to Bankenviertel. The whole area is being developed in a contemporary style.

#00:34:02-0# Interviewer: Thank you very much for the interview.

8.4.2. Interview 2 (Case: Frankfurt)

Interviewee: Dr. Martin Neitzke, architect and urban planner, project manager responsible for the urban implementation of the New ECB Premises (NEP)

Interview conducted via E-mail, on October 22nd, 2012

a. Introductory Questions

1/12

Interviewer: Could you please introduce yourself and your position within the institution?

Dr. Neitzke: My name is Dr. Martin Neitzke. I'm architect and urban planner. Within the town planning department of Frankfurt am Main actually I'm in charge for the urbanistic implementation of the New ECB Premises (NEP) and the conversion of the mono-functional "Bürostadt Niederrad" into a mixed-used quarter.

2/12

Interviewer: How is the institution organized and what are its main duties and goals?

Dr. Neitzke: The town-planning administration is responsible for the elaboration of the main guidelines of the cities further development and the design of "Bebauungsplänen" as well as of concepts in the field of public space. Therefore the town-planning department comprises urban planners, architects, ecologists and specialists for traffic planning.

3/12

Interviewer: How would you define *urban identity* and how is this topic important for your institution?

Dr. Neitzke: A city should reflect in appearance and structure its presence as well as its historical heritage. This is a process in a city's life and therefore part of our daily work.

b. Questions regarding heritage and historically developed identity

4/12

Interviewer: How important is heritage (both tangible and intangible) in development strategies of your institution?

Dr. Neitzke: Heritage is one of the ingredients of urban identity and therefore to be respected. E.g. the design of the NEP and its synthesis of old and new seems to be an appropriate example.

5/12

Interviewer: How would you describe the results of the renewal after the 2nd WW destructions?

Dr. Neitzke: The renewal after the second WW is characterized by several phases of (failed) attempts of radical modernization following the principles of the Charta of Athens, Structuralism and so on. Since the late 1970's there were strong tendencies towards a renaissance of the historic heritage and the structural pattern of the "European City".

6/12

Interviewer: Does actual development strategies take into consideration preservation and renewal of the local features of the city?

Dr. Neitzke: Actual development and design strategies are characterized by the principles of the "European city" and the "kritische Rekonstruktion" (e.g. the Dom-Römerberg-Project).

c. Questions regarding conflicts between traditionalism and modernity

7/12

Interviewer: Do you see development and change as a threat or opportunity for the city's identity?

Dr. Neitzke: Development and change are necessary ingredients for a vital city. They are not necessarily contradictory to preservation of the historic heritage and identity that is undergoing a permanent transformation. A well-fitting example might be again the NEP-project.

8/12

Interviewer: Is there compromising between the new developments and the existing environment?

Dr. Neitzke: Compromises between development and the existing environment are part of every day's life of a city and its development. An appropriate example might be the Financial District's High-rise Cluster where the historic footprint of the city (block-pattern, street-grid, Wallanlage etc.) is covered by modern high-rises.

9/12

Interviewer: Do you think that the city is following the global trend reflected in gradual loss of local and assumption of international features?

Dr. Neitzke: No, for one simple reason: town planning has to be pragmatic and must deal with the existing city "as found". That means with existing street-grids, ownerships and so on, which reflect the specific local features. In reality there is a mutual approach of local and international features.

d. Questions regarding change and modernity

10/12

Interviewer: What extent of freedom is given to the architects and planners concerning the existing urban environment?

Dr. Neitzke: There is no general answer. The extent of freedom depends on the specific urban situation and/or the quality of the design concept. The extent of freedom might range from "zero" e.g. in a preservation zone and "nearly unlimited" concerning the architectural design of a skyscraper. The only limitation then is its appropriate urbanistic fitting into the existing context.

11/12

Interviewer: Are there some mechanisms to attract signature architecture (starchitects)?

Dr. Neitzke: No. The city of Frankfurt is strongly interested in promoting young, talented architects as well.

12/12

Interviewer: What is your vision of the city in the future? What direction is the city taking at present?

Dr. Neitzke: If there are no fundamental political, social, economical and cultural changes and if there will be no far-reaching destructions of our cities (e.g. by war or environmental or natural catastrophes) the city of the future will not be very different from the city we know. This depends on the fact that the development of cities is and will be a very slow, long-duration process. Within the existing urban structure we will experience changes in daily life e.g. towards more sustainability (reduction of traffic, mixture of use etc.). Perhaps we will face an increasing importance of metropolis-regions like Frankfurt RheinMain, which might lead to changes in the political and administrative organization of such a region. In general I do expect a strengthening of metropolises and "global cities".

Interviewer: Thank you very much for the interview.

8.4.3. Interview 3 (Case: Frankfurt)

Interviewee: Mr. Nils Schalk, town planner, Head of the Planning Team (Bauberrat/Teamleiter)

Interview has been made in the premises of the City Planning Department (Planungsdezernat Stadtplanungsamt), Kurt-Schumacher-Straße 10 in Frankfurt, on October 24th 2012

Interview has been conducted in German language. Transcript has been translated and edited to English by N. Čamprag.

a. Introductory Questions

1/12

#00:00:06-9# Interviewer: Could you please introduce yourself and your position within the institution?

#00:00:36-8# Mr. Schalk: Stadtplanungsamt has several departments, and the department I am in is responsible for the Inner City, meaning not only the city centre itself, but also the Grunderzeitviertel, Sachsenhausen, Nordend, Bornheim and other districts. The department is divided into teams; we have 5 teams and I am in the team that is only responsible for the city centre. Innenstadt means area within the Wallanlage ring, between the former fortifications. That is our area and in our team we have 4 employees, and I am team leader.

#00:01:50-8# Interviewer: (What is then considered to be the city centre of Frankfurt?)

#00:01:57-8# Mr. Schalk: The city centre, Innenstadt, has a typical function of the downtown area, meaning that there is retail, shops, big department stores, offices, financial district, cultural facilities; some of these functions are also distributed in Sachsenhausen, along the Museumsufer, as well as in Bahnhofsviertel. Innenstadt is historically specially constrained by the Wallanlagen ring and there are the typical central functions.

#00:02:40-8# Interviewer: (What is the status of Bankenviertel; it is not an official urban district isn't it?)

#00:02:46-6# Mr. Schalk: No, it is only a name for this area in western Innenstadt. The skyscrapers are there organized along the Neue Mainzer Strasse, on the Taunusanlage, partially in Bahnhofsviertel; this area is named Bankenviertel, but that is not fixed administrative term.

#00:03:18-0# Interviewer: (What is foreseen for the future, is it going to become an official administrative urban district?)

#00:03:27-7# Mr. Schalk: No, it is a part of the Innenstadt, spatially characterized by its strong mono structure, marked by the presence of many banks and due to its dominant office use, it is not mixed enough. Urban planners are seeking for the possibilities to enrich this area with other functions, such as residential for example. That is quite difficult job, but there are already some first tries. TaunusTurm that is being built for example will have an office tower with 180 meters, but near also a smaller residential tower. That was a requirement from us (ed. Stadtplanungsamt), and in exchange the investor could build a bit higher, but he had to address the demand for residential facilities. Similar is also with the former 'Degussa' area, now 'Maintor', which is developed by Deutsche Immobilienchancen DIC, and there around 20% of the floor area had to be residential. Around 210 flats are to be built along the Main, the southern side, and here on Seckbacher Gasse. There is generally a high demand for flats in Frankfurt, for all the residential forms; of course more for affordable flats, but also for high-priced flats. Therefore the constructors are also interested to realize such projects.

#00:05:27-0# Interviewer: ('Maintor' district has a particular position both within the urban tissue and its administrative division. To which district this area actually belong?)

