

1 Preface – Introduction

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With “Restructuring Eastern Germany” five spatial research institutes have introduced the first volume of the German Annual for Spatial Research and Policy. Four of these institutes belong to the Leibniz Association: The Academy for Spatial Research and Planning (ARL) in Hannover, the Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography (IfL) in Leipzig, the Leibniz Institute of Ecological and Regional Development (IÖR) in Dresden and the Leibniz Institute for Regional Development and Structural Planning (IRS) in Erkner, near Berlin. The fifth institute is the Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning (BBR) in Bonn, a large partner of great importance. These research institutes have founded this new scientific series with the goal of providing international colleagues with information on an annual basis concerning problems and research results within this current and socially relevant issue in Germany. The combined presentation of issues addressed in articles from these individual institutes is an example of how complementary the respective research approaches and abilities are. This kind of year-book therefore documents a network which has existed for several years between the institutes in the form of mutual information and trusting research cooperation.

After the political union of both German states the structural equalisation of living conditions was an enormous challenge for the entire German populace and for all of the functional systems within this new and larger country. After more than 15 years it has become clear that this challenge has hardly diminished. The spatial research perspective, judging by the conviction of the institutes involved, is especially suited to providing a discriminating view of the processes and structures, and of the approaches and effects, which is why the first volume of this new German Annual is concerned with restructuring in eastern Germany. And thus, for example, the less than fully developed economic landscape in eastern Germany is faced by the challenge of increased competition, and the border areas of this same region are exposed to the effects of the EU’s eastern expansion, which has at the very least created a new constellation of international spatial divisions of labour. At the same time, within Germany the efficiency of transfer payments into the eastern part of the country and the reduction thereof is being discussed.

Seven articles within this volume are devoted to a total analysis of spatial structures and processes in eastern Germany as well as the politics of restructuring and specific recommendations for action within the political arena of the *Aufbau Ost* programme (Economic Reconstruction in the East). Two articles are concerned with the more specific themes of urban developmental policies using examples in eastern Germany. The articles are supplemented by reports of regional structures and regional planning systems in eastern and south-eastern European countries as well

as an account of an Academy of Regional Sciences and Regional Planning conference about questions concerning the relationship between a knowledge society and spatial development.

Michael Schädlich and Gerald Wagner analyse the structure of spatial development in eastern Germany. According to their research economic development will become more regionally polarised. Peripheral and rural areas, where it will be difficult to maintain current levels of infrastructure in the future due to a decline in population, will be particularly affected. The authors also question the present strategy of financial support, for example the extent of direct subsidies to the private sector. Economic development policies should instead be applied on a more sectoral and spatial basis and existing development such as business clusters should be supported.

Karl-Dieter Keim draws attention to methodological difficulties which are encountered when evaluating policy agendas, because the results of political action *ex post* are not directly associated with declarations of intent. Using the *Aufbau Ost* programme as an example, he chooses four interventions for his analysis: policy windows, i.e. the period of time in which it is possible to set the political course; policy networks, which have a decisive influence on the transforming of political programmes into action; relevant policy topics, key areas of activity and the selected developmental strategies; and finally, the acceptance of the results of the *Aufbau Ost* agenda. The findings of his overall analysis are somewhat contradictory, as neither the role of political control in the process of transformation nor that of specific *Aufbau Ost* policies can be individually evaluated. In order to achieve this more detailed, process-oriented and comparative research is necessary.

Rupert Kawka examines the path dependency of economic development and asks whether when observing regional developmental differences in present-day eastern Germany it is correct to conclude that in the GDR, despite all of the negative structures which existed there, there were also those which have had a positive influence on today's regional economic development. He analysed the time period between 1989 and 2002. One finding is that regions which were economically strong in the GDR have also been able to attract and build up new developmental factors despite radical changes while those areas which were weak in the past have shown no particularly favourable development during this period of transformation. In addition: it can be assumed that this trend will not change in the medium-term. This suggests that existing and established structures possibly influence development more than regional policy. It may be that the dimensions of regional development policies should be more in tune with historically anchored structures if they are to make a difference.

Markus Eltges and Wendelin Strubelt inquire about the future of equal living conditions, a welfare state goal with a long political tradition in Germany. This goal has been imbedded in European cohesion policies for some time, which are aimed at equalizing economic differences between regions and member states. This is at the very least a question of historical justice and solidarity, as the present dispar-

ities in Europe are, among other things, a result of the Second World War and the ensuing split into two political systems. The authors draw attention to the fact that in Germany, in addition to direct transfers such as state-level financial compensation, the indirect system of compensation, i.e. social security, which includes unemployment, health insurance and pension schemes, actually plays a bigger role. It thus follows that direct financial transfers should be spatially concentrated on those areas which are able to generate greater economic growth, which are essentially urban conglomerations.

