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**Ph.D. Dissertation in Engineering**

**Urban Regeneration in Germany: a focus on  
urban development promotion programs, social  
and affordable housing, and public participation**

**February 2021**

Graduate School of Civil & Environmental Engineering  
Seoul National University

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Advised by Prof. Youngsang Kwon

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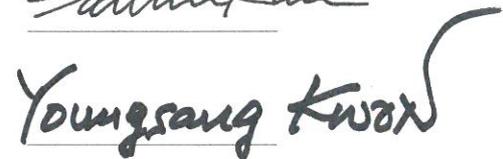
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## Abstract

Germany is a federal state, and the authority in decision making is split between the federal government, federal state, and communal level. This thesis examined the influence of and interests in politics on urban regeneration with respect to the interests of citizens and commercial actors.

In urban regeneration, the federal government determines the guidelines and decides on the promotion budgets. The 16 federal states each decide on economic questions in their state and exercise control on the supported projects, whereas the communal level realizes the projects. This system is established and accepted. Since the first urban development promotion programme in 1971, new programs aimed at addressing emerging challenges have been developed. This diversity has led to a complex system that means a high workload for the experts in municipalities. The system was reformed in 2019 with a leaner structure and new cross-cutting requirements. Moreover, mandatory green issues now apply to all programs.

The study conducted a SWOT analysis for the programs before and the ones since 2019. The analysis revealed that the federal financing programs were ideal solutions for the needs at the time. The update of a leaner programme structure will have to prove if the slogan announced by the federal government of 'easier, more flexible, greener' will fulfil its promise.

Urban development has been considered a national political task in Germany. The same is true of providing housing until a reform of the federal system in Germany in 2006 handed the responsibility over to federal states. Since then, the housing situation has changed unprecedentedly in bigger cities. The housing market focused on expensive housing. The need for social and affordable housing grew, but federal states did not implement any systematic promotion. The number of available units continue to be lacking.

The federal structure is a given fact in Germany. The study looked at new players in urban development. In 2018, retail store chains announced their intent to combine their interest in sales in the inner cities with the municipal interest of re-densification of existing housing areas. The current findings showed that this can be a win-win situation for the municipalities, retail stores, and citizens looking for living spaces. The retail store chains planned to offer housing units on top of existing one-storey buildings or build new retail spaces combined with housing units. The potential for this re-densification is high;

indeed, the companies may contribute significantly to re-densification and the provision of affordable and social housing.

The demand for public participation as a mandatory condition is increasing in urban development promotion programs. Scepticism remains on the side of local politicians and planning experts. The importance of federal policies is high for public participation. The federal laws and guidelines in federal programs support the public at the local level. The dissertation presented the workshop procedure in a Cologne quarter as an example of the combination of several key factors that underline the possibilities of citizen participation: the project started because of public demand; the city of Cologne is experienced in conducting participation processes; the quarter has a highly diverse profile; and the planning was finished for the area despite changing preconditions. The SWOT analysis of the process indicated that it was successful and could serve as a good example for all of Germany. Other tools, like digital communication, might be helpful for future procedures.

To the best of the author's knowledge, this thesis is the first to present a comprehensive, structured—and for non-Germans, understandable—overview of the urban development promotion programs, social and affordable housing, and public participation in Germany, all of which showed the impact of federal policies. The well-established federal urban development promotion programs were able to support thousands of projects. However, the federal states were not able to react adequately to unprecedented changes in the housing market. New players may need to be integrated in the social and affordable housing market. Moreover, public demand for involvement in planning procedures has apparent federal importance.

The current approach to link and consider several topics in the context of political impacts may lead to more studies on urban regeneration from different aspects, like climate protection, or comparisons among countries.

**Key Words:** Urban regeneration, urban development promotion programs, social housing, public participation, Germany

**Student Number:** 2011-31294

## Publication Notice

This Ph.D. thesis includes two published papers, a third is in the process of submission. All three were completed during my doctoral course at Seoul National University.

Chapters 4.4. and 5.2. of this Ph.D. thesis include some contents of the following published paper:

*Ralf Zabel, Youngsang Kwon, The transition in social housing in Germany: New challenges and new players after 60 years, ARCHITECTURAL RESEARCH, Vol. 21, No. 1 (March 2019) pp. 1-8. ISSN 1229-6163 eISSN 2383-5575.*

Chapters 4.1 to 4.3. and 5.1. of this Ph.D. thesis include some contents of the following published paper:

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*Ralf Zabel, Donghyeog Choi, Youngsang Kwon, Citizen participation in urban revitalization in Germany: A case study examining workshop procedures in Cologne is in process of submission.*

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## Abbreviations/Translations

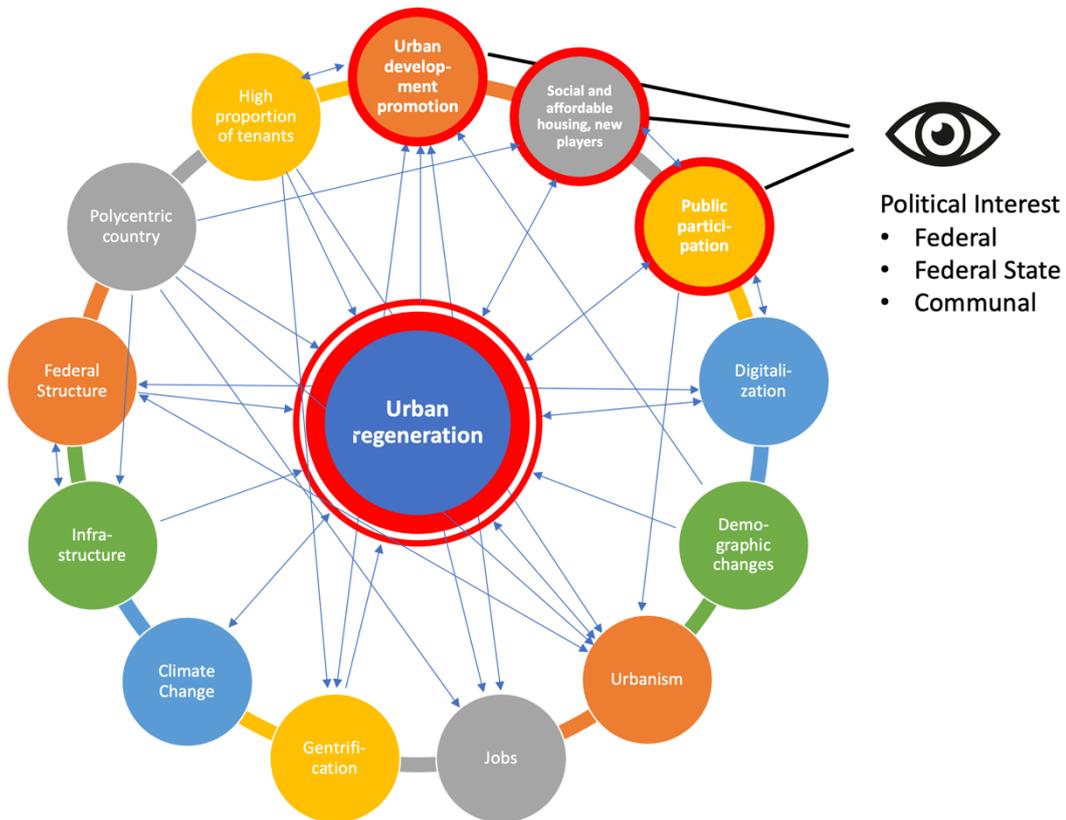
Abbreviation	German	English
	Aktive Stadt- und Stadtteilzentren	Active City Center and Sub-Center Program
BauGB	Baugesetzbuch	Federal Building Code
BBR	Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung	Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning
BBSR	Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt und Raumforschung	Federal Institute for Construction, Urban and Space Research
BMBF	Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung	Federal Ministry of Education and Research
BMI	Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat	Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community
bpb	Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung	Federal Agency for Civic Education
ISEK	Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept	Integrated City Development Concept
	Kleinere Städte und Gemeinden	Smaller Cities and Communities
	Lebendige Zentren – Erhalt und Entwicklung der Orts- und Stadtkerne	Lively Centers - Preservation and Development of the City and City Centers
	Soziale Stadt	Social City
	Sozialer Zusammenhalt – Zusammenleben im Quartier gemeinsam gestalten	Social Cohesion - Shaping Coexistence in the Quarter with Each Other
StBauFG	Städtebauförderungsgesetz	Urban Development Law
	Städtebauliche Sanierungs- und Entwicklungsmaßnahmen	Urban Reconstruction and Development program
	Stadtumbau	Urban Reconstruction

	Wachstum und nachhaltige Erneuerung – Lebenswerte Quartiere gestalten	Growth and Sustainable Renewal - Designing Liveable Quarters
WBS	Wohnberechtigungsschein	Voucher that grants the right to apply for a social housing unit
	Werkstattverfahren	Workshop Procedure
WW1/WW2	1./2. Weltkrieg	World War 1/2
	Zukunft Stadtgrün	Future Urban Green

# 1. Introduction

Cities and societies are constantly developing, and the frequency of related changes is higher than ever (Harari 2013). Germany is not an exception to this phenomenon, and German urban development policies have reacted to these changes. They have led to different, more specific urban development promotion programmes and more diverse planning tools (Guerra 2012). Changes in society have led to higher public interest in community urban development. Indeed, the demand of the people to be engaged in the urban development process is regarded as a tool in a direct democracy (Birzer 2015). Urban regeneration is more complex than in earlier times, such as after WWII, when the focus was on the reconstruction of cities and provision of housing. The diverse challenges have produced a multitude of tasks that prevail in parallel. For example, while providing housing remains an important task, preserving the functionality of city centres also needs attention. A small city might focus on tackling the impact of shrinking, whereas bigger cities tend to concentrate on the social integration within their city quarters. The complexity of the tasks has led to a highly increased workload for administrations, a challenge that the German government has reacted to by condensing the programmes to three and increasing the flexibility by introducing cross-cutting issues that apply in all three programmes on top of the core individual task of each (Bundesministerium des Innern 2019a).

Some of the developments in society and accompanying challenges are foreseeable. Demographic developments like ageing or a decreasing overall population announce themselves early, like with a low birth rate. However, estimations may be not accurate or may even be wrong with unpredictable changes, like migration waves owing to wars or economic changes, such as the case of the 2008 banking crisis. These unpredictable changes can affect the demography, economy, and need for housing, as well as a higher need for schools and day cares (Hochstadt 2006).



*Figure 1 Interaction of the various sub-topics in urban regeneration  
The three topics in this thesis are highlighted in red by the author.*

Urban development should cover both reaction to and anticipation of developments; it should prepare for the future. Germany continues to face the two major issues of digitalization and climate change. Digitalization can hardly be improved at the local level; it is a task that requires national financing for this specific objective. Meanwhile, climate change is a global issue. For measures to be implemented, it requires initiatives at all levels—national, regional, and communal. The question is if the existing German system for urban regeneration is well positioned for all of today’s and tomorrow’s challenges. The government has the possibilities and thus has to provide the infrastructure; a federal system is in favour of being able to establish and realize measures for the future (Rifkin 2019). In Germany’s urban development promotion programmes, started in 1971, the national government develops the framework. A financing system for sharing the cost between federal and federal state governments and the communities has been established for a long time. Meanwhile, the mandatory inclusion of green issues to the new 2020 German urban development programmes in all three programmes are well accepted. There is evidence that the ‘big lines’ of urban planning have to be ‘top-down’, otherwise green measures

might easily be ‘lost’ between other local needs. The realization of any project should, to the largest extent possible, be ‘bottom-up’ and regional to find acceptance. The German federal system provides the structure that can enable this requirement. The realization itself, economic decisions, and monitoring are provided by local and regional (federal state) authorities. In other words, the fact that urban development promotion is in the focus of the federal political public in Germany is seen as an advantage for German cities and communities (Altrock 2020).

Housing is a core issue in urban planning (Schmitt 2017). In Germany, the need for housing has taken an unexpected turn in its development. The German reunification had different consequences in the Eastern and Western federal states, all reflected in the urban development promotion programmes such as Urban Reconstruction. Demographic estimations and the economic situation have led to the assumption that federal monitoring is no longer necessary. In 2006, the responsibility for providing housing was handed over from the federal government to the federal state level as a part of federal reform. This decision has been proven wrong (Ringwald 2020, Schmitt 2017), confirming the conclusion of Rifkin that the ‘big lines’ have to be provided by the national government—in the German case, the federal government. Measures like rent capping and financial support for families have not closed the gap between offered and needed social and affordable housing.

Given the federal structure of Germany, the time is ripe to think outside the box. In my thesis, I look into a new approach that is a type of public–private partnership (PPP). For a PPP project, the government and a private investor typically sign a contract that enables the private partner to take responsibility for an otherwise sovereign duty. In social housing, the private partner is generally a construction or housing company. The current thesis presents examples that have a different arrangement. Here, I focus on retail store chains with a core interest in sales that offer to provide social and affordable housing built on top of their currently single-storey retail buildings. I explain that such a partnership is a win–win for the stores, which may offer shopping in the city centres, and the municipalities, which can achieve the urgently needed housing capacities without any financial commitment. Notably, this example is a niche in the market of social and affordable housing. Using the space on top of single-storey supermarkets could potentially produce an estimated 400,000 units (Tichelmann 2019). This housing model serves

urban re-densification, and thus unites urban regeneration and planning with public participation, as first projects have shown.

Urban regeneration mirrors society. Looking at mobility as an example, German cities developed from 'car cities' to 'cities for people', with cities shifting in focus from building car-friendly streets to people-friendly walking areas (Rüthers 2018). Parking space for cars only is no longer sufficient; people need parking space for their bicycles at public train stations. Meanwhile, the awareness for green issues and climate change is highly developed in Germany (Bundesministerium für Umwelt Naturschutz und nukleare Sicherheit 2019). These changes in society cannot possibly be embraced by only the city administration and involved city planners. The integration of the public in the planning is essential. In Germany, it is required by federal regulation, as part of the urban development promotion programmes, and demanded by the public. I include in my thesis a case study as an example. Industrial halls in a city quarter of Cologne would have been demolished without the public intervening. The planning process was finished recently, and the public has asked to be continuously involved in the next phases. Cologne is one of the German cities with the highest amount of experience in different models of public participation (Bundesministerium für Verkehr 2010). This is one of the reasons I chose this example for my studies. Initially, the project was started because of a public call. Another reason is the high diversity of the residents living in that city quarter. They are of a multi-cultural background; there are families and older people. Some are interested in theatre, others in gardening. There are groups facing challenges related to their integration in society. Still others are facing drug addiction. All of these diverse groups were integrated in the planning process. For the above reasons, I considered this case in Cologne a very good example for an accomplished integration of the public in an urban regeneration project.

Public participation is a tool of direct democracy. It is accepted and demanded by the public (Birzer 2015). The integration of the public in urban planning procedure is based on federal law. Federal governments have issued urban development programmes that include the mandatory demand for public participation. Local politicians and city planners, however, are on average still sceptical about the issue of including the public (Vehrkamp 2014). Nonetheless, the federal guidelines ensure public participation.

It will always be helpful to look at individual cases and new trends or reflect past developments in urban development in academic discourse. My approach of combining three topics gives valuable insight into German urban development. Other topics may be added to the discussion at a later point. Specifically, I looked into urban development promotion programmes, social and affordable housing with new players, and a case of public participation. I believe that all three are or should be in the focus of federal politics. There are more topics that have an impact on urban regeneration, such as demographic development, climate change, and digitalization. They also interact with one another. Of the many possibilities, I decided to focus on these three—urban development promotion programmes, new players in social and affordable housing, and public participation—and how they each relate to German federal politics (figure 1).

Regarding urban development promotion programmes, I highlight the importance that it be viewed as a federal topic. The system is established and accepted. The withdrawal of the federal government from the responsibility for housing has shown to be a mistake for social and affordable housing (Schmitt 2017). Private players may be a part of the solution to overcoming the lack in housing units, as this is no longer a federal task. Participation is demanded by federal law and the public itself. I looked at three topics in urban regeneration and showed the importance and impact of the federal government in relation to each. In the case of social and affordable housing, I investigated one possibility to think outside the box with new players.

With my thesis written in English, I address international readers. For non-German readers interested in understanding German regeneration and comparing it with their own or other countries, simply having access to information in English is not sufficient. Therefore, I also provided background information that contextualizes the topic, particularly the federal structure of Germany, the procedures in urban planning, and the way decisions are made within the federal structure.

## **2. Literature Review**

Germany has its own established system for the public promotion of urban development. This system differs from that in other European and non-European countries (Altrock 2020). Through this thesis,

international readers will see its unique points in general as well as the most recent developments, which were introduced in 2019 and initiated in 2020.

Urban development promotion is a topic in public national politics, referred to as federal politics. This is one of the key points of the German system for the public promotion of urban development, different from other countries. Thousands of different projects have been financially supported in this system in which the federal government provides the guidelines by establishing promotion programmes. The federal government, federal state governments, and communities have worked together to fix grievances in urban development since the system's establishment at the national level in 1971. Another key point is the demand for a fixed area reference and legal regulations with considerable possibilities for intervention in the use of land for urban development at the federal law level. The financing is well established. In general, one third is provided each by the federal government, federal state government, and communities. The communities are not left alone in the process of realization; they are offered a number of tools for consulting, evaluation, and exchange of experience (Altrock 2020).

In 50 years, the promotion programmes were set up to solve arising challenges. After the German reunification 30 years ago in 1990, the government was faced with the urgent need to preserve historically valuable city centres in the 'new' eastern federal states. More programmes followed, each with a specific target, leading to a high diversification of the programmes (see figure 11). This splitting into different programmes also had legal reasons based on the federal structure in Germany (Altrock 2020). These changes were part of the programmes themselves; they were learning programmes (Böhme 2018, Deutscher Verband für Wohnungswesen 2019a). After the German reunification, financing programmes for city planning measures diversified further (Guerra 2012). The most recent changes in this system were made to tackle future challenges in urban development. Jeremy Rifkin, an internationally known economist, has promoted the demand for a global green new deal as demanded by the United Nations. According to Rifkin, German Chancellor Angela Merkel considers the German federal state structure to be a very good basis for what Rifkin calls the 'third industrial revolution' (Rifkin 2019).

As in the case of urban development, the provision of housing has also been considered a political task in Germany. Traditionally, inventory development and housing are both core tasks in German urban

renewal. However, a look at the beginning of the new century reveals contrary development. In 2006, Germany instituted federal reforms. At the time, housing had lost its meaningfulness for politics as seen in the federal government's withdrawal from this task. The responsibility was handed over to the federal state level (Schmitt 2017). This development is described as leaving housing to the markets with a framework that structures as little as possible from the governmental side as the consequence of neoliberalism (Ringwald 2020). Since the changes in policy, there has been unprecedented development, while the need for housing and the gap between available and needed housing have continued to grow. These, and the fact that the market has focused on high quality, more expensive housing, have pushed up the price of housing. The highest impact of this development is seen in social and affordable housing. The rental binding in social housing ended, and many tenants stayed in social housing even after no longer fulfilling the preconditions for a housing voucher, as they did when moving in; meanwhile, fewer new units were being built (Koch 2017, Ringwald 2020). Ringwald focused on social housing, whereas the present work showed the differences in development depending on the involvement of the federal government or federal state governments.

As this thesis is also addressing non-German readers, I want to point out that Germany is a country of tenants. Other studies have discussed why the percentage of tenants is higher in Germany than in most European countries or the US, finding historical and socio-economic as well political system as relevant reasons. (Haffner 2017, Kohl 2017, Noll 2009, Urban 2015). However, the level of rents has increased in German understanding, albeit not so when compared on an international level. A comparison of rents in European big cities in 2018 showed that Munich, the city with the highest level of rent in Germany, is not even listed among the top 20 (Haufe Online 2019).

With my thesis, I aimed to show how federal political interest has led to a well-established system that, after 50 years, was 'updated' to provide the necessary flexibility to face future challenges. However, in reality, the loss of federal political interest has led to a decrease in social and affordable housing. Germany has still not succeeded to provide a sufficient number of social and affordable housing units. The lack of social housing is seen as a fact, with the gap between available and needed housing being the highest in big cities with a higher proportion of a poor population with a median income of 60% and less (Holm 2018b). The fact that social housing policy has been significantly changed by the handing

over of the responsibility from the federal government to the federal states in 1990, and the impact this had in terms of a decrease in social housing, has been highlighted not only by Schmitt, as said above, but also by other authors who have discussed the matter critically in their work (Noll 2009) or pointed out that providing housing is a mutual task of the federal and federal state governments to address the emergence of the vicious cycle of missing housing, increasing construction prices, and higher rents that have led to less affordable housing (Voigtländer 2015). The same author discussed the complex web of changes in policy, high construction cost, missing available space for housing buildings, increasing rents, missing interest of investors, and decreasing interest rates in social housing as a reason for the decrease in social and available housing units in Germany (Voigtländer 2014). In particular, eastern Germany faces a specific situation in social housing. It was struck more by economic changes attributable to the de-industrialization and lack for new social housing investors. Housing units formerly owned by the municipality or cooperatively became private property, and financial investors are not easily found. Most cities lost large numbers of inhabitants, leading to 35,000 housing units being demolished (Bernt 2017).

Some authors have focused on the impact of migrants and refugees and the fact that the need for affordable and social housing increased with the rising number of migrants, which has added to the already tense situation. Most migrants are initially provided with temporary housing; they would then need living spaces that are theoretically most easily provided in the social housing sector. This situation may lead to a 'rivalry' between the migrants and other groups in social need (Gliemann 2018). Nonetheless, migration has been seen as a factor with a positive long-term impact on the housing situation (Friedrich 2017). In this context, small and rural communities with their longstanding social structures are discussed as a beneficial factor for the integration of refugees (von Einem 2017).

