

HAFENCITY HAMBURG

Jürgen Bruns-Berentelg

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ABSTRACT:

How can the guiding perspectives of the HafenCity development over and beyond the master plan, which describe the production of “city” as a process, be characterized?

This essay is devoted to answering this question.

The development process of HafenCity – or so runs the argument – has witnessed the emergence of three overlapping, tangible and intangible perspectives of thought and action: identity, sustainability and urbanity. This multi-dimensional orientation is linked with highly challenging global and local demands that intersect with the urban spatial dimensions as a “new downtown” and “waterfront” urban development project.

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HAFENCITY HAMBURG – IDENTITY, SUSTAINABILITY AND URBANITY

Radical transformations have a long tradition in the environment of HafenCity, be they planned or unplanned. The unplanned ones have included the great fire of Hamburg in 1842 and massive destruction during WWII, followed by the development of drastically changed urban structures. The planned ones have included urban redevelopment in the area of today's Mönckebergstraße and the Kontorhausviertel district, largely undertaken in the first three decades of the 20th century. And the southern edge of the city's fabric had already witnessed a particularly radical transformation before that: demolition of a Baroque district, eviction of over 20,000 residents and construction of a purely commercial warehouse district between 1885 and 1927.

The first time the HafenCity area was drastically changed is 150 years ago. Between the 1860s and the end of the 19th century, it was turned into Hamburg's new port and industrial district, characterized by modern transshipment directly from water to land, and by its connection to a highly capable transport network. What had originally been marshland with many small uses, from allotments and small industrial businesses through to pre-modern port operations, now became a highly efficient area with deep tidal harbour basins, quays and rail systems, sheds and industrial production facilities. Its specialization into an exclusive port district, cordoned off by a customs canal and customs fence, lent the area the character of an enclave. The space was largely deprived of the impacts of urban diversity. The port was operated in plain sight, but largely outside of urban life.

Although the intensity of the port use showed marked fluctuations at various stages, and a declining trend in the course of the 20th century, the area that is HafenCity today still featured typical harbour uses at its end. And although vessel movements became few and far between from the 1990s, there were new production locations instead, including a large coffee roaster, a power plant and what still amounted to considerable goods transshipment in partly new warehouses. This is also where the central office of today's port authority, previously the River and Port Engineering Authority, was to be found. But the location was far removed from having a town-like, urban character.

All this makes the development of a new, densely populated city with a variety of uses, announced by the First Mayor of the time, Henning Voscherau, in 1997, and decreed by the senate and parliament in the same year, an even more radical transformation of the locality – perhaps more radical than its initiators could know.

The radical nature of this transformation is based on two factors. In contrast to the high-quality brick buildings of the warehouse district, the HafenCity area had largely featured relatively unassuming functional buildings, most of them single-storey storage sheds, such as are still to be found today in the Oberhafen, or upper port, district. There were only very few exceptions like the historic quayside warehouse B, whose imposing brick building houses Hamburg's International Maritime Museum today. This architectural structure precluded a gentle urban development involving the gradual integration of large parts of the traditional harbour buildings in a new, intensively used urban context with medium-rises like today's city. And the special flood protection concept of HafenCity on the other hand necessitated the creation of a new development infrastructure. This flood protection is not based on embankments, but on a concept of raised earthen bases that perpetuates and constitutes a maritime atmosphere, and the area's direct relationship with the water. This involves the creation of a new urban level at 8.0 to 8.8 m above sea level for buildings and 7.5 to 8.3 m above sea level for roads, while the old harbour area had been 5.0 to 5.5 m above the mean sea level. This new topography makes the integration of a larger number of old, lower-lying buildings as part of the overall development impossible.

The mixture of old and new with a high variety of uses, as extolled by renowned American urbanist Jane Jacobs was hence not realizable here. By necessity, HafenCity started off as a pervasive reinvention of "city", based on modern town planning and modern architecture – but in the context of a 19th century harbour landscape.

The radical urban development phase of the 1960s and 70s with its frequently devastating consequences had run its course by the end of the 1980s in Europe. Although well-founded, HafenCity may hence appear as a belated urban develop-



Former HafenCity area with warehouses, dockside storage sheds and industrial facilities

ment project in conceptual terms – if one that might also be able to obviate the disadvantages of radical city conversions thanks to the accumulated learning effects, however.

The HafenCity development is indeed a latecomer in comparison to other large-scale waterfront projects, for example in Baltimore, Boston, Barcelona or London. And this not only because the area awaiting development here was not lying idle, as opposed to the situation in these cities. A central role is instead played by overarching historic developments, as had been the case in the construction of the harbour and modern warehouse district before: the lifting of the iron curtain and regaining of Hamburg's large economic hinterland, just under 50 km east of the city, but cut off from it until 1989/90. These factors unleashed a considerable dual impulse of economic growth, on the one side regarding a renewed expansion and modernization of the harbour, and on the other where the development of the service sector is concerned. The latter was in this case tantamount to a boost for the city and its functions.

The genesis of HafenCity has taken care of both missions, at least temporarily, as paradox as that may sound. The sale of the properties, largely owned by the City of Hamburg, has ensured the development of city uses of a particularly high quality, while simultaneously providing the prerequisites for financing the urgently needed new container terminal in the Altenwerder district¹. The subtraction of harbour areas has hence ultimately also served to strengthen the harbour – a process that is completed today.

The expansion of Hamburg's inner city continues to be a key development task. HafenCity extends across 123 ha of land and 157 ha overall (including the expanses of water), requiring almost 2.5 billion euros in public investments, ca. 1.5 billion of that from the sale of land, and just over 8 billion euros in private investments (according to calculations from 2012). Where the newly built volume specified by the master plan from the year 2000 amounted to 1.5 million m² of gross floor space, this has increased to 2.3 million m² today. Instead of the 20,000 originally planned, around 45,000 jobs will be created now, and up to 7,000 apartments instead of 5,500. Added to this are many facilities and qualities that would have been unthinkable just over a decade ago, be they individual buildings like the Elbphilharmonie concert hall or HafenCity University of Architecture and Metropolitan Development (HCU) – neither of which is financed by public funds from the separate estate – or qualities like HafenCity's high degree of urbanity and sustainability, already recognizable today. This expansion and simultaneous re-interpretation of an inner city centre as a modern “new downtown”, as which Berlin urbanist Ilse Helbrecht has typified HafenCity, is of a unique scale and importance, at least in a European context.

¹ Hamburg's budget with its mounting deficits was already no longer to be burdened with this task in the 1990s. The 440 million DM share of the financing required for the harbour's infrastructure was therefore simply incorporated in the „separate port and city estate“ which the city-owned areas of HafenCity had been allocated to. These encumbrances, untenable in the long run, were only reconciled in 2011/2012 in a measure that a number of urban development specialists, including Prof. Dieter Läßle, had advocated for quite a while. At the beginning of the HafenCity development, this additional financing problem served as an unconflicted political legitimization for excluding these areas from the operative harbour acreage. Altenwerder has been built long since.

HAFENCITY TODAY

The radical transformation of the former port area and extensive expansion of Hamburg's inner city up to the Elbe river will furnish that city's centre with a new urban quality, as well as a new waterside location. The customs area has been disbanded, the warehouse district embedded between the city and HafenCity, and the latter's area is incrementally also turning into a normally functioning city, as challenging as the development of a new downtown may be.

In 2014, the construction of HafenCity has come a long way already, despite the New Economy crisis setting in at the beginning of the new millennium, and despite the financial crisis from 2008 to 2011. Three of the ten districts have been completed apart from one building each, five others are in construction, and the remaining two are in an intensive planning process while the infrastructure is being built. The revision of the master plan for the eastern parts of HafenCity in 2010 has thought the project through to the end in rough outlines, right up to the bridges across the Elbe. More than 60 buildings have been realized already or are under construction. The connection to the warehouse district and city is completed from the Elbphilharmonie concert hall through to the Ericusspitze promontory, except for one building which had been used for construction logistics. The transport links have been provided and the new U4 underground line has gone into operation up to the HafenCity University stop in 2013, still to be extended up to the bridges across the river.

