

THREE CONTRASTING APPROACHES TO URBAN REDEVELOPMENT AND WATERFRONT TRANSFORMATIONS IN HAMBURG: “STRING OF PEARLS”, HAFENCITY AND IBA (INTERNATIONAL BUILDING EXHIBITION)

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Figure 1: HafenCity Hamburg, view over Magdeburger Hafen and Überseequartier, Elbphilharmonie with tower cranes on the left hand side in the background.
Source: Dirk Schubert



Hamburg is the site of Europe's second largest port and is a tidal seaport city on the estuary of the River Elbe, 100 kilometres upstream from the North Sea. Hamburg's topography is shaped by the confluence of the smaller River Alster and its tributaries that flow into the Elbe. The city is characterised by Lake Alster in its middle and a port with ocean liners on the Elbe. The city-state Hamburg is part of the Hamburg Metropolitan Region which covers a settlement and economic area on both sides of the river Elbe of approximately 20,000 km² containing about 4.5 million inhabitants and 1.9 million employees. The functional interdependencies in the region can easily be understood by studying commuter patterns. Reflecting this regional interdependency, governance is based on the voluntary participation of three German federal states—Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony, and Hamburg. In addition, 14 counties from Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony are members of an informal “common sense” strategy for the metropolitan region based on the Regional Development Concept (REK Hamburg 2000).

As the metropolis and core of a region, Hamburg offers an outstanding technical, social, and know-

ledge infrastructure. However, the Hamburg Metropolitan Region not only has to strengthen itself within the region, acting “from the region for the region”, but also has to compete with other regions of Germany and Europe. Therefore border-crossing alliances and networks of large-scale partnerships with other regions and among the three federal states have to be contracted.

In addition, as the economy of the region grows, several challenges needed to be resolved at a regional, national and global scale.

One challenge is to meet the demand of the metropolitan housing market where there is a need for more suitable housing for the growing number of one- and two-person households and for older buyers, who are likely to choose quality over quantity. A 2004 forecast predicted that the city can gain an additional 80,000 inhabitants or 60,000 households by 2020. Altogether, Hamburg should have a positive balance of migration, with a focus on 15 – 30 year olds. The city offers attractive housing, employment, and education to this group, thus presenting an appealing living space. By contrast, the balance of migration within the surrounding suburban area is still negative, but

it is declining. To capture this housing market, substantial attention will need to be paid to improving the available housing stock and creating new housing for present inhabitants, young families, and newcomers.

At the same time, the sites to accommodate this demand were effected by restricted land availability. Unless this spatial imbalance was resolved there was a good possibility that many future commuters might end up living and paying their taxes in the suburban villages and towns not in Hamburg where they work.

Another regional challenge is the expansion of the port of Hamburg. Without regional cooperation, the city would be unable to provide space and accommodations to capture all of the demand. An example of this type of cooperation is “Süderelbe AG”, a public private partnership which was established to promote the mutual development of the regional competence cluster, i.e. “port and logistics”, “aviation industry (Airbus/EADS)” and others associated with the synergies between science and research facilities of the region. The goal of this project was to secure a high-quality location and quality of life for the almost 30,000

companies and the 800,000 inhabitants of the Süderelbe region. Their order reads “strengths strengthen” for growth, creation of value, and jobs.

The port also represented a great opportunity. As older less efficient port facilities began to decline, these areas represented potential redevelopment opportunities gifted with waterfront views.

Additionally, there are the national and global issues which might ensue from climate change, global warming, and climate protection are important City and metropolitan topics. Hamburg accepts this challenge with a broad climate protection concept, which is interdisciplinary, integrative, and has a regional aspect. It relies on active management of spatial resources, taking into account the increasing conflicts of use and the need for economical and sustainable land use in the port area and the region.

Therefore, regional marketing and internationalisation are therefore the new key projects of a metropolitan region. So-called “soft” location factors like quality of life and regional image are becoming increasingly important for successful economic development. The Hafencity and the IBA are two important examples of this.