Housing policies in Germany had focused on high quality housing for a long time. The target of increased quality has been reached; within Europe, housing quality in Germany is on average the highest across all age classes (Noll 2009). However, the fact that the federal government has withdrawn from the task of providing affordable and social housing to the market has led to a lack in this part of housing. This phenomenon, called the 'new housing question of the 2010s' (Rink 2020), became more visible when in 2015 a million migrants and refugees came into Germany. Although the lack in affordable

housing is seen more clearly because of the migration, the latter is not the reason for the former. The cause for the lack is complex, comprising a multitude of elements from the above-mentioned change in government policies to the vicious cycle of investments for high-quality housing in favoured big cities leading to higher rents and higher lack in affordable housing. Germany's housing issue that had been deemed resolved has returned (Holm 2014, Holm 2018a). Meanwhile, the development and maintenance of public spaces is an essential part of urban reconstruction and city planning. Therefore, federal and federal state governments cannot withdraw from financing; rather, they must counter the risks posed by private investors who only focus on their individual interests (Wékel 2018). In my studies, I found that this also applies to housing, especially social housing.

Academic discourse has focused on the history, development, and status quo of social and affordable housing in Germany. There are descriptions of housing projects, all following the known procedures. The possibilities for re-densification through the use of the space consumed by parking lots, or those on top of existing buildings were studied and showed: about 400,000 units could be built on existing or newly built single storey-buildings, like retail stores, discounters, and other markets, with no loss in surface for sales. In total, including other urban space, the same study estimated the generation of 2.3 to 2.7 million units (Tichelmann 2019). My thesis goes one step further by describing potential and already existing investors. The above-named study underlined the potential for this kind of investor in the market of social and affordable housing.

Today's societies change at a faster pace than ever. Digitalization and the demand to refrain from fossil fuel energy sources are new and huge challenges that must be tackled (Harari 2013). I describe in my thesis the involvement of new players in social and affordable housing. PPP are established internationally and bear risks and deficiencies (Leung 2005). In the housing economy PPP are studied and described (Brückner 2007). The projects described by both Brückner et al. and Leung and Hui are defined by the public partner on the one side and a private partner on the other. Both sign a contract for one of the phases in the life cycle of the project. Various models for the procedure are available, although it is always the private partner that takes care of an otherwise sovereign duty. In the case of retail stores, building new stores with housing units or adding housing units on top of an existing single-storey market would not involve any contract nor takeover of sovereign responsibilities. The permission to build is

bound to an obligation to build a certain number of social and/or affordable housing. There is no contract and no obligation for the municipality to bear any financial risk. For this reason, the definition of a PPP does not fully apply. Development of this type is very recent, with the first housing units finished only in 2019. Therefore, there is no academic literature thus far. The first case with a retail store chain that hesitated to fulfil its commitment to build the housing units has been settled and was published in a local paper.

Urban development promotion and social housing are, or should be, closely linked, as I show in my thesis. The same applies to public participation. In urban development promotion programmes and the question of social and affordable housing, the impact of public federal political interest could be shown. Meanwhile, the situation is a little different with public participation. As early as 1969, Willy Brandt, German chancellor from 1969 to 1974, dared Germans to seek ‘more democracy’.

In 1984, it was considered a novelty when Hardt-Waltherr Hämer (1922–2012), sometimes called the ‘father of gentle urban renewal’, asked inhabitants to participate in a building project and help avoid the demolition of a building complex by rebuilding it instead (Thomann 2012). Notably, the demand for citizens’ participation had been brought up by Jane Jacobsen 22 years prior. Jacobsen’s line of thinking was first introduced in the US in 1962, and it significantly affected the promotion of local participation in city planning and remodelling during the 1970s (Schubert 2012). Sherry Arnstein first published her Ladder of Participation in 1969. She herself said that her typology was meant to be provocative (Arnstein 2019). Arnstein’s demand was uttered in a different time, and her examples in urban renewal showed cases in the US and the ghettos (Gaber 2019). As such, they cannot be compared with the case in Cologne shown in this thesis. Nonetheless, her demand was heard, and citizen participation has since been introduced and discussed internationally, like with projects in several African, Asian and Latin American countries (Wratten 1994) and in a workshop in Romania that highlighted that the kind of participation reflects the system of power in a society throughout history (Urboteca 2018). Arnstein spoke of the ‘have-nots’ with little or no access to decision making. Meanwhile, a current major concern in public participation is the over-representation of ‘elite’ citizens (Bennett 2017). These citizens are generally educated and in an economic situation that would allow them to be engaged in public initiatives. To avoid over-representation and achieve actual representative public participation, the

authorities should invite participants randomly, as in a draft (Nanz 2012). In Germany, the different possibilities, with their pros and cons, have been studied in the public participation defined by the new building law issued in 2017. Recommendations for the successful cooperation between municipalities and the public have likewise been developed.

Research has been conducted on the structure of the different types of participation, focusing on the appropriate type according to the project. Different case studies have documented, analysed, and structured examples for the different planning processes of communities and their approach in detail, utilizing a wider aspect of planning tools for long-term developments (Hoback 2016, Kienast 2018). Some rules have proven to be essential in or in favour of an efficient planning process (Nanz 2012): The participants must accept and respect one another's points of view; the city planning team's expertise has to be accepted by the public but the public's concerns also have to be considered seriously by the city administration. This asks for transparency on both sides; the public should be included at an early point of planning, and promises should be kept (Bundesministerium für Verkehr 2010).

Looking at the beginning of public participation procedures, it may be concluded that the optimal solution may be for the design to be made by the top for everybody, the bottom (Urboteca 2018). Developing bottom-up participation has been a learning process, as shown in the conflicts of the late 1960s with one side taken by urban planning experts and the other, citizens or members of interest groups. This process therefore called for strategies (Arnstein 1969, Burke 1968). The step from acceptance of citizen participation as a necessity to active implementation in the planning processes of cities was not easy and rather lengthy. Today, citizen participation is seen in all decisions-taking processes in society, and the different procedures and tools are seen as a part of democracy. The topic is so diverse that various guidelines have been published, including a summary of the terms, tools, functions, hierarchies, forms, and categories, as well as examples of and tips for successful participation and sample presentations for training (Bertelsmann-Stiftung 2018, Birzer 2015, Nanz 2012, Paust 2016). The 1971 Urban Development Act (Städtebauförderungsgesetz) introduced a two-level participation procedure, whereas the 1976 Construction law established it as an aspect of development planning. Such laws enhanced the acceptability of city planning processes (Guerra 2012). Participation in urban planning brings together players with different interests, viewpoints, and expectations. This is seen

positively by the participating players, and they especially value direct communication (Schröder 2010). Different groups of participants may appreciate differently public participation as a part of democratic decision making. Politicians sometimes fear to lose their authority if citizens participate, although this has not been proven to be true. The bottom line is that public participation being a tool in direct democracy is well accepted by the public, albeit less so in ‘elite’ citizen groups and among decision makers (Birzer 2015, Paust 2016).

Each participation process supports valuable participation, and the public does not decide as requested as a long-term solution in the late 1960s (Nanz 2012). In the future, new tools, like digital participation, which offers the possibility for the easier and higher frequency in the exchange of thoughts. The recent literature provides examples of cities that have established guidelines for planning procedures that include the application of strong public participation in each planning process. Some cities like Munich started this 20 years ago, whereas others, only more recently (Hoback 2016, Schaber 2016).

Citizens are critical observers of urban planning processes, specifically in housing projects. Public participation is highly integrable in the planning processes until a final construction plan is set up. Planning procedures may follow different models in different cities (Kienast 2018). Workshop procedures similar to those shown in my case study are part of described planning processes. Meanwhile, a study by the Bertelsmann Stiftung viewed the public as ‘more ready for participation’ and demanding more direct democracy than many politicians and experts do in planning processes (Vehrkamp 2014). With the case study of the workshop procedure in Cologne Kalk, I show an example of how important public participation is. Without the public, the historic halls would have been lost. This case also shows how the public can contribute to framing their own community quarter. Public participation is another piece in urban planning that needs attention and can contribute to the future competitiveness of cities.

## **3 Materials and Methodology**

### ***3.1. Material***

The planning process of my thesis included a case study on citizen participation in Cologne-Kalk, which was completed in 2019. The research material is available online, on the website of the City of Cologne.

The workshop procedure is documented on the website created for the halls in Cologne-Kalk starting from the first meeting. The urban planning firm that moderated all workshops provided detailed documentations. The research also referred to a number of online and print newspaper articles. For the general aspects of city participation, I referred to literature and the publications of governmental research institutes, as explained in the context of urban development promotion programmes below. I studied the material mostly in 2018 to 2019 and looked for updates in 2020. For figures, I used the material available online and personal photos.

My thesis aimed to provide an overview of the most important funding programmes designed for city planning in Germany and, thereby, demonstrate the overall level of diversification of such programmes while discussing the long-term changes occurring in both these programmes and the citizen participation/application processes. This required a literature review of the extensive information provided by the federal government and some federal state governments and governmental institutions, as well as of the studies conducted by various institutes. For historical topics and some overviews, I referred to the Federal Agency for Civic Education (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung) and authors in the Literature Review section. The governmental publications for all topics, including citizen participation, urban planning promotion programmes, and social housing, included those by the Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community, which is responsible for urban planning in the current legislative period. I also looked into publications of the Federal Ministry of Education and Research. The programmes are closely followed by scientific institutes. The Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning (Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung, BBR) is home to the Federal Institute for Building, Urban and Spatial Research (Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt- und Raumforschung, BBSR). The institute publishes its own studies or entrusts urban planning or economic institutes to study defined projects or evaluate funding programmes after a certain period of time. Its partners include the German Institute for Urbanistics (Deutsches Institut für Urbanistik), German Economic Institute (Institut der Deutschen Wirtschaft, IW), and Research Institute for Regional and Urban Development (Institut für Landes- und Stadtentwicklungsforschung, ILS). I also looked into publications of the corresponding departments at universities. To ensure a sufficient point of view from the practical side, I read and used published opinions of relevant national organizations of architects, housing companies, tenant

associations, and German cities. For all topics, I also referred to published political publications, such as the inquiries of a party in the federal government or federal state government, the Bundestag, or a Landtag. Some foundations financed by political parties have published studies of interest for urban development, demographic development, and social change. Newspaper articles and even press releases were used as valuable resources for information and in formulating questions for delving deeper regarding certain topics. My research for this part of my thesis goes back to 2010 to 2011. In 2019 and 2020, I looked for updates online on my literature sources. The journals have all been made available online.

For the aspects of affordable housing, I focused mainly on literature, but also considered some press articles and papers published by the German government regarding requests of parties in the 'Bundestag' (German federal parliament). All data, such as those on demographic changes and numbers of people migrating from other, mostly eastern European countries and countries like Syria and Afghanistan, were collected from official federal and state government sources. Most of them are up to date and not older than 2015, as are estimations for population development. As for retail companies involved in the housing market and data on these, I relied on newspaper articles, both in print and online, and turnover data published by trade unions or recognized economic institutes. Social and affordable housing are current and often discussed topics in Germany. I limited my research to the fact that once I had several media sources, I would not go any deeper. Press releases are company statements. Nonetheless, I found them useful to learn the status quo of projects. All of these articles were available on the internet when I undertook this research. I refrained from going deeper into more historical or social aspects, as I wanted to avoid a mostly political discussion, and rather focus on the aspect of affordable housing in urban development and re-densification. My research on social housing was mostly conducted in 2018 and updated in 2020.

For all the topics in my research, I relied on information provided online by the Seoul National University Library.

### 3.2. Methodology

In my research, I focused on urban regeneration. I started with the urban development promotion programmes. One of the key issues of the programmes is providing housing. Another aspect in the programmes is an increasing demand for public participation while the programmes developed.

Looking on what I had studied so far, I recognized the importance and impact of federal policies for all three topics. I then focused on the following research questions:

- Which are the key points that made urban development promotion successful over the past 50 years?
- What happened when the federal government withdrew from the task of providing housing?
- Can the entry of new players in social and affordable housing be a game changer?
- How can the contribution of public participation be valuable for urban regeneration?



Figure 2 Research questions and sources for data

These research questions led to the overarching and summarizing question: What influence and interest do politics have in urban regeneration with respect to the interests of citizens and commercial actors?

Both quantitative and qualitative data were used in the study. For the city quarter of Kalk in Cologne and the status quo of housing, particularly the lack of social and affordable housing, I used quantitative data on the inhabitant profile. For the estimated demographic changes in big cities, I retrieved the data from publications of the Bertelsmann Stiftung to use comparable data from the same source for all cities. My source for qualitative data were websites provided by Cologne City, the Bertelsmann Stiftung for data on demographics and public participation, and studies by institutions for the needed housing units. I collected the data myself from the different sources focusing on demographic changes, the history of housing, urban development promotion, and public participation. I used literature, newspaper articles, online publications, and press releases for the new players in social and affordable housing. Most of my data tended to be qualitative.

To answer my research questions, I conducted a literature study of academic papers and reports published by the German government and research institutions, as described in the Materials section. I also collected data provided by the German federal office and the respective offices at the federal state level for statistics, as well as institutions like the Bertelsmann Stiftung, to obtain background information for topics like migration and the demographic development in cities. These data were in some cases indirectly part of this thesis.

For the benefit of non-German readers, I used PowerPoint to draw figures explaining the German federal structure, cost sharing in urban development, changes in these programmes, and development in social and affordable housing. I grew up in Germany, and as such, I was able to come up with some figures based on my general knowledge. Nevertheless, I checked the details on government websites. The figures on the development of social and affordable housing were created based on the referenced literature.

I visualized the key factors and translated graphs when they were only available in German. For this and for a clear understanding of the processes, I used Microsoft PowerPoint to produce figures, the timeline for the case study in Cologne, and the SWOT analyses. I collected and compared data in Microsoft Excel sheets. I visited Cologne-Kalk to form a personal impression, talk to some people who happened to be there in the halls or on duty for a security company, and take photos. The content is a summary of what I found in the material described above.

I used my personal books on urban planning, social housing, and migration, as well as journals I had collected from 2010 to 2011. The data obtained from the internet (governmental sources) were collected and compared in Microsoft Excel and visualized with PowerPoint.

For the comparison of the key points of the different urban development promotion programmes, I collected data from different governmental publications in Excel sheets to structure the data for an overview. Microsoft Excel and PowerPoint were used for creating tables, rebuilding and translating figures, and visualizing processes and hierarchies. I prepared screenshots of pictures available online. These figures that I created myself are all based on the data I collected from literature. Some are based on my knowledge as a German citizen. I also used my personal books and journals for background information on urban planning and development promotion. For referencing sources, I used EndNote.

	Urban development promotion	Social & affordable housing	Public participation
Federal	Federal issue The federal government introduces the programs		Federal law Mandatory part of federal urban development promotion programs
Federal state	Economic decisions Monitoring	Federal state issue since 2006	
Communal	Realization and application	Lack of social and affordable housing	Well accepted and demanded
My argument	This system is well established and has the flexibility to address future challenges	Opportunity with new players	The case study shows that the workshop worked well and contributed to the development of the quarter

Figure 3 Overview of the three topics of this thesis

My research scope was German urban regeneration with the transition of the programmes for urban development promotion, the development in social and affordable housing, and the possibility of retail store chains entering this market. I also considered the impact of the federal government on public participation in urban planning processes as well as conducted the case study in Cologne-Kalk.

I decided to combine the three topics in my thesis because doing so would enable me to show clearly the importance of the federal government’s attention and impact for urban regeneration, as a phenomenon that is unique to Germany (Altrock 2020). Thus, I was able to show the consequences of

shortcomings to this impact, the need for new private players, and the way public participation may be supported by the federal government making public participation mandatory. To my knowledge, this is a novel approach.

## **4. Urban regeneration in Germany**

To give a better understanding of the German policies in urban regeneration, I provide here some background information on Germany, its cities, and the legal basis for urban planning in Germany. As previously mentioned, the German system is not only unique but also a part of the public national political interest (Altrock 2020).

### ***4.1. Cities and communities***

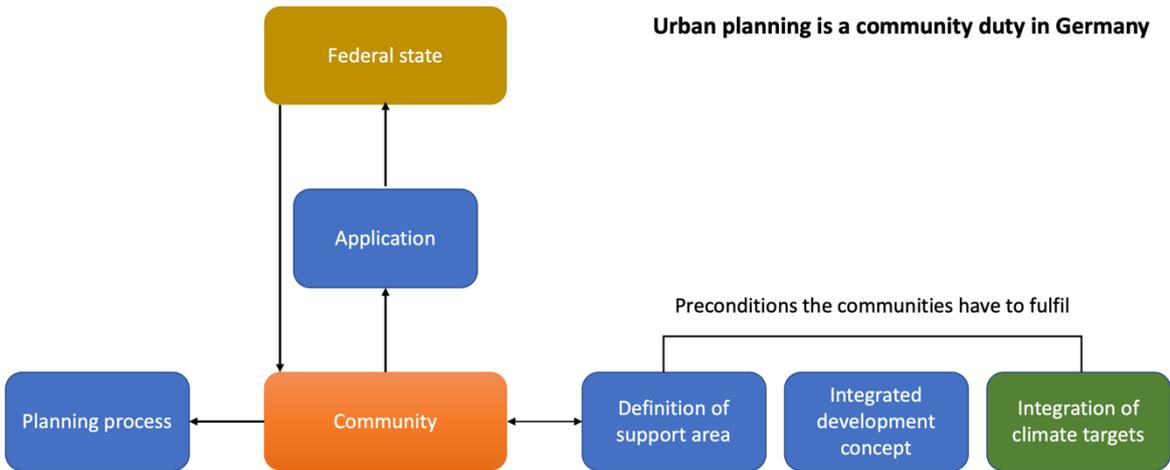
In terms of population, Germany is the biggest European country (83.1 million inhabitants). Germany is a polycentric country, with metropolitan cities Berlin, Hamburg, and Munich, which are small (or tiny) compared with other European or Asian metropolitan centres like Paris, London, Seoul, or Shanghai. In Germany any city with more than 100,000 inhabitants is considered a big city. None of the 20 mega cities worldwide is in Germany (Ribbeck 2008). In Germany, 31.8% of the population live in 80 big cities, four of which are home to more than 1 million inhabitants. 28.7% live in medium size cities, 29.2% in small cities, and 10.3% in rural areas (Porsche 2018).

The polycentrism also includes the fact that Germany has many cities. The Deutscher Städtetag, or the German Association of Cities, counts 3,400 members, representing 53 million inhabitants. These cities can be categorized in terms of their size. They all also possess their own unique profile in terms of history, landscape, economic situation, location, infrastructure, and demographic profile. Even cities in close vicinity may differ significantly.

Nearly half of all inhabitants live in a rental, which is the highest proportion in all of Europe. While the percentage of people living in densely or medium densely communities is 77%, as mentioned above, many Germans have expressed a desire to live in the countryside, where only 22.6% live.

**4.2. Legal basis for urban planning**

The urban development promotion programmes and their structure are based on legal facts that are specific to Germany. The German constitution (Grundgesetz) gives in § 28 the authority for city planning to the communities (Federal Republic of Germany 1949). The communities fulfil preconditions, such as defining the area to support, and they develop an integrated development concept. Moreover, obligatory since 2020, they define their targets in tackling the impact of climate change with their projects. They then apply for financial support at the respective institutions in their federal state (figure 4).



*Figure 4 Planning processes in urban development*

*Urban development represents a task and duty of German communities. Communities must fulfil certain preconditions (definition of an area to support, development of an integrated development concept, and definition of climate targets) and then apply for financing to their federal state.*

The federal government issues the funding programmes that outline the conditions for financing and also establish the preconditions the communities have to fulfill. In this way, the federal government is the most influential factor for the general outline of German planning, which may change with a newly elected government. The Ministry of the Interior, which is responsible for urban policies, underlined in its press release for the new urban planning promotion programmes that all three had been thoroughly discussed with the representatives of the federal states (Bundesministerium des Innern 2019a). An

approval of the governmental body of the federal states, the German Council, is not requested in this case.

Figure 5 shows the structure of the government bodies in Germany with respect to their direct involvement in urban planning.