The urban qualities of HafenCity are discernible. Just over 2,000 people live here in 2014 in various residential contexts – for example as tenants of the very densely developed Übersee quarter, in airy, luxurious condominiums in the Marco Polo Tower, or



HafenCity 2014, aerial view from the west. A commercial harbour is situated on the opposite side of the Elbe river.



HafenCity University of Architecture and Metropolitan Development at its new waterfront location

in owner-occupied housing association flats or rented cooperative housing all across the western and central HafenCity. Around 10,000 people already work in HafenCity as of now. There are companies with over 1,000 employees like the Spiegel publishing group, the consumer goods group Unilever, and the maritime service provider Germanischer Lloyd, along with other large enterprises such as the logistics company Kühne + Nagel. The bandwidth of HafenCity's more than 500 businesses is broad: it ranges from small local service providers, retailers and catering establishments through to national and international champions like, for example, China Shipping with its central European office at Sandtorkai. Looking at the industries, a certain focus can be detected: the first to become engaged at a local level were mainly establishments from the maritime industry with their range of shipping companies, logistical service providers, certification and consulting firms. Other enterprises to settle here in a targeted manner come from the areas of sustainable energy and new technology. But HafenCity is also turning into a location for Hamburg's design, media and cultural industries. The knowledge society has meanwhile gained an initial foothold with the private Kühne Logistics University and three further private universities in the fields of economy and health. The public HafenCity University of Architecture and Metropolitan Development (HCU) has moved into its new building in the Elbtor district in 2014. Local supplies for HafenCity are being taken care of in the northern Übersee quarter and various other localities. A primary school and a first day nursery with crèche and kindergarten, which are closely connected with St. Catherine's Church and share its name, have been in existence since 2009. Five further day nurseries are in the planning stages or being realized, along with another primary school and a secondary school².

The public urban spaces already created are being used by a great number of actors. All manner of cultural and other events are taking place. Civil society organizations have sprung up, too. HafenCity is characterized by strong social networks: It connects

² The school and its day nursery were opened in 2009 - despite the senate's decision to close schools in the inner city, and by the way also partly against the advice of day nursery experts, who first wanted to await a demand they didn't expect. The building has been realized in a public-private partnership.



Marco Polo Terraces with mid-rise office and residential buildings. St. Catherine's in the background is located in the existing city.

residents, businesses and other institutions from within and without the area. HafenCity has therefore long ceased to be a mere planning area and building site, but become a bustling city in a physical, economic, social and cultural sense. It appears as if a perfectly normal sector of new inner city core has come into being, and that a lot faster than many Hamburg residents had expected³. This speed has not been attended by any quality losses, however, unlike so many large-scale projects. Bruce Katz from the renowned Washington D.C. think tank Brookings Institution, for example, had the following to say after visiting HafenCity in 2012: "I was struck by the scale and smartness of the vision and strategy ... and the potential for US cities and practitioners to learn from what is clearly one of the most transformative projects underway in mature cities today" (from a personal message to the author).

But wherein does the special quality of HafenCity reside, what distinguishes its concept from others, where is it also retaining its extraordinariness as normality sets in? Of key importance are the finely grained horizontal and vertical mixture of uses and subdivision into various quarters with individual identities of their own. Also decisive are the excellent pre-structured urban axes to the existing city and new urban hubs. While providing important public areas at the waterfront itself, HafenCity also connects just as well to the existing spaces. Its urban development is underpinned by a model that is old and new at the same time: it is rooted in the European city, with its high structural density and great urbanity potentials, but also new to the extent in which, although ideals exist for the European city overall, these are lacking for its core, the "city" itself. HafenCity takes up the challenge of defining the city core anew in the sense of the European city. The master plan by Kees Christiaanse/Astoc has set new international standards in this respect, even if much larger and – especially in their vertical development – much more stately, expressive and faster growing urban construction sites can be easily found around the world, particularly in Asia.

³ Expectations were particularly pessimistic after Hamburg's failed application for the 2012 Olympic Games in spring 2003. This was the case because the Baakenhafen district in the eastern parts of HafenCity had been earmarked as an Olympic village and the high-rise development at the Elbe bridges as a press centre. Many people prophesied that HafenCity would not have enough momentum of its own without the Games.

THREE PERSPECTIVES

HafenCity is intended to function “normally” in the good sense of the European city. But this European city is an ideal. In reality our cities, as a product of planned and unplanned developments, are beset by a host of structural weaknesses. Given this background, what is actually needed for a new district to function well are specific ambitions reaching far beyond mere size, beyond an expansion within the framework provided by existing city structures, and beyond an expeditious realization. The following is hence intended to portray the development of HafenCity from three specific perspectives that describe the attendant efforts:

- 1.) How can the identity of the City of Hamburg be further developed as part of the radical conversion and new construction south of the warehouse district, so that a local identity is brought about by residential uses, jobs and culture despite the international importance of HafenCity and its touristic function? An identity, mind you, that will hopefully hold out for a century or more, leave a positive imprint on Hamburg, and provide it with a unique design.
- 2.) How can sustainability, as one of the key perspectives of urban development today, be ensured in the centre of the city when so much more needs to be provided than an ecologically sustainable housing development? How can general urban development specifications and incentives be applied to this effect, or market mechanisms and active citizenship integrated? Would this approach perhaps even permit the creation of a more sustainable city than is usually the case with most major international projects? How can HafenCity assume a model function transcending the development of minor experimental or massively subsidized projects (as in the case of the eco-city Masdar in Abu Dhabi, for example)? Can it become an “eco-city” to any considerable extent without being conceived as such? Can economical and social aspects of sustainability that will ensure longevity and adaptability also be highlighted for the inner city centre, apart from the ecological ones?
- 3.) How can HafenCity become an urban district, not only in its core sections, but also across the entire area? How can this urbanity be tangibly generated by way of a lively, varied use of the ground floors, when retail appears to work best nowadays in concentrated shopping machines (self-contained shopping centres)⁴? How can a model that counters this trend be developed in HafenCity? And how can major national and international companies be spatially and conceptually integrated? Large corporations have often grown even larger in recent decades, and withdrawn from busy city contexts to office cities because they appear to work best as “office machines”. Or they have taken over large parts of the inner city centre, mostly gutting its urban life apart from the retailing. Can a better integration be ensured for HafenCity in this regard – as variously desired? This has become even more pressing

⁴ Shopping centres are meanwhile also encroaching on the inner city of Hamburg as a competition benchmark for retailers, except for those in the premium segment. Dispersed retail structures comprising many small units have virtually disappeared, along with proprietor-run shops.

today as the prerequisites for urbanity have drastically changed in recent decades, particularly in economic terms. Urban qualities will not materialize as a mere result of planning intentions. The ideals of Jane Jacobs, the great New York campaigner for lively diversity in our cities, are lacking many of their economic premises today, at least for an inner city core.

Over and beyond this, however, urbanity also implies the ability of a city to generate social cohesion and encounter potentials, and to become a place where ideas and economic, social and cultural skills are exchanged. This power is only provided in a small number of places today and has largely been lost in the inner city centres. The desideratum of a functioning neighbourhood also belongs in this context. At the beginning of the 20th century, Georg Simmel drew a rather pessimistic picture of the city dweller, marked by a blasé attitude and indifference, in his essay “The Metropolis and Mental Life”. Can a new type of neighbourhood, an environment that is social, cooperative and still open to others, be created more than a century later? The question raised overall is consequently how an inner city core such as HafenCity can be a public space in a social and political sense, an economically successful location and a place of residence for many who wish to create a flourishing community in the centre of the city, instead of cultivating aloofness.

What clearly emerges from these perspectives is that the development of HafenCity runs counter to the quasi natural trends of urban development on many levels. Its success will not be primarily judged by whether a successful normal inner city core like the current city can be created, but rather if it will be possible to redefine urban normality against a number of prevailing trends. This is essentially not so much about imposing a city in plans, but rather about methods and instrument by means of which the mentioned issues can be successfully resolved in its realization process. The ambitious development of HafenCity will also need to keep an eye on the framework conditions over and beyond its physical realization, however. What needs to be found are realization mechanisms as well as economic and social incentives – in an effort that extends far beyond the instruments of urban planning. Instead, this task involves a combination of traditional planning mechanisms with economic, informational, social and cultural processes for developing urban potentials, which I have elsewhere referred to as “processes of generating urbanistic capital”.