#00:05:33-6# Mr. Schalk: 'Maintor' area is actually between Innenstadt and Bankenviertel. The DIC are marketing the area as a part of the Bankenviertel. The plan foresees the three high-rise and residential buildings, which strongly refers to the Bankenviertel. It involves a 'gate' situation as an entrance to Bankenviertel, while the Altstadt district is rather hidden in their marketing strategy, which clearly reveals the target direction. The future employees in the Bankenviertel should find there further office space, residential areas, shops. Particular for 'Maintor' project is that we are trying to establish a mixed area there, with flats, but also shops and gastronomy in the ground floor, as well as a big open space in the middle of the area, which will enable openness of the quarter in contrast to the previous cordoned block. Therefore it is a certain recovery of the Bankenviertel, and on the other side Altstadt will also get on its revival. The project also respects historical development of the city, as former Degussa block built up Alte Mainzer Gasse, constraining it from the public, and with the new project this street will again be open and newly created.

#00:08:37-7# Interviewer: (Are these the last high-rise within the Altstadt?)

#00:08:51-5# Mr. Schalk: Yes, they are the last high-rise in this area. Regarding other projects, such as Dom Römer Project, there was before the Technical City Hall, which was also a small high-rise with three towers, with the highest one of 13 floors. One of the main reasons for demolishing this building was its height, and on its place will come buildings not more than 3-4 floors.

#00:09:31-4# Interviewer: (What is new coming to Bankenviertel? There are many planning, but somehow these projects are not being developed.)

#00:09:46-8# Mr. Schalk: There is not much demand for office spaces at the moment. MAX Office Tower was planned on the parcel belonging to the Deutsche Bank. It was a planned option for this bank to construct the new tower, for which also planning documentation exists, and they could any time submit a request for constructing; that would certainly be approved by us, but Deutsche Bank at the moment doesn't have interests or demands for new office space. Similar is for the planned skyscraper of the Frankfurter Sparkasse, or Metzler Bank which could both construct a high-rise, but these projects are on delay. The large area of Deutsche Bank has already a small high-rise, a historical building, and many buildings from the 1950-es, and there are here-and-there considerations to build more within this area, but besides these areas and plans there are at the moment no actual planning within Bankenviertel. The demand for new office spaces is not really high; so many banks renovated their premises instead. Deutsche Bank have already finished renovation of its double towers, as well as so called Silberturm that was Dresdner Bank before, but now it is being rented by the Deutsche Bahn and will surely be fully used. Credit Swiss planned at Taunusanlage 8 a lower high-rise but there is no direct tenant. Furthermore, ECB is moving into a new building in Ostend in several years, which leaves its tower in Bankenviertel empty, which will surely be renovated and adapted, and there will also be new office spaces.

#00:14:21-6# Interviewer: (Not many skyscrapers in Bankenviertel are open for public.)

#00:14:25-6# Mr. Schalk: Only one; Maintower with its viewing platform. We are trying always in our meetings with constructors and bank officials to establish more such functions, but still they are mostly against such ideas due to security reasons.

2/12

#00:15:08-4# Interviewer: Back to general questions. How is the institution organized and what are its main duties and goals?

#00:15:25-9# Mr. Schalk: Stadtplanungsamt is organized that we are responsible for the urban planning projects, redevelopments, and some environment protection and traffic planning, along with other offices dealing with these issues. We are a part of the Planungsdezernat. We always need to coordinate our work with the colleagues from other city departments, but it so far functioned very well. Land use planning is not a matter of the City Municipality. Instead, Planungsverband is legible for regional land use plan for the whole Rhein-Main metropolitan area. City of Frankfurt should work together in this issue, and therefore there is also a department within Stadtplanungsamt, named Gesamtstadt, which are legible for the land use planning within the city, working closely with Planungsverband. There are also many sectorial planning activities besides, regarding trade, green areas etc.

#00:19:24-2# Interviewer: (Is there a plan for Frankfurt that defines what is the most important in the next 20 or 30 years?)

#00:19:33-0# Mr. Schalk: The most important is the strong demand for new residential facilities. There is a plan, named Frankfurt 2020 by Stadtplanungsamt, which foresees where the new residential facilities could be developed, coordinated with the land-use plan and zoning plans. For example highway No.1661 between Seckbach and Bornheim in Nord-East is planned to be relocated into a tunnel, so new residential areas could be developed above.

3/12

#00:21:20-4# Interviewer: How would you define urban identity and how is this topic important for your institution?

#00:21:29-2# Mr. Schalk: I have an example on my mind; during the discussion regarding Dom-Römer area, there were always citizens who said that they like living in Frankfurt and they do identify themselves with the skyscrapers, but at the same time they wanted to have the old houses back again. That shows the atmosphere regarding identity of this city. On one side, people are proud on the contemporary architecture, skyscrapers and skyline, but on the other side there is something missing from history. Frankfurt is a city that after the war constructed according to the model of light-air-sunshine, and as a car-friendly city, and therefore the Innenstadt suffered. Many residents moved out from the central areas as well as from the city, and moved to surrounding countryside. Nowadays, a rebirth of the city is occurring; people want to come back, but there are also people coming who never before lived in Frankfurt. For those newcomers contemporary architecture offers certain identification. Additionally, old districts are very lively, especially Sachsenhausen, Bornheim, Bockenheim, Nordend. There are nice old buildings and everything one needs - gastronomy, culture, parks etc. That is of course something to maintain, we don't want to change much in there, it is very valued.

#00:24:17-5# Interviewer: (Do you ever talk with your colleagues here about the identity of Frankfurt as a city; for an example about a new project which is going positively or negatively to influence the wanted identity of the city?)

#00:24:37-6# Mr. Schalk: Yes, for example Dom-Römer project; we discussed a lot about it. It was a very controversial thing and among the professionals it had a rather negative connotation. Redevelopment of the old city and reconstruction of the old houses was not seen the right solution for the 21st Century. We discussed a lot if that was a proper thing to do, but on the other side, many of the citizens wanted it back, as well as tourist experts, who had the opinion that it could make the city more attractive.

#00:25:36-0# Interviewer: (The initiative for the reconstruction of the old city came therefore from the citizens?)

#00:25:40-1# Mr. Schalk: Yes, it started in 2005, with a design competition for this area. Our goal was towards

recovery of the small parcel structure on the place of the over-dimensioned Technical City Hall. Architect Jurgen Engel had a proposal for modern buildings and facades, but as it was published in the press, the citizens said they don't want Altstadt back in such a form. Then begun this discussion, there were citizens initiatives for reconstruction; many manifestations and workshops were organized where the citizens were asked how would they want it back. Many of them wanted as much as possible of old houses reconstructed; some of them but agreed with the structure of small parcels with modern facades. At the end it was a compromise; around 10 houses will be almost originally reconstructed, and the other 20 houses are actually inspired by historical design. We also had contacts with Tourism+Congresses GmbH, which claimed that the number of visitors is constantly rising, and such a development is getting more important.

b. Questions regarding heritage and historically developed identity

4/12

#00:28:00-0# Interviewer: How important is heritage (both tangible and intangible) in development strategies of your institution?

#00:28:06-6# Mr. Schalk: Monument protection authority has a weak position in Frankfurt, I'd say. As an example, the conservation authority had an opinion that reconstruction of the old city is not a good solution, because one couldn't differentiate any longer the real built heritage in the area. They are trying of course to preserve the existing heritage in the best possible way, but there is sometimes strong economic interest that sometimes implies opposite. In other words, there is already some built heritage that has been destroyed; for example Zurich Haus from the 1950-es was replaced by Opern Turm. Buildings from the 1950-es and 1960-es are still among the citizens not highly valued and accepted as heritage, and these building are often pulled down for new developments, despite recommendations from the monument authority to preserve such buildings. On the other hand, within the Dom-Römer area, there were houses destroyed in the war, of which some had a long history, such as house where Goethe's aunt and himself lived. This house will be reconstructed and therefore this history will continue to exist.

#00:31:28-2# Interviewer: (Did the idea for reconstruction of the old street structure of Maintor area came from architects or constructors?)

#00:31:41-1# Mr. Schalk: The idea came from the Stadtplanungsamt. We actually wanted the revival of the Alte Mainzer Gasse. But here as well one could be critical. This area has only one classicist villa, which is kept on the site and is under the heritage protection. Other buildings from the 1930, -40, -50, -80-es had probably less architectural quality, but several buildings more could be kept as well. Those we wanted to preserve and find them a new use unfortunately constructor didn't want to keep, but to make everything new instead. There were surely some other things on this area worth of preservation.