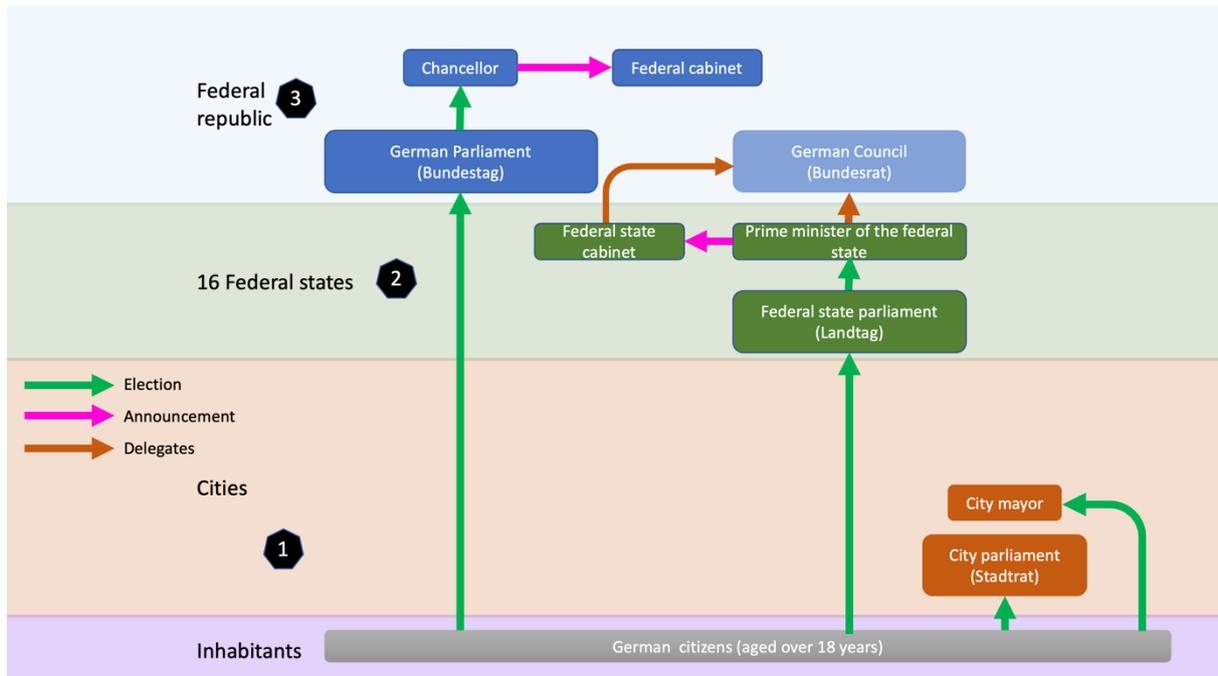
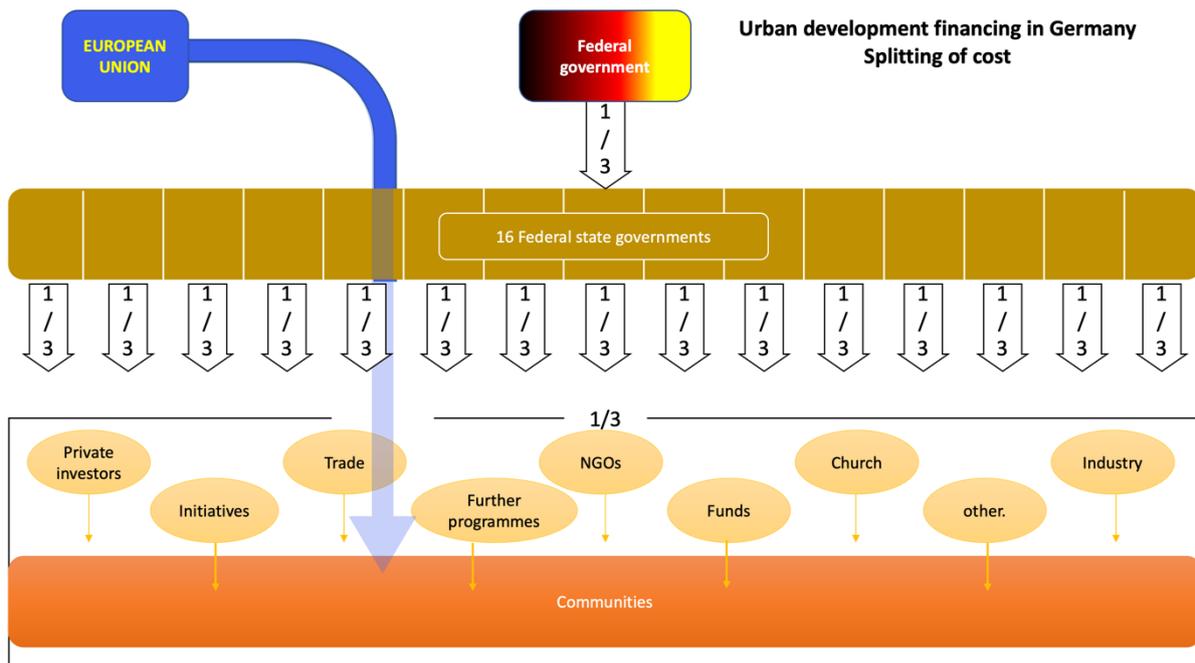


Figure 5 German government bodies (only legislative and executive)

The figure shows the governmental bodies with respect to their involvement in urban planning and decision making for financing urban development programmes. Laws for urban planning promotion do not need to be authorized by the German Council, the governmental body of the federal states at the federal level. The task of planning and involving the public lies with the level of the cities (1). They apply for financial support at their federal state administration (2). The guidelines for urban planning are developed by the federal government (Ministry of the Interior) (3) together with the federal states (2), and then executed by the federal government (3) via the urban development promotion programmes (by the author).

### 4.3. Financing structure of German urban development promotion

The main targets and general funding rules for urban development are based on Article 104b of the German constitution (Grundgesetz). The law defines that the federal government grants financial assistance to federal states and municipalities for investments, including urban planning. The federal government may control the projects in terms of financing and appropriate use. Limited-time grants are provided in addition to federal state programmes (Bundesinstitut für Bau-).



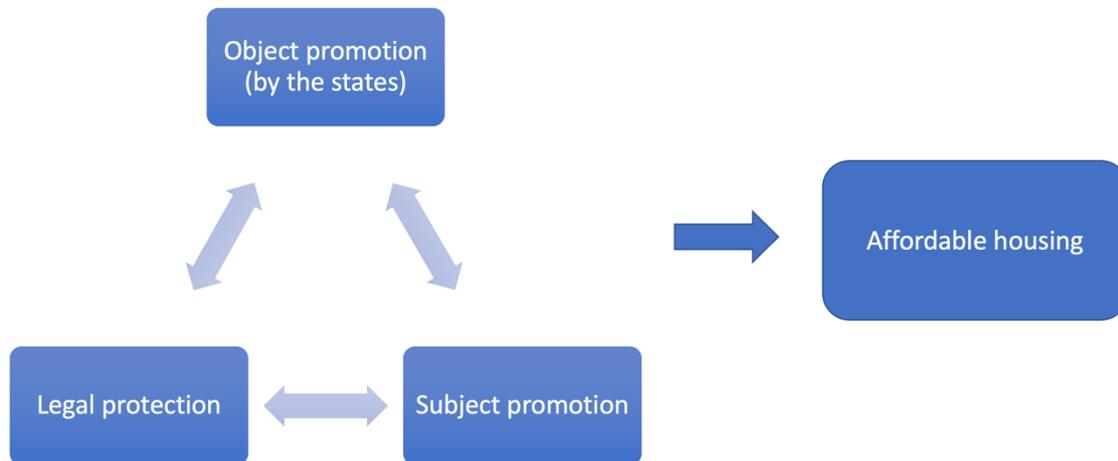
*Figure 6 Cost-splitting*

*The federal government, federal states, and communities each finance one third of the costs*

#### **4.4. System for social housing**

Germany has two models for the support for the provision of housing. The first, object promotion, supports housing construction financially. The units are subject to rules for eligible tenants and the level of rents. This model was favored until the need for housing was covered after WWII. The second model, subject promotion, supports families with direct aid and/or tax deduction to build or buy their privately owned living space. The government supports the building of houses by granting low interest rates and sharing in construction costs. These publicly supported housing units can only be rented by people who are granted a voucher that entitles them to rent such an apartment (Wohnberechtigungsschein, WBS). They can be German citizens or permanent residents.

# The three pillars of social/affordable housing



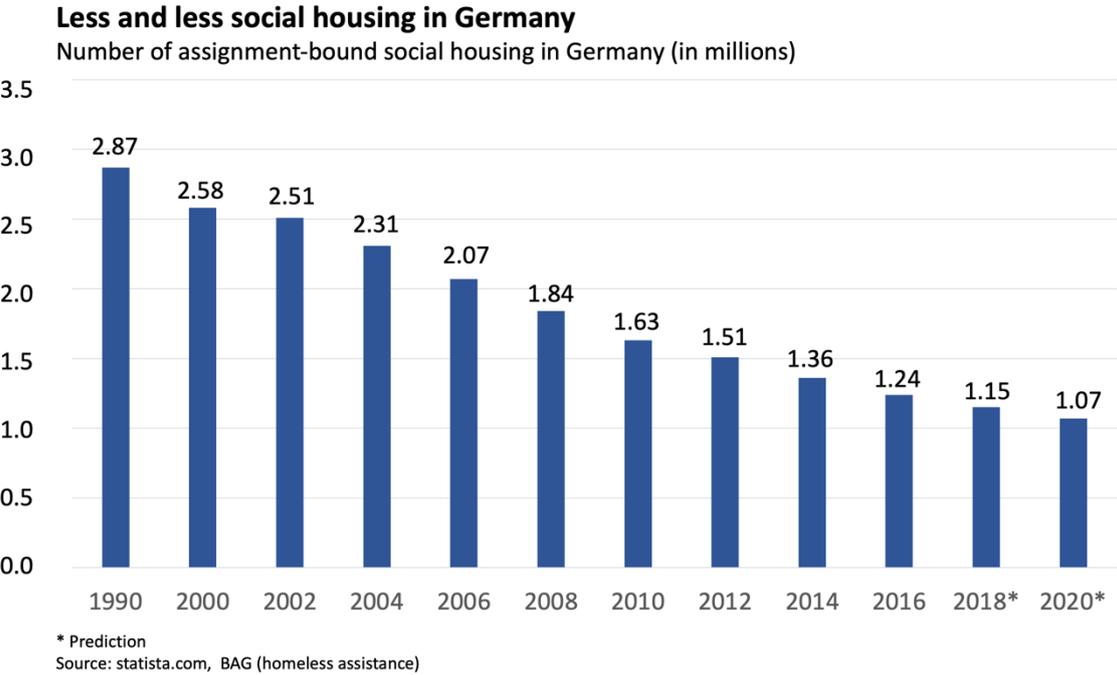
*Figure 7 The three pillars of affordable/social housing  
(Zabel 2019)*

The rules can differ slightly across federal states, but in general, the WBS can be applied for by people with the following annual income levels (examples taken from North Rhine-Westphalia, 2020): one person, EUR 19,350; two persons, EUR 23,310; each additional person, EUR 5,360 (Ministerium für Heimat 2019). The average annual income before tax in 2019 (all professions and regions, excluding gratifications and any special payments) was EUR 47,928 (Destatis 2020).

Further criteria for application are as follows:

- Single parents
- People who receive unemployment aid
- Unemployed
- Apprentices
- Persons with disabilities
- Families
- Seniors
- Students (adults)
- Self-employed people (Ministerium für Heimat 2019)

According to press articles, 6.3 million households fall below this income threshold, and theoretically, these could all apply for social housing. A study by the Pestel Institute, which has done numerous studies on this topic, reported that 8.5 million social housing units are missing. Moreover, this number is increasing. In 2020, only 1.2 million social housing units existed. The Institute further reported an additional need for 160,000 housing units annually until 2020 to achieve 2 million units (Günther 2016, Tichelmann 2019). The official Federal Office for Statistics does not provide any data.



*Figure 8 Graph showing the decreasing number of social housing units in Germany  
 The situation differs between federal states and regions. (Statista 2018)*

In social housing, the rents are regulated depending on community type (rents in big cities like Cologne or Düsseldorf are higher than those in a small community) and income group. The prices for new housing in NRW showed a range between EUR 6.80 and 7.60 per square meter in 2019. Any possible increase in rents is regulated as well (Ministerium für Heimat 2019). Moreover, any publicly supported social housing is bound to these rules for ten years minimum and 25 years maximum.

Germany is a federal republic. After the first reformation of the federal system in 2006, the task of providing social housing became a duty of the federal states. This has been a constitutionally based law

since 2007. A transitional rule allowed the federal government to promote social housing by giving money to the federal states until 2019 (Bundesministerium des Innern 2020a).

Between 2007 and 2019, the situation in Germany changed, and the need for social and affordable housing increased in big cities and neighbourhoods close to big cities. The reasons for these changes are manifold: With the increase in housing projects in general, housing companies became more interested in building projects for high quality housing, which provided them with a better margin. Rules were imposed (at the local or federal state level) that no housing project would receive a building permit unless 30% of the units were for social housing. The companies often found a way around this rule. The permission process tends to be slow. People who live in a social housing unit do not have to move out even when they do not fulfil the rules anymore; the rules only apply when moving into a new apartment. Meanwhile, more people continued to be eligible for social housing: single-person households, migrants, older people, and people in lower income groups.

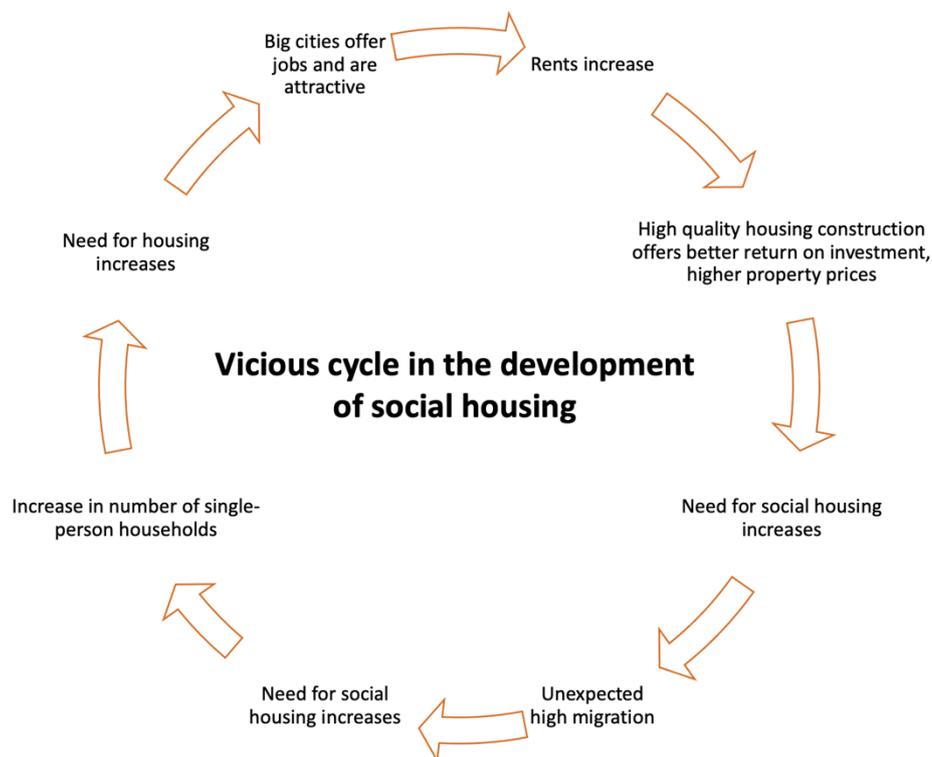
The transitional money the federal government provided for the federal states was bound to social housing until 2014 only. After that, some federal states spent the money for projects other than housing, like paying off their debt (Ringwald 2020). In the late 1980s, there was a growing trend for single households. More people born in years of high birth rates started their own households. After 1989 (German reunification), people from eastern Germany and Eastern Europe moved to the western part of Germany, where the number of housing units had not grown (Münch 2006). The government reacted to this development with new programmes like ‘Soziale Stadt’ (Social City) and ‘Stadtumbau Ost’ (Urban Reconstruction East).

In 2007, when the demographic development showed a more slowly growing population, with people growing older, and a decisive need for fewer housing, the government modified the German constitution. The responsibility for social housing was handed over to the states, and the federal government would support the states with compensation payments, a model that ended in 2019 (Münch 2006). The German constitution was changed in time, and a new rule was implemented that allowed the German federal government to support social housing financially (Bundesministerium des Innern 2020a).

The German population overall is estimated to be stable or decreasing. However, the situation is different between urban and rural areas (Table 1). In urban areas, the need for affordable housing is especially high (Günther 2016) (Table 2).

*Table 1 Estimated growth in bigger cities (in million inhabitants) (Zabel 2019)*

City	Population 2015	Est. population 2030
Germany	82.5	80.9
Berlin	3.56	3.82
Duesseldorf	0.59 (2014)	0.65
Frankfurt	0.72	0.84
Hamburg	1.76	1.89
Hannover	0.52	0.54
Munich	1.5	1.8
Stuttgart area	2.69 (2014)	2.83 (2035)



*Figure 9 Vicious cycle in the development of social housing in Germany*

Demographic changes represent one reason for a higher need for affordable housing in bigger cities. Other reasons are that jobs are provided in bigger cities, attracting more people to move there. Companies rent living space for their management. For example, because of Brexit, London banks and financial organizations have moved to Frankfurt, paying rents that they consider normal for London but are extraordinarily high for a German city<sup>1</sup>. Consequently, many properties are taken off the rental market and/or become unaffordable for families with an average income. For housing companies, the economic aspect is higher in such projects compared with investing in affordable housing (Lothar 2020). Especially in bigger cities, not only Frankfurt, the recent housing initiatives have focused on a revitalization of the cities that support good living situations for people who could afford higher rents. Quarters where formerly low- to medium-income people lived became high-income quarters. This

<sup>1</sup> Based on a talk of Markus Gürner, economic journalist for ARD, German television

gentrification started in the 1970s when the promotion of privately owned houses supported suburban living and thus led to less attractive living situations in the city centres. Today, gentrification plays a role in bigger German cities (Kronauer 2018). Thus, the situation for people who depend on affordable living became more difficult, exacerbated by the migration to these bigger cities as well. Figures 9 and 10 depict the development in social housing.

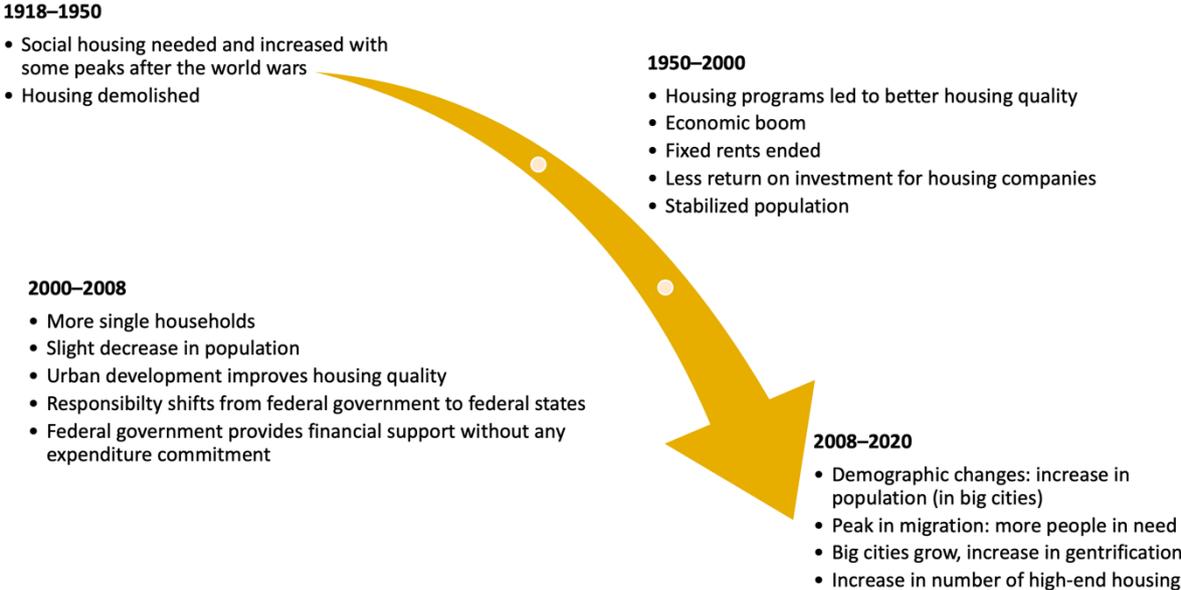


Figure 10 Development of social housing in Germany

In most Western countries, social housing models ended with the financial crisis (Kofner 2013). In Germany, the main reasons for the decrease in number of units are a smaller return on investment in comparison to free construction business and missing possibilities to adjust rents because of the rent fixing in social housing. The need for social housing in Germany has re-emerged (Holm 2014, Holm 2018a, Schmitt 2017).

The federal government of Germany stated in an answer to the political party ‘Die Linke’, successor of the SED, eastern Germany party in the socialist German Democratic Republic, that the need for affordable housing cannot only be covered by state programmes. The combination of affordable housing provided by the private sector and social housing will ensure the sufficient supply to the existing

demand. However, the resulting logical question on the definition of ‘affordable’ in this context remains unanswered (Bundesregierung 2017).

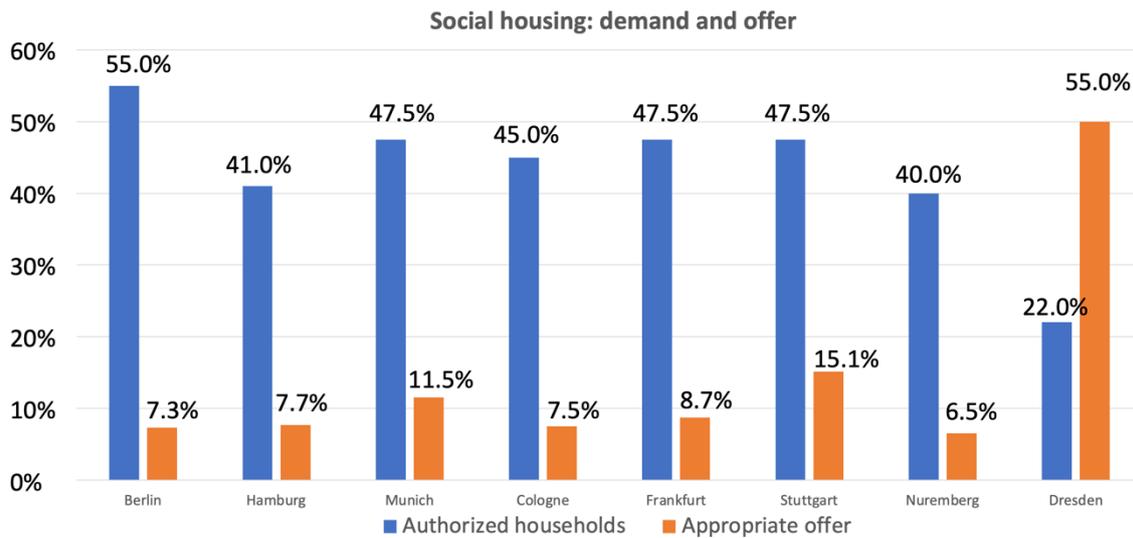
In 2014, the Hans-Böckler-Stiftung, a trade union research institution, calculated a need for approximately 1.5 million affordable housing units in 77 bigger cities of Germany for the inhabitants earning 60% and less of the median income (Table 5) (Holm 2018b). In 2015, the BBSR calculated a need for 1.6 million new affordable housing units within six years (Held 2015).

