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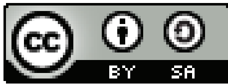
The history of urban planning



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The history of urban planning in Germany begins in the 19th century and is characterised by the new social phenomenon of a divided creation of towns by private landowners and the local authority responsible for planning. Urban planning emerged against a background of technological and sociopolitical changes. The essential threads of urban expansion, urban redevelopment and the emergence of planning instruments will be outlined alongside central developmental phases chronologically up to 1990, emphasising the continuities and disruptions.

1 New planning conditions at the turn of the 19th century and the development of planning law

At the turn of the 19th century, the factors influencing urban growth and urban structural development were restructured according to the altered political, social and land law conditions. Private property and the private commercial handling of land formed the new underlying conditions for spatial development. Public ▷ *Planning* declined in significance. Since then, the history of ▷ *Urban planning* has been a continual process of negotiation to regain influence on the part of local authorities and to implement planning instruments in order to steer urban development.

1.1 The conditions and limits of planning

Until the 18th century, the planning and construction process was predominantly subject to public control. The important factors were access to land in the form of sovereign possession and the monopoly position derived from this, as well as extensive compulsory purchase laws. The inviolability of property therefore played a significant role during the French Revolution of 1789. The protection of property was not fundamentally new; it was part of Roman law, which had been valid for centuries. However, the new element was the political liberation of property from the restrictions that had been attached to land for centuries by the state sovereign power as the primary owner, which prevented the free development of property. From the French Code Civil of 1804, land ownership was legally enshrined as 'undivided' property. The state was defined as the new decisive power, in the sense of a public position of authority and not as the primary owner (Schröteler von Brandt 1998: 43 et seq.).

▷ *Urban development* therefore ran into new planning restrictions in the 19th century, and public influence on planning was heavily curbed. The impetus for modernisation initiated by the use of new technologies and the rapid growth of industry and population in towns could not be controlled by spatial means. Planning through private commercial relationships and according to the conditions of the land market (▷ *Land market/land policy*) was increasingly characterised by compromises between public planning agencies and landowners. The extensive sell-off of publicly owned property in the first half of the 19th century diminished the opportunities for intervention even further. City planning therefore became the work of many – often contradictory – individual interests.

1.2 Building regulations, building line planning and compulsory purchase

The part played by the three essential instruments of city planning – building regulations, building line planning and compulsory purchase – differed in this era, under the new social conditions from their previous application within sovereign planning practice, where they were used to control urban development and to regulate the construction process. Building regulations were retained in the 19th century as an instrument on a local level with regional particularities, and it was only in the 20th century that generalised state building regulations were established. To this day, the compilation of building regulations falls under the responsibility of the federal states.

The potential for intervention through planning and land law by means of building line planning and compulsory purchase had to be put on a new legal basis. The French compulsory purchase law of 1810, which became the template for almost all the subsequent compulsory purchase acts in Europe, enshrined both comprehensive rights and forms of participation by landowners and stipulations on the potential for intervention by local authorities. Compulsory purchase was tied to the local authorities' obligation to pay compensation.

The Napoleonic compulsory purchase acts of 1807 and 1810, in addition to regulations on compulsory purchase and compensation, also contained statements on planning with the possibility of creating alignment or building line plans. These laws were also applied in the French-occupied Rhineland and remained intact when this territory was transferred to Prussia in 1816. For the vigorously growing industrial cities in the Rhineland, alignment plans were set up which were known as *urban design plans,* with the aim of taking transport aspects into account in the growth of the city.

When, under the effects of the popular revolution of 1848 and the increasingly urgent problem of expanding cities, the demand for a universally binding ▷ *Planning law* grew stronger in Prussia, the many years of planning experience in the Rhine province proved advantageous (Schröteler-von Brandt 1998: 653), since until that point, there had been no standardised procedure for compiling building line plans in Prussia.

In 1855, a significant step towards the standardisation of construction plan methods in Prussia was made by a 'ministerial decree on the construction and execution of urban building and reestablishment plans', on the basis of which major urban expansion plans were compiled in Prussia, such as the Hobrecht-Plan for Berlin (1858 to 1862). The first generally applicable planning and urban development law in Prussia, known as the Prussian Building Line Act of 2 July 1875, adopted the scope and methods of planning practice in the Rhineland: methods already tested there formed the basis of the Prussian legislation. According to the Prussian Building Line Act *(Preußisches Fluchtliniengesetz)* of 1875, local authorities formally received the right to create binding land-use plans (▷ *Binding land-use plan*) as their own responsibility. This right, also described as planning autonomy, has been upheld until this day and was codified in Article 28 of the Basic Law *(Grundgesetz)* of the Federal Republic of Germany .