5/12

#00:33:08-0# Interviewer: How would you describe the results of the renewal after the 2nd WW destructions?

#00:33:15-0# Mr. Schalk: In contrast to other cities in Germany, as Munich, Nurnberg, Munster, where urban planning relied strongly on history, Frankfurt completely dissociated from its old city floor plan, and got completely new structure during the after-war development. For example, Kurt Schumacher Strasse and Konrad Adenauer Strasse are completely new streets. Berliner Strasse is also a new structure of after-war developed, which strongly changed the old structure of the city of small-scale parcels and quarters. Berliner Strasse became a strong barrier instead, also regarding the main pedestrian street Zeil, which also follows its historical route. Architecturally, the after-war times also marked a turnover from the small-scaled to much bigger structure. Typical mixed character of the city before, with buildings with shops in the ground floor and residential areas above, was also changed immediately after the war. The areas became rather residential or areas with shops. What was more typical for the after-war period were wide car-friendly streets, parking facilities, separating residential and working areas, with no mixing.

#00:36:08-2# Interviewer: (Did the citizens opted for reconstruction of the city after the war or they wanted a completely new city?)

#00:37:02-1# Mr. Schalk: The reflection to the past started back in the 1980-es. There were critics in the after war times before regarding the modernization of Frankfurt but they wouldn't be heard. As then the Schirn Kunsthalle was to be built in the early 1980-es, there was a big debate how will the Romerberg look like, as it was just a big empty area, and if the houses on the Romerberg should be reconstructed. Ostzeile has indeed been reconstructed and that was one of the first conflicts between modern architecture and historical reconstruction.

6/12

#00:38:10-7# Interviewer: Does actual development strategies take into consideration preservation and renewal of the local features of the city?

#00:38:25-5# Mr. Schalk: Surely, at least within the Altstadt project. Besides, there are always some examples to confirm it. I would say that the modern trend is generally dominating in the planning, but occasionally there are also

local identities that the planners are trying to make readable again. For example, complete reconstruction of the Turn and Taxis palace was made, and from the whole building only a portal left. It was completely rebuilt and therefore some local elements complemented. The idea for its reconstruction came from Stadtplanungsamt as well. There is also a project on the Hauptwache, near Katarinenkirche, there was a commercial building HAKO that was pulled down and a new building will be constructed. Particular is the passage way, whose position is to be corrected to revive the historical route of Pfandhausgasse and we wanted to correct it that way as through its original route it gives a view on the Katarinenkirche, which is much more pleasant and attractive for pedestrians.

#00:42:05-2# Interviewer: (In regard of the Turn and Taxis Palace, the two skyscrapers behind are actually in the central downtown zone. Is it according to the High-rise development plan to build so high in the historical centre?)

#00:42:25-3# Mr. Schalk: The both of the skyscrapers are not developed according to the High-rise Master Plan. On this parcel before was Deutsche Post high-rise, which was in the 1990-es privatized and divided on Telecom and Post. It was a joint-stock company that wanted to generate some capital on the stock exchange but also with this parcel. Chairman of the Telecom Board was a member of SPD, as well as Planungsdezernent of the city at that time. It must have been a result of an agreement to build so high and generate as much as possible capital from this centrally located parcel. Therefore, the competition followed for the two high-rise, for the best utilization of the area. One is office high-rise, the other is a hotel, while the Turn und Taxis Palace is independent, but mostly used as representative space of the hotel, but it can also be rented.

c. Questions regarding conflicts between traditionalism and modernity

7/12

#00:45:06-9# Interviewer: Do you see development and change as a threat or opportunity for the city's identity?

#00:45:16-0# Mr. Schalk: As an opportunity, of course; as a chance for development of the city. Change was always in Frankfurt understood as a chance. There were phases in the Westend during 1970-es, when there was a controversial planning. The residents wanted to keep the old buildings but the investors intended to build office high-rise. Here the change could be perceived as a threat. But that is history.

8/12

#00:46:14-7# Interviewer: Is there compromising between the new developments and the existing environment?

#00:46:20-0# Mr. Schalk: we already mentioned many examples of compromising. Planning is often a compromise between various interests and it is always a compromise between the existing and new developments.

9/12

#00:46:55-9# Interviewer: Do you think that the city is following the global trend reflected in gradual loss of local and assumption of international features?

#00:47:10-4# Mr. Schalk: Regarding the skyline and high-rise, Frankfurt certainly got a strong image of an international city. I guess it was desired, as the high-rise in USA or East Asia look very similar. Other cities in Germany, as Hamburg and Munich, they are strict not to build skyscrapers, but to respect their local identities, probably stronger than Frankfurt. I think that the citizens of Frankfurt are not taking it that seriously; they are taking it more as an asset. They live in their districts that are not changing so much; the local identities are strong enough there.

#00:48:30-6# Interviewer: (Do you think there was a strong influence from the U.S. American cities on development of Frankfurt?)

#00:48:45-0# Mr. Schalk: Yes, of course. The first high-rise and architecture generally were really strongly referring to the U.S. architecture. There are some examples, like the high-rise on Konstablerwache, Bienenkorb Hochhaus, whose architect openly said that he is referring to the architect Louis Kahn. It was the international style, a role model for many architects.

d. Questions regarding change and modernity

10-11/12

#00:49:41-5# Interviewer: What extent of freedom is given to the architects and planners concerning the existing urban environment?

#00:49:47-8# Mr. Schalk: Taking a look at the design of the buildings, facades, architecture, in some cases it is obvious that good architecture has a quality and there we make very few requirements. For example, Commerzban Tower from Norman Foster had an architectural quality with the gardens within etc. But on the other side there are some attempts, like the OpernTurm, where it was necessary to create a base which should help integration with the urban environment and especially with the Old Opera house, while the skyscraper is constructed in the background.

Its facade is made out of stone referring to the Old Opera House. Here, much more references were taken regarding the surroundings and it was also important for Stadtplanungsamt. That is why we made these requirements in beforehand to limit the freedom of the architect, but the architect also found it appropriate. Generally, where the environment is sensitive and heterogeneous, in those situations we prepare some requirements. The new ECB is, on the other side, very expressive architecture from Coop Himmelblau, whose freedom was really high.

#00:52:49-2# Interviewer: (Do you know something about the background of the discussion in regard to this project?)

#00:53:05-9# Mr. Schalk: There were various aspects; monument preservation authority and copyright issues - there is a copyright law in Germany, concerning architects and their offspring, which lasts 70 years after (Urheberrecht ed.). The successors of architect Martin Elsaesser insisted that the new towers from Himmelblau shouldn't make many changes on the Grossmarkthalle. That was the first issue and secondly, long time it was not clear how this big hall could be used at all. At the end we could all be happy that ECB decided to renovate and use this the Grosmarkthalle. The design from Coop Himmelblau to build through the construction many found critical. It was not an easy situation for the Heritage preservation authority as well, because for them it is surely the most important to keep the built heritage as it is.

#00:54:47-1# Interviewer: (With the construction of the ECB towers one notices that now Altstadt is somehow constrained in between the two areas of high-rise.)

#00:55:06-0# Mr. Schalk: The area of ECB involves only one sky rise, but no cluster of such buildings.

#00:55:15-4# Interviewer: (Do you know how is this decision made for Bankenviertel to be constructed so close to the old city centre?)

#00:55:30-3# Mr. Schalk: It has its origins in the beginning of the 20th Century that the banks should be there where some of the banks already were, and after the war many other banks further concentrated there. Besides, as in many other European cities, western areas of the cities are for the wealthier; it is connected to the wind direction. European cities mostly have wind coming from the west, and therefore is the industry on the east, while the nice and rich districts were in the western areas of the city.

12/12

#00:56:30-7# Interviewer: What is your vision of the city in the future? What direction is the city taking at present?