*Table 2 Undersupply in housing especially for people with lower income*

City	No. of households with <60% of average income	Under-supply (in %)
Berlin	221,758	60
Duesseldorf	32,195	57.7
Frankfurt	27,730	50.6
Hamburg	100,976	67.5
Hannover	36,570	59.4
Munich	50,241	60
Stuttgart	35,353	58.4

*Data source: (Hans-Böckler-Stiftung 2018)*

The official waiting period for an apartment is six months. In reality, it ranges from less than one year in Munich to five years in Frechen (near Cologne) (Jordans 2017).



*Figure 11 In bigger cities, the demand exceeds the supply by far, except Dresden*

*Data source: (Diekmann 2015)*

#### **4.5. Public participation in urban planning procedures**

Public participation as a part of city planning in Germany started in the early 1970s. Including the public is obligatory in the planning process; it is part of the BauGB (Construction Law) and StBauFG (Urban Development Law), both federal laws. The participation of citizens was introduced into these laws in 1976. Such participation, always considered a part of democracy, has developed. However, public participation does not imply public decision making. Decisions must be based on laws and legal regulations; final decisions are up to the experts in the administration, who verify that the planning is in accordance with all requirements of construction laws (Deutscher Bundestag 2017).

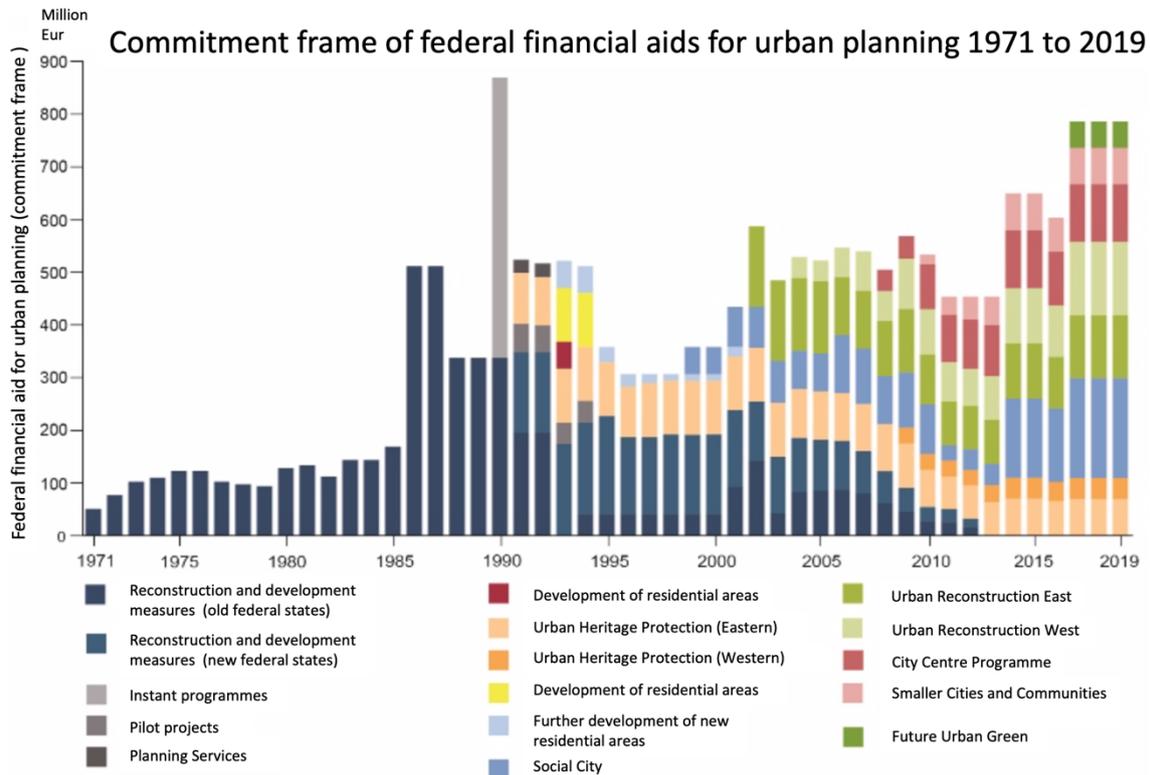
One of the benefits of public participation in general is that when citizens are involved in the planning, they are more likely to accept the outcome and will feel being a part of their quarter. Moreover, the risk of legal conflicts with long-lasting discussions or even court trials decreases when interest groups are informed and involved at an early stage of the planning (Guerra 2012).

## **5. Urban development promotion, new players in social housing, public participation**

### ***5.1.1. Transition of urban development promotion programmes***

Funding programmes are offered by and in cooperation with the European Union. The national urban development strategy is based on the 2007 Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities. One key point of the Leipzig Charter is the mutual understanding of all member states of the European Union that urban development needs an integrated development concept. This means giving focus to city development efforts that do not concentrate on a single topic but rather simultaneously confront several economic, ecological, and social challenges. The Leipzig Charter also recognizes that neglected city quarters do exist and that it is a public task to develop these quarters, as they fulfil important functions in a city (Bundesministerium für Umwelt 2007) (Bundesministerium des Innern 2020b).

Over the years, the programmes themselves have become increasingly diversified (figure 12). These were instantly available to eastern German federal states in 1990, following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Since then, long-term programmes have been established, the most significant of which are discussed here.

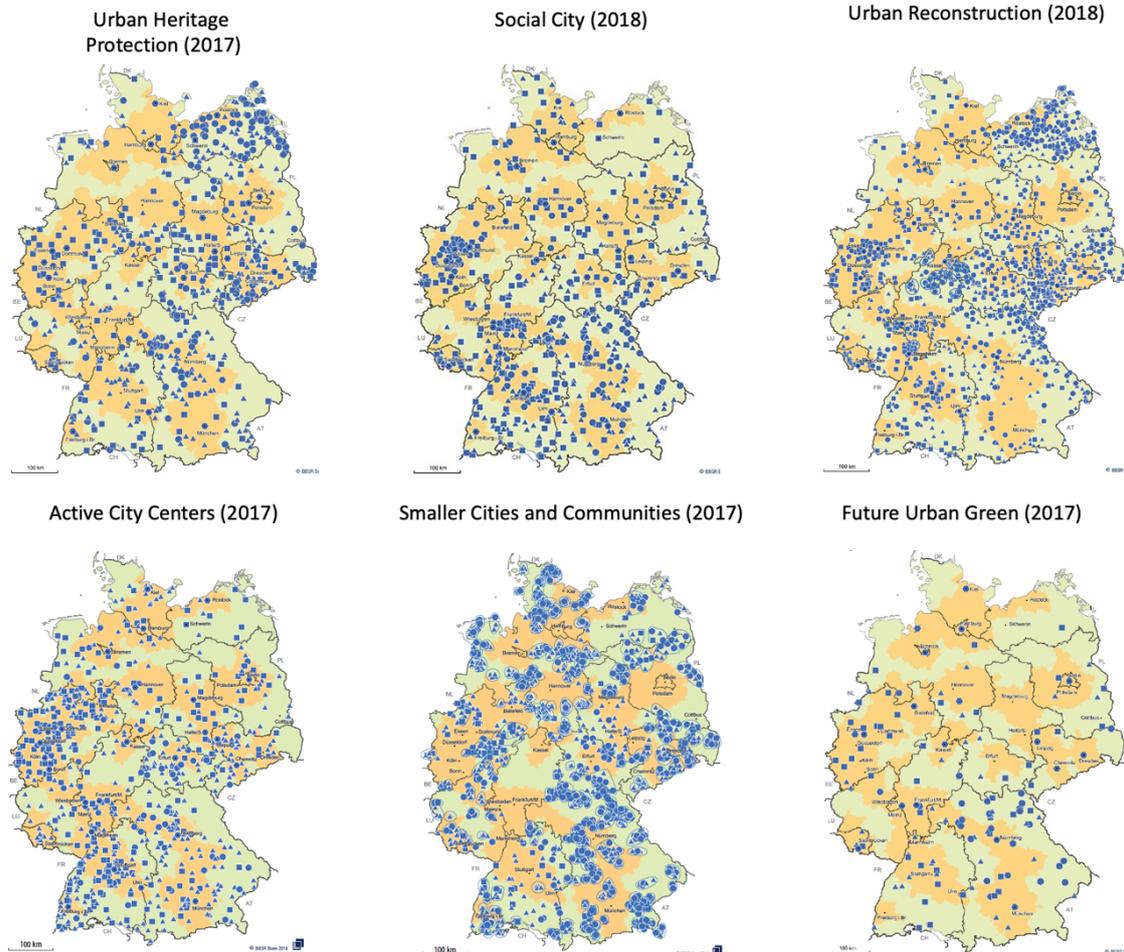
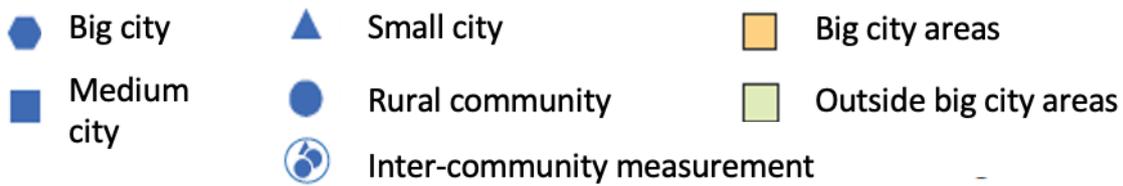


Source: database for urban planning of BBSR

*Figure 12 Distribution of federal financial aid programmes in Germany*

*After the Reunification of Germany in 1989, the programmes increased in number and diversity. This graph includes more than the major programmes described in this thesis. Translated from (Bundesinstitut für Bau- Stadt- und Raumforschung 2019) by the author*

Programmes began and were concluded according to the needs in certain periods. The Städtebauliche Sanierungs- und Entwicklungsmaßnahmen (urban reconstruction and development measures) programme was established in 1971, and ended in 2012, with the last projects being completed in 2016. Altogether, a total of 3,900 projects were supported by EUR 8 billion of federal funding. The following federal programmes are ongoing, to strengthen inner cities and disadvantaged neighbourhoods in all communities (introduced in chronological order). These programmes may be combined, as necessary. For instance, a city may apply for support from different programmes while also seeking aid from the European Union.



*Figure 13 Regional distribution of the major funding programmes*

*The Urban Heritage programme has a focus on the eastern federal states. Social City supported many cities in NRW and the Rhine-Main area in 2018; the programme supports better living conditions in cities. The programme Urban Reconstruction was initiated for the eastern federal states after the German reunification and later merged with the analogue programme for the western federal states. Many cities faced economic changes; in consequence, there were ‘dying’ inner cities, for which the programme Active City Centers was established. The programme Smaller Cities and Communities aimed to improve living conditions in smaller and rural communities. The Future Urban Green programme aimed to promote interconnected green spaces in communities. (Zabel 2020) based on figures provided by BBSR.*

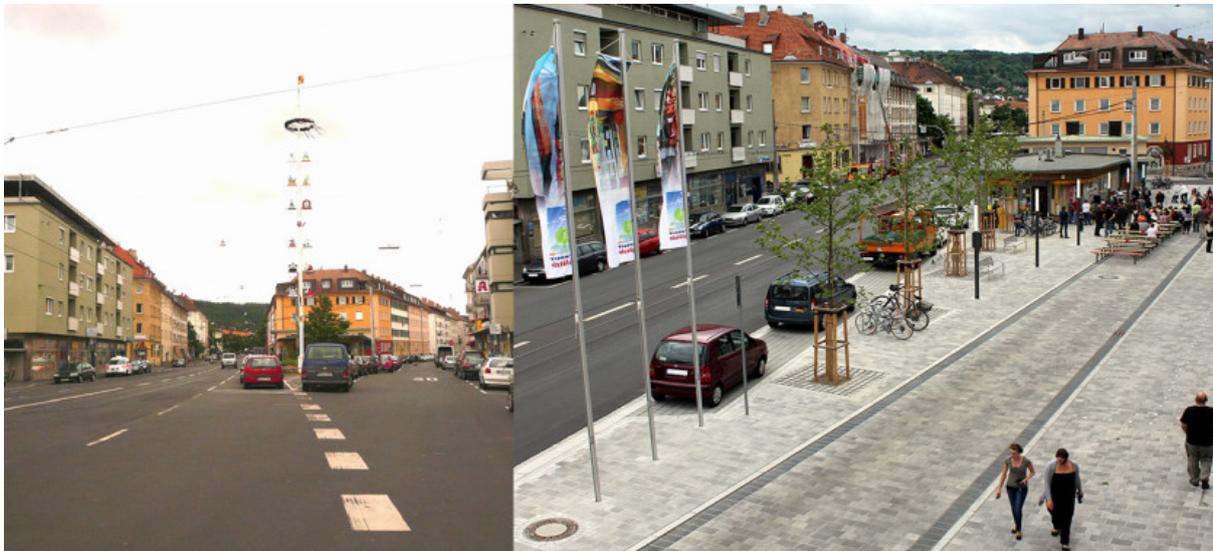
### ***5.1.2. Active programmes until 2020***

The Social City programme, established in 1999, supports city planning to improve social life, as implied by its name. In 2005, its social tasks were broadened to include improvement in life opportunities, which expanded its scope beyond city planning (Heyn 2017). From 1999 to the end of 2018, the federal government, federal states, and communities provided a total of EUR 5.3 billion for the Social City programme (Schneider 2018b, Seehofer 2019). The social aspect of urban planning is a major key point of this programme. This necessity has been seen and discussed, framed as the transition from architecture in urban planning to social planning in urban development (Alisch 1997, Alisch 2007). The social aspect in cities has led to cities being called ‘integration machines’, an aspect that seemed to be self-fulfilling in times of economic growth. Later, it was more often questioned as the task became more complex, including the integration of people with a lower income and more migrants (Kilb 2006, Siebel 1998). Acting as an ‘integration machine’ is discussed as one of the key tasks for the urban development programme Social City (Beer 2015). By 2018, the programme had supported 934 measures in 533 cities and communities (Bundesministerium des Innern (BMI) 2019b). Moreover, the programme welcomes and supports private economic investors and emphasizes participation of all interest groups, planners, city representatives, owners, clubs, and citizens—groups that are involved and have an impact on the project (Heyn 2017).



*Figure 14 Before and after photos of a park in Heuchelfeld quarter in Würzburg*

The living conditions were significantly improved with financial support provided by the programme Social City. The measures included the establishment of an easy-to-approach, low-level contact point to ensure social improvement. (wuerzburg24.com 2015)



*Figure 15 Before and after photos of Zellerau, another city quarter of Würzburg*

This quarter was also supported by the funding programme Social City. Würzburg was challenged by the withdrawal of US troops, after which an area of the size of the Würzburg inner city center was freed up. The city took part in the programme starting in 2004. (wuerzburg24.com 2015)

The Urban Reconstruction financing programme was initiated after the German reunification in 2002. It first provided money for the new eastern federal states and soon included the western federal states, to support equal general living conditions (Schubert 2018). Another of the programme's main tasks was to save the cities in Eastern federal states, which had not been appropriately maintained after WWII, thereby motivating residents to remain in those areas (Haller 2018). With this programme, the government faced the task of urban regeneration.

Urban Reconstruction East focused on securing and improving the large housing stock ('Plattenbausiedlungen', prefabricated housing estates) as well as the revitalization of inner cities in the new federal states. This was to be carried out by the total demolition or demolition of floors or building components compatible with the urban development plan according to the Integrated City Development Plan (ISEK).

The Urban Reconstruction programme incorporated the preceding programmes supported in both the eastern and western states (as of 31 December 2018), including projects in 1,089 cities for a total of 1,944 urban reconstruction measures, 495 measures (1,213 projects) in cities and communities in the eastern states, and 594 measures (731 projects) in cities and communities in the old western federal states (see figure 3). In 2019, the federal administration allocated EUR 260 million to this programme (Bundesministerium des Innern (BMI) 2019c).



*Figure 16 Frankfurt/Main, Urban Reconstruction programme*

*The main station projects were supported by the Urban Reconstruction programme; photos are before and after photos of a backyard improved through programme funding (Doering 2017).*

Federal financial aid for Urban Reconstruction programme, 2002–2018  
(in million Euro)

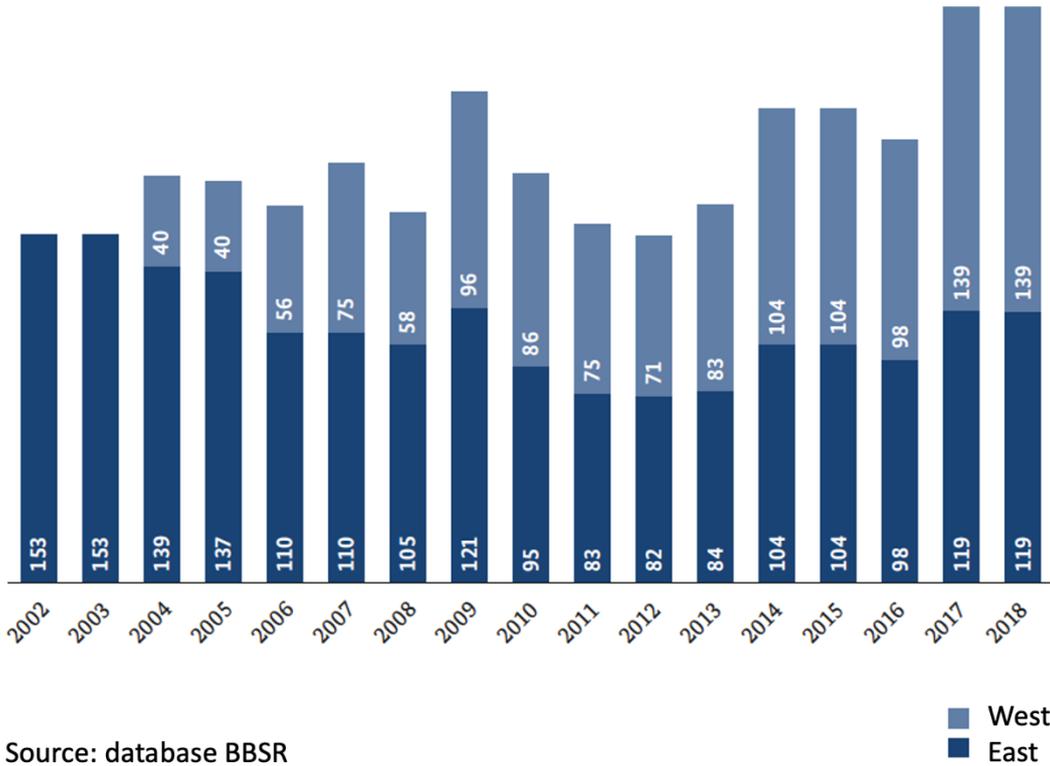


Figure 17 Federal aid provided through the Urban Reconstruction programme  
source: BBSR, translated by the author



Figure 18 Modernization of buildings in Robert Koch Street in Herne  
This project was supported by the Urban Reconstruction programme (inherne.net 2015)

The **Active City Center and Sub-Center Program** (Center Program) was introduced in 2008 to address the increase in building vacancies and functional losses in city centres. The necessity for this programme was seen after the economic crisis. The programme has various targets, including functional diversity, adequate/secure supply of goods and services, social cohesion, upgraded public spaces, urban design culture, sustainable mobility, partnership and cooperation, and the cross-cutting task of environmental protection and adaptation to climate change that now applies to all programmes. According to the government, ‘the Centre Program has proven successful through its integrated approach of combining construction investment-related projects and local participation’ (Bundesinstitut für Bau- Stadt- und Raumforschung (BBSR) 2018). Further, the programme attempts to involve citizens and economic entities by enabling provisional funds.

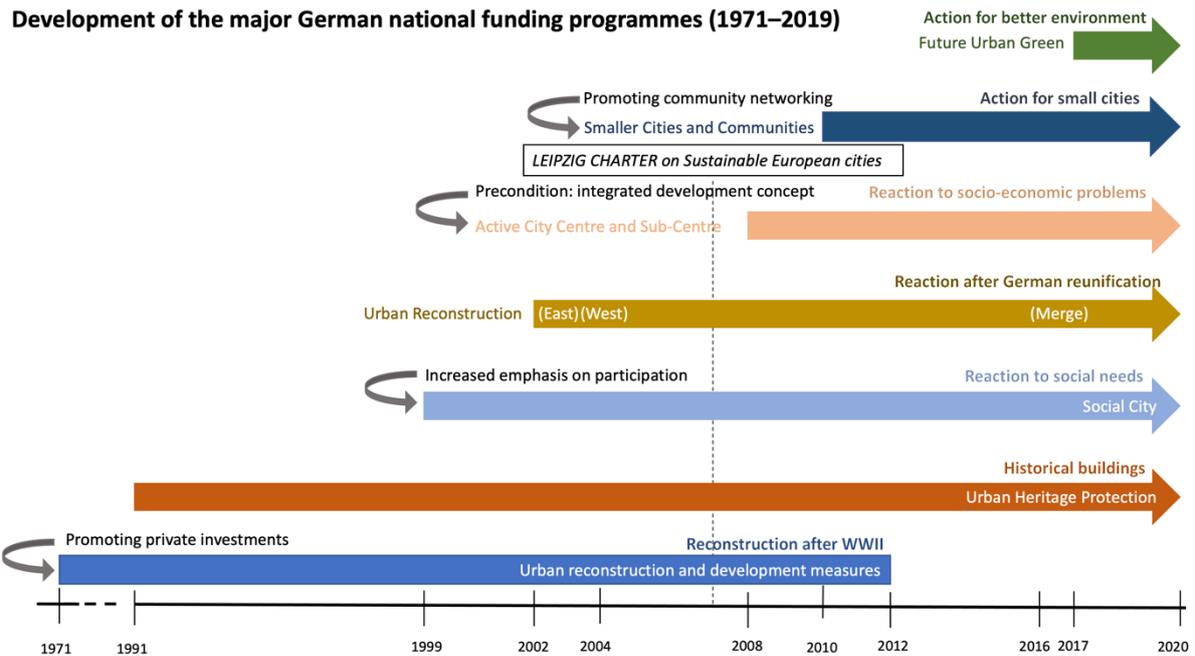


*Figure 19 Before and after photos of one of the urban regeneration projects in Wolfenbüttel*  
 Left: The Schlossplatz (Castle Square) before remodeling, right: rendering of the plan for the newly remodeled square. Wolfenbüttel is a medium-sized city in Lower Saxony, famous for Gottfried Ephraim Lessing. This project, supported by the Active City Centre and Sub-Centre Program, involved the realization of a new concept that was developed in a contest in 2015. 2.7 million of the total cost of 8.8 million were covered by the Active City Centre and Sub-Centre Program (Bundesministerium des Innern 2019b, Wolfenbütteler-Zeitung 2019)

The **Smaller Cities and Communities Program** specifically addressed smaller municipalities. More than half of all German citizens live in communities with less than 50,000 inhabitants, and roughly 30% live in small cities and rural communities (Porsche 2018). This programme supports networking within small cities and communities. Although demographic changes have an impact on smaller cities, these effects are often vastly different from those in big cities, which attract new residents by offering employment opportunities, modern infrastructure, and increasing amounts of both cultural and leisure

time. Depending on their respective geographic position and infrastructure (particularly regarding public transportation), these cities may grow or shrink significantly. The government reacted to such specific needs by introducing the Smaller Cities and Communities Program.