A NEW URBAN DEVELOPMENT CONCEPT

Since April 2007, the city of Hamburg has had a new concept of urban development – the Spatial Vision of Hamburg. Since the publication of the last urban development concept of Hamburg in 1996, the so-called STEK (Stadtentwicklungskonzept 2007), important new development potentials have arisen, and important parameters have changed for the city. With a perspective of 10 to 15 years, the Spatial Vision for Hamburg identifies important topics and tasks for spatial development. Hamburg wants to seize the opportunities of a growing metropolis by mobilising its urban potentials and strengthening its character as a “green” metropolis on the waterfront. The most important aim of the plan reads “More city in the city”. With this demand, Hamburg consistently gives priority to higher densities, infill, and sustainable spatial development.

The advantages of urban renewal development are obvious: savings can be achieved by using the existing infrastructure of the city – from public transport to cultural and educational facilities, thus reducing the cost of new buildings. The loss of often-precious scenic and natural open space is minimized while built areas with scenic features will be renewed. The “Green Metropolis on the Waterfront” will be an important feature of Hamburg and a benchmark for the development of the inner city. This requires a responsible and sustainable use of space and resources. “More city in the city” means giving inner-city locations a high-quality urban shape by means of higher densities, new uses, mixed uses, and upgrading public spaces. More apartments and more jobs contribute to a higher quality of life.

As a growing city, Hamburg needs enough apartments to fulfil the demand of the growing population. Therefore, the city set itself a goal of building 5,000 to 6,000 new apartments a year. Urban conversion and infill requires the participation of many actors and often a large measure of long-term endurance. Often, local initiatives don’t want higher densities and infill, and there are many fights against new projects (“Nimby” – Not in my backyard).

The key strategy shall be understood as a spa-

tial strategic concept, which shows future emphases of action and does not follow the demands of spatially comprehensive planning. At the same time, it is an informal strategy that encompasses the key projects of the city, incorporating a vision of how these aims shall be realised. In a highly abstracted form the guiding plan shows the spatial structure of the city region and identifies the important topics which will influence future urban development.

The Spatial Vision of Hamburg also relies on the major growth industries of the city to strengthen their role as a driving force of the economic dynamic. These are industries that probably make large demands for space and that request specific locations, including businesses in the competence cluster...“port and logistics” and “aviation”, which are supported by various promotions. On the other hand the “creative industries” look for older buildings and conversions close to downtown. This economic dynamic is carried by a number of small- and middle-sized businesses. The creative economies like media, Internet technology and communication, film, music, and design are initiators and at the same time milieu-defining for the city. Hamburg has already established quarters like “Schanzenviertel”, “Karoviertel”, and “Ottensen”, which offer such a milieu for certain groups, but where displacement and gentrification are also important topics.

In the period following German reunification, many conversion areas of the Federal Armed Forces, the Post, the German Rail, and large hospital areas provided new urban uses. But most important, as in all seaport cities, is the conversion of derelict former port areas. As little as 10 years ago, the rapid worldwide increase in container transshipment and cruise ships could not have been predicted. In Hamburg, this development is taking place with an active port located in the middle of the city. The future space, technical infrastructure, new container terminals, and environmental protection requirements present a financial challenge for the entire city.

WATERFRONT TRANSFORMATIONS AND CITY/PORT INTERFACE AREAS

For many decades, the port areas of Hamburg had not been addressed by urban planning