In 1874, the Prussian Compulsory Purchase Act *(Preußisches Enteignungsgesetz)* was passed, and together with the Building Line Act of 1875, private property owners in Prussia could now be involved in the costs of building roads. Many previous plans in the 19th century had foundered due to the obligatory payment of compensation, which was necessary when thoroughfares were relinquished. Likewise, interventions in building stock which would have made sense from a planning point of view to improve transport conditions were avoided with compensation payments in mind. The strong political representation of house owners in the communal parliaments in Prussia further exacerbated the problem of implementation.

2 Urban expansion and urban redevelopment in the 19th century

2.1 Minimal stipulations in early urban expansion plans

City planning in Germany in the 19th century was essentially geared towards steering the development of transport by setting the course of the street through defining building lines. Controlling the use of individual lots by specifying the building density or the building height was not permitted, thus enabling maximum exploitation. Construction was only limited by a small number of building regulation provisions. In Berlin and other growing cities, extensive urban areas with an extreme building density soon emerged. These often consisted of building blocks with rear courtyards staggered one behind the other, which created extensive social and hygienic problems (Schröteler-von Brandt 2014: 102 et seq.).

Until 1875, there was no possibility of involving private builder-owners in the cost of building roads. This meant that, as a rule, very large building blocks were developed and thoroughfares were minimised. The Hobrecht-Plan for Berlin, named after James Hobrecht, also incorporated the existing road network, buildings and plots. The building line plan was intended purely for street planning. In the 19th century, there were as yet no examples in Germany of controlling ▷ *Density* by restricting the building height and buildable areas, of non-remunerated separation from the thoroughfare, or of private individuals contributing to ▷ *Infrastructure* through a land tax (such as in the urban expansion plan for Barcelona in 1858).

In Germany, as in all the growing industrial nations of Europe, private companies, often those known as terrain businesses, were largely responsible for construction activity. This applied both to the construction of the first railways and tram lines and to the provision of local public infrastructure and the development of land for housing. They provided the motor for spatial development in the urban expansion zones. In particular, the construction of railway lines resulted in significant restructuring of urban design in their vicinity.

Alongside urban expansion in cities (▷ *Urban expansion*), new settlement structures (▷ *Settlement/settlement structure*) emerged in the Ruhr area and Saarland due to industrial development in the mining regions; these largely took the form of workers' settlements near the pits and steelworks. The workers' dwellings were run and implemented by the industrialists through private planning. The first examples of urban design reform were also implemented here.

2.2 Urban redevelopment in the course of city-formation

The first planning interventions in the existing urban structure as part of ▷ *Urban redevelopment* were intended to adapt centres to the new urban functions. The growing population towards the end of the 19th century increased the demand for new facilities for trade, ▷ *Services* and culture. In the course of what was known as city-formation, the inner cities (▷ *Inner city*) took on these new tasks in the cities and for their periphery.

In Germany, the old towns predominantly remained the locus of trade, administration and culture. Their urban design structure remained intact, since – with a few exceptions – there were

no instruments for comprehensive regeneration. Landowners, too, were still largely uninterested in changes of use. The new business city often grew up next to the old town or stretched between the old town and the new railway stations, such as in Aachen or Mannheim. The new cities from the 18th and early 19th century, which were laid out according to a grid structure, also proved advantageous for the new traffic volumes and for development as shopping centres (such as Oberstadt in Mannheim or Friedrichstadt in Berlin).

The practice of urban redevelopment in the second half of the 19th century was mainly concentrated on small-format measures and on adapting the old town structure by means of clearing existing structures for new streets or widening existing ones based on purchases made on the private market. A few planned regeneration measures such as in Hamburg, Berlin or Strasbourg (Schilling 1921) were the exception. The first so-called hygienic regeneration in Hamburg at the end of the 19th century, which involved the complete demolition of old neighbourhoods, not only served to improve the living situation but, in the Mönckebergstraße, also served as an early example of functional urban redevelopment, replacing the residential area with a new commercial street.

Nineteenth-century urban redevelopment measures involving intervention in the old town and the implementation of far-reaching planning ideas such as in Paris or Vienna were only possible in those places where land was in public ownership or where there was a comprehensive range of instruments for intervening in private ownership.