**Future Urban Green**, introduced in 2017, is the youngest urban development programme of the six existing until 2020. Its targets are defined as follows: improve life and living quality, ensure social participation, improve the urban climate, improve environmental justice, preserve biodiversity, and provide experiences in nature. Other programmes focus on city planning topics (e.g. conservation of historical buildings, revitalization of fallow land or abandoned building areas, strengthening of inner cities, and improvement of living conditions in smaller communities) in addition to managing issues related to sustainability, energy usage, and resource conservation, but they do not primarily focus on the latter areas. Therefore, the Future Urban Green programme is the first of its kind to be implemented in Germany. Further, improvements to urban green spaces are now linked with air and habitat improvements. Hence, the programme promotes quality improvements to green areas, buildings, infrastructure, and accessibility (figure 19). The federal government has been committed to providing EUR 50 million to the Future Urban Green programme every year since 2017. Programmes are allowed to be combined, and public participation is highly encouraged. Figure 20 describes the above major programmes, their development, and changes.



*Figure 20 Development of major urban development promotion programmes*

*Figure 20 shows the development for the period 1971–2019 and the reasons for change (Zabel 2020)*

All programmes focus on the demand for sustainability and measures against climate change. Cities are considered a driving force for human-made climate change. Recent literature on 147 European plans for mitigating the consequences and adaptation identify the sources for emissions and vulnerabilities. Regardless, a moderate level of synergy in programmes must be taken, along with effort for a systematic approach (Aguiar 2018, Grafakos 2020). This confirms earlier findings of a study of 200 European cities (Reckien 2014). A comparison of Italian and Spanish local city plans underlines the importance of nature-based solutions, which comprise a first step in the integration process to achieving adaptation and mitigation strategies at the urban level (Pasimeni 2019).

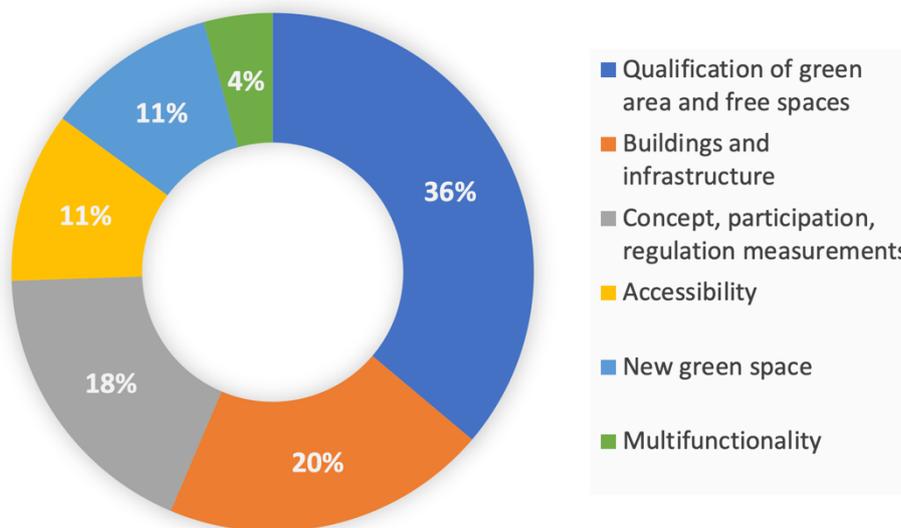


Figure 21 Proportions of Future Urban Green project types in 2017  
(Bundesinstitut für Bau- 2018b), (Zabel 2020)

### 5.1.3. Current Funding Efforts and Communication Tools

#### 5.1.3.1. European funding programmes

One of the main tasks of the European Union is to support its member countries financially. It had spent half of its budget on agriculture for many years. Meanwhile, household funding has become more diverse. For instance, there are different programmes for urban planning and reconstruction, whereas the main targets have become resource conservation, sustainability, and energy savings. Other factors have also come into focus, such as new energy sources and the integration of ethnic minorities. All applications for European funding are conducted by the respective administrations of individual countries. In this respect, programmes can be combined and can receive national and federal state funding or private financing. Multilevel and multisource financing options are also available.

All the funding programmes have sub-programmes and are integrated with other initiatives, such as the European Network for Rural Development (Weidner 2015). Since these European programmes are integrated in the German city funding system, this thesis focused on German federal and federal state programmes.

### **5.1.3.2. Tools to find the best funding options**

The diversity of available funding programmes offers widespread opportunities to match the requirements that change over time and differ depending on the applicant, city size, and project. High levels of knowledge and experience are required to find the best funding sources and programme benefits that best suit the projects that will secure the future of each community. Therefore, the federal government, federal states, and European community offer guidelines to all applicants. These guidelines are a tool for all communities to find out about the funding programmes and sub-programmes.

The Federal Ministry for Economy and Energy offers a ‘support databank’ (Energie 2020). However, this databank is designed to reveal each area of governmental support that is available to communities and private residents searching for financing programmes of any type, not for city planning issues alone. Hence, the databank covers all programmes offered by the federal and federal state governments, as well as those initiated by the European Union.

In a personal talk given in September 2019, the mayor of the small city of Monschau in North Rhine-Westphalia shared with me how helpful and important she believed it had been to work in the city administration for 30 years, in addition to having been the mayor for nearly a decade at the time. In smaller communities, mayors and their teams must seek help from experts; however, they must first know whom to ask for help and what constitutes appropriate inquiries. She also emphasized the importance of establishing networks between communities and other stakeholders during the city planning process (Zabel Personal communication, 2019).

### **5.1.3.3. Ensuring success during the city planning process**

Each financing programme is monitored by a Federal Transfer Agency (Bundestransferstelle). Such agencies are understood (as indicated in the Active City Centre and Sub-Centre Program) to be part of the accompanying scientific research for each program. They have been established as a program-specific competence centre and form a central element of the knowledge transfer between stakeholders. I obtained information regarding each Federal Transfer Agency through talks and the internet. These agencies also conduct workshops. Here, the key points are to ensure a continuous and rapid flow of

information. They are also responsible for the assessment of the status of programme implementation and acquisition of findings for the further development of a programme (Altrock 2012b).

Each programme demands regular annual evaluations by those involved in the programme themselves. In combination with other scientific measures, these evaluations not only ensure that projects fulfil expectations and that budgets are spent according to each programme target but also grant flexibility in case changes are required. For instance, there was a case in 2016 where a Social City programme status report showed that the general conditions had changed since the establishment of the programme strategy (e.g. migration within a two-year period). Accordingly, the programme strategy required re-evaluation. For example, buildings that were originally supposed to be demolished were then used as housing to meet the demands of the rental market (Altrock 2012a).

Another deciding factor of success that has been broadened and strengthened over time is the participation of not only government actors, city planning experts, and investors but also local residents. Since participation is also time- and budget-consuming, it can be financially supported by the programmes themselves (Strubelt 2000). More developed in rural areas than urban communities (Martin 2011), this type of public participation can increase the level of acceptance of city planning efforts (e.g. reduce the number of cases taken to court) (Zabel Unpublished results).

#### ***5.1.4. Critical views after nearly 50 years***

This thesis discussed the major programmes established one after another but not given up when a new programme was founded. Until 2019, there were six different programmes for the different needs of cities. The diversity mirrored the needs of different periods and areas. The precondition of an integrated city development concept ensures that projects consider the ‘big lines’ of national and European decisions on issues pertaining to ecology, sustainability, and climate change. However, the wide range of financing programmes has resulted in increased complexity, thereby creating new questions on the handling of applications and planning of activities. Good communication between all players has proven to be essential.

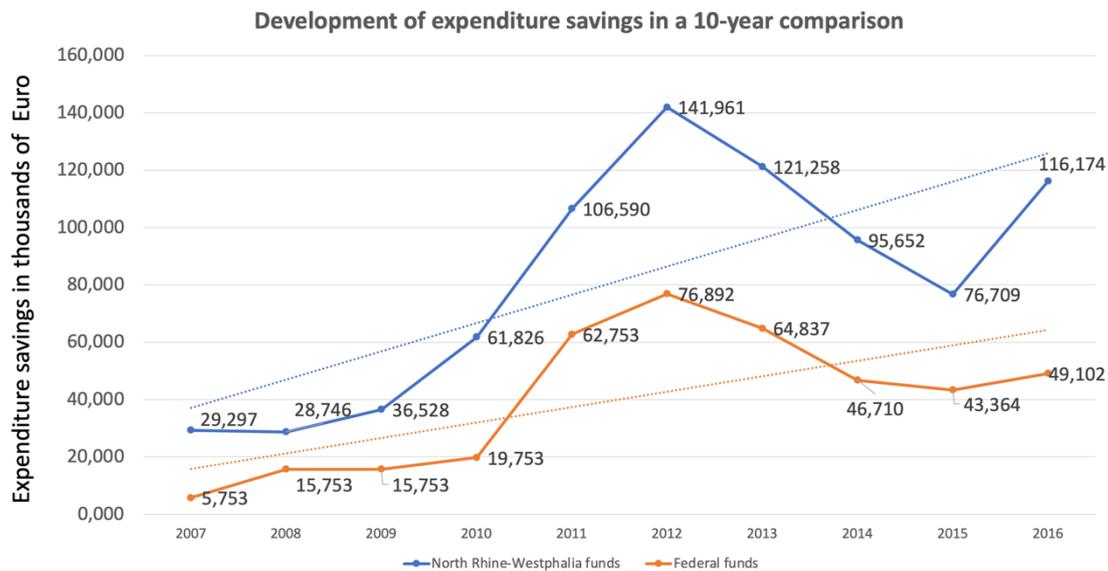
*Table 3 Overview of the major German national funding programmes*

Programme	Start	Remarks	Ended	Federal funding in total (in €)	Number of projects	Core task	Additional task	Cooperation/ communication
Urban Heritage Protection	1991	Inclusion of the western states in 2009	2019	2.597 billion (up to 2016)	666	Maintenance and preservation of historical sites		Annual conference
Social City	1999		2019	5.3 billion (2018)	934 (2018)	Support for cities, quarters with economic, social, urban disadvantages	Improvement of quality of life for families, lively neighborhoods	Federal transfer office (BBSR) in 2003
Urban Reconstruction	2002	2002: only eastern, 2004 also western states, 2017 the programs merged	2019	2.889 billion	1,916 (2017)	Strengthening city centres, adapting living space	Use of fallow land in cities	Federal transfer office (BBSR)
Active City Centre and Sub-Centre	2008		2019	880 million (2017)	756 (2017)	Support for city centre functions including providing living space	Precondition of an integrated development concept	Federal transfer office (BBSR)
Smaller Cities & Communities	2010		2019	498 million (2018)	600 (2018)	Adjusting infrastructure for long-term success	Promote networking of communities	Federal transfer office (BBSR)
Future Urban Green	2017		2019	150 million (2019)	137 (2017)	Improvement of green infrastructure in cities	Development of green standards in city planning	Federal transfer office (BBSR)

*Table 3 shows an overview of the major German National Funding programmes in terms of time, project numbers, federal budget, communication between players (cooperation)*

The process of finding the best financing programmes requires substantial experience in the administration of each city. This personal impression was supported by talks with the mayors of small cities in North Rhine-Westphalia, Monschau, and Schleiden, and also by the character of existing guidelines for applications for European programmes. Indeed, assistance for the application process is offered to communities for them to learn and understand the differences among programmes (Weidner 2015). Meanwhile, bigger communities have several city officers (possibly entire departments that are trained in administrative regulations corresponding to city planning and on different topics). However, the range of tasks is wider in smaller communities. Hence, for individual officers, it is more difficult to achieve competence in all programmes. Further, the planning process requires the efforts of many people, which is also easier to ensure in bigger communities.

Newspaper articles regularly report how some communities had been originally slated to receive certain amounts of money but did not apply for any projects or never achieved their projects; as such, the funds were never spent, which resulted in expenditure savings (figure 24). This tendency applies to many areas of government funding, including city planning.

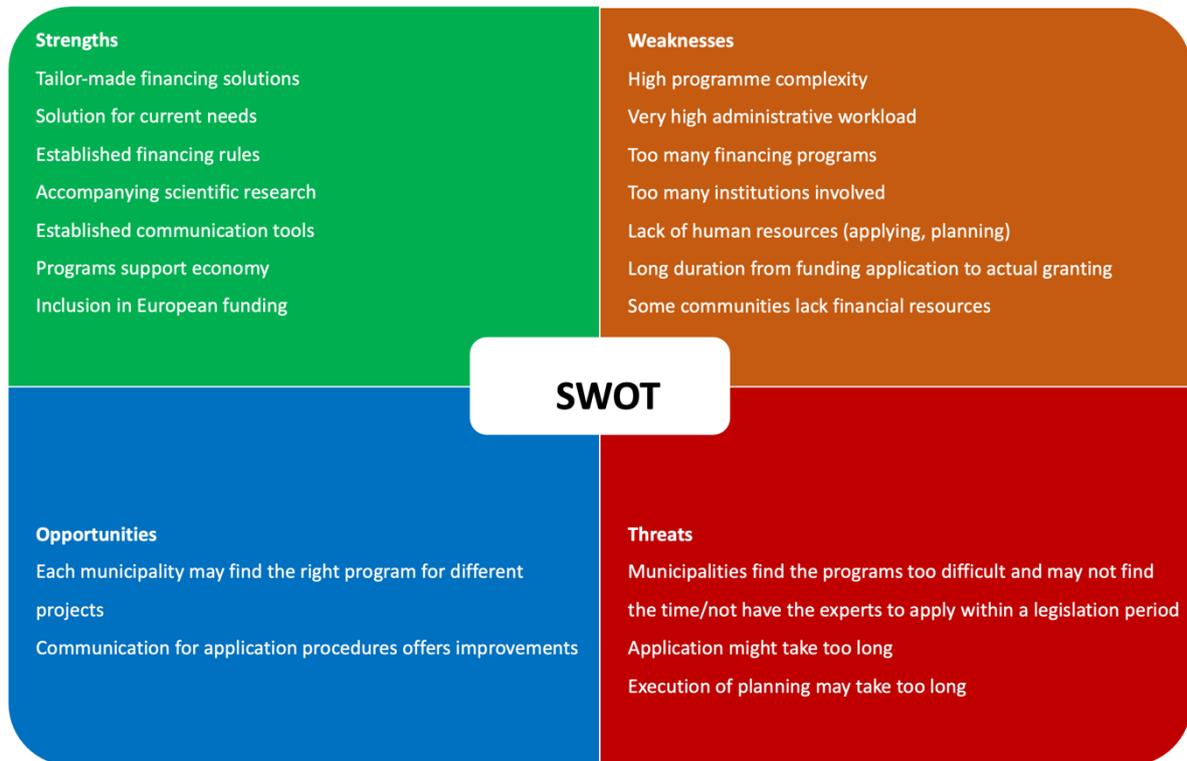


*Figure 22 Expenditure savings (Deutscher Städtetag, Schneider 2018a), translated by the author*

*Expenditure savings are grants provided by the federal government or federal state government that for various reasons had not been demanded by the communities. They remain in the appropriated budget of North Rhine-Westphalia for two years and in the federal budget for two years after the project is accepted.*

The Deutscher Städtetag, Deutscher Städte- und Gemeindebund (German City Day, German City, and Community Union) published a position paper in which they clearly defined how financing programmes can be improved, focusing on key points, such as simplifying the application process, ensuring more flexibility in the use of grants, increasing security in mid- and long-term planning, applying less bureaucracy, and further increasing knowledge transfer (Deutscher Städtetag 2019).

The findings of a study conducted in North Rhine-Westphalia state corresponded with the results of a national workshop that was held in 2012 by the ministry responsible for city planning and infrastructure. Measures were taken to improve the ratio of applications to financed projects while lowering expenditure savings. With new and changing projects, these savings decreased again. Subsequently, a federal state government-ordered study evaluated the law (Art. 104 b Abs. 3 GG) and pointed out areas requiring improvement and offered suggestions.



*Figure 23 SWOT analysis*

*Figure 23 shows a SWOT analysis of the six major German urban development promotion programmes (until 2020)*

Some of these are listed here (Schneider 2018b):

Obstacles faced by communities:

- Overly complex financing programmes
- Too many financing programmes to choose from
- Very high administrative workloads
- Too many institutions involved
- Very long duration until the granting of funding
- Limited human resources for application and planning
- Communities lacking funds to finance their own shares
- Communities lacking money to even begin the planning phase

Suggestions:

- If possible, the creation of funding programmes should be discouraged, and existing funding programmes should be combined and enlarged.
- Cooperation between the federal state, institutes, and participating authorities/communities should be improved in terms of communication and overall process implementation.
- Approval should be achieved in an easier manner.
- Mayors should know that these are their tasks; they should take charge.

The criticized long duration between application and granting corresponds with findings on construction rules in all 27 European countries. They are of similar length, and new rules are applied to shorten the process (Pedro 2011).

### ***5.1.5. New programmes starting in 2020***

During my studies, the German federal government announced a new structure for urban development financing programmes. The overall financial support remains at the level or is increased from the rule of thirds; that is, the federal and federal state governments will each provide one third of the cost, and the last third is covered by the applying community. Exceptions to the rule are possible. Moreover, the number of major financing programmes will be reduced from six to three. The federal government wants to achieve easier application processes with a leaner structure:

Lively centres - preservation and development of the city and city centres is a new programme that combines the former Urban Heritage Protection and Active City Centre and Sub-Centres programmes. Urban heritage may be supported within other programmes as well. The federal budget for this programme for 2020 is EUR 300 million.

The programme Social City will be continued under the name 'Social cohesion - shaping coexistence in the quarter with each other'. It has an increased focus on social questions. The planned budget for 2020 is EUR 200 million.

Growth and sustainable renewal - designing livable quarters is the succession programme of Urban Reconstruction with a planned budget of EUR 290 million for 2020.

The youngest urban development programmes Smaller Cities and Communities and Future Urban Green will end, although key factors will be integrated into all three major programmes, as there is strong support for networking between communities and measurements for climate protection as a precondition for any project support.

The preconditions for any programme are an integrated city development concept for a defined support area (like before), a greater emphasis on communal cooperation (including a possible bonus), a stronger focus on voluntary citizen services, and measurements for climate protection, e.g. city green spaces as mentioned above (Bundesministerium des Innern (BMI) 2019a). These cross-cutting issues in all three programmes also allow a reallocation of funding across the three programmes being one of the key points of these new major urban planning promotion programmes. A strong focus on the challenges brought by climate change had been one of the demands in the memorandum of the participants to the conference Urban Energies, adopted by them in 2013 (Standing Conference of Federal State Ministers and Senators responsible for Urban Development 2013). They underlined the German Urban Development promotion programmes as representing a successful, strong, and important part of German urban development (Standing Conference of Federal State Ministers and Senators responsible for Urban Development 2013).

Sub-programmes or special initiatives will remain, such as the investment pact for social integration in the district that is funded with EUR 200 million in 2020.

The German federal government is also introducing in 2020 a new funding programme with a very detailed focus: sports grounds. The programme, called the Golden Plan, will support sports grounds in any type of community, and the federal funding will be 75% of the total cost. The decision on which projects to support is made by the federal states. The programme will start in 2021.

## New structure for urban planning financing in Germany, starting 2020

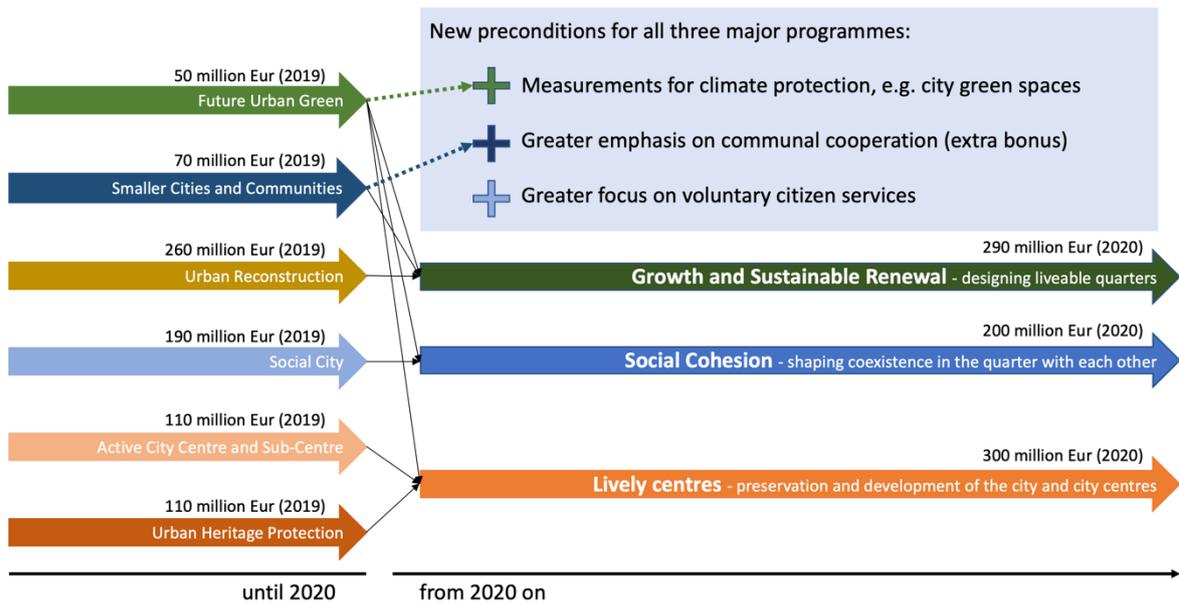


Figure 24 Transition of the urban development promotion programmes in 2019/2020

The German federal government decided to cut the number of urban development programmes down from six to three starting in 2020. The programmes Social City and Urban Reconstruction go on with additional targets; Active City Centre and Sub-Centre and Urban Heritage Protection are merged; Smaller Cities and Communities and Future Urban Green are stopped but their specific content goes on in the three remaining programmes (Zabel 2020).