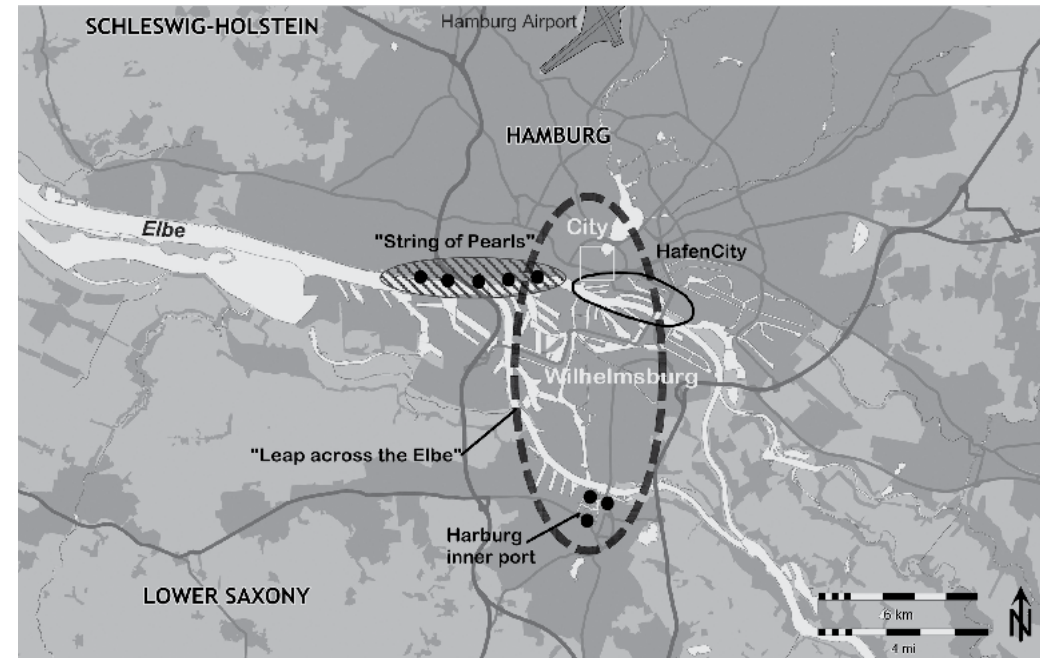


Figure 2: Map with areas of waterfront transformation in Hamburg

groups and were perceived as “no-go areas”, dangerous unsafe zones, and “facades of ugliness”, as well as diasporas and stepping stones for newcomers. The discourse on appropriate strategies for handling these areas has stirred controversy on the theory and practice of planning goals and priorities in other cities as well.

The term “revitalisation” of ports and waterfronts straddles a range of meanings attached to very diverse processes and plans. While port planning includes (internal) port development measures such as the reorganisation and relocation of port uses, urban planning now concentrates on changing former port economies to activities such as services, tourism, leisure, and housing. Terms like “quay”, “waterside”, and “embankment” describe areas, buildings, and facilities formerly associated with ports. Revitalisation, however, has no precise definition, but embraces a complex field of changing uses, rejuvenation and regeneration, redesign, and remodelling at the intersection of diverse interests connect at the interface of city/country - port/water. Hence, the terms “re-

vitalisation”, “change of use”, and “development” are often used synonymously.

The cycle of dereliction, neglect, planning, implementation, and revitalisation of old harbour areas, as well as the necessary construction of port infrastructures, are part of a complex network of stakeholders and interests. Derelict waterfront sites offer opportunities for new sustainable uses that no longer require sites close to the water. New waterfronts in particular mirror globalisation processes and have become locations for work, housing, and recreation favoured by the “creative class” (Florida 2005, Peck 2005) in knowledge-based societies.

· Everywhere, efforts are being made to compensate structural changes in cargo handling, ship building, and seaport industries, as well as the resulting loss of employment by way of revitalisation projects that exploit structural changes in an attempt to modernise urban economies. Although there are a great variety of influences such as project size, local and regional office, housing market, and timeframe

of planning and implementation, a roughly similar approach can be noted in targets chosen for regeneration and in the context of governance and planning cultures:

- Dereliction, relocation of terminals and port uses;
- Neglect of derelict areas;
- Planning, concepts, and designs for sub-optimally used former port areas;
- Implementation, construction;
- Revitalisation and enhancement of port areas and along waterfronts.