#00:56:40-9# Mr. Schalk: From the urban planning point of view, I cannot really say. I hope that the city won't get more socially divided between the rich and the poor, which is a tendency at the moment. Some citizens can afford many things and therefore the prices are getting higher, while on the other side there are people who are not earning much and are being repressed out of the city. I hope that we will also manage to control the contrasts and balance them out, through the establishment of the cheaper flats for example, or through keeping the open public spaces open. There are some tendencies that private entrepreneurs like to create safe, clean places for the privileged, and our efforts are for all the society layers mix in the public spaces. My vision is also that Frankfurt should become less car-friendly, but more for passengers and bicycles. It is relatively obvious that the busy streets in the city centre should be redesigned to become more pedestrian and bicycle friendly. I found it still a big problem of the Innenstadt that it is still possible relatively comfortably to drive through with a car, which is making it difficult for the pedestrians. That could also motivate more people to come in the central zones, to live there for example.

#00:58:59-0# Interviewer: (I have seen in the High-rise Development Plan that many new high-rises are proposed to be constructed within the Innenstadt district.)

#00:59:11-8# Mr. Schalk: Well, there are suggestions for smaller residential high-rise. It is a proposition from Stadtplanungsamt, as we found it important to support residing in the Innenstadt; therefore the new residential high-rise should be constructed less in the Bankenviertel, but more in the eastern Innenstadt, as there are already some smaller residential high-rise. Innenstadtkonzept plan already suggested some high-rise there, 30-60 meters high. That is something further to be examined, but there are already some possible areas for smaller high-rise there, according to our opinion.

Interviewer: Thank you very much for the interview.

8.4.4. Interview 1 (Case: Rotterdam)

Interviewee: Mr. Arjen Knoester, Senior Urban Designer, responsible for Rotterdam City Centre, Department of City Development (Stadsontwikkeling)

Interview conducted via E-mail, on September 19th 2012

a. Introductory Questions

1/12.

Interviewer: Could you please introduce yourself and your position within the institution?

Mr. Knoester: I graduated in Delft as urban designer in 1988. I have been working for the Department City Development of Rotterdam since 1988. I worked on several projects for urban renewal, for brownstone areas and I have been head of the design team and supervisor for the Rotterdam city-extension Nesselande (5000 dwellings). For two years (2006-2008) I worked for a real estate developer AM as senior concept developer. Nowadays I am part of a team of three persons supervising the twelve urban designers and landscape architects working at the city centre of Rotterdam. My role is to inspire the members of our team, to guard and stimulate the quality and the planning of our products, to work on some special projects myself and to represent our department in debates, meetings and publications. My position is close to the decision makers within the department. I combine my work in Rotterdam with lecturing and with participating in an office for architecture and urbanism: MORFIS in The Hague.

2/12.

Interviewer: How is the institution organized and what are its main duties and goals?

Mr. Knoester: Our institution is in an almost permanent stage of reorganization. At the moment three large city development departments are being brought together (urban planning, urban development, civil engineering). Main object is to work in a more integrated and efficient way on the city development, together with the other departments and stakeholders in the city. Three roles are important: preparing clear rules for building initiatives, facilitating initiatives and initiating them if necessary. Our goal is to stimulate a durable economic development and urban quality in order to get an attractive and balanced city.

3/12.

Interviewer: How would you define urban identity and how is this topic important for your Institution?

Mr. Knoester: To my opinion urban identity is the atmosphere of density in the streets combined with the wide range of possibilities for development and interaction for both groups and individuals. This urban identity becomes more specific as a result of historic growth and development of the city with its mixture of inhabitants and typical features. For Rotterdam these are: the no nonsense self-image, the harbour development, the many foreigners, the destroyed and rebuild city which still feels incomplete and finally: the river. Taking these matters into account in our city development strategies is very important for our institution.

b. Questions regarding heritage and historically developed identity

4/12.

Interviewer: How important is heritage (both tangible and intangible) in development strategies of your institution?

Mr. Knoester: Heritage is becoming more important in our development strategies nowadays. For the city centre the history of the Wederopbouw – period with its buildings and city structures has gained more and more attention over the last ten years. Many buildings of that era have been listed as monuments, several have been restored and when new developments take place, we search for ways to preserve existing qualities as much as possible. But also the Rotterdam mental heritage of openness, idea-searching and cooperation is important for our strategies.

5/12.

Interviewer: How would you describe the results of the renewal after the 2nd WW destructions?

Mr. Knoester: In fact I would describe them with very mixed feelings. On the one hand the results strengthened Rotterdam in its identity of experimental field for modern architecture and urban planning, with some fine results we would like to keep. On the other hand, the rigid separation of functions and the sometimes harsh and open identity of the city space, dominated by traffic, does not offer the attractive atmosphere we like in our city centres.

6/12.

Interviewer: Does actual development strategies take into consideration preservation or renewal of the local features of the city?

Mr. Knoester: I think both. The modernity and open-mindedness still play a very important role in our city-image. At the same time, we try to add much more dwellings in the inner city business and shopping districts: people make city. Furthermore we are improving our street quality for pedestrians instead of cars in order to make the city more liveable. Last but not least, we put more attention to small-scale initiatives than we did before, because we think there is too little small-scale quality present in our city centre.

c. Questions regarding conflicts between traditionalism and modernity

7/12.

Interviewer: Do you see development and change as a threat or opportunity for the city's identity?

Mr. Knoester: As an opportunity!

8/12.

Interviewer: Is there compromising between the new developments and the existing environment?

Mr. Knoester: More and more, the existing features play an important role in new developments: for high rise developments we made additional rules in order to blend more friendly in the existing environment. Other example: after many attempts to destroy – rebuild the existing Lijnbaan apartments, we now are supporting schemes for renovation. Many other developments are being transferred in the same way: re-use instead of re-build. On the other hand you can see that the need of intensifying the city centre and the modern identity always offer opportunities for XXL uncompromising developments (in the heart of the shopping district of the Lijnbaan or in the Central District).

9/12.

Interviewer: Do you think that the city is following the global trend reflected in gradual loss of local and assumption of international features?

Mr. Knoester: This is a very difficult question. For Rotterdam its global and international atmosphere was essential for its local identity during the 20th century (before and after the war). In fact Rotterdam has been trend-setting in losing local features and inventing new ones of international character.

d. Questions regarding change and modernity

10/12.

Interviewer: What extent of freedom is given to the architects and planners concerning the existing urban environment?

Mr. Knoester: New developments do have to enrich the existing environment. Some rules have been put up, there is much freedom for architects to interpret the rules.

11/12.

Interviewer: Are there some mechanisms to attract signature architecture (*starchitects*)?

Mr. Knoester: We have an architecture policy for the city in which several mechanisms are being described. For important assignments we organize competitions, sometimes together with stakeholders. As a result many times star architects are being involved in our building projects in the city.

12/12.

Interviewer: What is your vision of the city in the future? What direction is the city taking at present?

Mr. Knoester: As a result Rotterdam is now facing the challenge of identifying and embracing the strong points of its modern city identity and on the other hand to fight the weak points of it. As far as the unique city identity is concerned I think there is an important issue. However several local identities have left to lose or to behold, most of them do not have the capacity to give this identity to the city centre of Rotterdam. But: Fortunately one of the strong ones still is present: its long-lasting and recently re-discovered feature: Rotterdam as River City. Connecting the city centre, and the Kop van Zuid with the river Maas as part of the everyday atmosphere of the city will be the next and in my opinion essential step to make Rotterdam complete.

Interviewer: Thank you very much for the interview.

8.4.5. Interview 2 (Case: Rotterdam)

Interviewees:

Mr. Emiel Arends, Urban Designer, Department of City Development (Stadsontwikkeling)

Mr. Jan-Cees Blok, Program Manager Rotterdam Central District, Department of City Development (Stadsontwikkeling)

Mr. Oscar de Grave, Secretary PPP³¹⁷ Rotterdam Central District (joined later)

Interview has been made in the premises of Rotterdam Municipal Public Works Department (Gemeente Rotterdam Dienst Gemeentewerken), Galvanistraat 15 in Rotterdam, on September 19th 2012.

a. Introductory Questions

1/12.

#00:00:08-2# interviewer: Could you please introduce yourself and your position within the institution?

#00:00:27-6# Mr. Blok: My name is Jan Cees Blok, and I am program manager for Rotterdam Central District within the Community of Rotterdam. I am working here for about 20 years now, and for about 4 or 5 months ago I have been involved into Rotterdam Central District. In previous times, I have developed Alexandrium Shopping Centre and some other office buildings, area developments etc.