Table 4 Urban development promotion programmes (2020), preconditions, key targets

		Lively Centres	Social Cohesion	Growth & sustainable Renewal
	Target	Attractive and identity-creating locations for living, working, business, and culture	Improving living conditions, educational opportunities, local economy, offers for health and sport, expansion of the cultural offer for children, families and the elderly	Urban reconstruction in the sense of sustainable renewal, development of fallow land to support housing construction, and to develop new quarters
Preconditions	Integrated development concept	★	★	★
	Defined support area	★	★	★
	Inclusion of climate change measures (e.g. promotion of green infrastructure)	★	★	★
New/stronger encouragement	Integration of citizens		★	
	Support for housing	★		
	Respecting the Leipzig Charter	★	★	★
	Reallocation of budget	★	★	★
	Preservation of historical sites	★		
	Support for small cities (support for networking)	★	★	★
	Proposal fund possible		★	
	Enforcing public participation	★	★	★
	Promotion of digital development	★	★	★
	Improving security in public spaces	★	★	★

Data source: (Ministerium für Heimat 2020)

Table 4 shows the different programmes. Two preconditions remain; the mandatory aspect that each project needs to cover a green issue is new. The programmes have some specific targets but also have targets that apply to all three of them. Enforcing public participation is one, underlining the importance attached to this direct democracy tool.

The institutions involved in the planning period for this new structure of urban development promotion programmes, which will also have to deal with any consequence of these new programmes, welcome the changes. They are especially in favour of the continuous high financial volume granted by the federal government. As the general rule of thirds will stay the same, this means an ongoing high financial support for the communities. However, they admonish a longer-term commitment to ensure the security

of planning for municipalities. They particularly welcome the simpler structure of the three programmes and the possibility of reallocating funds within them. This is seen as a significant improvement in terms of flexibility. This flexibility is also increased by the fact that community funding may be decreased with an increase in the federal funding and an even stronger support for public engagement. The fact that, in their opinion, digitization is not sufficiently taken into account as a subject of urban planning is seen critically. The preconditions of measurement for climate protection and improvement of the green–blue infrastructure are seen positively but they believe these should not be mandatory. The concern is that making them mandatory might be an impediment for some projects or communities. In general, the focus should not only be on national development. Germany is polycentric country with a very heterogenous structure, and as such, the programmes need to respect this by also promoting smaller or region-specific projects. For increasing the possibilities of urban development, they called for launching the planned programme for the use of fallow land (Deutscher Verband für Wohnungswesen 2019b, Die Stadtentwickler 2019).

There is limited experience yet with the new programmes. The Chamber of Architects of the federal state Rhineland-Palatinate encouraged municipalities to use the programmes after a conversation in one community. They offered their support in the implementation (Böhme 2020). The theory on programmes that are easier and more flexible will need to be proved in practice.



*Figure 25 SWOT analysis of the 2020 German urban development promotion programmes*

There is no academic literature available yet for these very recent changes, but the comments of well-known and experienced authors like Uwe Altrock and Detlef Kurth are incredibly positive. Uwe Altrock claimed that certain issues may not be ‘lost’, like urban heritage protection, and the projects for urban reconstruction might have been better positioned in the Social Cohesion programme. Altrock also noted that the transition period for the municipalities to learn the new programmes will probably take some time despite the leaner structure. He also identified further possibilities for the development of accompanying research and programme evaluation (Altrock 2020).

It will be interesting to review this situation in more detail in a few years and, subsequently, evaluate if the announced leaner structure will prevail and if the application and planning process will be easier to handle for the applying communities, especially in small cities—a topic where Altrock also found unanswered questions (Altrock 2020).

The new programmes offer a record total federal budget for urban development in Germany. However, the key point seems to be less the amount of money the federal government committed to spending in 2020 but that the question on the other points of critique of the generally considered successful urban

development programmes are answered. The fact that sustainability and green spaces as well as small cities and communities seem to be disappearing needs a closer look.

For the time being, Germany has shown that the 50-year-old system of urban development promotion programmes has proven to be 50 years young, open to facing new challenges. It will thus remain in the public political focus.

## ***5.2. New players in social housing in Germany***

Providing housing is considered a political task in Germany. Until 2006, the legal rules and financial support models were monitored by the federal government. In 2006, the year of the first federal reform, the question of housing was settled. As described in Chapter 4, this concern no longer applies in 2020. The federal structure of Germany is a given fact. The law was changed in 2019 such that the federal government can further support social housing financially, but the legal authority itself remains at the federal state level. The numbers show that in recent years, the federal states has not managed to close the gap between housing supply and demand, which indicates that this will not be possible with governmental support alone—private investors are crucial. Thus far, private investors are found in companies solely dedicated to that specific task, namely, construction companies and developers. New opportunities might be found in companies for which housing opportunities in city centres are essential for their business, which would imply their mutual interest with the municipalities.

In 2017, private companies started investing in real estate not only for building retail subsidiaries but also in combination with supplying housing. Communities are interested in this kind of projects where the space in city centres above the so far one-storey high stores is used for apartments. The number of applications for new supermarkets that offer space for housing or day care shows an increasing trend. In Berlin, new building permits are only granted if the new store fits the city's concept of urban re-densification and if it provides a hybrid use of space.

Two discounters, Aldi Nord and Lidl, announced that they will provide housing and a children's day care on top of their subsidiaries. Retail companies are realizing that the shopping habits of the younger generation have changed. Their ecological interest is high, and therefore, they prefer to do their errands and shopping close to their homes or in areas reachable by walking or by bike. This behaviour indicates

the demand for stores in the city, instead of on the outskirts, as furniture outlets have so far provided or malls like ALDI and Lidl have preferred. In cities, space is limited and expensive, and one-store buildings are not ideal (Paul 2018). Municipalities support this view as they want lively and liveable cities.

Aldi Nord is one of the big discounters in Germany. In 2017, the turnover was EUR 11.73 billion. Per company data it is organized in 32 regional companies that run 2.240 stores with 35.000 co-workers and 2.500 trainees. Lidl, being the biggest discounter in Germany with a net turnover of 20.4 billion € in 2017 in Germany, 68.8 Euro worldwide. The company, per its own data, has 38 regional subsidiaries and 3,300 stores. They employ more than 70,000 workers.

In 2018, Aldi announced that they plan to undertake 30 housing projects in Berlin, with the first one having 50 to 60 units. Rent prices of 30% of the units will be limited to EUR 6.50/m<sup>2</sup>, and the other 70% will cost a maximum of EUR 10/m<sup>2</sup>. The latter corresponds to the lower end of the Berlin Mietspiegel (rent index for all of Berlin) (Senatsverwaltung 2019). These planned apartments are not completely a social housing project, but the maximum prices are capped for the gross of the offered apartments, and 30% is offered on social housing level. Lidl plans a similar project, but so far, their renting prices are not officially announced. The company only states that the rents will match those in the respective area.

The other Lidl project is to build 'metropole stores' or stores that need significantly less space; parking will be provided under the building. More such stores are planned, and construction has started. This way, Frankfurt can increase its infrastructure quality by re-densification (Lorenz 2018). The first metropole store opened in Frankfurt on 19 September 2019. The market was built in accordance with the requirements for sustainable construction issued by the German Society for sustainable construction (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Nachhaltiges Bauen) (Deutschland 2019). Lidl announced this type of project also for Hamburg, including a hotel and a day care (Schlink 2018). In 2020, they started building apartments, eight of which are provided for social housing, a drug store, and a bakery beside an existing market (Pressestelle Lidl 2020).



*Figure 26 Lidl store in Frankfurt*

*The photo shows the entrance to the parking floor (on the right) and pharmacy included in the building complex (on the left) (Pressestelle Lidl 2019).*



*Figure 27 Aldi Nord in Berlin, photo by Aldi Nord*

Projects like these are of high interest. In 2017, Berlin organized a Supermarktgipfel (supermarket summit) that was supposed to be repeated annually (Gennburg 2018, Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen 2017). A similar meeting was organized in Munich, in October 2016. The mayor of Munich invited representatives of the major discounters to convince them of the idea of a

re-densification of the city with new housing projects and new parking spaces by constructing new buildings on stilts (Effern 2016). The city of Leipzig pushed the idea of using one-storey buildings for a re-densification and utilizing space for housing or facilities for better infrastructure (ter Vehn 2018) (Stadt Leipzig 2018). In 2020, these plans in Leipzig see apartments as suitable for older people, who would benefit from living above a supermarket (Ammenn 2020). There is a potential of producing 400,000 units by building on top of retail store buildings (Tichelmann 2019).

Finding a solution for affordable housing is a complex task. Apart from funding programmes, investment partners, lean application, and planning are essential. Germany also lacks space for building housing projects, and the situation is more tense in cities than in rural areas. A study from 2020 in NRW showed an overall lack in space, with some cities coping better with the task than others. Their advantages are reported as follows. The political priority is on residential construction, for which a guiding principle of planning policy has been established. The development of new districts is not a priority but wanted. The municipalities act according to a municipal building land and real estate policy and improve the conditions for inexpensive housing. The public is actively integrated at an early stage of planning. The procedures for the selection of locations for residential construction are transparent. The report demanded a stronger engagement of the municipalities in finding new space by developing new strategies and also coaching their personnel and the administration. The latter is necessary for identifying potential areas. A new, open-minded thinking in communities is necessary (Fina 2020). Research has also emphasized a gap between building permission and construction, another obstacle that is, among others, caused by a lack of skilled personnel (Müller 2018).

As the basis for the promotion of affordable housing has changed, the number of invested housing companies has decreased. New partners are welcome to the municipalities. Some retail companies introduce themselves as new partners. They see changes in the shopping habits of their clients. They all need space within the city centres and therefore offer to combine their interest with the municipalities in a win-win partnership.

When I began my studies on this topic, retail stores building housing units still seemed to be somewhat of an exotic idea. Two years later, half of the new stores to be built by the large company ALDI are planned with housing units. Other sales units are also being added. Lidl showed up at a construction fair

with a partner and announced their plan to develop an easy-to-repeat model for units of stores and housing (Schwanenflug 2019). The interest of these companies is hardly to provide housing. They are not looking to close a contract with municipalities for a normal PPP. They are looking for an attractive space for their points of sale. The number of municipalities granting permission for the construction of a store only in combination with housing—and often, more—is growing. This mutual interest that also serves the idea of re-densification of city centres is convincing proof that these new projects can help solve the tight housing situation and have an impact on re-densification in city centres, thus also influencing the revitalization of the cities by making them livelier and more interesting to live in through the combination of housing, living (e.g. shopping), and work spaces.

### **5.3. *Public participation***

#### **5.3.1. *Workshop procedures***

There are many different possibilities for participation in a city planning process, such as producing information for a newsletter, public talks, flyers, or future workshops aimed at developing new perspectives. Especially when the administration is still undecided on major aspects of the planning, a workshop procedure may be conducted.

The costs are manageable. In 2005, the BBR (Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning) gave an overview on different models of participation. For all cooperation models with third parties, the cost is difficult to evaluate, but most of it is on the side of the administration for preparing and managing the process. If necessary, the cost for a moderating team must be added (Jakubowski 2005).

The number of workshop procedures (Werkstattverfahren) in Germany in 2017 alone was roughly 30 different projects. It is a common procedure. One reason for these processes is that planning procedures are often delayed because, after publishing a new finished plan, interest groups and citizen initiatives who had not been informed earlier in the usual planning procedure voice opposition and at times even try a lawsuit. Early participation of all groups involved is therefore advised (Paust 2016).

The architectural chamber of North Rhine-Westphalia, the federal state in which Cologne is located, accepts workshop procedures if the fee structure for architects is respected as some rules of fair play:

- thorough technical preparation
- sufficient time for the participating firms to commit to the task
- fixed timetable and schedule
- professionally qualified and independent jury (Jakubowski 2005, Nordrhein-Westfalen 2007).

### **5.3.2. Former industrial halls in a quarter of Cologne find new purpose**

The workshop procedure described here took place in Cologne between 2017 and 2019. The reasons I chose this project are as follows: the many different characteristics of this city quarter, the high proportion of inhabitants with migration background, the lower proportion of young people attending high school, and the high crime rate and drug problems (Table 5). Another reason is the fact that without public engagement, the industrial halls would have been demolished.

### **5.3.3. The City Quarter Kalk**

Kalk became a quarter of Cologne in 1910. At the time, it was characterized by a well-developed industry. Two big companies, founded in the 1850s, were more or less dominant: a chemical plant, Chemical Fabric Cologne (CFK) and Sievers & Co, later better known as Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz AG (KHD). KHD worked with metal and became known worldwide for combustion motors (first four-stroke engine), cars, locomotives, and tractors.

Sievers & Co closed down completely in the 1970s. KHD downsized its production in the 1990s because of economic and structural changes at the time. During this recession, closed parts of the industrial area were partly handed over to the city of Cologne or others and thus became public property. Halls began to be used differently, parts of the area were redesigned, albeit mostly only temporarily. For the very large area of the entire south of Kalk quarter, there was no established concept for development. KHD finally sold its last industrial units, and the new owner's company closed in 2016. Some buildings became listed as historic buildings (Freunde der Motorensammlung e.V 2019, Lagodny 2013, Winternitz 2017).

Today, the area is characterized by two main roads, a train line, and non-connected green areas. The existing buildings are used for small industry, commerce, and living. As the industry steadily diminished

in the last century, people moved away, and rents went down. People moved to other quarters and migrants moved in, attracted by the low rents. Kalk, together with eight more city quarters, is part of the urban district with the identical name Kalk. Here I focus on the quarter. Cologne-Kalk has the following characteristics:

*Table 5 Inhabitants, households, and more, Cologne-Kalk, Cologne, 2000 and 2017*

	Cologne-Kalk		Development	Cologne		Development
	2017	2000		2017	2000	
Inhabitants	121,372	106,425	14%	1,084,795	1,017,721	7%
Households	58,801	50,189	17%	561,071	513,261	9%
Average age (years)	38.1			41.9		
Inhabitants aged under 18 years	22,796	19,285	18%	174,917	162,328	8%
Inhabitants with migration background	62.5%	58.2% (2005)		38.2%	30.6% (2005)	
Unemployment rate	12.2%	10.6%		8.1%	11.5%	
Students in secondary schools (Gymnasium)	28.6%			41.1%		

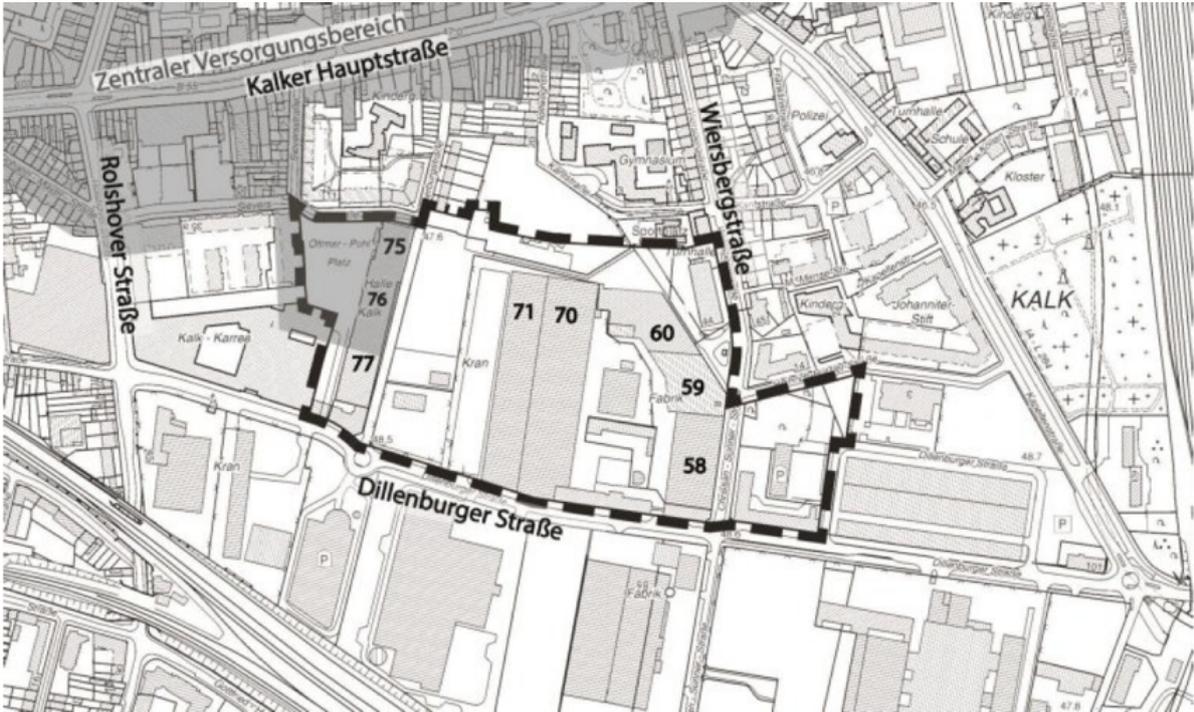
*Data source: Statistical Yearbook of the City of Cologne, 2018 (Die Oberbürgermeisterin der Stadt Köln 2018b), translated by the author*

Today, Kalk is a unique quarter. Table 5 shows that in comparison to the city, Kalk quarter had an increased number of inhabitants (twice as much as the city), and its number of households increased significantly. The average age is lower in Kalk, but the ratio of students attending gymnasium, the traditional German high school, is far lower than that of the city. The proportion of inhabitants with migration background is remarkably high. Kalk is known to be multicultural (Die Oberbürgermeisterin der Stadt Köln 2017a, Golod 2016). Meanwhile, Kalk is also known to have a high crime rate, but the

city only publishes the statistics for all of Cologne (Polizei Nordrhein-Westfalen Köln 2019). In Kalk and neighbouring quarters, the police occasionally conduct raids (Cityinfo-Koeln.de 2019, dpa 2019).

**5.3.4. KHD Halls in Kalk in 2017**

The area these workshops are dealing with is situated in the south of the city quarter of Kalk. After the industrial phase, the buildings were used for different purposes, such as a shopping centre and some more adaptations. Some halls were used as shown in figure 28 which presents the planning area in 2017.



*Figure 28 Planning area for Cologne-Kalk in 2017*

*Hall 75, city stages; halls 76 and 77, Museum Ludwig storage; halls 71 and 70, empty after a company was closed; hall 60, a club for sports, education, and culture for all generations; hall 59, Adventure Hall; hall 58, Storage Circus Roncalli, (Kalk 2017) source: City of Cologne, translated by the author*



*Figure 29 Use of halls*

*Source: City of Cologne (Die Oberbürgermeisterin der Stadt Köln 2017b), translated by the author*

Some halls are listed as buildings, like halls 76 and 77, which are considered to be made into industrial monuments. These were given to Museum Ludwig, known for its collection of modern art and present owners of the third biggest collection of masterpieces by Pablo Picasso worldwide. Halls 76 and 77 were never restored and maintained and only used as storage for Museum Ludwig. The condition of these buildings deteriorated so much that they had to be closed completely in 2014 (ehu (no name) 2018).

The Kulturdezernent (responsible for cultural affairs) decided that the halls 76 and 77 (please refer to figure 28) should be demolished. Before the wrecking ball could start its work, an initiative was founded, called Halle Kalk (Kalk hall) (Rutenberg 2015). The city of Cologne reacted fast and decided to start a planning procedure that included a workshop procedure.

Some more industrial halls were used by companies that had been temporarily closed down (halls 70 and 71) (Ramme 2016). Hall 60 was not used in 2017, but at present, an association plans to offer different types of sports for all generations, as well as hold educational and cultural events, at this venue. Hall 59 is used by an initiative as ‘adventure halls’; they offer indoor climbing. Hall 58 is rented for storage by the famous German circus, Circus Roncalli. In the area is also a project of urban gardening, Pflanzstelle (Scheibe 2017).

### **5.3.5. Workshops**

On 30 March 2017, the City Council of Cologne initiated an interdisciplinary planning procedure, whereby there would be a workshop procedure, and the city would be responsible for planning the management and setting the essential targets.

