

University of Vienna

PS Contemporary Problems in Urban Development

4CITIES Joint Master in Urban Studies

Lecturer: Prof. Dr. Gerhard Hatz

31 July 2012

Topic 7:

# **Performing the Historic City Center**

## **– Theming and Imaging of the Historic City Centre**

Peter Ulrich	1147301	P.Ulrich@alumni.maastrichtuniversity.nl
Vanessa Hünнемeyer	1105109	f.v.huennemeyer@gmx.de
Mai Kjølсен	1144306	maismac@gmail.com
Clemens Nocker	0374055	clemens.nocker@gmail.com

## Table of contents

Table of Figures .....	ii
1. Introduction.....	1
2. The Role of Tourism in Theming the City of Vienna and Historic City Center	2
2.1 <i>Tourism and its spatial pattern in Vienna</i> .....	3
2.2 <i>Tourism Marketing as a tool to construct an image of Vienna</i> .....	6
2.3 <i>Interim Conclusion I</i> .....	8
3. Central Places in a Historic Center – The Spatial Functional Divide of the Historic City Center .....	9
3.1 <i>Main Shopping District</i> .....	12
3.2 <i>Antiquities Quarter</i> .....	12
3.3 <i>Garment district</i> .....	13
3.4 <i>Cultural Districts</i> .....	14
3.5 <i>Governmental Districts</i> .....	15
3.6 <i>University District</i> .....	16
3.7 <i>Leisure District</i> .....	17
3.8 <i>Financial district</i> .....	17
3.9 <i>Interim Conclusion II</i> .....	18
4. The preservation and transformation of the historical city center of Vienna	19
4.1 <i>Definition of a UNESCO World Heritage site</i> .....	19
4.2 <i>The acceptance of the historic center of Vienna on the World Heritage List of UNESCO</i> .....	19
4.3 <i>The historical, architectural and cultural values of Vienna's inner city</i> ...	21
4.4 <i>The historical transformation of the inner city of Vienna</i> .....	22
4.5 <i>New buildings in the historical built environment</i> .....	25
4.6 <i>The urban development project "Wien Mitte"</i> .....	28
4.7 <i>Interim Conclusion III</i> .....	32
5. Vienna – an Anachronism?! .....	32
5.1 <i>Vienna – Now, Never Or Just In The Past?</i> .....	32
5.2 <i>Too pretty a city?</i> .....	33
6. Conclusion.....	36
7. References .....	38

**Table of Figures**

Figure 1: Spatial patterns of urban tourists in Vienna .....	4
Figure 2: Tourist arrivals in selected Viennese districts 2006-2011 .....	5
Figure 3: Number of events taking place on the town hall square 1979-2007 .	7
Figure 4: The spatial functional divide of the historic center.....	10
Figure 5: The world heritage zone and buffer zone .....	20
Figure 6: Michaelerplatz with view on the Looshaus.....	24
Figure 7: Haas House historical change.....	26
Figure 8: Kärntner Straße with view on Weltstadthaus .....	26
Figure 9: Experimental rooftop development Falkgasse .....	27
Figure 10: Luxury shopping Tuchlauben .....	28
Figure 11: Old "Wien-Mitte" train station.....	29
Figure 12: First and second "Wien- Mitte" design proposal .....	30
Figure 13: Belvedere Veduta by Canaletto .....	31

## **1. Introduction**

The following report will consist of four contributes, all discussing the theme of the performance of the historic city center, but all using different approaches and methods.

The city image has become of increasing importance: Because tourism is increasing in almost all parts of the world, and cities since the 1980's have invested in soft urban renewal factors in order to be in the global competition race, tourism is a very central aspect when it comes to branding. Therefore, the role of tourism in creating a theme over the city of Vienna and historic city center will be dealt with. Subjects dealt with here will be the spacial patterns of the tourists, which are slowly changing, but still centered in the historic center. Also the role that tourism marketing as a tool to construct an image of Vienna will be discussed.

The city center however does contain more than merely tourist attractions. In fact, it is still a rather multifunctional urban core. What this contains, will be dealt with in the chapters of the districts. Each of these will give a characterization of each district; both when it comes to the processes and the function of the district.