#00:01:09-9# Mr. Arends: I am Emiel Arends, an urban planner -designer, primarily working for the City Centre of Rotterdam. I am responsible for the urban design part of the Central District Rotterdam, but I have also made high-rise policy for the City Centre or some projects on the higher scale for the entire Rotterdam area.

#00:01:38-1# interviewer: (So you are not just focusing on Rotterdam Central District but on Rotterdam City Centre in whole?)

#00:01:45-9# Mr. Arends: Well, I am based in Rotterdam City Centre and primarily responsible for the urban design parts of the Rotterdam Central District, but am not filling all my working hours there; if there is a problem with urban design issues, I am the one to contact, but the rest of my time I use for other projects, mostly within the City Centre of Rotterdam, but sometimes also for the city as a whole.

2/12.

#00:02:24-4# interviewer: How is the institution organized and what are its main duties and goals?

#00:02:49-8# Mr. Blok: We are working on a climate for the people who live in Rotterdam, for the companies who would like to work over here and the ones we would like to get to Rotterdam. Besides, we have also a special interest to attract tourism in the city. We have quality goals to realize for the city, and on the other side we have financial interest as well. Therefore, we also buy, develop, make ground-braking and then selling the ground to realize the higher goals - to be an attractive city. These are the main goals, and for the organization, we are at the moment in the turn around situation.

#00:04:03-6# interviewer: (Who is doing the city branding? Is it also in focus of your organization, or some other is doing that?)

#00:04:10-7# Mr. Blok: We have Rotterdam Marketing and Rotterdam Investment Agency to attract companies from outside into Rotterdam. On the other hand, we organized presentations for Rotterdam developing areas on EXPO REAL in Munich, for example. So, its a bit diverse, sometimes other city institutions are working on it and on the other side some projects are also our business.

#00:04:56-7# Mr. Arends: There are several processing, like Mr. Block said, we have a goal for business, for living and for tourism. Rotterdam Marketing is doing more-or-less the issues of tourism, architecture, big festivals, culture - that's what they brand. Then there is Rotterdam Investment Agency, whose focus is mainly to attract big businesses into the city. Some of the projects in Rotterdam, in specific like Rotterdam Central District, had their presentation on EXPO REAL or other places we have been, but it has all been done from within the organization of the city of Rotterdam. On the other side, there are external parties that brand elements of the goals for longer period of time.

#00:05:55-8# Mr. Blok: Not to forget is the Port of Rotterdam corporation, who is active in attracting business from outside to Rotterdam, which is mainly based on the harbour.

#00:06:18-6# Mr. Arends: The Port Organization used to be a city organization. It's now a company, of which the city of Rotterdam owns some stocks. Its goal is primarily to attract maritime or maritime related functions. So that is a bit different from what we do for the city of Rotterdam. Some decades ago, Rotterdam the city and the harbour were one, but now they are slowly splitting, as the harbour is extending towards the sea. Rotterdam Investment Agency is

³¹⁷ PPP – Public-Private Partnership

not dealing with the harbour, as it is not responsible for attracting maritime functions.

3/12.

#00:07:29-4# interviewer: How would you define *urban identity* and how is this topic important for your institution?

#00:08:00-2# Mr. Blok: We have to go back to the period after the 2nd World War, around 1945, only the city hall and one church left and what we made after that is practically a new city. That is quite different than Amsterdam for example, that have all characteristic buildings and recognizable historic identity. During the period from 1950s till 1980s, the city activities were mainly based on the harbour industrialization, and then slowly there was some movement towards business office buildings etc. We have always been a city with the lowest income of the big four, lower than den Haag, Amsterdam or Utrecht, as Rotterdam was a city of the working class involved in jobs around the harbour. These people lived in Rotterdam South, characterized by the small houses with very low prize. In the 1980s there was an important movement to develop the riverside with those buildings and there was an important movement to get more culture into the city. Over the last 10 or 15 years many things were done, so today we have many festivals, car racing, red bull air race, dance parade with about 500.000 people, and all these manifestations attracted big amount of people coming from outside.

#00:11:22-5# Mr. Arends: 17.7 million people visited Rotterdam this year during the festivals, which is a significant number. But to continue the story, after the separation of city and harbour, which started after the industrialization, harbour continued to grow towards the sea, leaving enormous amount of abandoned harbour areas, also within the city centre, who also needed to be renewed, as after the bombing it left nearly completely empty. So what we did, was we made a plan to become a modern city. Some German cities just rebuild everything in old style, one can not see nothing of bombardment, only the materials are a bit newer. In Rotterdam we wanted to do it differently. Before the II WW, we already had ambition to become more modern, like the Coolsingel Street; "singel" is in Dutch for waterway, because it really used to be a waterway in the city centre before the II WW, when it was damped, filed and turned into a nice big boulevard, with the City Hall and the Post Office, like a real modern American boulevard. After the II WW, Germans "helped" a little bit, and it was easy to make a completely modern new city centre, which was focused on infrastructure, as a principle to organize a city, and on the division of functions. The idea then was not to live within the city centre, but around it, while the centre remained for business and shopping. If you follow that line, Lijnbaan Street was also then constructed, as the most important shopping street and the first walk-only shopping centre in Europe. It was really big and new in the time it was built. Together with the Weena Street, where all the big offices are, these were the prime examples of function-split, moving the housing outside the centre. However, around 1970s, it turned out to be a very cold city; there wasn't much to do at night when all the offices and stores closed, there was literally nobody on the streets. It was decided then to abandon the concept of dividing functions and to reintegrate again, and it has been done still through densification of the city centre with housing, and not just social housing. Till now, many people, like research project "Florida" for instance, said a lot of things about city branding, creative class and higher income. It was generality, in my opinion, but after the crisis, it got changed a little bit, so we started making a plan for the entire city, called "Stadsvisie", or vision of the city till 2030. There are two main keystones within; strong economy and an attractive place to live. In the end, we pinned out 13 VIP areas within the city centre as the crucial for achieving for objectives. By this, we tried to reason the problem from the other way around; we have some very good living areas, and we should try to use that qualities to build, like an oil stain, and to attract the stronger neighbourhood city, with the quality of that living environment. In the time when there was money, 13 areas were a little bit ambitious, but durable; now with the fall back of money, 13 became a little bit much, so our primary focus is the city centre, Rotterdam South, and the harbour.

#00:16:06-1# interviewer: (What is considered to be the "city centre" now? It did gradually move towards the west. Is the whole region now the city centre?)

#00:16:14-5# Mr. Arends: Central area can be defined. There are 7 quarters, like the Central station area and Laurenskwartier on the Eastside, and areas of the west side; that's more or less the big triangle. The big statistical bureaus and institutions from the general government in den Haag have defined borders between the areas, sometimes awkwardly drawn, but all the data is being made for those areas and city centre is like a couple of those areas combined. It may seem these areas are too big, but if you think of it like a place to live, I think it's too small, because there is 19 century row housing around it. A lot of people want to live in the city centre or just next to, but house of 100 m² with the garden one can't have within the city centre, but just around. If you look at the shopping area however, its way too big; it should be smaller, as for offices, like Central District, Coolsingel and Kop van Zuid, which is like an axe through the city centre. For the city centre it was important to attract creative, high-income people, and therefore we don't built social housing within the city centre. We have an ambitious plan to realize 10.000 houses from 2009-2020 and we are on course. The city centre is one of the places that really densified in the last couple of years. It attracted about 7.000 people in the last 8 years, which is quite a lot for a relatively small area. But also think about the way the shopping city functions within the city centre. Offices are not everywhere, but within the axis Central District-Coolsingel-Kop van Zuid. If you want to have a big office within the city centre, there is a place to do it; otherwise forget it. So, that is more or less the way we made policies for our ambitions, starting with the big city vision. We have the 'City Lounge', which is the new plan where the densification is written down. We call

it the inner city as 'City Lounge'; that's the title of the new policy for the city centre, established in 2008. It's completely different plan, because it contains ambitions we have in culture, housing, shopping, but it doesn't give you a defined picture with the map how it should be done. Most architects and urban designers don't understand the plan; they say we don't have a plan. But in all fairness, people live within the city centre, the most important stakeholders and developers can all think something of city knowledge. The vision is being made to have a combined vision from most stakeholders, including the city of Rotterdam, and it is a starting point of development. We incorporated a lot more participants before making it final. It's little bit different, but it seems to work.

b. Questions regarding heritage and historically developed identity

4/12.