The radical urban redevelopment of Paris by Eugène Haussmann (1853 to 1870) comprised extensive intervention in the existing old town structure on the basis of French compulsory purchase legislation (1810/1852). The town was able to accelerate its restructuring into a city with a well developed transport network, a modern water and sewage supply, and the establishment of covered markets and public parks. A majority of the old buildings fell victim to a demolition and rebuilding process which was unique on this scale; one of the consequences of this was the extensive displacement of the ancestral population from the inner city.

In other European cities, it was possible to meet the growing need for expansion zones in the inner cities by utilising the abandoned, contiguous fortifications, thus requiring no encroachment into existing old buildings. For example, from 1857, the city of Vienna was able to erect a representative urban expansion by building on the grounds of the old fortress in its possession as part of one of the first large planning competitions.

3 Urban design reforms around 1900

In many German cities, pervasive urbanisation had led to hygiene and social problems. Towards the end of the 19th century, within different social strata, criticism of the unhygienic, cramped living conditions in cities increased. Because housebuilding was governed by speculative interests, which resulted in extremely poor living conditions, there was an increasing fear of the disadvantages of economic and macrosocial development. There were various urban design and housing policy reforms around the turn of the century.

3.1 Reforming the form of urban design

Some approaches to reforming ▷ *Urban design* dealt with the changed possibilities for organising urban planning. The 'reformed building block' – a concept that was developed by P. Mebes and A. Geßner, among others – aimed at solving the lighting problems in the enormously dense building blocks of the tenement towns by using narrower building blocks and foregoing the narrow rear courtyard constructions. The 'mixed or differentiated construction method', which was first discussed in Berlin by R. Eberstadt and T. Goecke, aimed at reducing the large building blocks while inserting more streets (Fehl/Rodriguez-Lores 1981). Instead of the consistently dense construction with deep building blocks such as the Berlin tenements, a building density which decreased from the edge of the building block towards the inside was intended to increase the quality of life. Alongside different building heights and street widths, different building and housing typologies were also offered. Mixed construction is used to this day in city planning and enables different types of housing to be offered on a single plot.

3.2 Decentralisation and the deconcentration of the city

The ▷ *Transport infrastructure*, particularly railway construction, enabled both industry and residents to leave the dense cities and start new development initiatives in the suburbs and at the peripheries. In the search for cheap building plots, settlements grew up further outside the cities, and spatial development appeared in the new garb of metropolitan agglomeration (▷ *Agglomeration, agglomeration area*). The core city and regions increasingly interfaced with each other, and as a consequence, the first large incorporations of one municipality by another took place. New planning instruments were not necessary for suburban developments. Construction was virtually always initiated by private associations, and binding land-use plans were compiled for the implementation. The necessary land purchase had taken place in advance by private acquisition.

Decentralisation was also the basis for one of the most significant approaches to reform of the time. Ebenezer Howard had developed his garden city concept (1902) as a so-called 'town-country-town' and presented it as an alternative spatial development to metropolitan growth. Alongside the extensive functional mix and the urban design structure of the small house with a garden, land reform based on joint, cooperative land ownership played a central role in Howard's model. Howard's garden city idea only survived in fragments in the form of green, garden city-like residential areas on the outskirts of the city. The German garden city movement received new impetus around the end of the 19th century, and significant urban structural settlement plans, such as Margarethenhöhe in Essen, the garden city Staaken in Berlin or the works settlement Piesteritz, near Wittenberg, were created. Alongside the rapid proliferation of villa settlements from 1900 onwards, the pressure on the erection of decentralised, privately owned homes as suburban family houses and as an alternative to the urban tenement increased.

3.3 Expansion of planning instruments

In the inner cities, growing densification and unhygienic living conditions increasingly revealed the shortcomings of building line planning, since it was neutral in terms of use and made no pronouncement on the construction method and density values behind the road limitation line. Attempts to enact a generally binding regulation on land assembly, i. e. for the merging and

reclassification of private parcels on the basis of a city plan, also failed. Particularly in areas with highly fragmented land ownership, a regulation on the reorganisation of plots was regarded as urgently needed. Only a few federal states in Germany had already created a legal basis for this, including the Baden Local Road Act *(Badisches Ortsstraßengesetz)* of 1896 or the Law on Land Assembly in Hamburg *(Gesetz zur Umlegung von Grundstücken in Hamburg)* in 1892.

Since there was no generally binding urban development law, many towns tried to codify regulations on classification into so-called building zones in their local building regulations. The division of the ▷ *City, town* into zones of use, with corresponding pronouncements on the construction density, was intended to control construction development better. Individual construction classes with different construction types (such as closed, open or semi-open) were formed, which are essentially still valid as planning categories today.