Generally, transformation begins in the oldest parts of the ports and cities, with small projects such as converted warehouses, and slowly moves to more peripheral areas that were redeveloped later. Initially, a step-by-step approach is often taken, beginning with the most attractive sites, but not integrating developments in a sustainable urban or regional (re)development strategy. In the context of stronger competition between seaports and the challenges of globalisation, waterfront redevelopment has to be integrated into a city-wide and regional planning and research perspective.

In the meantime, while much experience in transforming central urban waterfronts has been gained, frequently the targets of the projects are not adequately defined, and it is not clear what the indicators are for best practice and “success stories”. Often, this kind of project-based “research” is done with local studies and merely compares the situations before and after revitalisation. As not much trans-disciplinary comparative research in this field is available, such studies offer opportunities for identifying different structures of decision-making processes, different types of urban (re)development, and diverse socio-cultural conditions (Wolman and Ford III and Hill 1994, p. 838).

Compared with other planning tasks, a complicated set of competencies exists for waterfront revitalisation projects. They include national state responsibilities and ownership relations (like customs and regulations of the “freeport” - abandoned in Hamburg in 2013), different local authority competencies, and finally private rights and interests. However, the Hamburg Port Authority (HPA), with its special rules, and not the Ministry for Urban Development and the Environ-

ment (BSU), is the planning authority in the port of Hamburg. Thus, urban development planning can generally not be done in port areas and port related-waterfronts. Cooperation between the two Authorities is notoriously difficult.

BEGINNINGS OF REDEVELOPMENT: “STRING OF PEARLS”

After the end of the Cold War, Hamburg regained its central position as the most eastern port on the North Sea and as a gateway to the Baltic Sea. Most of the port is owned by the city of Hamburg and is governed by the Hamburg Port Authority (HPA). The port is perceived as part of the urban infrastructure, and capital investments in quays and harbour basins, and the maintenance and dredging of the shipping channel are important transactions in the city’s budget.

The waterfront along the northern shore of the Elbe in Altona, with splendid views towards the shipyards and ocean liners, plays a special role in Hamburg. As in other seaport cities, the oldest facilities and infrastructures from the mid-nineteenth century near the city centre became vacant or underused in the 1980s, and the port moved south-west-seawards, where new container terminals were built. When its port-related activities declined, public attention became increasingly focused on new uses for the area. In the early 1980s, the northern shore of the Elbe comprised a heterogeneous mix of land uses with buildings from the mid-nineteenth century to the post-war period. The idea of upgrading of this waterfront area raised high expectations. New uses had to be found, identification points created, and attractions for citizens, visitors, and tourists established. Revitalising measures on the waterfront were expected to have a positive impact on the city. The best locations were presented to companies and investors looking for new sites. A catchy name was found for the zone: “String of Pearls”. It was assumed that applying a coherent strategy for the whole area would be difficult, but that a string of spectacular projects based on a market-led approach would generate enough interest and, consequently, higher land values to upgrade the area.

Since then, a number of new buildings and conversions of older warehouses have significantly gentrified the area along the northern Elbe bank.

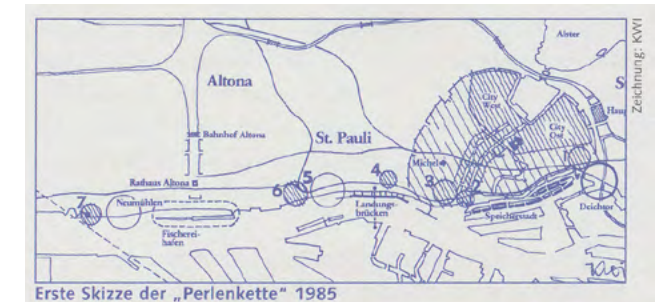


Figure 3: “String of Pearls” - Map of Projects along the northern shore of River Elbe
Source: Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Stadtentwicklungsbehörde, perlenkette hamburgs hafenrand. Die Revitalisierung des nördlichen Elbufers, Hamburg 2000