#00:21:53-6# interviewer: How important is heritage (both tangible and intangible) in development strategies of your institution?

#00:22:09-3# Mr. Arends: It's becoming more and more valuable. We don't have too much history; we have new history instead. For example, Lijnbaan ensemble, which is the main shopping street, is also a real cultural heritage, dating back from the 1950s. However, it isn't listed as a monument because it is relatively new, but that is ungrounded because it is a monument, which is a new one. For instance, if you take sustainability teams like the DPL³¹⁸ or BREEAM,³¹⁹ you can't get points for Lijnbaan ensemble because it is not 100 years old. Nevertheless, we do treat it as a monument. One of the things in the 'City Lounge' was aerially an emphasis on historic value of the buildings we have; new and old. It's a process of awareness; we didn't have it in the 1970s and we simply destroyed lots of old valuable housing with renovation projects, which was understandable during that time, but it's a shame if you do it now. The awareness of the value of cultural heritage is becoming stronger and stronger, and is being formalized in the 'City Lounge' policy which states that if you want to tear something down, you have to get really good reasons why you are doing that. The emphasis grows and not just on the buildings, but also on the boulevards, structures etc.; that is also heritage.

#00:24:22-9# interviewer: (What about the pre-war city structure, as a heritage? Is it also treated in development strategies? In other words, are the traces of the streets and squares respected or there is something completely new now?)

#00:24:46-5# Mr. Arends: It's completely new. Big changes have been done on the historical line of a new city centre. Something we would like to repair, but would cost a lot, are for instance the big squares like Kruisplein, Eendrachtsplein and also Hofplein. There are still traces of old historical lines there; not so much the buildings but more the outlines. Most structures within the city centre are from the post-war period, and taking a look at the old photos after the bombing helps understand why.

5/12.

#00:25:40-2# interviewer: How would you describe the results of the renewal after the 2nd WW destructions?

#00:25:59-2# Mr. Blok: We are a modern city at the moment. Still, regarding the housing prices and income, Rotterdam is the lowest of the big four. Rotterdam is on the south area of Randstad circle among Amsterdam, den Haag, Rotterdam. The north of the circle with Amsterdam and Utrecht is more favourable for business, developing around Schiphol Airport, financial district in Amsterdam, Utrecht; so a lot has been done there already. Rotterdam, together with den Haag, has an eccentric position in the circle, but we are trying to come more in the nature of Utrecht and Amsterdam. There are programs from the government to get the financial means and to invest to become more compatible.

#00:28:13-7# interviewer: (But what about the historical development of the renewal itself? Was there a plan that was defined and that was followed or later even not?)

#00:28:23-6# Mr. Arends: Following a bit the story of Mr. Blok, we started out with a bombed city, low income, working class; we had to deal with it in a really fast way to renew everything, with not much money, therefore we also constructed some really bad quality housing in some areas. Within the city centre the situation was especially dramatical, and as after the II WW there wasn't too much money, we just built, then we had the...

#00:29:05-2# Mr. Blok: the "Marshall"³²⁰ help from the American people just after the war...

³¹⁸ Development Policy Loan

³¹⁹ Building Research Establishment (BRE) Environmental Assessment Method (EAM)

³²⁰ "Marshall Plan", officially the European Recovery Programme ERP, the large-scale American program to aid Europe, where the US gave the monetary support to help rebuild European economies after the end of the 2nd World War, in order to prevent the spread of Soviet communism.

#00:29:11-2# Mr. Arends: If you look outside of the city centre, we had the expansion areas like Pendrecht, which are big garden city areas. In most cities of the world they are a problem right now, and the same is for us. It wasn't sustainable as people thought it was, so lots of those areas are being transformed right now. That was in 1950s and the transformation is still going on. For the city centre it was a huge stage of plans to incorporate housing again, after division of functions after the II WW. In the 1970s we had city renewal programs, which didn't look like really nice, but it did a lot for the people, making the houses bigger, more energy efficient, with not much money invested outside, but on the inside. The image we have on some places is really awful, but inside, behind the wall, are actually comfortable living conditions. During the 1970s, people started thinking of the need to make the city a bit more warm and pleasant; so we got a lot of pavilions around the city centre, but also outside, which destroyed the walking routes, like the Coolsingel for instance. There are about 12 pavilions, standing on the sidewalk, which is understandable for that time, but not so much anymore. Then the 1980s brought the densification of the city centre but also the renewal programs of the garden cities on the south side. We are now having two major things; further densification of the city centre and a big national program for the southern side of Rotterdam, to renew all the old areas, like the 19th century areas on the south side, because they are way below an average income, education, employment, public health.

#00:32:28-1# Mr. de Grave: (Mr. de Grave joins)

#00:32:46-6# Mr. Blok: When looking back, in the 1970s and early 1980s, the housing prices were really low; one could buy a house for 20.000; 25.000 euros, then from the 1980s to the 1990s, continued in 2000s, the prices made an enormous rise. In the 1970s we made some small renewing, and now it's too expensive to buy and redevelop.

#00:34:01-3# Mr. Arends: Not just for municipality, but also for project developers, it's way too expensive. If you want to buy 10 houses and you want to build 20 back it's not going to work, the costs are too high, so missed the chance we had the past.

#00:34:21-9# interviewer: (But housing development in the city centre is still going on?)

#00:34:26-8# Mr. Blok: Yes, we would still like to have more people who live in the city centre.

#00:34:32-1# Mr. Arends: Currently, we are building more than 13.000 units within the city centre right now, like the "Calypso" with 500 housing units and "Markthall" with 177, and there are another 14.000 units within the city centre that are going to start before 2014.

6/12.

#00:35:13-6# interviewer: Does actual development strategies take into consideration preservation or renewal of the local features of the city?

#00:35:50-7# Mr. Arends: Yes, it is one of the key elements of the 'City Lounge' policy. On the other hand, in the Central District, we have a big building block, called the "Schieblock", which is one of the last examples of vertical "wederopbouw"³²¹ office buildings. It is temporarily used by artists, urban designers, and architectural firms at the moment. There were a lot of structures built there after the war, and most buildings were built in one big gesture, like the "Grot Handelsgebouw" next to the Central station. The "Schieblock" is going to be pulled down eventually, because there are ambitions to make new offices in that area. As the office market is not very good at the moment, the emphasis now is on temporary use. There are other projects, like the "Stadskantoor", where the old part was also a place with temporary use. We try to preserve as much as possible, but if the economic value of what is new outranges the existing situation, sometimes we tend to pull it down. But there is generally a lot more of awareness regarding the old structures.

c. Questions regarding conflicts between traditionalism and modernity

7/12.

#00:38:23-0# interviewer: Do you see development and change as a threat or opportunity for the city's identity?

#00:38:38-4# Mr. Blok: It's an opportunity. I think that we are becoming stronger and stronger. In some occasions, we are losing some business opportunities in Rotterdam, as everything is combined with the harbour, but generally the city it is becoming stronger, also regarding the business offices. Sometimes we lose something in favour of den Haag or Amsterdam; on the other hand the high-speed train is one of the best features to come to Rotterdam for the further development of the city.

#00:39:33-3# Mr. Arends: The city needs to redevelop in order to grow further.

#00:39:37-7# Mr. de Grave: If we compare Rotterdam to let's say Bruchem or Amsterdam, I think that the area around the station doesn't really have an old identity. People are really not really attached to a building, like the

³²¹ After war rebuilding.

example of the "Schieblock". If we pull that structure down, not many will change of the identity of the city. Anyway, most of the identity of Rotterdam was already swept away during the war.

#00:40:33-5# interviewer: (So, do you think there was also at the end a good side of these destructions in the 2nd WW in Rotterdam?)

#00:40:39-1# Mr. de Grave: It gave some opportunities.

#00:40:39-7# Mr. Blok: For sure!