These building zone regulations, which can be seen as predecessors of today's ▷ *Preparatory land-use plan* according to the Federal Building Code *(Baugesetzbuch, BauGB)*, were handled in utterly different ways in different cities. They increasingly became the cornerstone of public planning at a local level. In addition to pure street planning, an attempt was made to codify the desired separation of functions by means of the building zone plan and by incorporating the provisions into the local building regulations (see, for example, the building zone plan for the city of Frankfurt in 1891, for Mannheim in 1901, or the scaled building regulation for Munich from 1904) (Schröteler-von Brandt 2014: 138 et seq.).

The General Building Law for the Kingdom of Saxony *(Allgemeines Baugesetz für das Königreich Sachsen)*, enacted in 1900, was the first urban design law in Germany. The binding land-use plan in Saxony not only set the building lines for thoroughfares but also provided stipulations on the type of construction, on building height, building distances, front gardens and the permissibility of commercial facilities, etc. Land assembly was enshrined as the central means of planning implementation.

3.4 The reform of housing development

The urban design reforms were flanked by innovations in ▷ *Housing development*. Significant for urban structural development in the 20th century were the laws enacted in 1889, which enabled what was known as the public benefit and the creation of cooperatives. With their orientation towards construction for the 'less well-off' and with a restriction of rental profits to 4%, these laws were intended to boost housing development. In return, the new cooperatives for the public benefit were rewarded with low mortgage interest rates and tax breaks.

In housing development, the new type of self-contained small flat was conceived for family housing. The separate flat, with its own access and with a kitchen, bathroom and lavatory inside the flat, was intended to replace the open type of tenement housing where private areas were not separate. From the 1920s, this type of flat prevailed, since the public financing of residential construction and relatively secure wage and working conditions made it affordable for a broad section of tenants.

4 The Fordist business model and its effects on city planning

Until the 1970s, the urban structural development lines of the 20th century were closely connected with social changes. So-called Fordism (names after the automobile manufacturer Henry Ford) is ‘characterised by the guiding principle of “growth and consumption”, which links constant productivity growth with the continual increase in the living standard of the population’ (Schmitt/ Schröteler-von Brandt 2016: 26). With the technological innovation of the petrol engine and electric motor, the industrial production process had fundamentally changed in the direction of standardised mass production with intensive use of machines at a conveyor belt. The subsequent growth phases, with the advancement of the Fordist system of goods production and distribution, caused an expansion of jobs. In this context, one speaks of the modernisation of the way of life as a behaviour caused by new production methods and new consumption patterns.

The effects of Fordism on city planning were expressed in the increase in car traffic but also in decentralisation and in the tendency towards the deconcentration of the city. The separation of functions now became a spatial principle for urban planning. The centralisation of production and markets was followed by the urban structural creation of large facilities for central production, offices and sales.

The urban structural guiding principles (▷ *Guiding principles for urban development*) and future models were based on the Fordist restructuring of society. The ‘City of the Present’ for three million people, which was designed in 1922 by Le Corbusier, and the ‘Slab Block City’ by Hilberseimer (1924) represented the factual translation of Fordist thinking to urban design. The associated radical rejection of the Wilhelminian city and its structures was expressed not only in the new settlements but also influenced the regeneration of old towns. An example is Le Corbusier’s proposal for regenerating Paris, the Plan Voisin of 1925, which intended to replace the old town with a city of skyscrapers. A further redefinition of urban design was the inclusion of landscape and green spaces in the settlement structures (▷ *Landscape*; ▷ *Green belt*). The previously closed urban spatial structures were developed into open urban landscapes.

The application of Fordist structures henceforth influenced urban development from the Weimar Republic through the National Socialist era up to the Federal Republic of Germany – despite all the social disruptions.

5 Urban planning in the Weimar Republic

The end of the First World War brought about drastic political, economic and technological changes. With the Weimar Constitution *(Weimarer Verfassung)* of 1919 and the abolition of the three-class franchise system of voting, Germany received a democratic parliamentary form of government. Planning legislation in Germany was also renewed through the Prussian Housing Act *(Preußisches Wohnungsgesetz)* of 1918. The efforts of housing reform to create humane ▷ *Housing* received a legal basis for the first time, including stipulations on the building density and on funding housebuilding. The compulsory purchase of plots as an option to create healthy

living conditions was also incorporated into the Prussian Housing Act. With the exception of a few additions, the Prussian Housing Act was valid up to the reconstruction laws of 1948/49 and the individual regulations up to the Federal Building Law *(Bundesbaugesetz)* of 1960. The efforts to introduce a standardised urban design law in the Weimar Republic failed; a draft presented in 1931 for a Reich Urban Design Act *(Reichsstädtebaugesetz)* remained at the draft stage.