These development issues surrounding HafenCity – and the list is actually much longer than that – need to be resolved, also in a sense of economic feasibility because HafenCity is largely intended to finance itself, which it will probably manage to do, given the private investments and the public ones from the separate port and city estate (as represented by HafenCity Hamburg GmbH)⁵.

⁵ With HafenCity Hamburg GmbH, at the start of the development still known as Gesellschaft für Hafen- und Standortentwicklung mbH (GHS), Hamburg has hit upon a form of organization that is owned by the city but still comes under private law. It realizes the roads, parks, squares, quay walls, bridges and promenades, all financed by the proceeds from the sale of land. Outside its remit are external infrastructure measures, in particular the U4, schools and HafenCity University, as well as large cultural institutions such as the Elbphilharmonie concert hall and International Maritime Museum.

IDENTITY

The identity of HafenCity is by no means solely created on a physical and material level, but nonetheless to a large extent. The rugged milieu of the Elbe river and port in the south is determinative on a principal level. It will be extensively changed by what is being built, however – by the superstructure work, but most of all by the spaces in between⁶. Just like the buildings, these spaces are almost entirely created from scratch, and consequently inform our perception of HafenCity's identity to a very great extent. Apart from this, the identity is also shaped by the uses, by people and their activities. What is coming into being at the various HafenCity localities are not only specific atmospheres and cultures, but also distinct forms that are unique to Hamburg, preventing the largely newly built HafenCity from turning into just another instance of global urban development, despite the need to also cater to global economic requirements.

On a physical and material level, this is in turn only made possible by an architectural conservatism. HafenCity is dominated by urban planning, as opposed to expressive architecture. The height of the new buildings is in keeping with the existing structures of the inner city core, apart from six carefully placed apogees arranged in an outer and an inner triangle of the urban space of HafenCity. HafenCity is a dense, horizontal city in the sense of the European city of the 19th century. Not only that the silhouettes of the church steeples in Hamburg's city centre are taller than HafenCity, but St. Catherine's, St. Peter's and St. Nicholas' even come to characterize it from many vantage points, for example from the Magdeburger Hafen port, by way of carefully planned visual axes. HafenCity, the warehouse district and the existing city with its striking buildings melt into one in visual terms. This is not only enabled by the horizontality and lines of sight, but also by the HafenCity's open construction style. It is a declared aim to avoid the creation of oversized, closed-off blocks of buildings, but to rather pick up on the architecture of the existing city – the varied and small structures of the Cremon district in the west, and the larger dimensioned ones of the Kontorhausviertel district at the centre. Visual links to the water are kept as open as possible. The influence of the warehouse district and city also shows up in the materials and colours selected. The centre of HafenCity vis-à-vis the warehouse district is dominated by clinker brick and shades of red, while the selection of materials and colours at the Elbe river is marked by a greater degree of freedom.

Some users are not particularly enamoured with the idea of needing to submit to a historically grown urbanistic identity, instead of being able to act out their own in a particularly expressive building. They will be provided with a new structure, to be sure, yet one of a reserved character. This unease also applies to some of the architectural criticism, which partly insists on taking its bearings from what is possible in architecture today, and not from the long-term meaning of townscapes and urban spaces. But the half-life periods of architectures can tend to be very short, and



Übersee boulevard in the densely used area of Übersee quarter with offices, apartments, retail and gastronomy. St. Peter's marks the edge of the prime retail area of the central city.

there is also a need to extend the temporal arc of HafenCity's identity back across Hamburg's history of urban development, while also creating something new. The Übersee quarter hence picks up on the Kontorhausviertel district in structural terms and, from Übersee boulevard, affords a wonderful view of St. Peter's by way of the so-called cathedral square axis, while also providing for a completely different urban structure with its mixture of uses, already recognizable in its northern parts. This includes retail, catering, residences, office workplaces and a first hotel. So while the identity is continuous on the one hand, it is also being reinvented on the other.

The Elbphilharmonie also has a special role to play as an identity builder for HafenCity. Even if it will be mostly used as a concert venue⁷, the frequently drawn comparison with that world-famous symbol of Sydney, the Opera House, is still instructive. Just like the Sydney Opera House, the Elbphilharmonie is not merely an outstanding architectural icon, but also picks up on the still-dominant image of Hamburg as a seaport town with a musical and cultural tradition where the inner city meets the Elbe river, while also unmistakably expanding on that. This is achieved in architectural terms by its apparent imposition on the building of wharf warehouse A which, although only retained as a three-dimensional simulacrum in the form of its outer walls, still constitutes an important element of the modern port tradition. And the public plaza being created at a height of 35 meters on the level between the warehouse and the actual concert hall also appears as a space where the Old meets the New. It provides a uniquely dimensioned perception focus for Hamburg at a special location. Hamburg's core area with the city, warehouse district and HafenCity is newly synthesized with the river topography here. The Elbphilharmonie will become an identity builder not only by virtue of the building itself, but also through its role as a locus of perceiving the city, and as a public space. This role extends beyond that of the Sydney Opera House, but also beyond its own essential cultural role as a concert hall.

⁶ Meaning the spaces between buildings as well as those between the buildings and the harbour basin

⁷ Apart from this it will also house a hotel, apartments, a public plaza and a multi-storey car park.



The public open spaces have close bonds to the harbour basins. The Dalmannkai neighbourhood at Grasbrook harbour with the Elbphilharmonie in the background combines residential buildings from cooperative housing to luxury apartments.

The public spaces of HafenCity are strongly informed by the physical milieu of the water and its changes, and by the structures of the modern era's port. They largely take the shape of promenades, piers and waterside spaces, and only secondarily that of parks. But the dominance of the harbour milieu is broken up in two ways. On the one hand the traditional canal development with its building edges was created directly by the water. This Hamburg tradition is still clearly recognizable at the Hanseatic Trade Center in the western parts of the warehouse district, the warehouse district itself and the Cremon district. The edges of the modern harbour were always kept open as quayside transshipment areas, however, which in turn also legitimizes the creation of HafenCity's public spaces near the water. HafenCity may be breaking with the Hamburg tradition of canal development, but it does so with spatial and historic precision.

The public open spaces of HafenCity also correspond to the port tradition insofar as they form hard structures with little green. But at the same time they are overlaid with new, materially autonomous, partly playful, differentiated and memorable shapes providing for diverse usability and a high recognizability. The visitors' and residents' acceptance of these public spaces is high – and the intensive use of the waterside locations provides an important new contribution to the identity of HafenCity.

The use proposals and users, actors and activities gel into a closely networked identity-scape with the material structures. This also includes the integration of cruise line shipping: The early construction of two provisional terminal buildings and the activities revolving around the incoming ships since 2004 have unfolded a public impact that reaches far beyond HafenCity itself, and determines its maritime character to a significant extent. The "hard" port of yore is more and more giving way to a "soft harbour" whose image is characterized by contemplation and pleasure.

The traditional shipping port in Sandtor harbour and planned marina in Grasbrook harbour line up in this tension between continuity and change.

But, as already suggested above, the identity of HafenCity also depends on the institutions, uses and people who shape it. In this respect dozens of shops and catering units give reason to assume that this liveliness is on the right path. The opening of St. Catherine's primary school and nursery in 2009 served to provide the area's family-friendliness with an important base. And the spiritual sustenance of HafenCity has also found a starting point with the ecumenical platform "Die Brücke" and the commitment of St. Catherine's church. It is furthermore emerging that large companies like Unilever are, with their buildings, not only able to provide places for working, but also public spaces, and that the people of HafenCity consider themselves parts of an urban neighbourhood, as evidenced by the private HafenCity e.V. network, for example. These elements inform the emerging social, economical and cultural identity of HafenCity. To stimulate them and generate an urban identity in this manner is doubtlessly one of the most challenging missions of urban development. This is where it is least "plannable", amongst other reasons because so many actors are involved.

The identity of HafenCity is not least of all shaped by perceptions from within and without, for example by the media. The reporting shows a repeated stigmatization of HafenCity as a "district of the rich", despite its highly differentiated residential structure. This gives rise to an autonomous identity attribution of doubtful validity, but considerable reach.