Most of the new projects are office buildings that include ground-floor restaurants. The long periods of time that pass from riverfront sites falling derelict to surveys, designs, and implementation works are due to different reasons specific to each project. The implementation of projects was not strictly governed by planning requirements, but by the availability of plots and developers’ interests as well as investment considerations that originated from different periods and planning contexts. The metaphor of the “string of pearls” suggests that there had been an urban planning concept, but it was not coined until the project was already under way. More than two decades after the start of the retrieval of public access to the waterfront, a promenade along the river connects the different parts of the transformation.

A GIANT STEP: HAFENCITY

The approach for HafenCity differs from the “string of pearls”. It is the most important urban redevelopment project in Hamburg – the most significant reclamation of the (outer) city centre for housing in Germany – and one of the largest projects of its kind in Europe. The HafenCity re-establishes the connection between the River Elbe and the city centre, giving Hamburg a new direction for growth: down to and along the river. HafenCity extends from the Speicherstadt (Warehouse District), to the Elbbrücken, the bridges across the river. For the first time, a large area is being taken from the port area and put to other uses. The existing site covers approximately 155 hectares of both old and new operational port facilities. It is surrounded by several neglected

housing estates, the wholesale market, industry, port facilities, and railway lines.

Begun in the late 1990s, HafenCity is the most important urban redevelopment project in Hamburg. Hamburg has adopted a plan-led, mixed-use approach for HafenCity. Following a competition for a Masterplan, specific districts were designed with a focus on offices, housing, shopping, and recreation. In a way, HafenCity is a latecomer project, where planners tried to avoid the mistakes of other waterfront revitalisation projects like mono structures in the London Docklands. Approximately 5.500 apartments for 10.000 to 12.000 inhabitants were planned, with projections for required social infrastructure, such as schools and community centres, based on these figures. The area is within the Elbe flood plain, making built and organisational solutions for the protection of people and buildings indispensable.

The Masterplan (2000) specifies the phased implementation of developments in sub-districts. It lays down the principal development sequence from west to east, avoiding uncontrolled construction activities throughout the development area. A zoning plan for HafenCity’s first phase was drawn up in 2000, and land sales started in 2001. A development agency was devised in 2002, and the first buildings were completed by 2004. The newly founded GHS (Gesellschaft für Hafen- und Stadtentwicklung GmbH, later HafenCity Hamburg GmbH) is responsible for the area and the implementation of its projects. A typical quango (Quasi autonomous nongovernmental organization) was set up to hasten development, and soon owned most of the land.

The federal state government fosters opportu-



Figure 4: Masterplan Hafencity Hamburg 2000.
Source: www.hafencity.com¹



Figure 6: Public transport in the Hafencity district: U4 subway, H Bus stops, Fähre (Ferry). Source: Hafencity Hamburg, Projekte, October 2014

Figure 5: View from Hafencity University building along Magdeburger Hafen, Überseequartier (southern part not built yet), temporary cruise ship terminal, Unilever Building and Elbphilharmonie (with tower cranes).
Source: Photo Dirk Schubert 2014



ities for growth in Hamburg and its metropolitan region (“Metropolis Hamburg – a Growing City”), Hafencity being its flagship project. In 2006, plans for the future centre (Überseequartier) of Hafencity were finalised. Construction of the characteristic mixed-use development began in 2007, starting with a new metro line. In 2004, a temporary cruise terminal received its first passengers at Hamburg. The world financial crisis caused some delays and office space vacancies in the Überseequartier. Implementation of the southern part of the commercial heart of Hafencity was halted, and a new developer must be found. The overwhelming demand for (affordable) housing can lead to more housing projects. In 2008, the Maritime Museum was opened in Speicher B (Warehouse B). The most spectacular project is a concert hall (Elbphilharmonie) on top of Speicher A (Warehouse A). This landmark project has attracted a good deal of international attention, not only because of the spectacular architecture but also because of rapidly increasing costs and delays in construction work. In the planning and construction phase, it became a distinctive international new trademark of the city.