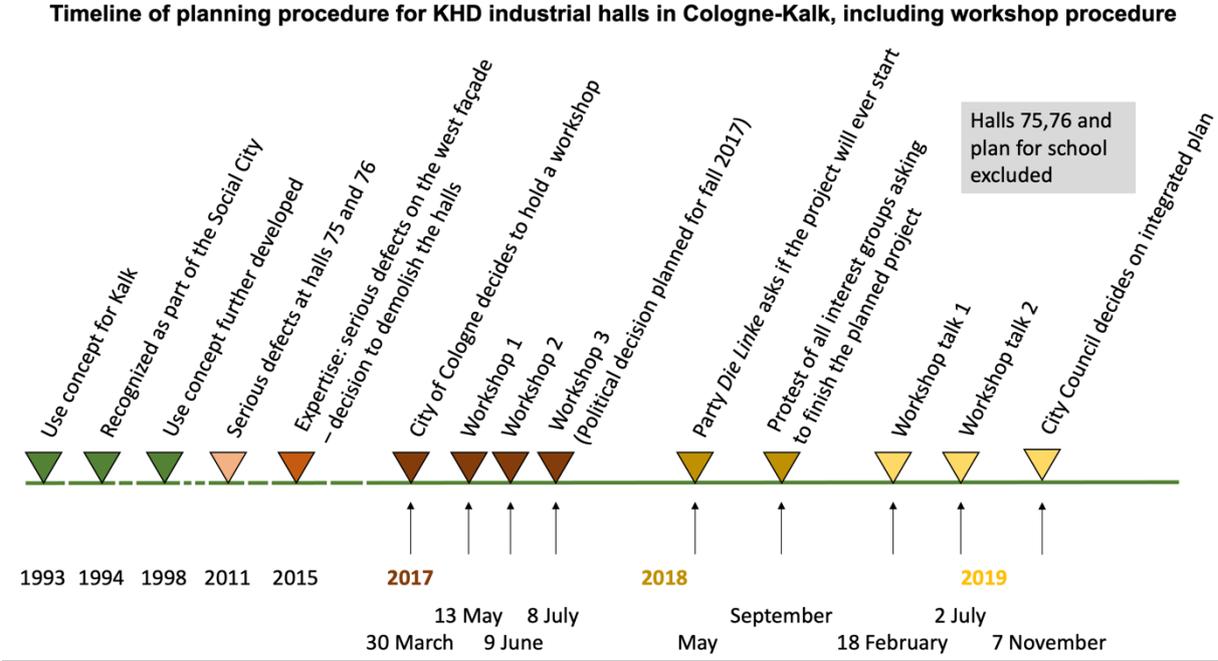
The planning targets were defined by the city, especially for historic halls, traffic, green and free spaces, and the environment. The overall target was to make Kalk more liveable and invigorate the space. It was agreed that the area's usage should range widely to attract people. New walkways would ensure easy access for the local public. Green spaces should be connected and new ones added, given the context of climate change, to ensure good ventilation to lower temperatures in the summer. Green facades and natural surfaces for draining rainwater should be implemented. Historic halls should form part of the area to preserve Kalk's historic atmosphere. If the halls could not be rebuilt or need to be partly demolished, their historical substance should be preserved. Some parts of the area could be used temporarily to ensure that all of it could be used later. The process itself should be experienced by the people living there. Some uses have already been determined, such as the adventure hall, a school for actors, and a hall for the theatre stages of Cologne. It was decided that Museum Ludwig would not change.

The city of Cologne owns most of the property. Three experienced architectural firms were involved in the city planning. The planning process was overseen by an advisory board, members of Cologne City's committees (i.e. those for city planning, art, and culture), the mayor and representatives of the city quarter, the chair of the City of Cologne Design Committee, and specialized architectural firms for city planning and architecture, technology, traffic planning, landscaping, and project development. Additionally, an artist and a company that oversees participation processes played an active role.

The administration of Cologne City was involved, as were Museum Ludwig, the school development board, Office for Monument Protection and Preservation, and all possibly relevant departments to the project.

The workshop procedure was moderated by another office for city planning that was experienced in planning procedures. All users of the area and halls were invited, as well as the public, including several groups. Some groups had already been established, whereas some were newly founded for participation

in the planning process. After the first round of workshops, cooperation was established to support the ideas and funding. Together, the 17 groups represented the following interests: citizen initiative halls in Kalk (no demolition, a good balance between commerce and living); a local group to support those with drug problems and a club facilitating self-help for drug addicts; an initiative to promote diversity in the city in zip code areas 4 and 5 (North Rhine-Westphalia); a club supporting cultural diversity in Kalk; a foundation for supporting art, music, and education in Kalk; a club founded by social workers in the 1990s to facilitate activities for all generations to experience expanding personal boundaries; a club for modern literature; an association founded in 2006 to bring art and differently-abled people together; the Cologne initiative, the Academy of the Arts of the World. Their aim was to make the creativity of the young people in Kalk more visible, given that the youth comprised a relatively high proportion of the demographic. Additionally, friends of nature in Kalk, a citizen’s initiative for ‘More Green in Kalk’, and members of the urban gardening area, Pflanzstelle, were included. ‘Leading Image 2010’ is a club demanding sustainability in every aspect of life. All three workshops took place in the area in the existing school (Die Oberbürgermeisterin der Stadt Köln 2020).



*Figure 30 Timeline of the planning process in Kalk*  
*Data source: (Die Oberbürgermeisterin der Stadt Köln 2020)*

The city invited participants to the first workshop on 30 March 2017. On 13 May, a second workshop was scheduled, and a third took place on 8 July 2017. Figure 31 gives the timeline of the workshops.

There was extensive attention to this event, and approximately 150 people attended the first workshop.

The following topics were discussed:

- Service, Commerce
- Education, Social Opportunity, Culture, Leisure, Living
- Urban Space, the Environment
- Mobility, Traffic, Parking
- Identity, Mission Statement, Process



*Figure 31 Workshop impressions*  
*Source: City of Cologne*

### Was sind die STÄRKEN des Konzepts?

**Genossenschaftsmodell !!!** !!!

- dieses Planungsmodell wäre ein Highlight in Köln!!!

zusammenbringen von Akteuren, Prozessen und Resultat Raum (→ Mächtigkeitsräume entstehen und können neuartige genutzt werden)

- \* Integrales Konzept ermöglicht offene, moderne Gesellschaft
- \* Partizipatorischer Ansatz der Genossenschaft kann Leuchtturm Wirkung eines "Kölner Modells" auf die Stadtgesellschaft generieren
- Genaues Nachwissen für die Umsetzung der Visionen
- SEHR SICHERE, LEBENSWEITGE MISCHUNG VON WOHNEN, ARBEITEN, BILDUNG + KULTUR
- OFFENHEIT + BEITRAG (Sicherheitsbereiche in anderen Stadtteilen)
- viele Räume sind öffentlich zugänglich
- Kulturhof im Oden + Errichtung der Tanzhalle, Köln braucht mehr Kulturstätten
- Stellung der Schule = diesen Komplex ist geplant, auch mit großer Bedeutung und nicht nur "Gemeinschaftsraum" (wie in anderen Stadtteilen...)

### Was sind die SCHWÄCHEN des Konzepts?

Genossenschaft eher für "strukturelle" Zwecke (gemeinsam aufbauen), nicht für Wohnung? stinkt das?

Halle 70/71 macht als Korridor keinen

- Festhalle und "Sudkulturhof" wird neben der Wohnbebauung (Mikroapp) nicht funktionieren → Lärmverschmutzung (da gibt es keine Wohnungen neben an)
- Kita, Außenspielflächen (300qm pro Gruppe!) müssen in Höhe eingezäunt sein + können auch nicht abends geöffnet werden (Vippen, Hand etc.) D.h. Kita ist nicht öffentlich nutzbar. Sollte nicht auf einem primär neuen zentralen öff. Freizeitanlage

### Welche ANREGUNGEN UND HINWEISE haben Sie zum Konzept?

Wohnen kleinsteil, mal: wohnen: Genossenschaft (wenn) Sammpapier

Pflanzstelle: Sonnenschutz & Lichtverhältnisse beachten für eine gute Nutzung / Bewirtschaftung (Anbau von Pflanzen)

Kultur unbedingt mit Leben + Schule machen. Ludwig, Stiftung und Bühnen sind Partner, nicht "Blutverwand", so sollen sie ins Boot geholt werden! (auf öffentliche Aktivitäten)

- KIDS (STIMMUNG) ZUM GUTEN ERGEBNIS FÜHREN (WAS BEI PLANUNG KEIN NICHT SO ANGEBOHT) HALLEN
- KANAKKE FELDHOFF, DURCH ZU KANAKKE FELDHOFF / FELDHOFF, DENN KANAKKE STADTBREITEN IM GEMEINSCHAFTLICHEN WITZENDEN / VORANFANGEN

KULTUR IST HIER

WO BIST DU?

Ich würde der Stadt Köln den Platz, zumindest in einem neuwertigen Bereich eine Genossenschaft zu ermöglichen wie es in anderen Städten (München, Weisfeld, Zürich, Berlin) bereits umgesetzt wird. Die Bindung an eine Stiftung als Grundstückserwerb ist sinnvoll, um die gemeinsamen Ziele dauerhaft zu sichern + als Argument für eine befristete (= kleinerer Grundstückspreis) Vergabe durch die Stadt.



Figure 32 Example of results of moderated discussions in workshop 1

Source: City of Cologne

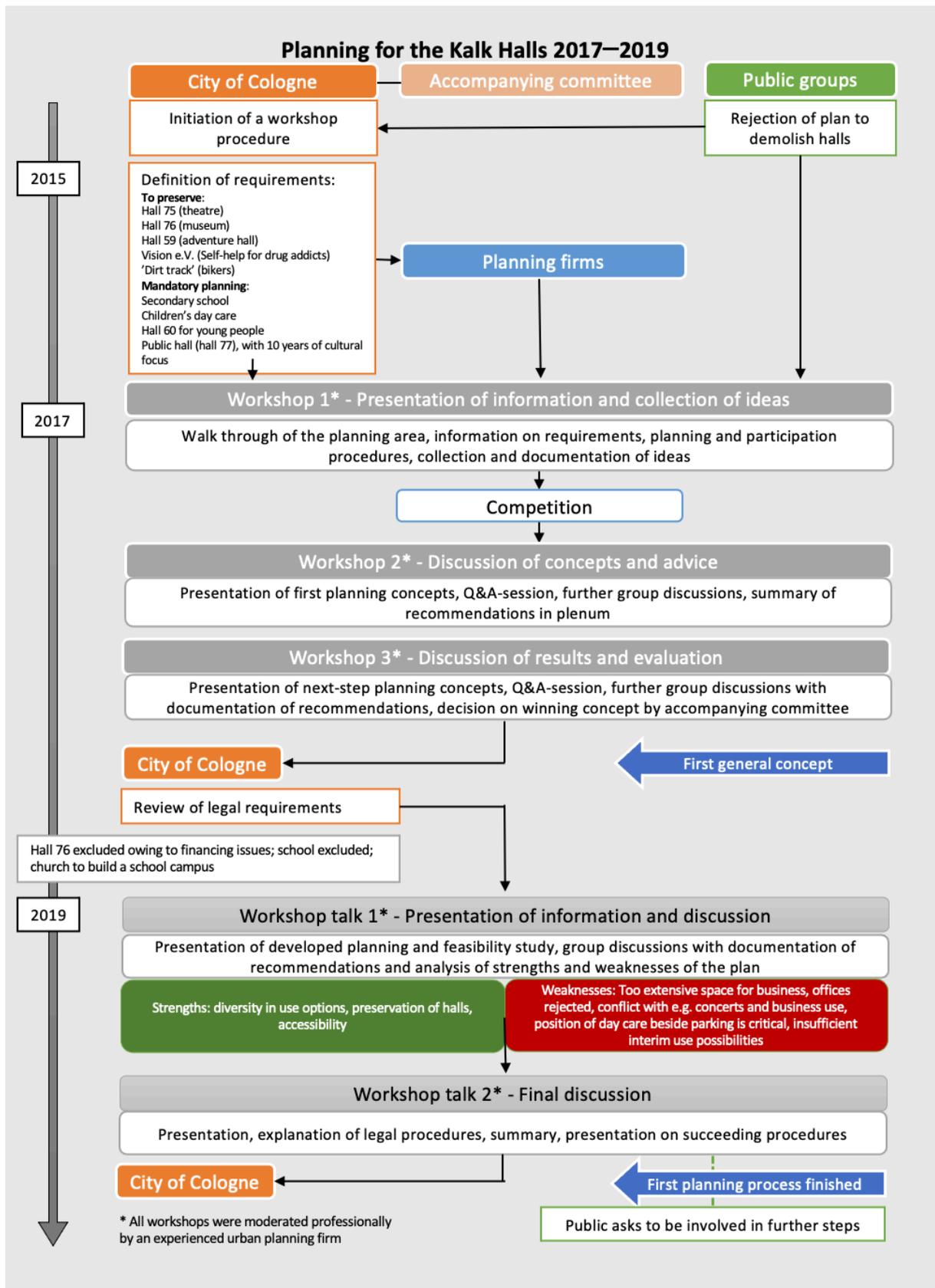


Figure 33 Workshop procedure in Cologne

The list of suggestions from these workshops came from experts, administrators, and the public groups and individuals who participated. Therefore, it cannot be clearly defined who had what impact on the suggestions, as that degree of detail is not listed. The list is as follows:

- The ‘Pflanzstelle’ is a kind of a garden that everybody had a keen interest to keep in the area.
- As Kalk is a densely populated quarter missing green spaces, it was suggested that more green spaces be included and connected with the other green spaces for pedestrians and bikers.
- Good connection to public transport
- Museum(s) (different themes suggested)
- A marketplace for regional produce
- One hall with small booths for local trade, craftwork, and start-ups
- Mixed housing with affordable social housing as well as a residential living area
- The area should remain the property of the city to avoid gentrification

There was a discussion on the planned school that might use extensive space. If included, it would have to be built with an open campus and a good connection to the existing school.

At the first workshop, it was announced that the necessary political steps would be taken shortly after the third workshop in the fall of 2017. For a long time, there was no news. An initiative group launched a protest, and the political party Die Linke intervened in May 2018 owing to the lack of activity. In 2019, a new round of workshop talks was scheduled because the circumstances for the planning area had changed with respect to the halls for Museum Ludwig (halls 75 and 76) as well as for the plan to build a new school.

The city of Cologne risked losing the funding for the museum after they could not find any construction company to finish the project before the deadline. They shifted the funding to avoid losing the money and ensure that they could receive new funding. However, they had to exclude halls 75 and 77 from the planning area, the halls for the museum, and the theatre stages (Die Oberbürgermeisterin der Stadt Köln 2020).

Regarding the plan to establish another school in the planning area, the school board of the city of Cologne did not agree to use one of the industrial halls for this purpose. The Archdiocese of Cologne developed the concept of a school campus during a workshop procedure. The city of Cologne sold the

property to the church (Scheibe 2019). In 2020, the school project started with an elementary school, although the final buildings have not been finished owing to coronavirus-related delays (Ramme 2020). In 2019, after the first workshop talk in February, 12 different organized groups of participants articulated a critique. They stated that only a little of what they had communicated was reflected in the plan. They felt they were not given sufficient time for feedback or discussion. They lamented the lack of time before the February invitation and called for more transparency from the members of the accompanying committee. They also missed more diverse groups of participants, as they felt those participating should mirror the demographics in the area (Muller 2019a, Muller 2019b, Schöffmann 2019).



Figure 34 Result of the 2017 competition after the three workshops

<i>Abenteuerhalle</i>	<i>Adventure hall</i>	<i>Pflanzstelle</i>	<i>Urban gardening</i>
<i>Arbeiten</i>	<i>Space for work</i>	<i>Schauspiel Köln</i>	<i>Cologne theatre</i>
<i>Ateliers</i>	<i>Studios</i>	<i>Schule</i>	<i>School</i>
<i>Büro</i>	<i>Office space</i>	<i>Schulhof</i>	<i>School yard</i>
<i>Erlebnis inklusiv e.V.</i>	<i>Activity club</i>	<i>Subkulturhof</i>	<i>Subculture yard</i>
<i>Grünzug</i>	<i>Green space</i>	<i>Tanzhalle</i>	<i>Dancing hall</i>
<i>Kita</i>	<i>Children's day care</i>	<i>Veranstaltungshalle</i>	<i>Event hall</i>
<i>Handwerkshalle</i>	<i>Crafting hall</i>	<i>Werkstätten Bühnen Köln</i>	<i>Workshops Cologne theatre</i>
<i>Mensa</i>	<i>Canteen</i>		

Source: City of Cologne

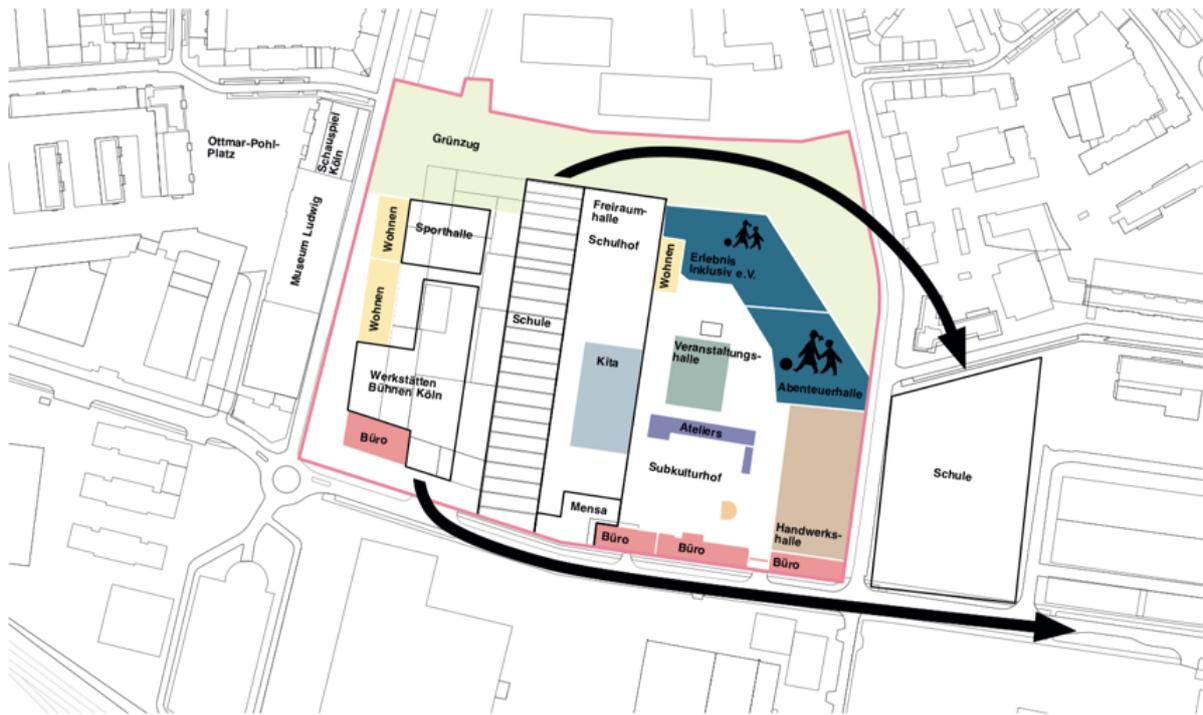


Figure 35 2019 plan for the smaller planning area

<i>Abenteuerhalle</i>	<i>Adventure hall</i>	<i>Schule</i>	<i>School</i>
<i>Ateliers</i>	<i>Studios</i>	<i>Schulhof</i>	<i>School yard</i>
<i>Büro</i>	<i>Office space</i>	<i>Sporthalle</i>	<i>Gym</i>
<i>Erlebnis inklusiv e.V.</i>	<i>Activity club</i>	<i>Subkulturhof</i>	<i>Subculture yard</i>
<i>Grünzug</i>	<i>Green space</i>	<i>Veranstaltungshalle</i>	<i>Event hall</i>
<i>Kita</i>	<i>Children's day care</i>	<i>Werkstätten Bühnen Köln</i>	<i>Workshops Cologne theatre</i>
<i>Mensa</i>	<i>Canteen</i>		
<i>Schauspiel Köln</i>	<i>Cologne theatre</i>		

Source: City of Cologne

### 5.3.5. The halls at present (2020)

After the workshops, the final planning now refers to the former industrial KHD halls as follows:

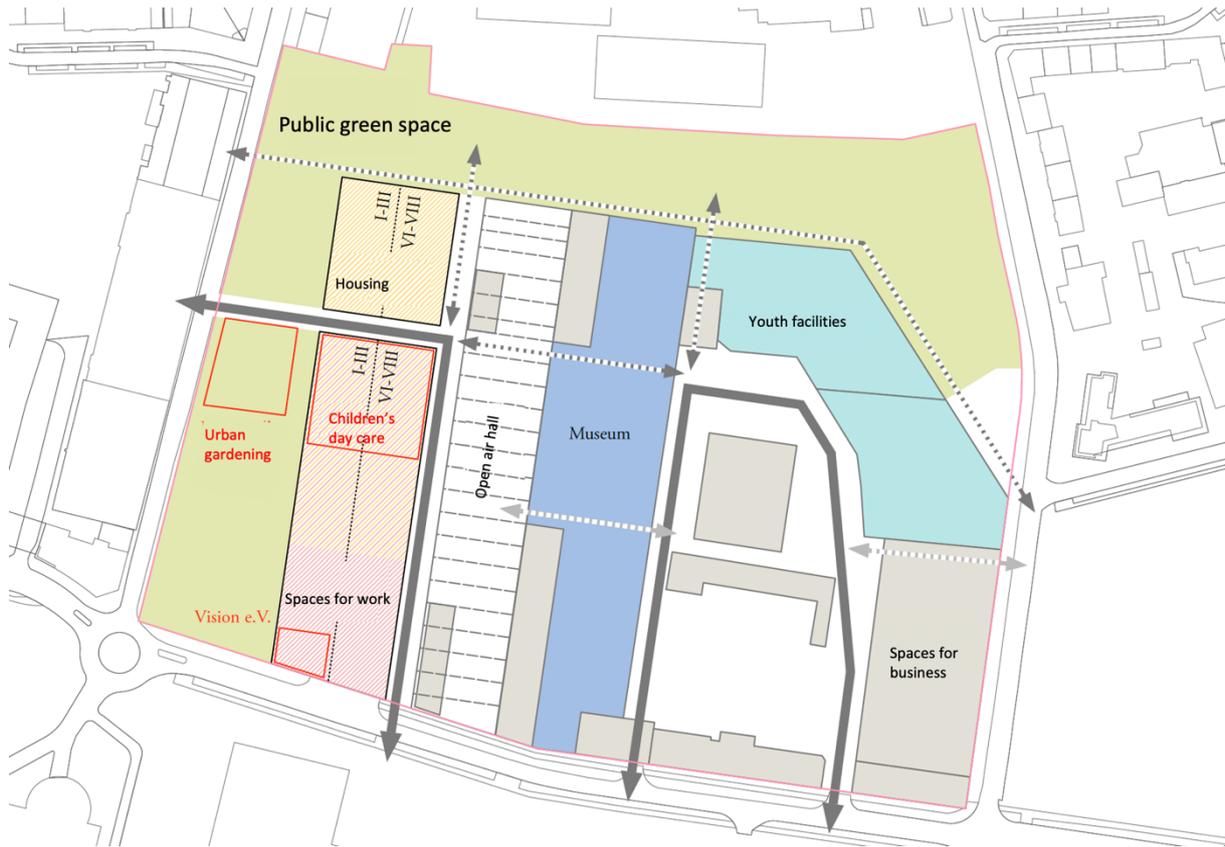
- Halls 75–77, all listed historic buildings, have been excluded from the planning area. Their restoration will be financed differently.
- Halls 70 and 71 are empty because the company using them has closed.
- Halls 58 and 59 are used as storage for Circus Roncalli and an adventure hall, respectively.
- Hall 60 is not used, but a club plans to establish a sports hall for all generations.
- Halls 58–60 are also listed as historic buildings.