The identity of HafenCity as a global and simultaneously local place, as a physical, social and perceived location, has hence become recognizable in its basic features for a long time since. But it is still always only in progress. The densification and expansion of uses, for example, generates ever new conditions. In the eastern parts of HafenCity, however, the districts to be created will be much less imprinted by the existing city than those in its western and central parts.

Where HafenCity's east is concerned, and particularly the future Baakenhafen quarter, the physical and material aspect of identity formation poses a particularly demanding challenge. This will involve a great number of new elements all around and in the Baakenhafen, HafenCity's largest harbour basin: an artificial green island measuring 1.5 hectares, the "Tower of Talkers" to be placed there – a sky-high twin sculpture by internationally renowned artist Thomas Schütte – the Baakenhafenbrücke, a new bridge for accessing the quarter that was opened in 2013 and has won several awards, and six residential towers, the so-called "Wasserhäuser", or water houses. But the leisure-related and cultural uses are also already taking tangible shape in their central identity-forming aspects. They will proceed on ship and shore, encompassing the Baakenhöft area at the tip of the peninsula, at least as an interim arrangement, and creative industry uses in the Oberhafen quarter in the medium and long term, from 2014/15.

SUSTAINABILITY

The sustainability aspect had not yet a major part to play in the text of the master plan (2000) for HafenCity. But it would be wrong to assume that it was entirely lacking this perspective. It is rather that one hastily tends to think of the ecological aspects in the narrow sense, and of technological action concepts, whenever sustainable urban development is discussed. This places a focus on issues such as energy efficiency, sustainable buildings, intelligent transport systems and vehicles with lower emissions. Whereas the HafenCity development started from a more fundamental base: The master plan thematized the question of a sustainable urban structure right from the start. This includes that HafenCity grows at the centre of Hamburg, integrated with the existing infrastructure, at a geographically favourable spot with great accessibility, and that it upgrades underused industrial and port areas. These areas, which also include the former location of a gasworks, were redeveloped and will see the realization of a considerable proportion of greenery, even if some observers find it still too small. This fact alone will secure key requirements for sustainable urban development in HafenCity⁸. Whereas Hamburg was even still building intensively at the edge of town in the 1990s.

The questions arising for HafenCity against the background of a positive spatial landmark decision are how the metropolis of Hamburg wishes to fashion sustainable urban structures at its core, and how it wishes to ensure efficient land use and an appropriately high density of urban uses. This is why the master plan for the west and centre has been gradually optimized, and fundamentally revised for the eastern HafenCity in 2010. To be expected on average (hypothetically assuming a completely even distribution of uses) are circa 350 jobs and 95 residents per hectare of land. Although this density will not break the mould of the horizontally organized European city for HafenCity, it will indeed take it to its limits. In structural terms, this density involves a floor-space index of 3.2 to 5.2 as per land utilization regulations, depending on the quarter, implying 6.4 to 10.4 storeys in mathematical terms if 50 % of the plot area are built on. This density is felt to be high for residential developments, but still accepted given the central location of the quarters and their proximity to the water. The latter brings light and air in the form of “blue open spaces”. Plus the fact that 24 % of HafenCity’s land area will be used as public spaces, despite the intensive development – compared to only 5 % in the city area between the warehouse district and Inner Alster. Virtually all the locations will benefit from this, thanks to the frequently linear structure of the open spaces. The proportion of exclusive road traffic areas is pushed back to 24 % in HafenCity in comparison to the city, where it amounts to 42 % between the warehouse district and Alster, discounting Willy-Brandt-Straße. This means that HafenCity will not only achieve a new mixture of uses vis-à-vis the city, but also an efficient land use that combines dense living and working with nonetheless generous public spaces – a clear advancement of the core inner city ideal.



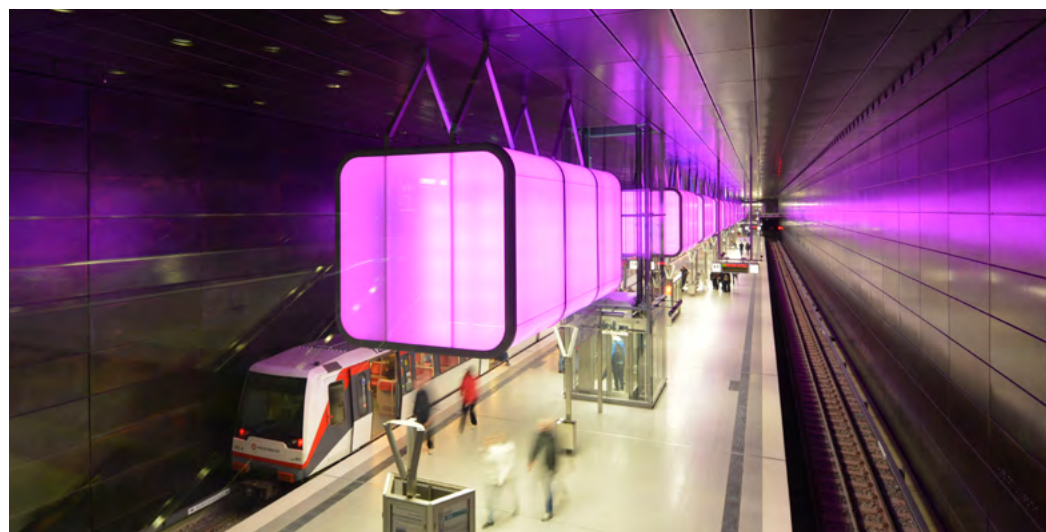
Sandtor harbour and Grasbrook harbour: An efficient land use combines flood prevention, traditional harbour facilities and dense living and working in medium sized mixed-use buildings.

The efficiency of HafenCity’s land use is also increased by its system of raised earthen bases. In contrast to the city’s flood protection by dykes or walls, this system gets by without spaces of its own, as it is based on raising the land itself. The flood protection is hence realized on a dyke top level – raised by 80 cm in the eastern HafenCity – in a manner that saves space and costs, the latter largely in the course of private flood prevention. The land-raising system furthermore provides an element that could be apportioned to social sustainability: The segregation of residential areas and lower-level public promenades by way of their different altitudes. This helps to create a compatible mixture of private living and public visitor traffic in topographical terms, despite the high density.

The HafenCity development therewith represents a very extensive optimization where criteria of an urban structure’s efficiency are concerned, even if it has been generated in a context of the European city, and with reference to the existing one. These fundamental sustainability features also underpin its mobility structure. Comparative studies by infas have shown that the proportion of motorized private transport in HafenCity could range between 20 and 25 % of all travelled routes in the medium term. For Hamburg overall, this share is currently at 47 % – which is extremely high, even in comparison with other European capitals like Vienna or Copenhagen. These positive expectations are well-founded. To a very great extent, HafenCity is a “town of short distances”, a “walkable city”, to use the internationally established term. One can get by perfectly in HafenCity without a car – thanks to the mixture of uses, thanks to the many and still proliferating retail, catering and service proposals in the ground floor zones specifically designed for them, thanks to the finely wrought network of footpaths that leaves plenty of options and alternatives for walking besides the roads, and that shows better ratings than in comparable residential districts of Hamburg whose grown development is similarly dense⁹.

⁸ The same also applies to the International Building Exhibition IBA Hamburg, incidentally, which took place in the project areas Wilhelmsburg, Veddel and Harburg inland port between 2006 and 2013.

⁹ HafenCity has a high proportion of waterside walkways and numerous cross-links between promenades and roads, many of which pass through private properties. One will for example be able to get from the Ericus promontory at the centre of HafenCity to its eastern end on a long waterside towpath without crossing a single road.



U4 underground station "HafenCity University"

Even parking is only permitted in HafenCity's road traffic spaces with considerable restrictions. Except for the Elbphilharmonie and one existing building, it will be "banished" underground and integrated in the raised earthen bases of the flood protection system.

The cycle traffic system of HafenCity has drawn criticism. But it will prove its great attractiveness and sustainable quality over time. The lane network is still un-completed, but the shared promenades designed for pedestrians and cyclists, the growing density of StadtRad cycle hire stations, the low number of on-road parking spaces and parking space quotas also required for private properties under permission law since 2012 – one parking space for every room of a flat – are already pointing to this future. The attractiveness for cyclists would be even further increased, however, if the traffic situation and quality of the cycle lanes in the existing city were to be extensively improved as well.