An updated Masterplan for the eastern part of Hafencity was decided on in 2010. Three districts with a variety of uses are in the pipeline: the Baakenhafen neighbourhood will be used for different types of housing and recreation; Oberhafen will be transformed into a creative and cultural district, where existing older warehouses will be reused, and sport facilities right by the water will be provided; and the most eastern district, Elbbrücken neighbourhood, will be the entrance gate with higher buildings and a mix of offices as well as residential and shopping facilities.

IBA, IGS AND THE “LEAP ACROSS THE RIVER”

The river island Wilhelmsburg with the area “Leap across the River Elbe”, and the district Harburg are especially affected by the transit traffic. The separation of neighbourhoods by traffic roads and the noise exposure by road, rail, and air traffic have become a reality in many other parts of the city. Future important tasks for urban development are to find solutions that meet the desires of city residents for a better quality of life and

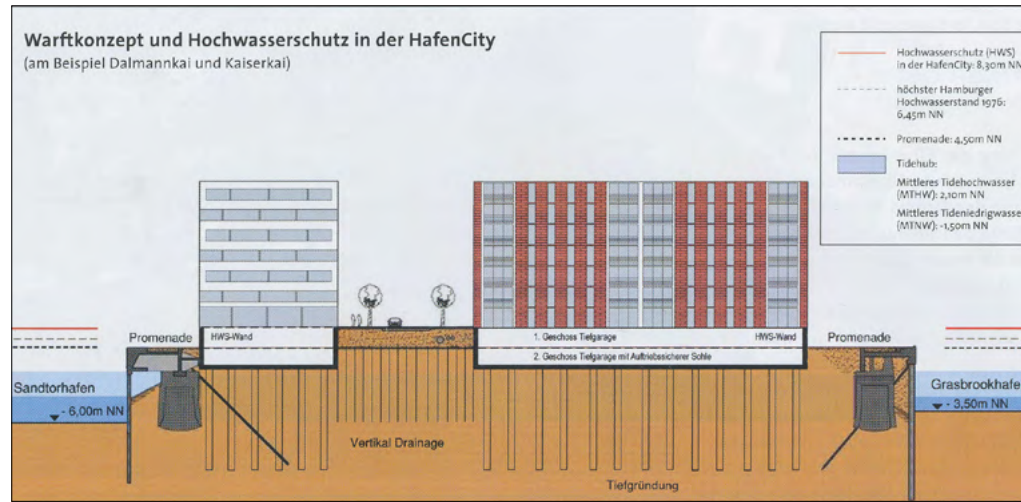


Figure 7: Flood protection and wharf concept in the Hafencity, where parts of the promenades can be overflowed (line means 8.30 over zero = safe).
Source: Hafencity Hamburg, Projekte, October 2012

Figure 8: View along the eastern part of Hafencity (under construction) with bridge Baakenhafen West.
Source: Photo Dirk Schubert 2014



simultaneously take into account the economic development of the city. So this is a special opportunity for Hamburg to move forward within an experimental scope during the preparations for the Internationale Bauausstellung IBA Hamburg (International Building Exhibition) and the International Garden Show 2013 (IGA), where many involved parties are integrated in a future discussion about sustainable solutions for urban development.

A new urban connection is planned from the city centre north of the river via Hafencity across the Elbe to Wilhelmsburg to Harburg Riverport and the south. Amidst these poles and bridge heads, Wilhelmsburg Mitte is expected to develop into a new centre. But most importantly, the Reiherstieg, canals, and the watercourses in Wilhelmsburg should become its new “life veins”. Wilhelmsburg will become the focus of iconic urban design projects. The strategy also includes

a more regional perspective, “Leap across the River Elbe” that is planned to improve the housing and living conditions within the area. The exhibitions are both intended to speed up the step-by-step approach to regeneration.