The city of Cologne has commissioned a security company to survey the empty halls. A personal conversation with an employee clarified that the contract does not allow a closed loop control system for the halls. Homeless people sleep in the halls. Vandalism and the deposition of garbage are ongoing concerns.



*Figure 36 Hall 71 in June 2019*

In November 2019, the Council of the City of Cologne accepted the developed integrated plan, which is now a binding plan for the city to follow (Die Oberbürgermeisterin der Stadt Köln 2019). The official participation process has been closed.



*Figure 37 The integrated plan, accepted by the city council*

*Source: City of Cologne, translated by the author*

The integrated plan shows that many of the suggestions and desires expressed during the workshops will be realized. The workshops' documentation does not indicate which suggestions were made by whom; therefore, it is unclear whether the public was instrumental in this process. Nonetheless, the public was involved in the process, the above-mentioned groups did not object to the final plan, and the probability that this project will be realized with no or few objections is high.

In the last workshop, the participants provided feedback on the participation process itself for improving future workshop procedures. Their demands included the following:

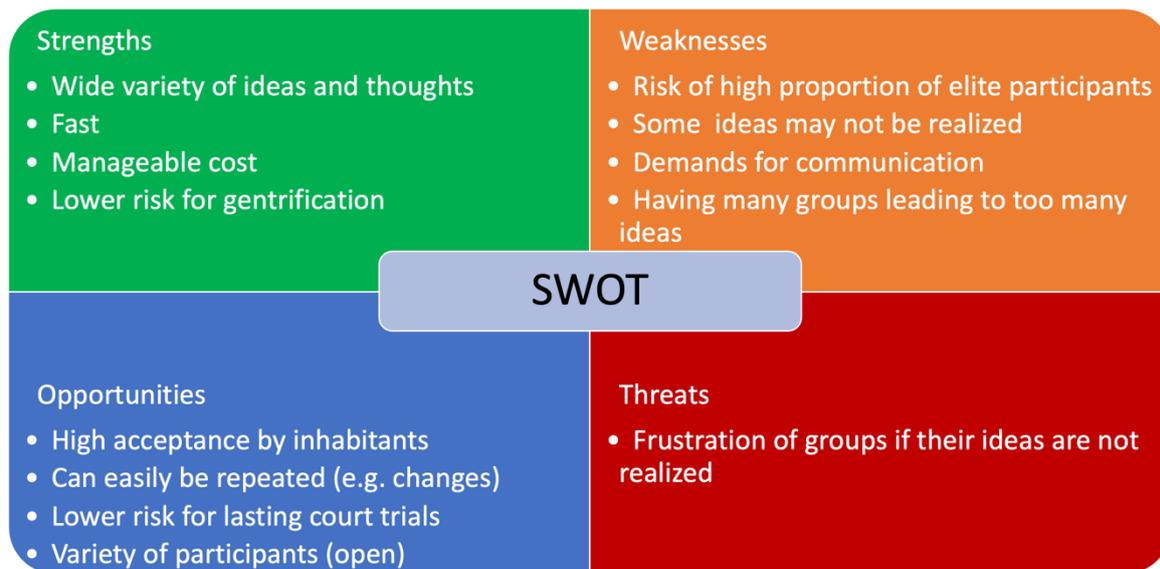
- Use of easier language so that young people and children could be easily included in the process.
- More diversity in the people participating. However, they said they were aware that participants may never truly represent the profile of the area's inhabitants.
- The suggestions made in the workshops should be considered as formal statements in any planning procedure so that good reason has to be given if the suggestions are declined (which is a demand stipulated in the law).

As the plans are realized, there will be details that need to be decided. The public asked to have a voice in this process and suggested holding regular round table meetings.

### **5.3.6. Summary/Conclusion**

City planners are tasked with finding a balance between long-term planning and flexible short-term decision making. Democratically speaking, planning processes should be designed such that not only interest groups and experts but also people living in the area under discussion are included in the process, especially when the ideas and thoughts surrounding a project are not clearly defined. A workshop procedure like the one described is one tool to ensure participation. Its importance in this case is also emphasized by the fact that, without citizens' participation and the founding of an initiative, industrial halls 75–77 would have been unnecessarily demolished. These halls were later excluded from the planning area, but the initiative had an impact on the planning process itself. The fact that diverse and numerous interest groups and individuals can participate is one of the strengths of a workshop procedure. These workshops in Cologne invited everyone to take an interest. There is a risk that an elite group of more educated citizens is more likely to participate and is thus overrepresented in such processes (Busch 2009). Therefore, random procedures are recommended to draw less privileged participants and ensure that various interests are represented (Vergne 2017) .

In the situation examined, many players had to be considered. The specific situation in Kalk involved the following: people with migrant backgrounds, some who were third- or fourth-generation German residents, some who were first-generation migrants; a higher proportion of young people with a need for higher education; a high crime rate; and a known drug problem. All these factors could hardly be considered by a lone city planning committee or architectural office. Various groups participated actively in the process studied. However, the outcome may only be seen as full participation and an acceptable plan if the organizing committee successfully invites all groups of inhabitants to and involves them in the planning process. Only then—with the approval of the people in that area—can gentrification be avoided. This is a vital point to note when conducting workshop procedures.



*Figure 38 SWOT analysis of the workshop procedure*

Analysis of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats of a workshop procedure, by the author  
 In revitalizing the industrial halls previously held by KHD, a workshop procedure was a great option to ensure the participation of all relevant groups and people. An examination of the process itself and the outcome of the workshops in 2017 revealed that the city of Cologne followed the rules of the architect chamber of North Rhine-Westphalia (Nordrhein-Westfalen 2007) and implemented the following:

- thorough technical preparation
- sufficient time for the participating offices to commit to the task fully
- fixed timetable
- professionally qualified and independent jury

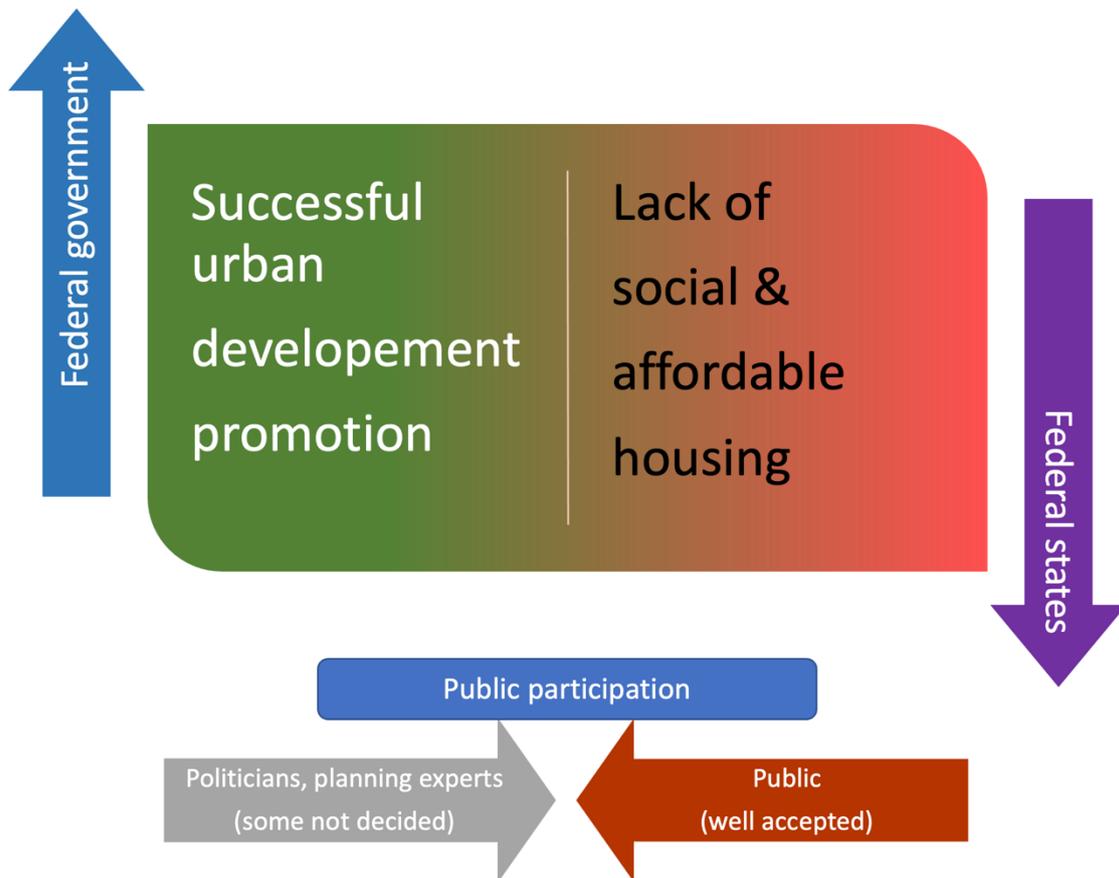
Without thorough technical preparation, the plans presented by the offices could not have been of such high quality. There was also sufficient time. The timetable was tight, as already noted. There were no negative comments or criticism concerning the jury's competence.

However, there were complaints made by the party Die Linke, which was represented in the city council when final planning decisions were made, and by 13 other interest groups that had participated in the workshops (2018a). They all complained that the promised actions had not been taken by the city. Possibly, the council did not take their responsibility seriously to implement the outcomes of the workshop procedures. This as a possible weakness, if not a threat, of this type of procedure.

Cologne and Hannover are the two cities in Germany most experienced in public participation and that have attempted many methods for public involvement. Based on the challenges faced in Cologne-Kalk, it is difficult to mobilize all or at least numerous inhabitants from all constituent demographic groups. The workshop procedure is a worthy tool in facilitating public participation, which should be obligatory in a democratic society. It provides an opportunity for a community to be close to the other people in their quarter and understand their needs and demands. This is especially crucial in quarters with a high diversity of ethnic backgrounds and individual interests. Especially in a big city like Cologne, public participation workshops provide an opportunity for stakeholders to respect the needs of all fellow residents and find acceptable solutions.

## **6. Discussion**

Urban regeneration is a complex topic. Many sub-topics, like climate change, urbanism, gentrification, infrastructure, demographic changes, and migration, have an impact and also interact with one another. For my thesis, I decided to focus on urban regeneration promotion programmes and the linked topics that I consider to be of core interest towards presenting a comprehensive picture of social and affordable housing and public participation (figure 1). These three are intricately linked and have and will have a huge impact on the future urban development of Germany. To shed light on the system of urban regeneration in Germany and its transition, I looked into more than the promotion programmes or one of the other two. The impact of the federal policies on urban regeneration is more clearly seen when described in one paper.



*Figure 39 Impact of federal politics and interest on the three topics*

Success in each of the three topics, namely, urban development promotion, providing social and affordable, and public participation, depends on manifold issues, among which the public political focus of the federal government is deemed the most important by the present study. Another important aspect is the flexibility and innovative spirit that come with the development. These are shown in each of the new programmes over time, in the increased integration of citizens in the planning processes, and in new players in social housing.

The major German urban development promotion programmes show specific key points, such as the accompanying research programmes, the tools to support the communities (e.g. federal transfer offices of each program), the established general rule for financing projects with each paying a third (i.e. the federal government, the federal state, and the applying municipality). Another key point comprises the defined area in any application, the integrated development concept, and the legal basis that grants special rights (Altrock 2020). I clearly showed the impact of the federal political public interest: all the

programmes were determined and decided at the federal level. This impact is seen in a comparison of the development in social housing in Germany. It had been a federal task until the first federal reform in 2006. Social housing developed differently afterward.

There is hardly any literature questioning the German major urban development programmes in general, given that the system and structure are accepted and established. Looking at the thousands of projects that have been supported, the programmes can be assessed as generally successful. Critical points have been brought up, like the increasing workload for the community administrations, especially in smaller cities with a smaller staff, and the long and time-consuming application procedures (Altrock 2020, Deutscher Städtetag 2019, Schneider 2018b). This critique has been heard and answered in the case of the new programmes that started in 2020. Although it is too early to evaluate changes, the history of these programmes indicates the possibility for adaptations being needed. Indeed, the programmes call themselves learning programmes (Böhme 2018, Deutscher Verband für Wohnungswesen 2019a).

Considering that urban development not only reacts to development but also has to anticipate future challenges to the best degree possible, it will be interesting to see if the federal structure will support the implementation of effective measures for green issues in German urban regeneration (Rifkin 2019).

In this thesis, I investigated the topic of urban development by studying literature. More specific points may be generated if I could examine certain projects in Germany for a longer period of time. The current research scope was not to look into details but show the general idea. Regarding financing, studying the banking structure for financing urban development projects can be expected to yield valuable insights, especially regarding changes and adaptations. I did not find any projects financed by crowdfunding, a measure that is not far developed in Germany yet.

Social housing has seen many changes in Germany. From a matter considered ‘solved’ in 2000, the situation has completely changed after the first federal system reform in 2006. The question of social and affordable housing is back on the table (Holm 2014, Holm 2018a, Holm 2018b). I see a big hurdle to overcome the fact that the responsibility has been handed over to federal states. The German federal government will be able to provide further financial support, as a recent change in law provides a legal basis to do so. The future will show if the social aspect in the new programme Social Cohesion, the only

one that has the focus on housing support, will also be able of value. The academic literature sees the handing over of the responsibility from the federal government to the federal states as a political mistake (Schmitt 2017). This was a decision one may regret; however, the federal structure is a given fact. Therefore, and as the 'normal' measures in object and subject promotion did not show satisfying results, I see a potential in the cooperation of municipalities with private investors, retail store chains, and maybe others. This is a new topic, on which I did not find any academic literature. The only exception is the study showing a remarkable potential for re-densification in city centres through the use of space like parking lots and single-storey buildings for housing units (Tichelmann 2019). The study, so far the only one available for this topic, is published by the author and two institutes of the construction industry. This connection can lead to the assumption that the data obtained in the study must be viewed critically. But, even if one sees them as too high, they show great potential.

With limited space within their jurisdiction, municipalities need to find new models for financing affordable housing while staying competitive within the range of German cities. Therefore, the focus should be on providing good living space with respect to sustainability and the need for social infrastructure, such as day care centres.

The core interest of these private investors, such as grocery store chains and others like IKEA, is sales. As such, they are different from a construction or housing company whose core interest is building houses for profit. Retail store chains see the need to offer benefits to municipalities if they want permission to build new markets in city centres. The mutual interest is the idea of re-densification in city centres that would benefit sales and public service (via housing). As such, these new projects characterized by a cooperation between municipalities and private investors can help solve the tight housing situation and have an impact on re-densification in city centres, thus also influencing the revitalization of cities. By combining housing, living (e.g. shopping), and work spaces, these projects can make city centres livelier and more interesting to live in. All of these projects are young. Indeed, only some have been realized, and most are in the process of planning. There are no reports of conflicts of any kind. As the cooperation between municipalities and private investors is limited to the matter of building permission, the risk for future conflicts seems low and not different from any other permission process.

Participation is an established part of urban planning processes, and municipalities decide how to involve their citizens. Public participation can increase the acceptance of urban planning projects and minimize the risk for court trials (Paust 2016). It is a part of direct democracy and well accepted by citizens, except in the case of some politicians and planning experts (Vehrkamp 2014). This thesis described a workshop procedure that ultimately accomplished its given targets. The case presented had all the elements needed to show how valuable public participation can be. The process was started by the public; without the demand of citizens, the historical halls would have been demolished. The procedure showed flexibility when conditions changed and was able to involve people from a highly diverse background.

Public participation has long been established in urban planning processes as far as the legal basis is concerned. Based on Arnstein's ladder of participation, which was at least partly meant to be provocative (Gaber 2019), Germany has not arrived at the top rung. However, the amount of impact of the public can be sufficient, as it was in the case of Cologne-Kalk reported in this work. Public participation has developed with a changing society. For this reason, it would be advisable to establish more constant possibilities for participation, as some cities already do, and harness the possibilities offered by the internet for e-participation (Schaber 2016). In the case of the described process of public participation in Cologne, I find it difficult to say if another selection type, instead of random, might have had an impact on the outcome as previously advised (Vergne 2017).

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## 8. 국문초록

독일은 연방 정부이며, 결정 권한은 연방, 연방 주 및 지자체에게 분배된다. 이 논문에서 상업 주체와 시민의 이익이 상호 작용하는 도시 재생에 정치적 영향과 이익에 대하여 연구하고자 한다.

도시 재생에 관해 연방 정부는 지침을 결정하고 활성화 예산을 결정한다. 16개의 연방 주는 각자 개별 주의 경제적 문제에 대한 의사 결정을 하고, 지원되는 프로젝트를 제어하며, 지자체에서 프로젝트를 실현한다.

이러한 제도는 채택되었고, 수용되었다. 1971년 첫번째 도시 개발 활성화 프로그램이 시작된 이래, 새로운 도전에 대처하기 위한 프로그램들이 개발 되었다. 이와 같은 프로그램의 다양성은 지자체 내의 전문가들에게 과도한 업무량을 의미하는 복잡성으로 이어졌다.

이전 프로그램 및 2019년 이후 프로그램에 대해 SWOT 분석을 제공하여, 연방의 경제적 지원 프로그램이 당시의 요구에 알맞은 해결책이었음을 보여주하고자 한다. 간소화된 프로그램 구조를 동반한 업데이트가 연방 정부가 말한 슬로건 "더 쉽게, 더 유연하게, 더 푸르게"를 충족시킬지는 입증해 보여야 할 것이다.

독일에서 도시 개발은 국가적 정치 과업으로 고려된다. 이는 또한 2006년 독일 연방 시스템 개혁으로 인해 연방 정부에서 연방 주에 책임이 전도될 때까지 주택 제공에 적용이 되었다. 그 이후로 대도시의 주택 공급 상황은 전례 없이 변했다.

주택 시장은 고품질의 고가 주택에 초점을 맞추었다. 안정적인 공공임대주택에 대한 필요성이 증가했

지만, 연방 주에서는 체계적인 방안이 없었고, 여전히 사용 가능한 주택이 부족했다.

독일에서 연방구조는 분명한 사실이다. 새로운 주체들을 살펴보고자 한다. 2018년 리테일 스토어체인은 도심지역에서 발생하는 판매에 대한 이익과 지자체의 관심사인 기존 주택지역의 고밀도화를 결합하겠다고 발표했다.

대중의 참여는 도시 개발 활성화 프로그램에 있어 점점 더 중요해지고 있는 주제이다. 하지만 일부 지역 정치인이나 도시 계획 전문가의 입장에서는 여전히 회의론이 있다. 대중의 참여에 있어 연방 정책의 중요성은 높으며, 연방 법률 및 연방 프로그램 지침은 지역 수준에서 대중을 지지한다. 예시로 제시한 쾰른 쿼터의 워크샵 절차는 시민 참여의 가능성을 강조하는 여러가지 핵심 요소들을 결합한 경우이다.

프로젝트는 대중의 요구로 인해 시작되었고, 쾰른시는 참여 절차를 수행함에 있어 숙련된 모습을 보였다. 쿼터는 다양한 프로파일 가지고 있었으며, 사전 조건의 변화에도 불구하고 도시 계획은 마무리되었다. 독일 전역에서 성공적인 사례로 손꼽히는 이 절차에 대한 SWOT 분석을 제공한다. 디지털 커뮤니케이션과 같은 추가적인 도구는 향후 절차에 있어 유용할 것이다.

내가 아는 한 이 논문은 비(非) 독일인들에게 도시 개발 활성화 프로그램, 안정적인 공공임대주택과 새 주체들 그리고 독일 내 대중의 참여, 세 가지 요소가 연방 정책에 미치는 영향에 대해 이해하기 쉽고 포괄적인 개요를 제공하는 첫번째 논문이다.

연방 도시 개발 활성화 프로그램들은 잘 확립되었으며 수천개의 프로젝트를 지원할 수 있었다. 연방 주(州)들은 주택시장의 전례 없는 변화에 적절히 대처할 수 없었다. 고정관념을 허물고, 새로운 주체들을 사회적 저렴한 주택 시장에 통합할 필요성이 있다고 느낀다. 대중의 요구가 이러한 도시 계획 절차에 반영되어야 하는 중요성을 보여주고자 한다. 여러 주체들을 연결하고 정치적인 영향의 맥락에서 보느냐의 접근 방식은 기후 보호 혹은 타 국가들과의 비교와 같이 다른 관점에서의 도시 재생 연구로 나아갈 수 있다고 본다.

**키워드:** 도시 재생, 도시 개발 활성화 프로그램, 공공 주택, 공공 참여, 독일