The master plan had preceded the decision to build the U4, initially up to the HafenCity University stop. This new underground line links HafenCity with the Jungfernstieg promenade, the main station and the Berliner Tor junction. It not only provides high network integration for residents, but also for workers and visitors. This was followed by the decision to continue the U4 through to the Elbe bridges, link it with the local train system (S-Bahn), and therewith also make HafenCity accessible from the south of Hamburg. Only this decision to extend the underground line created a basis for enabling a greater densification of the eastern HafenCity in the 2010 revision of the master plan, and simultaneously for its own indirect funding by way of the higher real estate proceeds owed to the higher density.

The mobility structure of HafenCity is therewith on a high level of sustainability overall, and would draw added benefit from restrictions on motorized private transport in the inner city area, conceivable in the long term. But a traffic simulation



StadtRAD bicycle station "Überseequartier"

has on the other hand shown that even a 40 % reduction of motorized private transport in the final use status of HafenCity would not lead to a reduced road profile, and hence a lesser need for road areas. The through traffic along the axes Versmannstraße, Überseeallee, Shanghaiallee and Brooktorkai/Sandtorkai will always remain a burden. The mobility concepts of the future nonetheless appear to be compatible with the planned urban structure from a sustainability perspective in the long term. The opportunities provided by these structures now need to be increasingly made use of by residents, workers and visitors. Future housing communities are already willing today to drastically reduce the number of parking spaces and maintain small carpools for what remains of the motorized private transport. Structural sustainability potentials are thus turned into residential qualities, with residents benefiting from HafenCity's potentially low mobility costs. The central location, mixture of uses and dense route network in the area save time and costs. The residents are not forced into owning a car, but given greater control over how they use their time, and hence over their quality of life. This way structural ecological sustainability can lead to social sustainability.

The primary ecological aspects and technological action plans are also firmly anchored in the sustainability structure of HafenCity. One important element of this strategy from 2002 has been the supply of thermal energy, open to all types of technology, and geared towards a CO₂ limit of 175 g per kWh of thermal output (2003 contract). This was followed by another Europe-wide tender for proposals for the eastern HafenCity in 2009, aimed at further reducing the CO₂ limit to be accounted for every year. With an emission of 89 g of CO₂ per kWh, the values will be considerably lower than those for HafenCity's western parts in turn. Just over 90 percent of the thermal energy for the eastern HafenCity will be provided from regenerative sources by way of a local grid. Only peak loads will still be covered by fossil fuels.

¹⁰ The assessment basis will be adjusted once more in keeping with future higher energy standards in Europe.

Another key step in technical terms was the introduction of the HafenCity eco-label for buildings from 2007. This certification system was the first of its kind in Germany to not only require high energy standards for office and residential buildings, and has meanwhile been extended to all types of building, while the standard itself was raised again in 2010¹⁰. The HafenCity eco-label is furthermore internationally distinguished by the requirement that the energy efficiency of a building needs to be substantiated after one year of operation. This element has a tangible impact on user behaviour, and not only on the technical design of buildings. Thanks to the competition between applicants, but also the learning effects that have meanwhile accumulated where the planning and realization of buildings are concerned, most projects currently undergoing their planning or development stages in HafenCity are based on the very exacting gold standard of the HafenCity eco-label.

This certification system is to be kept in place despite the establishment of the German Sustainable Building Council's (DGNB) German standard in the meantime. This is because it enables a faster adaptation to new technical possibilities, an adjustment to the local situation, and quicker learning processes overall. This way the proprietary eco-label will ensure that the buildings developed for HafenCity will continue to have a head start, create the prerequisites for maintaining the standards in the long term, in the interest of HafenCity's workers and residents, and make sure that the buildings will have a long life cycle.

Sustainability issues are being tracked in detail and refined on many further levels of the HafenCity development over and beyond this as well. 2013 hence saw the completion of the first large steel bridge to have been optimized under sustainability criteria, the 170 m long structure spanning the Baakenhafen harbour.



Baakenhafen bridge is the biggest bridge building project in HafenCity and represents an important milestone in the development.

The ecological sustainability claims of HafenCity consequently derive from several factors: urban structural givens, the mobility concepts based on them, technical and economic progress in the sustainable construction and operation of buildings, and new market potentials. But they are ultimately also required to arrive at proposals that are more strongly aligned with the options and requirements for sustainable lifestyles. In terms of time, HafenCity has insofar only reached the halfway mark in the development of its ecological sustainability.

Defining criteria for the economic and social sustainability of a “new downtown” over and beyond this is beset by markedly greater uncertainties than defining requirements for ecological sustainability. I shall nonetheless briefly try to comment on this.

In economic terms, HafenCity would be suitable for a great variety of different enterprises with its ten divergent urban districts, each featuring distinctive building typologies and sizes. The ground floors, designed for proposals that cater to the public and with a 5 metre headroom as a rule, would allow many different users, also a host of smaller ones, to find a suitable space, buoyed by a policy of moderate property prices for ground floor locations¹¹. The risk-prone processes for large-scale office developments are stabilized by a high proportion of major owner-occupiers. Specialization of company locations in the sense of clusters is deliberately eschewed, especially as the master plan for the year 2000 had placed an emphasis on IT and Internet companies in a focussing that then turned out to be at odds with the market in the new economy crisis. This called for corrections in the sense of economic sustainability.

Talking of ground floor uses, one should also mention HafenCity's large and small tourist activity centres, which are important for the business of retailers, caterers, etc. These centres of attraction are geographically distributed across HafenCity and encompass many different concepts so that the residents at the individual locations will not be burdened to any greater extent than would be reasonable in an urban context, and also in order for the influx of visitors to support business development at several places at once. The quality of HafenCity would not be fundamentally jeopardized, however, if the tourists were to stay away temporarily for whatever reasons. It is able to adapt. This is ensured by the highly differentiated urban development structure, spatial distribution of uses, and risk-mitigating development parameters. As long as a low to moderate growth can be assumed for Hamburg, at least, HafenCity is vested with great adaptive powers where the future framework conditions are concerned, and therefore with a high degree of economic sustainability – much more so than many other waterfront projects around the world.

¹¹ In HafenCity's first development stage, the prerequisites for audience-related ground floor uses could not be realized at all or only to a very limited extent in the large office buildings (e.g. the buildings of SAP, Kühne + Nagel and Germanischer Lloyd) and some of the residential buildings along Kaiserkai.

¹² This became necessary in the interest of distributive justice, given the rising construction and housing costs in Hamburg.

Social sustainability is also being addressed in HafenCity, despite the initial decision by Hamburg's executive in the year 2000 to refrain from including subsidized housing. The land allocation strategy of HafenCity Hamburg GmbH, based on fixed prices since 2003, has nonetheless served to integrate a broad typology of housing forms and developers, of cooperatives, joint building ventures and builders with private clients. The wish of some cooperatives to create a purely cooperative district at Kaiserkai, and hence extensive social homogeneity, was not pursued on the other hand. But above decision to abstain from realizing subsidized housing initially was ultimately revised in 2010¹². HafenCity will in future consequently combine luxury apartments, various mid-price housing segments and subsidized housing, enabling a broad social mix in its urban structure.

HafenCity Hamburg GmbH has made an intensive effort to provide its residents, various other actors and institutions with opportunities to meet (see also the discussion of the urbanity aspect). These activities are aimed at developing foundations for a co-existence in HafenCity and the city that will entail a high degree of social sustainability. International research has shown that a social urban quality with a high sense of well-being in the districts will only come about if the neighbourhood and social encounters are institutionally anchored in this manner.

The broad outlines of HafenCity's ecological, economic and social sustainability are provided, while their extension to new locations, their deepening and the overcoming of problems are still outstanding. Harmful emissions from cruise liners must be reduced and eliminated in the long term, the motorized private transport will be reduced with the U4 and further development of the cycle lane network, and the tolerability of its remainders boosted by electromobility. The sustainability standards of the buildings will need to be raised again, for example by smart grids (intelligent electricity grid control and energy storage), and the power supply of HafenCity designed in a manner that goes easy on resources.