The dynamic port and the large river island Wilhelmsburg with their diverse city landscapes form conflict-laden interfaces, but at the same time represent an urban development potential of inestimable value. In 2013 the exhibitions visualised new ideas and solutions in this area for future life in metropolises. The “experience area” river Elbe is connected with the assignment to conserve this multifaceted area, to develop it and make it accessible and tangible to the people of the city.

Stretches along Reiherstieg and the southern banks of the Norderelbe are still mainly taken up by port-related and industrial uses, while the eastern side has a range of different residential neigh-

Figure 9: View along Dalmannkai - Residential buildings and Elbphilharmonie with tower cranes in the background.
Source: Photo Dirk Schubert 2014





Figure 10: List of IBA (International Building Exhibition) projects related to the superior objectives. Source: IBA Hamburg 2013

bourhoods. Flood control structures and noisy transport arteries crossing Wilhelmsburg lend it the character of a transit space. Conflicts between port uses, new terminals, the relocation of the dock railway, the cross-harbour link (Hafenquer-sperre), and new residential areas are inevitable. It is assumed that the “Leap across the Elbe” is a task that will span one century, occupying at least two generations. The IBA is not a classical building exhibition, but a demonstration project for new ideas of participation and planning procedures. The main topics are, briefly:

- **Cosmopolis:** Social inclusion, cultural diversity, improvements of education, and concepts for an international urban society;
- **Metrozonen:** Concepts for fragmented uses and development of inner edges of the city;
- **Cities and climate change:** Concepts for a sustainable metropolis, demonstration of environmentally friendly, renewable energy using own resources.

On the IBA Dock, a floating exhibition and office dock, the plans and models can be visited. Topics and goals for the future of metropolis can be explored as well the current status of IBA projects. All projects with an IBA certificate will be evaluated for criteria such as distinctiveness, feasibility, project capability, and structural effectiveness. By this project-led, experimental, and incremental approach the IBA hopes to generate a valorisation for the total island Wilhelmsburg in the long run.

REFLECTIONS ON FURTHER PROJECTS FOR THE FUTURE

Plans for the transformation of derelict waterfront sites in Hamburg started with a project and an architecture-led incremental approach along the northern river bank. Conflicts arising between urban and port development were dealt with case by case among the authorities and stakeholders. Rapid implementation of building projects was the prime goal. Hafencity implied a jump in scale and a more complex implementation strategy formulated with the city as a developer and a project embedded in urban perspectives of inner-city extension. Hafencity is a more plan-led and proactive approach, while improvements and updates of the plan related to changes in the of-

fice and housing market were possible. In 2000, the implementation phase was predicted to last about 25 years.

The “Leap across the River Elbe”, on the other hand, reorganised urban perspectives for the entire city. Using architectural projects, the geographical centre of Hamburg will be moved from the periphery into a new centre by means of a diverse range of projects and plans that are part of a long-term strategy. Initially, the existing building stock will be selectively enhanced and distinct innovative projects incorporated into an overall urban design concept that will restructure the interface between port and city. The upgrading of Wilhelmsburg will take many decades and must be balanced between requirements of the local inhabitants for affordable housing and dangers of partial gentrification.

The projects and plans illustrate paradigm shifts in urban planning that relate not only to Hamburg. Shortage of funding and deficits in the budget make untargeted subsidies impossible and enforce more flexible plans and concentration on the most important, i.e. flagship, projects with the most impact.