#00:40:43-2# Mr. Arends: The city had lot of problems with water management, as there were open canals, that were like sewage. It wasn't as pretty as the canals in Amsterdam, Leiden or Delft; instead there were problems with hygiene, water management... Besides all those romantic pictures of old Rotterdam with the canals inside the city centre, it wasn't really that good.

#00:41:11-9# Mr. Blok: Also to come by car to Rotterdam is really easy; in 10 to 15 minutes one can be everywhere in the city.

#00:41:20-1# interviewer: (But what do people think? Were there some kinds of initiatives to rebuild or to reconstruct; to get the old city back? For example, in Frankfurt there is an initiative on-going; they are actually rebuilding historical city centre from the scratches.)

#00:41:34-7# Mr. Blok: Sometimes, on the example of Katendrecht³²² there were vertical structures rebuilt, with a clear link with buildings of 20-30 years ago.

#00:41:52-3# Mr. Arends: That is more general trend than Rotterdam trend. People do like old houses, but only the facades. I have never heard of any initiative in Rotterdam to rebuild old buildings or ensembles in the old city centre; people are actually quite proud on the way it looks like now: strong, robust and high-rise. One developer for example tired to redevelop the he Lijnbahn ensemble from the 1950s, but it cost him a huge amount of criticism of people living there, because they actually like it that way! They were satisfied with the relatively new buildings from the 1950s within the city centre, rather than to live in houses more than 100 years old. So, I don't think there were any intention from people to go back to the old city centre.

8/12.

#00:43:56-1# interviewer: Is there compromising between the new developments and the existing environment?

#00:44:16-7# Mr. de Grave: There is a vision for the districts, for example the maximum volumes of the new buildings. Rotterdam thinks more in terms of function and is looking for diversity in different functions in some of areas now. After the war, there was the office district, the shopping district and big infrastructures in between and now the city wants to mingle these functions more. I am not sure whether there is a plan regulating how a building should look though.

#00:45:16-3# Mr. Arends: First of all, there is master plan, which is open for debate for people living in or around the area. The last plan is being formed with all kinds of participants; people living there, owning buildings, developers who want to do stuff. At the end, you finalize it in a legal document called zoning plan, which states heights, programs, etc.

#00:46:00-5# Mr. de Grave: Yes, but not an actually look and feel of the building?

#00:46:04-1# Mr. Arends: No, but we have the zoning plan and if it is a product of the discussions being made before, and if its a good plan, then old and new structures are intertwined in a good way. How it looks in the surroundings - we have a quality team of architects, that aren't part from the City of Rotterdam institutions, but are appointed every 4 years, to judge building projects. If there are no additional rules for building, there is a quality plan that the external architects judge on. In an area like Central District, where additional rules next to the general rules are needed, its own quality plan for the area needs to be made and approved by the City Hall, while the external architects judge the plan. There are basic rules, regarding the appearance of the ground floor, how is the lower part of the building connected to its higher part, what are the ways the facade of the buildings is being treated etc. Architect is free to use every material he wants, but he has to address it to the rules in the quality plan the city made. The quality guidelines being made for the plan needs to be obeyed.

#00:48:39-9# Mr. de Grave: So it is possible to have a classical look or modern look, if it fits the rules?

#00:48:49-9# Mr. Arends: For the central district in specific, a classical look wouldn't be possible regarding the guidelines for the quality.

#00:48:56-8# interviewer: (It's more flexible, but what about the New Markthal? Its a huge structure next to the important historic place, how did it fit in? Were there some debates about it?)

#00:49:12-4# Mr. Arends: Surprisingly, not so much! Really. Not many people live there; there is school, but they made an arrangement with it to construct them an additional floor. Generally, in the areas where there are not many people living, discussions are much less prominent. On the other hand, it fits well within the structure over there. The oldest building there, with exception of the church, are from the 1950-1955, the library is from 1980s.

³²² Katendrecht was a former willage, now a neighborhood of Rotterdam on the south bank of Nieuwe Maas.

9/12.

#00:50:46-8# interviewer: Do you think that the city is following the global trend reflected in gradual loss of local and assumption of international features?

#00:51:44-1# Mr. Arends: There are certain trends, like programs for shopping; its more or less the same shopping centre already existing in Amsterdam, den Haag, Utrecht, Eindhoven. The way to sit apart from the rest is not with the program itself, but on the way the rest of the city functions. For example, car is very important; we have 700.000 million euros about public cars spaces around the city centre shopping area. There is also the boulevard system; 2x2 lanes going right through the city centre; there is no other city in the Netherlands with it. Rotterdam is very good car accessible. High rise is a global trend, but for the Netherlands its something specific; Rotterdam is just about the only city who actually builds on such a larger scale; den Haag is following a bit, as well as Amsterdam, but in the surrounding business areas. For the Central District the "Mixed Zone" document has been made, which says we gather high-speed train station with 75.000.000 people a year using that hub. We don't want just the international offices and big companies there, who are generic, we also want local climate of Rotterdam, the city to have a face and an address in the Central District. If one comes out of the train, it should not be a generic area, which can be in Antwerp or somewhere else, but it needs to be Rotterdam based and one has to see it. So the "Mixed Zone" has a function to combine the local and global scale of Rotterdam. On certain points, it started to be more generic; on the other hand, we don't actually have a uniformed city centre, but our own thing; we have very big festivals, by far number 1; like I said 17.7 million people visit Rotterdam every year for the festivals, which is really big. There is not much to do about the square meters of an office building; it is what it is, buildings are more generic. But it could be found in culture, in accessibility, in making sure what Rotterdam does, not just in buildings, but also in program of culture and it has to be shown. There is where Rotterdam Marketing comes in. On the other hand, we are dealing more global, still trying to do things that set us apart on a good way.

d. Questions regarding change and modernity

10/12.

#00:55:30-8# interviewer: What extent of freedom is given to the architects and planers concerning the existing urban environment?

#00:55:42-2# Mr. de Grave: I think we already discussed the criteria.

11/12.

#00:55:51-2# interviewer: Are there some mechanisms to attract signature architecture (starchitects)?

#00:55:57-4# Mr. Arends: Money! (laughing) In fact, we have three OMA buildings.

#00:56:06-7# Mr. Blok: Also Renzo Piano...

#00:56:08-9# Mr. Arends: On the pier also Norman Foster's building. If you look at the cultural clusters in Holland, Amsterdam is winning from every city in almost every category, except in architecture and urban design. Rotterdam is far ahead Amsterdam.

#00:56:30-8# interviewer: (Why is that?)

#00:56:31-5# Mr. Arends: I think it has to do something with the important organizations based in Rotterdam. There is Dutch Architectural Institute or Berlage Institute and it helps that really big international bureaus like OMA or West 8 are based right in Rotterdam.

#00:56:54-8# Mr. de Grave: Rotterdam offers possibilities to make new developments in the centre of the city. Amsterdam also has outstanding, new buildings, but on the outskirts of the city. On the other side, in the Rotterdam Central District are still some space for developments, and that also attract architects and developers, being the entrance to the city as a 'red carpet'. Here are the possibilities to do something new in the inner city, even for a big office building. In the city centre of Amsterdam, besides the many listed buildings there are also lots of people living there, which altogether prevent big and new developments there.

#00:57:39-0# Mr. Arends: Amsterdam, like many other typical Dutch cities, has closed building block as the urban design footprint, while the architecture footprint is just a single row house, finally creating a closed block combined together. In Rotterdam however, the whole block is the urban design footprint but also the architectural footprint. Taking a look at Lijnbaan or at the Central District, the building is also the urban design. An architect gets the opportunity to build the entire city block within the city centre of Rotterdam, like in the case of the Markthall, new Central station or Calypso. Here there are still the opportunities to build big things. With the bigger projects, the budget is also higher, which allows to attract an architect from some name and sometimes it even is an obligation that the architecture bureau has solvability and experience with big buildings before even entering competitions in Rotterdam.

#00:59:21-4# interviewer: (Is there a competition for the really big names? Like for example Sir Norman Foster

would like to make a building in Rotterdam; is there a competition as an entry for this big name too?)