5.1 The increasing importance of state housing policy

In the Weimar Republic, ▷ *Housing policy* took on a vital significance. The state responded to the war-related housing shortage after the First World War with restrictive measures such as the controlled housing economy, living space management and statutory rent control. Given the decline in private investment in housing development, publicly subsidised housing development played a major role. Housing associations for the public good were founded in towns everywhere.

The state's contribution to financing housing development was to be characteristic of urban structural development in Germany until far into the 1970s. Because of their high quantitative share, particularly after the Second World War, the buildings created by publicly subsidised social housing shape the appearance of West German cities in large areas (▷ *Cityscape*).

5.2 Urban expansion through publicly subsidised housing development

Whereas in the first post-war years, publicly subsidised housing development predominantly meant the construction of emergency settlements and allotments, the funding between 1924 and 1931 was concentrated on the construction of small settlements and multi-storey blocks of rental flats. The Reich guidelines for housing *(Reichsrichtlinien für das Wohnungswesen)* of 1929 propagated the building of detached houses with a flat roof and multi-storey blocks of flats with three to four floors at the most. In the outer zones of the city there was a clear 'down zoning' of construction types in order to meet hygiene requirements and guarantee sufficient aeration and ventilation. The increased standardisation and rationalisation of housing development was to reduce costs further.

The proportion of settlements with the features of the so-called 'new construction' type was low in the Weimar Republic. However, the projects which were implemented, with their diverse approaches to reform, such as in Berlin, Frankfurt or Hamburg, became synonymous with modernist building in the Weimar Republic. The settlement programme by Ernst May in Frankfurt, for example, changed the urban structural form from building blocks to housing rows, and the prevailing ground plan was for a self-contained house for a nuclear family. The approach to building changed, and standardised construction elements were introduced as part of the settlement programme. This standardisation covered the entire construction process: door and window elements, door fittings, plumbing units and several other components were standardised. New construction materials, such as steel concrete and glass, were used in prefabrication. As well as this new type of housebuilding, the new organisational structure of building firms also showed a close connection to Fordism. The responsibility for construction shifted to large building firms which had the organisational structures and financial means to rationalise and modernise the construction process.

Because the options for intervening in existing buildings were still insufficient, urban redevelopment in old neighbourhoods continued to rely on fairly small-format measures, such as in the city centres of Frankfurt, Kassel or Cologne.

On a conceptual level, there was a push towards functional urban redevelopment involving a demolition of the old town and an orientation towards a separation of functions; in reality, construction activity was concentrated in the new build areas.

6 Urban planning in the National Socialist period

When Hitler seized power in 1933, the Nazi party programme and a totalitarian dictatorship factually replaced parliamentary democracy. During National Socialism, the spatial organisation and design of cities was also radically subjected to the Nazi ideology and 'total planning' (Harlander 1995: 15 et seq.). The new organisational areas of the Nazi party took over the traditional state and municipal responsibilities and were directly subordinated to the authoritarian party leadership. One consequence of this reorganisation was the breakup of the cooperatives, site offices and housing associations for the public good. The new centrally administered economy and concentration of power promoted industrialisation according to the Fordist model, which could now be enforced on a broad scale.

6.1 New guiding principles for spatial planning and urban design

▷ *Spatial planning (Raumordnung)* and city planning were based on a fundamental criticism of the city. The medieval town and the German tradition of small towns were propagated as the urban structural guiding principle.

Massive funding was directed into the creation of new industrial cities such as the new town of Wolfsburg, planned by Peter Koller, or the 'Hermann Göring Works Town' (now Salzgitter), planned by Herbert Rimpl. Ideal patterns for spatial development in the 'conquered Eastern German territories' were created, such as Town X in 1936, which was to be created on the island of Usedom. In 1942, a 'Directive for the planning and design of towns in the incorporated Eastern German territories' was published.

The state-funded housing programmes of the Weimar era were continued. Above all, the construction of small flats, a shift of construction activity to the smaller and medium-sized municipalities and the building of homes for 'the core workforce' were at the forefront of pre-war housing policy. During the war years from 1940, the construction of shelters for bomb victims, preparations for social housing after the war and the continuation of the Eastern plans dominated. Social housing planning concentrated on the standardisation of ground plans and rationalised sequences within building production.