When more than 30 years ago discussions began on the redevelopment of derelict and sub-optimally used harbour sites, it was assumed that this would be a specific and unique planning task. Using experiences from North America, the new post-industrial waterfront was embedded in a re-invention of the city image. The waterfront was the place where the transformation from an industrial and Fordist city to the post-industrial and science-based city could be recognised; in a way, it was a shift from ships to chips (Schubert 2001: 131; Ward 2002: 342). In the 1980s, inexperience not only in Hamburg, but in other sites in Europe, unclear responsibilities, a bad image, and want for possible future uses allowed “pioneers” to exploit niches for their own purposes. This was soon followed by single redevelopments of (often listed) warehouses and the conversion of architectural heritage sites dating back to early industrialisation, into lofts and expensive private apartments. Soon it became clear that standardised regeneration models (“do a Baltimore” - referring to the Baltimore Inner Harbour and the festival market approach) were not delivering the best local solutions. The partly mono-functional and small-scale

approach to redevelopment of central port and derelict waterfront sites has now been integrated into large-scale strategic and often regional perspectives. Waterfront sites became integral parts of redevelopment and important components of comprehensive urban and regional concepts. Although waterfront areas similar to Hamburg are important elements for redevelopment and unique image factors for urban marketing, they are now often integrated in sustainable medium- and long-term regeneration perspectives, together with other brownfields, transport, and landscape planning projects.

Currently, the distribution of resources and power between terminal operators and logistics enterprises as “global players” and the cities and ports as “local actors” has become more and more unbalanced. Whilst the attention of large logistics companies is increasingly concentrated on investment returns and global optimisation strategies, (seaport) cities must consider local medium- to long-term perspectives for the development of their ports and urban areas. Today, the flow of goods is managed from business locations far from the ports. Important terminal operators such as the Port of Singapore (PSA) or Dubai Ports World act globally with a focus on horizontal and vertical integration, offering their customers bespoke logistics services. The part of global terminal operators (transnational terminal operating companies-TTOs) has significantly increased during past years (Juhel 2001, p. 143).

The postulate to stop thinking in terms of “city or port”, but of “city and port” instead, incorporating aspects of sectoral and comprehensive regional planning, collides with harsh reality. Merging the terms “competition” and “cooperation” into “co-optition” signifies a joint approach that is, however, still wishful thinking. It is important to abandon romantic and nostalgic views, as the planning of cities and ports will increasingly follow different development parameters. The future development in coastal regions and seaport cities is thus dependant on the interaction and development of the global economy, transport and ship building, nature and the environment, as well as climate change and, ultimately, the citizens’ interests. The conflicts of interest in coastal regions are similar all over the world – amplified by global development trends in the field of logis-

tics – and are expected to grow rather than lessen in the future. Architects’ visions as well as the covetousness of the real estate industry and urban developers, egged on by the media to convert harbour and waterfront sites into promenades and attractive housing, offices, and cultural facilities, clash with the requirements of port logistics and economies.

The largely automated terminal operation and the ISPS Code (International Ship and Port Facility Security Code) have made ports into high-security zones, strictly controlled and with limited access. This in turn implies the reversal of centuries of development: cities need their ports, but modern container ports no longer need cities; this outdated structure has become a hindrance to future development. The perception of port cities as one organisational and spatial unit consisting of city and port is replaced through decoupling and spatial specialisation.

The flagship projects are an integral part of their respective national planning cultures, urban regional housing and office markets, and globally established real estate and project management structures. At the same time, they document perspectives of European urban development from monocentric to polycentric (regional) cities. Although the ambivalence, fragmentation, and social polarisation continue to be significant on a small scale, they are embedded in large spatial contexts.

Spatial planning has thus gained in significance. Although city marketing is primarily concerned with landmark projects by “star” architects, they are now nothing more than important components within the whole city. The implementation of integrated and sustainable regional and spatial planning policies on the other hand is linked to different political traditions and planning cultures. Countries that have anticipated the increasing competition between seaport cities and, in response, adopted forward-looking regional strategies and new governance structures involving the relevant private and public stakeholders are likely to succeed in the long term. ■

Endnote

¹ http://www.hafencity.com/upload/files/files/z_de_broschueren_24_Masterplan_end.pdf

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