#00:59:27-4# Mr. Arends: It depends. If it is a government property for redevelopment, like the new Stadskantoor, there was a really big competition and OMA won; if it is a private developer, he can choose who ever he wants. But one of the things we are addressing is an architecture policy, also signed by a lot of external parties, like project developers and corporations. The city also wants to try to give a chance to Rotterdam-based small architectural firms to built things and make a portfolio. And that is something we are really emphasized on the start of a certain projects.

12/12.

#01:00:43-3# interviewer: What is your vision of the city in the future? What direction is the city taking at present?

#01:01:09-3# Mr. Blok: One of our main goals is to improve the southern areas of Rotterdam. It's a big problem in every foci, with inadequate housing, lack of working places, social problems. It is the same program as 5 or 10 years ago. We have to work very hard to make it better and the city development will go better along with the results in the southern parts of the city.

#01:02:45-9# Mr. Arends: Like we repeatedly said, on most scales we do it if compared to the other three big cities in Holland. We made big steps the last 10-15 years to try to get the gaps smaller. There is some progress, but the other cities are going forward as well. The questions for the near future are how to accelerate the improvements to close the gap a little bit more than we are doing it now. What we are doing is quite good, but others are doing a great job as well, so the gap is actually getting smaller, but we need to find a way to accelerate the development in order finally to close the gap with the surrounding regions, because at the end, we are competitors for the same functions, for the same office buildings...

#01:04:16-4# interviewer: (Is there a competition with surrounding cities like Amsterdam or den Haag?)

#01:04:19-1# Mr. Arends: Sure there is a competition. Just the same, there is a competition between Antwerp and Amsterdam, den Haag and Rotterdam... It is mostly on a business, but also on a cultural scale as well. Amsterdam and Antwerp are the real winners at the moment in whole. Eindhoven for example lost Philips headquarters in favour to Amsterdam, because it is a place to be and people really do want to go there. It is therefore important to find out what are the reasons why people want to sit a location in order to learn something out of it, or simply to do something different to attract all the kinds of business. It is really important to find out what the key ingredients are to accelerate growth, as we need to continue closing the gap with regions around us. I think these are main goals we have to challenge for the next coming years.

#01:05:48-2# interviewer: (Is Amsterdam the main opponent in this competition?)

#01:05:53-1# Mr. Arends: Regarding the harbour, it is Antwerp, but Rotterdam is still much bigger. For offices, undoubtedly Amsterdam is number one, so Rotterdam is on the good second place. We have to stop comparing us with London, Berlin, Bruxelles; Rotterdam is more in the league of Hamburg, Antwerp, Birmingham; still big cities, good number twos. Den Haag is a serious competitor as well, as is very close by, just around the corner. People take the metro to den Haag and shop there, for example. On the other hand, regions are also in the competition between themselves, so the clear agreements within the cities from the same region need to be done. Randstadt region is in international competition with other big areas in Europe and world.

#01:08:08-6# Mr. de Grave: I think that Rotterdam has a lot to offer; still it lacks on to show and tell. The Netherlands is relatively small and Amsterdam is a sort of standard in mind-sets of everyone who comes into the Netherlands, while Rotterdam is a city one needs to explore. However, stepping out of the train, one is not really sure which way should to go and what Rotterdam has to offer; it is not clear. I think Rotterdam should link more its assets, try to tell other stories better, maybe invest in iconic buildings or similar; but all those features should get more focused on Rotterdam and I think more people would go to the city. Also people would have a reason why to go here and to like it there. Of course, it is not really easy, like to press just one button and everything is solved. Rotterdam is a great city, and we should build on that. It is not so much about talking but just doing. I think they should talk, maybe shout more and show it. When one arrives on the highway, there are the high-rise of Rotterdam to be seen; it's exceptional for the Holland. If you are here, you feel that the city have the opportunities, possibilities to offer; people with good ideas and people who want to make things happen, and the city is certainly open for it. I think that Rotterdam has to tell this story more, so people will come here and make it happen. I think from that end; its a long way, it starts with giving the city a good entrance, a good first impression and I think the city does that really well now, developing the central station area. It is estimated that in 2025, 75 million people will enter or leave the city through that area. I think it is now important to invest really good there; to show: this is Rotterdam, this is what Rotterdam has to offer, and make the link there for what is happening in other areas of the city, making it more accessible at the same time. There are already metro and tram lines developed, but still people need to know their destinations, where to go. If that is more into the mind-set, a lot of people will get interested to explore Rotterdam. At the moment, my main impression is that it is a closed city, in the sense one is not sure what is happening; it's not really transparent. Of course, there are other big problems like the south area or places where there are old buildings for redevelopment, but it will take lots of years to come. With some actions, the city could start already today and make a quick smart plan. There is Rotterdam Marketing, of course, and they are doing a good job, but some extra effort would be welcome.

e. Additional Questions

#01:15:00-0# interviewer: Now that we finished all the general questions, I would like to ask a few extra questions more. We haven't talked about new development mega-projects like Kop van Zuid, together with the iconic Wilhelminapier. Do you know something about who developed it and how?

#01:15:23-6# Mr. Arends: It all started in the beginning of the 1980s by some of directors here. All the ground was government owned, but it was polluted and needed cleaning before the construction works. There was also a wish for an extra connection between the north and the south. Without the city government, Kop van Zuid wouldn't have been built as it is right now. So its like the oil stains among the VIP areas; if a quality is made in a place, it just spreads to other places surrounding it. It wouldn't happen in the next 2 to 5 years, but in about 10 to 15 years, there will be things to notice. The prizes in Katendrecht before redevelopment were about 1.100 euros per square meters, now they are about 2.500 per square meters and that is a huge increase in prices. There are actually houses for 50.000 euros in Katendrecht to be built, and nobody would have guessed that in 20 years a house for that price could be sold there. Therefore, Kop van Zuid was a catalyst project for the surrounding areas, but the area itself is only 125 ha. It was a traditional top down planning from the city of Rotterdam together with the harbour company. If a developer want to build something there, he has to buy the ground from the city, and then the city gives additional restrictions or quality measures for the buildings they want to develop. If a developer bought the rights to build, he could choose an architect; that is how it officially went. At the end we build about 15.000 houses on Kop van Zuid and over 250.000 square meters of offices. Iconic Wilhalminapier is a part of the Kop van Zuid.

#01:21:04-0# Mr. de Grave: I think on the average the developers have like 3 or 4 architects for the plan and then they chose one.

#01:21:16-7# Mr. Arends: There is still a supervision of Kop van Zuid by Riek Bakker. She was the one who started the Kop van Zuid transformation and she still is evolved in the project, as a key urban designer in Holland. Every time a developer wants to develop a building within the Kop van Zuid, he could chose a shortlist of potential architects, and then a discussion with the supervisor follows.

#01:22:15-9# interviewer: Thank you very much for the interview.

8.5. Academic Background of the Author

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- 28.02.2014 Defense of the doctoral dissertation “Urban Identity in Change – a Comparison between Frankfurt and Rotterdam”
Published in May, 2014, TU Darmstadt
- 05.2013 - Teaching and research associate (Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter) on the Urban Design and Development Unit (Prof. Dr.-Ing. Annette Rudolph-Cleff), Faculty of Architecture, Darmstadt University of Technology, Germany
- 2012-2013 Member and scholar of the Graduate School of Urban Studies “URBANgrad” (TU Darmstadt, Centre of the Research Excellence *Urban Research*)
- 2008-2010 M.Sc. Degree in International Cooperation and Urban Development (TU Darmstadt, Germany and UPMF Grenoble, France). Erasmus Mundus scholar. Thesis title: “The Role of NGOs in Determination of Conservation Policies – a Comparison between the United Kingdom and Germany”
- 2005-2008 Teaching and research assistant on the Architecture and Urbanism Unit, Faculty of Civil Engineering Subotica, University of Novi Sad, Serbia
- 2004-2007 M.Sc. Degree in Contemporary Architecture and Urbanism (University of Novi Sad, FTN, Serbia). Thesis title: “Ground-floor Houses of Urban Type in Subotica, Serbia from the 19th Century and from the Beginning of the 20th Century”
- 1996-2003 Diploma (Dipl.-Ing.) in Urbanism and Infrastructure (University of Novi Sad, GF, Serbia). Final exam title: “Urban Structures Development, City of Subotica, Serbia”
-