6.2 Ideologically motivated urban redevelopment

Urban redevelopment in the Nazi era continued the groundwork laid in the 1920s. The measures were intended to 'heal the city' and 'rescue the old German town'. In many towns, the demolition and rebuilding of 'unhealthy' residential areas began, which was predominantly aimed at the political cleansing and breaking up of the inhabitants, but also included the regeneration and preservation of historical monuments. The legal basis for urban redevelopment was provided by the Law on the Redesign of German Towns *(Gesetz über die Neugestaltung deutscher Städte)* of 4 October 1937. According to this law, urban structural measures could be carried out in certain areas designated by the *Führer* and Reich Chancellor Hitler. Compulsory purchases could be declared on the basis of the so-called 'Führer decree'. The regeneration of the old town or inner city residential areas began in many cities, such as Frankfurt and Hamburg.

In the Gau towns, urban redevelopment measures were geared towards representation of the party. The 'Führer principle' was to be visualised through urban structural and construction measures. Planning for the imperial capital of Berlin and the Gau capitals was overseen by the General Building Inspector, Albert Speer. However, the planning for Berlin, Munich, Cologne and Hamburg was on far too large a scale and never properly got off the ground due to the war.

7 Urban expansion and urban redevelopment after 1945 in the Federal Republic of Germany

City planning in West Germany after the end of the war predominantly focused on reconstruction and the provision of housing for the population. A factional dispute flared up over the direction of reconstruction between the continuation of modernity on the one hand and orientation towards traditional towns on the other. Although the modernisers largely prevailed in the professional discourse, the practice of reconstruction was rather different. The existing ownership structures and small property formats did not permit a speedy, comprehensive reorganisation of plots. The infrastructure of roads and canals was still largely intact, and many houses that were only partially destroyed could still be used. Reconstruction in the old towns was therefore largely based on the existing town layout. The only measures taken to adapt to the new traffic conditions were necessary expansions of existing public thoroughfares and clearing existing structures for new streets.

In the overwhelming majority of West German cities, particularly in medium-sized towns, restoration-based reconstruction prevailed, for example in Freiburg, Freudenstadt and Münster. Some cities, such as Hanover, Kassel or Essen, became prime examples of modernity. A majority of towns developed mixed concepts between reconstruction and restructuring and handled the reconstruction pragmatically, giving priority to transport concerns.

7.1 Setting the housing policy and planning law framework

The decisive course for housing development in West Germany was charted in 1950 with the adoption of the First Housing Development Act *(Erstes Wohnungsbaugesetz)*, which laid the foundations for the development and financing of social housing. Housing policy was oriented

towards providing homes for broad sections of the population. The Second Housing Development Act *(Zweites Wohnungsbaugesetz)* in 1956 defined the promotion of ownership as a housing policy premise, thus creating the basis for suburbanisation tendencies (▷ *Suburbanisation*) and the detached house.

In the 1950s, publicly subsidised housing development dominated, and in the following decade, too, around a third of buildings were erected with public funds. These buildings continue to characterise the city outskirts. From the 1960s, the state gradually withdrew from funding housing development.

The legal basis for planning was created very gradually in West Germany. It was only after lengthy debates that the Federal Building Law *(Bundesbaugesetz, BBauG)* was adopted in 1960, thus placing planning law within the legislative power of the federation. However, the law did not introduce any fundamentally new insights into urban structural practice. The Federal Building Law of 1960 enshrined a two-stage planning process: a preparatory ▷ *Urban land-use plan* (the preparatory land-use plan) and a binding urban land-use plan (the binding land-use plan), as well as the interplay between both sets of planning instruments during the planning process. The Federal Building Law focused on growth-based urban development and on regulations for urban growth in the form of urban land-use plans. Statutory regulations for regeneration were left out and were only enacted 11 years later in 1971 in a separate Urban Development Promotion Law *(Städtebauförderungsgesetz, StBauFG)*, which not only provided the legal foundation for regeneration planning, but also regulated the allocation of funding by the federation and federal states for the implementation of planning.

The two-part structure of the legal foundations for steering urban planning development was abandoned in 1986, and the two documents were combined in a new Federal Building Code. The Urban Development Promotion Law was repealed and regeneration legislation was included as the ▷ *Special Urban Development Law* from section 136 of the Federal Building Code. Financing was no longer governed by law, but by an annual stipulation in an administrative agreement between the federation and the federal states. Federal financial assistance in the form of the ▷ *Urban development promotion* increased almost constantly from the mid-1980s.