The social institutions are meant to generate a greater impact in terms of their density and reach, for example by way of effective, long term neighbourhood management. But the economic prerequisites for small businesses will also need to be provided away from the top locations, and in the Oberhafen cultural and creative quarter, by acquiring lighthouse users, by defining an economic framework, and by supporting the cooperation between players. Sustainability is hence not just a status ascribed to HafenCity, but an ambitious process. The identity and urbanity contexts would be inconceivable without it even today, however.

URBANITY

Urbanity is the farthest-reaching quality perspective of urban development, and simultaneously also the one that is hardest to come to grips with. On the one hand, many people tend to associate urbanity with variously based but generally positive notions of a city. But on the other, given the generalization of urban lifestyles, urbanity is interpreted as ubiquitous from a social science perspective, depriving it of its differentiating quality. The latter attitude is probably less informed by the normative and practical potentials of a development project such as HafenCity, however, than by an excessive generalization of urbanity-related processes and features.

The development of HafenCity's urbanity can be simplistically described on two levels: the commercial and the non-commercial. The first includes a mostly commercially supported use intensity involving residents, workers and visitors as customers and consumers. As an inner city centre, HafenCity depends on commercially successful urbanity. As opposed to other districts of Hamburg that are largely characterized by housing developments, HafenCity also derives its surplus in meaning from tourists and visitors. But the development of urbanity secondly also harbours an emancipatory dimension that should characterize the inner city core the way I understand it: It needs to be a place of encounter, in order to promote social, political and cultural exchange. Whether it will be possible to develop this dual nature of urbanity in HafenCity can not be finally foretold at this point in time, especially given that wherever a commercial bearing capacity is provided, other forms of urbanity are relegated to a niche existence in the existing city structure, apart from a small number of sanctuaries, for example in the self-contained premises of a theatre.

But even commercial urbanity is not that easy to develop in HafenCity. The nearness to the existing city also implies proximity to a dominant commercial centre with sales areas in excess of 330,000 m². And this centre is unable to expand to HafenCity at short notice¹³. The latter will therefore need to develop its commercial urbanity in relative autonomy, along with the warehouse district, for a long time to come, until such confluence becomes possible. The opening of the U4 at the end of 2012 has at least provided an important step forward for transport-based integration.

Things are further complicated by another quantitative dimension. The gross floor area created in HafenCity's ground floor spaces will markedly exceed 300,000 m², roughly equalling the floor space of six medium-sized shopping centres. Ensuring the vitality of these locations will require audience-related, commercially sustaining uses for circa half these ground floor spaces along the essential walking routes. These uses not only include retailers, but also catering, trade-related services, exhibition areas, museums, schools and universities, places for meeting such as hotels, private theatres and cinemas, as well as other cultural proposals and events.

¹³ The walking distances from the city's central commercial areas to HafenCity exceed 1000 meters, and many buildings in between, including the warehouse district, are not designed for such an expansion.

The horizontal mixture of working and living makes for a high density – ca. 12,000 people will live in HafenCity some day, and ca. 45,000 will work here. It is nonetheless discernible mathematically – the reader shall be spared a demonstration here – that these conditions will in no way suffice to support the urbanity structures on the ground floors perform, much less generate them. And the regular construction of five meters high ground floor zones will not ensure a broad mixture of uses per se, but at most provide its elementary prerequisite. An urban diversity of uses can furthermore not be supported by the particularly high visitor frequency of the summer months alone.

These are the reasons that make the conception of the Übersee quarter so important, irrespective of whether it will be completed in 2019 or 2020. Not least of all because it will, with a sophisticated mixture of commercial uses, be conceived against the trend towards self-contained shopping centres, as evidenced most recently by the Europapassage mall in Hamburg's city in 2006, a classic shopping centre.

Given a sufficient critical mass, the Übersee quarter and its largely open architectural form will combine visitor and consumer frequencies with the potentials of an open urban structure by the waterside, so that the visitor frequencies and uses outside the area will also be boosted. Besides its special architectural form, setting the Übersee quarter apart from shopping centres, and the critical mass of visitors (40,000 to 50,000 customers per day on average in the long term), this will also require a proposal structure that clearly differs from what is usually on offer at a shopping centre. Focussing on a leisure-oriented, more international conception that is linked with cruise line activities can provide a long term basis for this. The northern section of the quarter has served to provide the geographically required link to the warehouse district and existing city. The first neighbourhood commercial centre developed at the same time is currently continuing to further its differentiation incrementally, despite the lacking southern part.

While a commercially adequate urbanity has come about over and beyond the northern Übersee quarter at Kaiserkai and around the Sandtorpark, which will be additionally supported by visitors of the Elbphilharmonie later on, only first inklings of it are recognizable at other locations yet. The Unilever building at Strandkai provides an initial stimulus with its company brand shops and many public uses of the building. Already secured apart from that for the further development of the Strandkai is a children's culture centre. And the public character of the quarter will also be underscored by the final cruise line terminal with integrated hotel.

A cinema and/or private theatre will be added on the still undeveloped plots in the northern Übersee quarter. At Magdeburger Hafen, new exhibition and presentation



The Unilever office building: encounter space formed by brand shops, a weekly market for arts and crafts and – not shown in the picture – the direct access to the Elbe river waterfront

spaces have been created besides the International Maritime Museum Hamburg with the Elbarkaden event and exhibition location. At Shanghaiallee, the ecumenical forum “Die Brücke” has settled down along with the cooperative world-café ElbFaire with its fair trade products. Besides a chapel and the café, function rooms and meeting points have also been created here. The private car museum Prototyp across the road had already established itself in 2008; while the HafenCity University of Architecture and Metropolitan Development (HCU) was added at the southern end of Shanghaiallee in the beginning of 2014 as a further public anchoring point.



The International Maritime Museum and the Elbarkaden building at Magdeburger Hafen: linking the traditional warehouse district with modern architecture, office and residential uses and two levels of public spaces – a promenade and an arcade level

For the Baakenhafen quarter in the easterly HafenCity, an intensive dialogue has already been taken up with retailers to establish a local supply focus early on, and in an adequate quality, which will then be able to serve as an anchor for other users in turn.

The struggle for resilient commercial urbanity drivers also creates the conditions enabling HafenCity's success on an urbanity level – unlike many a similar large-scale urban development project around the globe. But the structural specifications for the ground floor architecture and categorical insistence on a mixture of uses alone will not suffice to achieve this, alas. Of importance are an intensive wooing of core users for the ground floor locations, as well as suitable calls for proposals concerning the plots, apart from providing support for the diversity of ground floor uses through price, and a development and reinforcement of the users' forms of cooperation. Investors must be convinced that every single building project that is open to the public on the ground floors will contribute to a sufficiently extensive visitor and user frequency in the end, and hence provide an important impact to achieving a positive critical mass. Despite the high risk for individual investors, such a disposition will contribute to a high level of commercial urbanity for the benefit of Hamburg and its centre, which will in turn also guarantee HafenCity's success.

The emphatic effort concerning the commercial urbanity of HafenCity will continue to inform its development long after its architectural completion. But it is even outdone by the efforts dedicated to generating a high encounter potential, a feature of urbanity that is emancipatory at its core. Two starting points for this are already clearly recognizable today. One is the quality of the urban spaces, and the other the residents and their activities, fleshed out by existing and new institutions.