The historic city center of Vienna is also under strong preservation regulations, among others the UNESCO World Heritage regulations. This, and the transformation of the historic city center will be dealt with. In this part will give the story of the acceptance of Vienna on the UNESCO World Heritage list and also explain the architectural and cultural values of the inner district in Vienna. Then it will move on to the transformation of the inner city and furthermore, dealing with e.g. The acceptance of the groundbreaking architecture of Albert Loos. Lastly, this part will take us to the present, discussing the new urban development *Project Mitte*, that is central in the work of transforming Vienna into a global European city.

In the very end of this, Vienna will be looked at as a peculiarity, and it will be asked whether it is an anachronism or not, with the focus on what impression the city gives when one walks the streets of Vienna. This essay-like part will

discuss some of the contrasts between the modern and the old Vienna, that is so striking, not only in the build structure but also in the perception of the city.

## **2. The Role of Tourism in Theming the City of Vienna and Historic City Center**

With the rise of individual mobility, tourism activities are increasing almost in all parts of the world. In order to sustain in global competition, cities are investing in “soft urban factors” especially since the 1980s. After the redeveloped Times Square in New York City turned out to become a global tourist attraction, cities are discovering the value of especially formerly declined urban areas in order to establish new urban quarters and to increase the popularity of the city as a whole. In the contemporary city a proliferation of this phenomenon can be observed (Boyer, 1992). In the case of New York City a media seeking (large-scale) urban regeneration project had significant influences on the movements of urban tourists. Whether recent urban regeneration projects have had similar effects in Vienna will be elaborated in the first part of this chapter.

Besides an attractive urban and cultural offer, the image of the city became a new selling point in the contemporary global competition. Hereby architectural patterns or spatial design codes are becoming increasingly important in order to create an image of the city. Not only regeneration projects, but also investments in the historic city center are used to establish a new or to maintain an already existing image of the city. In many cities this resulted in the creation of “urban theme parks” as the “historic” has become the only official urban value (Boyer, 1992). Whether the historic city center of Vienna is gradually turned into an open-air museum for tourists or not, is an on-going debate between the city authority, inhabitants and academics. In order to restrict the present work, the second part will focus rather on the outcomes of this process and elaborate further on the actual image of Vienna by paying attention to marketing and festivalisation activities.