7.2 Construction boom in the urban expansion zones

The construction boom in the 1960s and 1970s was evident in the urban expansion zones, in which large connecting areas were bought up by the local authorities and developed according to modern urban structural guiding principles as an open urban landscape and from the viewpoint of a separation of functions. A broad professional and political consensus prevailed concerning the type of construction in the urban expansion zones: a rejection of the compact city of the Wilhelminian period with its building block structure in favour of the 'deconcentration of the city', the orientation towards the principle of an urban landscape with spacious green belts and a lower settlement density, division into manageable, socially mixed neighbourhoods and, finally, the establishment of the car-friendly town with a separation of different forms of transport.

The broad consensus concerning planning criteria was also reflected in urban structural guiding principles, such as the idea of the 'structured and dispersed city' by Göderitz, Rainer and Hoffmann (1957), the 'organic city' by Reichow (1948) or the concept of the 'space city' by Schwagenscheidt (1949), which stipulated car-friendly development, a cell-based settlement

structure and the installation of central public amenities (▷ *Central public amenities*). The implementation of these guiding principles was facilitated by a governmental freeze on land prices and consequently low land prices, as well as by the cities' policy of intensely stockpiling plots.

7.3 Urbanity through density

In the 1960s, these guiding principles came into the crossfire of criticism: the extensiveness of the suburban settlements with their one-sided orientation towards housing was viewed as a loss of ▷ *Urbanity* in the city. With the new guiding principle of *urbanity through density*, new urban structures were to emerge by means of more compact designs, the propagation of high-rise apartments, and by replacing housing rows with contiguous closed spaces and 'apartment blocks with staggered facades' (▷ *Urban hierarchy and urban structure*). At the same time, the new guiding principle legitimated a higher density, since the relaxation of the governmental freeze on land prices caused land prices to shoot up, with the result that the looser settlement structures could no longer be financed. In addition, the new settlement units were created as so-called large settlements for an even greater number of inhabitants and residential units. The property developers in the large settlements largely relied on prefabrication to minimise costs. Thus, large, structurally and developmentally monotonous settlements emerged such as the Märkisches Viertel in Berlin (1963 to 1974), Hamburg-Steilshoop (1970 to 1976), or Cologne-Chorweiler (1960 to approx. 1990).

7.4 From demolition and rebuilding to cautious urban renewal

Fixed rent prices for old buildings, which lasted into the 1960s, meant that structural investment in the building stock was still not very lucrative. In the course of economic growth and the speculative expectation of higher returns in the zones on the outskirts of the inner city due to city expansion, investments in old buildings which were in great need of modernisation initially failed to materialise, even though they had considerable amenity deficits and construction deficiencies. Regeneration policy was overwhelmingly focused on tearing down in the sense of demolition and rebuilding. In this so-called 'hard phase' of ▷ *Urban regeneration* until the mid-1970s, districts deemed to be antiquated were extensively and frequently cleared. Many early projects, such as the regeneration of the Berlin districts of Kreuzberg and Wedding or of Dörfle in Karlsruhe, followed this drastic regeneration strategy, which was often described as 'removing eyesores' (Schmitt/Schröteler-von Brandt 2016: 88 et seq.).

In the mid-1970s, the limits of growth became apparent, triggering a sociopolitical trend reversal. Under the motto of the Association of German Cities in 1971, 'Save our cities now', the building stock and the preservation of historical heritage was allocated a higher value. The demolition and rebuilding was criticised and dubbed the 'second destruction of Germany'. With the European Year of the Conservation of Historic Monuments in 1975, an understanding of the value of the inherited building stock grew, and the modernisation of existing areas in the sense of preservation-based renewal (▷ *Conservation of historic buildings and monuments/heritage management*) began.

The restoration of the old towns in Bamberg, Lübeck and Regensburg, as well as in Berlin-Charlottenburg, followed this changed urban structural guiding principle. The amendment to the Federal Building Code in 1976, the introduction of modernisation programmes around 1974 and the federal states' laws on the conservation of historic monuments supported a renewal policy oriented towards the preservation of existing stock.

The mid-1980s brought another trend reversal in the form of urban renewal oriented towards the inhabitants of the district in question and the cautious, preservation-based urban renewal which is still practised today. Urban renewal was increasingly linked to aspects of social, employment, ecological and cultural policy. The most important objectives of cautious urban renewal, alongside the extensive preservation of the building stock and its modernisation, were the protection of inhabitants from displacement, their ▷ *Participation* in the planning process, and the strengthening of the endogenous development potential of districts. Early examples of cautious renewal are the urban renewal in Berlin-Kreuzberg as part of the International Building Exhibition in the 1980s and the urban renewal in Hanover-Linden.