Martin T.W. Rosenfeld has a somewhat similar and yet somewhat modified point of view of the topic of interregional support policy. He stresses three basic elements of the philosophy behind support measures: the idea of interregional solidarity, economic spatial cohesion within a country and market failures as a cause of increasing interregional disparities. Through a portrayal and analysis of the current support policy it becomes apparent that several support policies exist side by side, which reduces their efficiency and encourages improper use by those receiving aid. This is a reason for abolishing general and de facto automatic investment grants. Rosenfeld also supports the idea of making more financial support available for urban centres or rather to target subsidies according to regions' individual strengths. This means breaking with the principle of sectoral support policies in favour of a more spatially oriented approach. In order to establish these instruments it would also be advisable to take more advantage of the competence of research institutes located in eastern Germany.

Günter Herfert and Sebastian Lentz analyse spatial patterns of population development in eastern Germany, which have been given increased attention due to public discussion about demographic change in the last few years. A general decline in migrational dynamics in the second half of the 1990s, which was then followed by an increase, indicates that the current motivations for migration, and thus the groups of people involved in it, are different from those during the first years after the German reunion. Today a trend of selective re-urbanisation, i.e. migration to larger urban centres from suburban areas, is visible, which is due to a search for employment. On the other hand many mid-size urban areas continue to undergo a structural weakening due to a loss of population. The next lifecycle of these urban migrants, according to the theory presented here, may well be a migration to the west unless the potential for finding work in these large cities improves. Accordingly, regional structural support policies should be oriented more to the maintenance of local centres in order to particularly strengthen the development potential of larger urban centres and to keep the human resources, young highly qualified workers, from leaving the region.

The strategic importance of human resources in regional development is central to Ulf Matthiesen's argumentation. He draws attention to the political conflict in which on the one hand, educational measures on various levels are essential for eastern German regional support programmes aiming at developing and maintaining regional levels of qualification in order to remain competitive, but on the other

hand those with a better education generally improve their chances of finding work by migrating to western Germany. Support of education thus encourages a loss of human resources. His empiric findings concerning links between education, human resources and economic development suggest that sweeping support mechanisms cannot solve this type of conflict. A new model of integrated regional development is therefore necessary, which is organised in such a way that it represents heterogeneous instead of all-inclusive constellations. This means that fragmented (in the sense of individual or regionally and locally based) or perhaps isolated solutions for economic and social support have to be accepted. A concentration on so-called growth centres alone is not sufficient.

The regeneration of cities is one of the most important projects addressed by *Aufbau Ost* policies. Manfred Kühn and Heike Liebmann compare attempts and methods of regeneration in old industrial regions in northern England and eastern Germany. While urban development in northern England relies more on integrative elements, i.e. physical, social and economic aspects, German *Stadtumbau* (urban restructuring) is concentrated on economic components of reducing excess supply, the reduction of infrastructure costs and thus the demolition of unoccupied buildings and urban neighbourhoods. The authors compare different developmental strategies using examples in Manchester and Leipzig. A major difference is the degree to which private actors are involved in the process, which rarely occurs in eastern Germany. The higher intensity of problems in this region may reduce the chances that private actors have in seriously influencing urban regeneration.

Monika Meyer-Künzel addresses a special topic of urban development policies which has become more and more frequent: urban development through large events. Large events, such as the Olympic Games and world exhibitions, have increasingly become natural tools for the promotion of urban development since the beginning of the first half of the twentieth century. These events, however, involve considerable risks for the cities organising them due to the investments and measures necessary for such singular events. These risks are not limited to possible failures when applying for such events, but also involve potential long-term ensuing costs. Using the example of Leipzig's Olympic application the author illustrates five strategies used by potential hosting cities.

The individual institutes' reports are preceded by two articles concerning the creation of a European spatial planning area, especially as eastern German regions which border Poland and the Czech Republic have the task of promoting domestic development with these new EU members. André Müller stresses the importance of international development and planning projects, the most important of which is currently the EU's Interreg III B Initiative. Such projects are often confronted with the problem of very different traditions of planning in the new eastern European member states. Even though planning systems have been transformed by now, examples of practical cooperation continue to demonstrate that a common understanding of planning, especially in the use of informal tools, is a long way off.

Hans Joachim Kujath and Sabine Zillmer present an ESPON (European Spatial Planning Observation Network) project which has the purpose of collecting and disseminating information about Europe's spatially diverse development as well as making possible complex comparative structural, potentials and policy analyses. This tool will also be used to support the introduction and adjustment of structural funds in new member states.

Burkhard Lange's conference proceedings to a certain degree correspond to Ulf Matthiesen's article, as they also address the conceptual links between knowledge societies and regional development. He points to examples of this in Germany, in Arabic-speaking countries and in China.

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