The public spaces of HafenCity are not only more important than those of the existing city in quantitative terms – if one discounts the areas predominantly used for road traffic – but also with regard to their diversity of uses. They are very naturally and regularly used as attractive expanses for strolling and spending time, or as event locations. The pursuits of adolescents are not only permitted here – despite their potential for disturbing residential tranquillity – but deliberately anchored in the public space. Skating or basketball, for example, are not primarily banished to special areas, but possible right in the midst of HafenCity. In addition, the public spaces have also become cultural locations with the active support of HafenCity Hamburg GmbH. And also in this respect, they are not mostly “quiet” exhibition spaces, e.g. for sculpture, as frequently encountered in similar places internationally. In the open spaces of HafenCity, one finds an extensive programme of readings, theatre, performances, music, etc. partly in an active and long-standing cooperation between HafenCity Hamburg GmbH, the Hamburg Culture Foundation and the Körber Foundation. The public spaces and some of the buildings are by now also being put to intensive cultural use by third parties, for example with the Elbe Jazz Festival

or the Harbour Front Literature Festival. HafenCity offers these players a spatial nucleus and a new dimension of possibilities that ultimately extends far beyond the area and provides new stimuli for Hamburg. Culture meanwhile generates a particularly critical and far-reaching platform, also through the implicit discussion of HafenCity itself. Past examples of this have included the “Subvision” festival of non-establishment art at Strandkai, performances and productions by Kampnagel, the Thalia Theater and Schauspielhaus Hamburg, or a documentary about new working environments by Harun Farocki, which was partly shot in HafenCity and shown in the Deichtorhallen. HafenCity integrates itself by way of existing cultural institutions, by means of its public spaces, and by the coordination ambit of culture in various activities involving Hamburg's culture scene, while also providing new development stimuli after just a few years.

That it has also become an important public space in a context of political debate is evidenced by the greater number of demonstrations. Where this important democratic manifestation of collective opinion is concerned, HafenCity mostly serves as a platform for protest, and not mainly as its subject.

The emancipatory potential of urbanity is hence largely mediated by way of the public spaces, underpinned by culture or political interests. To continue furthering this potential remains a long-term strategic concern of HafenCity's development, besides strengthening its non-exclusive “everyday use”.

The residents of HafenCity, their activities in their institutional and non-institutional forms, and their dealings with the place all have a central role to play for HafenCity's urbanity. This is meanwhile imperilled by an attitude that is known as “nimby” (not in my back yard) around the world and also lurks behind no small number of collective engagements in Hamburg. At a central place that has been created from scratch such as HafenCity, this attitude would harbour a risk of diminishing the public character of the area – the necessary privacy of residing here is constantly at odds with the decidedly deliberate character as a public space with a high encounter capacity. Zoning laws and statutory regulations that fail to further the coexistence of various urbanistic activities, but seek to separate them geographically, will only exacerbate this latent conflict. In these cases private concerns will be able to segregate themselves, expand into the public spaces, and appropriate them.

The question arising from this field of tension for the urban development and residents themselves is whether it will be possible, at this particularly public location where locals will be outnumbered, to generate social cohesion, but also openness, for example towards social networks which, based on a high local density of information and social responsibility, will promote the coexistence of the residents with one another and outsiders. What this will require from an urban development perspective



Summer tango outside the Unilever building at Strandkai – public and private spaces have become popular places for social and cultural activities.

is a significant proportion of residents who not only value HafenCity's waterside locations, its modern ambiance, or nearness to the workplace. They also need to be willing to initiate an open and social neighbourhood as urbanites, as opposed to a rather exclusive traditional neighbourhood, or even a "gated community", however subtly claimed. HafenCity Hamburg GmbH has also promoted the integration of housing cooperatives and joint building ventures right from the start for this reason, and not only to ensure distributive justice¹⁴. The housing cooperatives and joint building ventures represent institutional forms with a high potential for residents to organize themselves – a potential that will often reach beyond the building and considerably contribute to HafenCity as a collective asset in economic terms.

From the perspective of HafenCity Hamburg GmbH, various activities have been important for tapping the residents' potential to generate social capital. These have included intensive information of the residents, particularly where development processes are concerned, an invitation to contribute to the revision of the master plan in 2010, inclusion in competition juries, creation of a social scientific cooperation body, and supporting district-related processes of self-organization, such as particularly exemplified by the private association Netzwerk HafenCity e. V.. Backed up by these activities, which are not self-propelling in organizational terms, HafenCity can already be regarded as the locus of a modern neighbourhood today – its cooperative spirit is carried by many active residents. This neighbourhood is integrated in a network of external players such as St. Catherine's parish or journalistic actors such as the Spiegel group, transcending the geographic and social divide between HafenCity and the city. This quality of urbanity is to be further intensified,

¹⁴ To involve housing associations and joint building ventures, properties earmarked for residential buildings in HafenCity have been tendered on the basis of moderate fixed prices defined by way of a staggered value system (Schichtwertsystem) from 2003.

for example by creating meeting points, and by expanding the networks generated in the western HafenCity to its central and eastern parts. Housing cooperatives and joint building ventures will therefore also continue to play a central role for the development and quality of HafenCity's urbanity as important providers of housing. But it is meanwhile also clear that the action potentials of the residents are not limited to these types of housing.

Besides the public spaces and the activities taking place there, besides the residents and their commitment, institutions ultimately also have a central role to play for the urbanity – be they new institutions or existing ones that are expanding the ambit of their activities. This area can be sustained by companies or foundations, but also by universities, museums and the like. The Unilever group, for example, is getting involved in HafenCity in a sustainability context, while the Körber foundation and Spiegel publishing company have alternately organized a political discussion forum in 1012-2013 ("The Monday at the Top"), and the Kühne foundation is providing the Harbour Front literary festival with essential support.

From its new location in the Elbtor district, the HafenCity University will markedly influence the public discourse concerning urban development in Hamburg. The university building is not far from "designexport", a new platform for Hamburg's design industry, and the head office of Greenpeace in Germany. Both have been located in the Elbarkaden building at Magedburger Hafen since 2013/14. This geographic proximity could become a launch pad for new concatenations of aesthetics and sustainability and/or resource conservation.

Other institutions are already emphatically shaping the discursive encounter character of HafenCity, including the ecumenical forum "Die Brücke" with its broad range of topics and engagements, and the Amerikazentrum Hamburg ("Sharing the American Experience"). They are later to be joined by the information and documentation centre Hannoverscher Bahnhof, dedicated to the memory of Hamburg's deported Jews, Sinti and Roma – a temporary information pavilion has been located at Lohseplatz square since 2013 with the exhibition "Sent to their Deaths". A densification of the activities and institutions with a commitment to the public remains an essential task nonetheless. This also includes an increasing future use of schools as neighbourhood centres – a part that is already being played by St. Catherine's school right now.

The non-commercial quality of HafenCity's urbanity, and therewith its emancipatory potential, has therewith also been instituted in the meantime. In this sense, HafenCity can be a decidedly greater windfall for Hamburg than the urban development projects of the last two centuries. At the same time, new and existing institutions and networks can make a major contribution to this emancipatory urban spirit of HafenCity and the inner city.

CLOSING REMARKS

This essay has sketched out the development of HafenCity from three conceptual perspectives that are shaping the character of this major urban intervention. It is meant to show that the evolution of HafenCity not only implies the extensive construction of a new central inner city structure in the former harbour area (water-front project). Its development is associated with three overlapping strategies, namely to maintain and simultaneously re-develop the identity of the urban centre, to allow sustainability to become a decisive factor, especially under the ecological aspect, and lastly to generate commercial and non-commercial urbanity in an interactive process. In my opinion, the coupling of these three core perspectives of urban development is nowhere undertaken with the same intensity as in Hamburg internationally. There may be eco-cities that go for experimental, technologically more sophisticated solutions with the help of major subsidies, or whose function is limited to pure residential quarters. There may be comprehensive attempts at identity formation based on historicizing architecture, and projects with greater commercial urbanity potentials in smaller areas. But Hamburg is highly ambitious on all three levels with its HafenCity, quite apart from interpreting urbanity in a particularly discerning manner.

I have tried to highlight where these sweeping ambitions are underpinned by particularly positive premises, including HafenCity's location at the waterfront and inner city core, and that the fact of Hamburg owning the land constitutes an essential prerequisite for the project. Only this basis allows market players – be they real estate project developers, investors or users in the form of tenants and buyers – to be involved in the development by a great variety of mechanisms, while the risk is reduced at the same time. The separate "City and Harbour" estate enables HafenCity Hamburg GmbH to develop the infrastructure and public spaces with a high level of quality, financed by the sale of land. Over and beyond political and official decisions and possibilities, the company is thus able to focus interdisciplinary competences while developing and implementing quality strategies.