8 Urban expansion and urban redevelopment in the German Democratic Republic

The German Democratic Republic (GDR) was founded in 1949. A new basic programme for urban structural development was presented in 1950 in the form of the '16 principles of urban design' *(16 Grundsätze des Städtebaus)*. Planning was to be concentrated on the historical building block structures of the city, while at the same time remedying the deficiencies in hygiene, infrastructure and transport. As part of the reconstruction and according to the guiding principle of national tradition, construction on the Karl-Marx-Allee in East Berlin was implemented as a showcase project for the new socialist urban design. Another significant example of orientation towards this guiding principle is the foundation of Eisenhüttenstadt (1956).

8.1 Settlement construction using the industrial prefabricated building method

From the mid-1950s, a trend reversal took place and industrialised building methods were declared to be central to housing policy, since the industrialisation of building methods, including the standardisation of housing types and of structural components, and the development of modular systems and central operating structures promised an increase in housebuilding and a solution for the extremely urgent demand for housing. The assembly construction method became the main method of housebuilding in the German Democratic Republic. The phase of industrial housebuilding and standardised types, such as the residential building line WBS 70, reached its zenith in the 1970s. 90% of industrial housing development took place in this decade (Topfstedt 1999: 534). The comprehensive industrialisation of housebuilding was implemented consistently, since the building industry in the German Democratic Republic was organised in large production units. The departure from the compact urban structure of the early 1950s towards open construction rows can be seen, in particular, in the continuation of the Karl-Marx-Allee in Berlin.

Settlement units arose outside the old towns on large developed plots on which the industrial construction method could be effectively applied. The urban design structures were in line with industrial production and were composed of housing rows, point blocks and partially curved rows of buildings. The urban density was fairly low. The large settlements in Hoyerswerda or in Jena-Neustadt can be regarded as prime examples of this phase. Into the 1980s, large settlements emerged such as in Berlin-Marzahn, Berlin-Hellersdorf and Leipzig-Grünau.

8.2 Addressing the fabric of old buildings

City centres were also rebuilt using industrial construction methods. The historical old town building stock was completely or partially demolished and rebuilt in many places. As societal and social centres, the city centres were intended to be a counterpart to the capitalist city. In some cases, individual buildings reflecting sophisticated design concepts and architecture were erected, such as the city centre in Frankfurt an der Oder or Pragerstraße in Dresden. Modernisation activities began in the early 1970s in some districts of East Berlin, such as the Arkonaplatz or Arminplatz.

The existing large stock of old housing, which comprised around 65% of the entire housing stock, was given no political attention, since two-thirds of this was under private ownership. Because of the low rental returns, property owners lacked the necessary financial motivation, making investment in the building fabric essentially worthless for the owner. Difficulties in material procurement and the loss of traditional building techniques for the modernisation of old buildings due to the dominance of industrial construction methods were exacerbating factors. The inadequate maintenance measures increasingly led to a loss of housing quality, the dereliction of buildings and the exodus of residents out of the inner cities.

At the 6th SED (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands,* Socialist Unity Party of Germany) party conference in 1963, complex reconstruction was formulated as an urban design task and implemented for the first time in the old districts of East Berlin. In the 1970s, housing development programmes included increased reconstruction of the inner city residential areas.

The range of urban renewal strategies was expanded, and in addition to the demolition of entire areas and their replacement with prefabricated high-rises, parts of the old building stock and buildings of particular heritage value were preserved (Schulz 1998: 51 et seq.). A further urban redevelopment strategy was the creation of pedestrian zones, with an upgrading of the adjacent buildings (Rietdorf 1990). In the central, densely built-up districts dating from the Wilhelminian period, the building blocks were gutted and apartments were combined. The sanitary facilities were improved, supply areas were planned on the ground floors, and social facilities and green spaces were created. These strategies were indeed very similar to the preservation-based urban renewal in West Germany.

The best-known example of urban renewal in the German Democratic Republic is the rebuilding of the Nikolai district in East Berlin. On the basis of reconstructing the urban layout, some historical buildings were renovated at great expense, historical buildings were relocated and new buildings with industrially prefabricated structural elements of the WBS 70 were modified and erected with a historical-looking façade.

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