Three features are of essential importance for this on a procedural level of the development activities. Firstly that the urban development is not reduced to the construction of "city" or buildings – a reduction that so massively and erroneously informs parts of the architecturally oriented criticism voiced against HafenCity. Instead, urban development can and must be understood as a much more complex process that reaches far beyond the material production of "city", and touches on many levels of action outside the toolbox of structural planning. Urban development is so much more than mere building. "City" cannot be built, but must rather be induced in a deliberately heightened complexity. To reduce this complexity and try to carry out urban development with nothing but constructional aestheticism and form is one of the prime failures of the modern and postmodern age, and always has been.

Secondly, urban development and its qualities can only be understood as an interactive process involving a great number of players, including those responsible on the municipal side, creating a framework of intentions extending beyond the master plan, private actors who provide a large part of the investments and innovations, and finally all those – existing or future – players who comprehend HafenCity as a new space of opportunities and realize their ideas. What is therefore required instead of classical planning is a complex interaction and opening up of new potentials, without rendering the planning obsolete as a fundamental process.

And what thirdly arises from this for HafenCity is an opportunity to take a positive development route in the form of "path generation". What was still impossible in the year 2000 because the social and economic learning potentials had not evolved yet, could be contractually agreed in 2005 in the form of the Übersee quarter (despite all the realization problems following the financial crisis in 2008 and beyond). What was still inconceivable in 2005 is now, since 2012, being realized in the Elbtor quarter with a highly heterogeneous pattern of use. And what still appeared utopian in 2007, i.e. to raise and certify 70 percent of the buildings in keeping with the gold standard of the HafenCity eco-label, is meanwhile also being accomplished already in the Elbtor quarter. Even if HafenCity will never be able to get by without cars entirely, given the significant extent of through traffic and its attractiveness for visitors, a lower proportion of private motorized transport, ranging around 20 to 25 %, does not appear unrealistic today. Although still in mid-development, HafenCity has ultimately made greater headway than the existing city in the social organization of its residents, but also emergently of its smaller traders.

Problems will certainly still need to be overcome as well, for instance in completing the Übersee quarter's development with a high level of quality, integrating cruise line activities with low emissions, or promoting social housing. The urban planning's ambitions will also be incrementally intensified along this route by way of generating an identity, sustainability and urbanity, and carried into the new areas of HafenCity. The utilization of potentials leads to individual and institutional learning processes that create the conditions for HafenCity establishing itself as a "good city" in the best international and local sense, and for manifesting itself as a boon for Hamburg. HafenCity can insofar become more than a normal city once it has been completed.

HAFENCITY HAMBURG



HafenCity Hamburg 2014

DATA AND FACTS:

- Overall size: 157 hectares
- Land area: 123 hectares
- More than 2.3 million m² of newly built gross floor space
- 6,000–7,000 apartments for ca. 12,000–13,000 people
- 45,000 jobs (including more than 35,000 office jobs)
- Expansion of Hamburg's city area by 40 %
- 10.5 km of publicly accessible quayside promenade
- Distance between the centre and town hall: 800 meters

TRANSPORT:

- efficient road network leading to the city and motorways
- new underground line U4 linking city centre and HafenCity (extension to the east under construction)

PUBLIC SPACES:

- Magellan Terraces (completed June 2005): 4,700 m²
- Marco Polo Terraces (completed September 2007): 6,400 m²
- Vasco-da-Gama Square (completed September 2007): 2,700 m²
- Grasbrookpark (completed 2013): 7,000 m²
- Lohsepark (to be completed in 2015): 4 hectares

CULTURAL FACILITIES:

- Elbphilharmonie (concert hall, hotel, apartments, to be opened in 2017)
- International Maritime Museum Hamburg (opened in summer 2008)

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES:

- St. Catherine's primary school (opened in summer 2009)
- HCU HafenCity University (opened in spring 2014)
- Kühne Logistics University (at Großer Grasbrook since 2013)
- Gymnasium and another primary school (in the planning stages)

UNIQUE PROJECTS (SELECTION):

- Hamburg-Amerika Zentrum (opened in 2009)
- Design forum designxport (opened in July 2014)
- Ecumenical Forum (opened in 2011)
- Hannoverscher Bahnhof information and documentation centre (in the planning stages)
- Children's culture centre (in the planning stages)
- Oberhafen culture and creative quarter (under development)

LITERATURE

1. Excellent German-language overviews of urban development and urban analysis:

HARTMUT HÄUSSERMANN, DIETER LÄPPLE, WALTER SIEBEL:
Stadtpolitik. Frankfurt/Main (Suhrkamp), 2008

WALTER SIEBEL (ED.):
Die europäische Stadt. Frankfurt/Main (Suhrkamp), 2004

2. Books published by HafenCity authors:

JÜRGEN BRUNS-BERENTELG, JÖRN WALTER, DIRK MEYHÖFER (ED.):
HafenCity Hamburg – Das erste Jahrzehnt. Hamburg (Junius Verlag), 2012.
Including an essay by Jürgen Bruns-Berentelg: Die Kreation einer New Downtown und die Mechanismen der Urbanitätsentwicklung (p. 69-97). (English courtesy translation available from HafenCity Hamburg GmbH or the author)

JÜRGEN BRUNS-BERENTELG, ANGELUS EISINGER, MARTIN KOHLER, MARCUS MENZL:
HafenCity Hamburg. Neue öffentliche Begegnungsorte zwischen Metropole und Nachbarschaft. Places of Urban Encounter between Metropolis and Neighbourhood. Wien, New York (Springer), 2010.
Including an essay by Jürgen Bruns-Berentelg: HafenCity Hamburg: Öffentliche Stadträume und das Entstehen von Öffentlichkeit. HafenCity Hamburg: public urban space and the creation of the public sphere (p. 424-455)

MARCUS MENZL, TORALF GONZÁLEZ, INGRID BRECKNER, SYBILLE VOGELSANG:
Wohnen in der HafenCity. Zuzug, Alltag, Nachbarschaft. Hamburg (Junius Verlag), 2011

3. Books and articles to the mentioned HafenCity development topics of new downtown, waterfront development, urbanity and social mixture:

GARY BRIDGE, TIM BUTLER, LORETTA LEES (ED.):
Mixed Communities: Gentrification by Stealth? Bristol (The Policy Press), 2012. This book also includes an essay on HafenCity by Jürgen Bruns-Berentelg: Social mix and encounter capacity. Pragmatic social model for a new downtown: The example of HafenCity Hamburg (p. 69 – 94)

PETER HALL:
Good Cities, Better Lives. How Europe Discovered the Lost Art of Urbanism. London (Routledge), 2013

ILSE HELBRECHT, PETER DIRKSMEIER (ED.):
New Urbanism. Life, Work and Space in the New Downtown. Farnham (Ashgate), 2012

LORETTA LEES:
Planning Urbanity? In: Environment and Planning. A 2010, vol. 42, p. 2302-2308

HARRY SMITH, MARIA SOLEDAD GARCIA FERRARI (ED.):
Waterfront Regeneration. Experiences in City-building. London (Routledge), 2012

4. An overview to international urban development literature is provided by:

GARY BRIDGE, SOPHIE WATSON (ED.):
The Blackwell Companion to the City. Chichester (Wiley-Blackwell), 2011

NAOMI CARMON, SUSAN S. FAIRSTEIN (ED.):
Policy, Planning, and People. Promoting Justice in Urban Development. Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania Press), 2013

LORETTA LEES (ED.):
The Emancipatory City? Paradoxes and Possibilities. London (Sage), 2004

ALLEN J. SCOTT:
A World In Emergence. Cities and Regions in the 21st Century. Cheltenham, UK (Edward Elgar), 2012

MICHAEL STORPER:
Keys to the City. How Economics, Institutions, Social Interaction and Politics Shape Development. Princeton, Oxford (Princeton University Press), 2013

RACHEL WEBER, RANDALL CRANE (ED.):
The Oxford Handbook of Urban Planning. Oxford (Oxford University Press), 2012

5. Different aspects of the sustainability discussion in urban development are reflected in:

TIGRAN HAAS (ED.):
Sustainable Urbanism and Beyond: Rethinking Cities for the Future. New York (Rizzoli), 2012

MIKE HODSON, SIMON MARVIN (ED.):
After Sustainable Cities? London (Routledge), 2014

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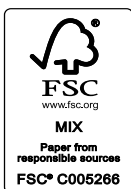
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