## **2.1 Tourism and its spatial pattern in Vienna**

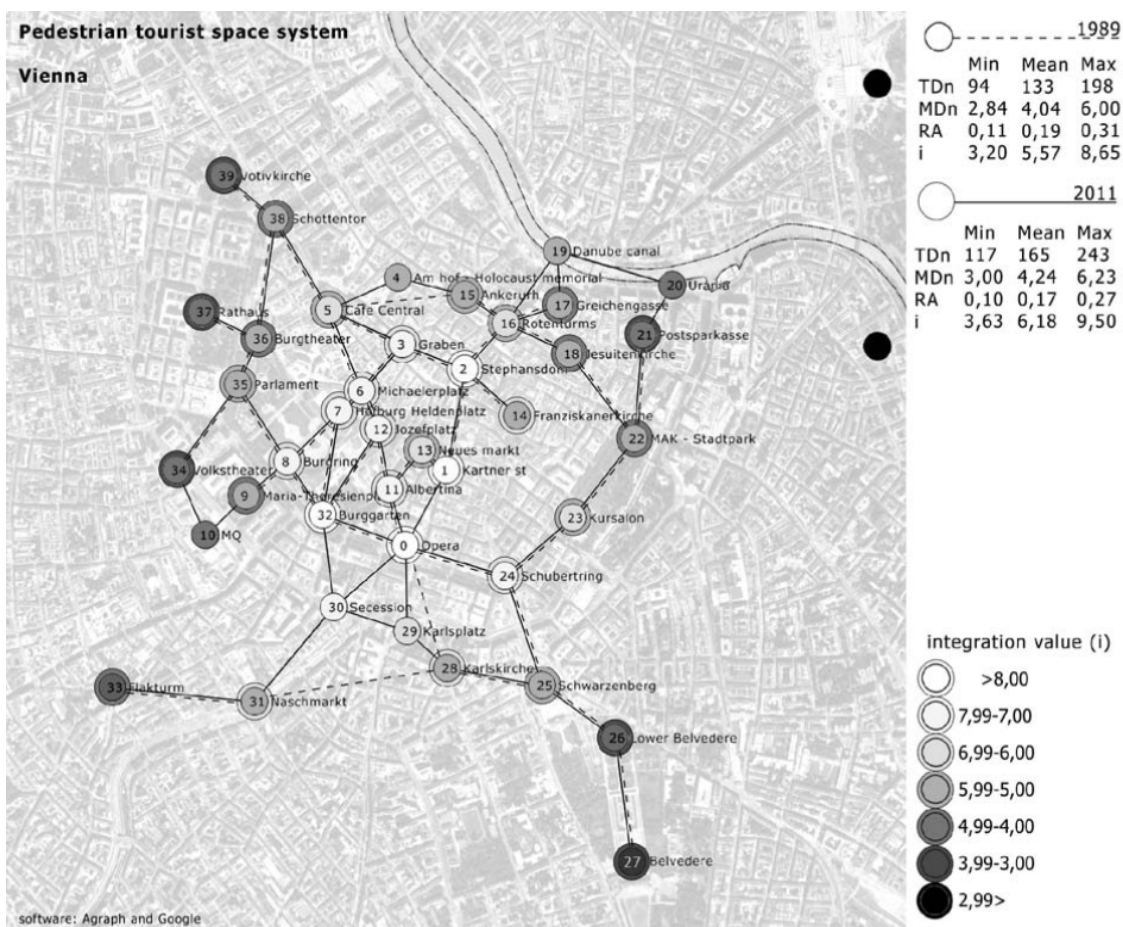
The number of tourists coming to Vienna increased by a steady pace: while in the 1970s four million bed nights were counted, the number increased to five to six millions in the 1980s and seven millions in the 1990s. Nowadays more than 10 million overnight stays are registered. As the daily visitors are excluded from this calculation, the actual number of visitors is even higher. Due to the continuous growth a well-connected and compact but also complex spatial network of touristic sights could evolve over the past decades. This was promoted by Vienna's morphological and spatial inherited structures. Due to the fact that the very center is encompassed by a ring road the historic downtown has a very compact form. Major administrative institutions, which are touristic sights at the same time, are to be found along the ring road. Overall Vienna benefits from a less irregular street pattern which goes back to its Roman origins. It was further developed during the baroque period and faced only minor interventions in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. The St Stephens Cathedral functions as a geometric center, further tourist attractions are centered around (Kádár, 2012).

One of the main reasons of the steady tourism growth highlights the continuous investment in the city's built environment and cultural offer. Recent visitor growth was fostered by important development projects and marketing strategies. In general it is important to notice that developmental activities did not change the city center much, they rather enhanced the cultural and touristic offer of the city. The touristic space became diversified by implementing leisure activities along the Danube canal. Artificial beaches and beach bars enriched the city's gastronomic services and public spaces, new shopping facilities were added, the Urania building was renovated and a new ship terminal opened connecting the inner cities of Vienna and Bratislava. With the redevelopment of the Secession and new art projects on the neighboring Karlsplatz, further touristic attractions were implemented. Furthermore, improvements within the Jewish Quarter lead to an enhancement of the touristic space. Within this transformation process the recently developed Museums Quarter takes a special position (Kádár, 2012). With its opening in

the year 2001, a whole new urban site was converted into the new center of art and exhibitions. The very first attempts to re-use the former court stables date back to the year 1921 when the site was used by the exhibition and conference center of Vienna. Nevertheless a proper concept for re-using the site was not discussed before 1982. Finally in June 2001, the area opened again and is known as “MuseumsQuartier Wien” since then (MuseumsQuartier Wien, 2011a). With yearly 3.6 million visitors it developed into a fashionable and attractive leisure area and enriched the city’s cultural offer at the same time (MuseumsQuartier Wien, 2011b).

In order to see how urban tourists use and move in the city, an analysis of spatial patterns of tourists was carried out by Kádár (2012). The figure below is based on a comparative research of urban tourism in the cities of Vienna, Prague and Budapest.

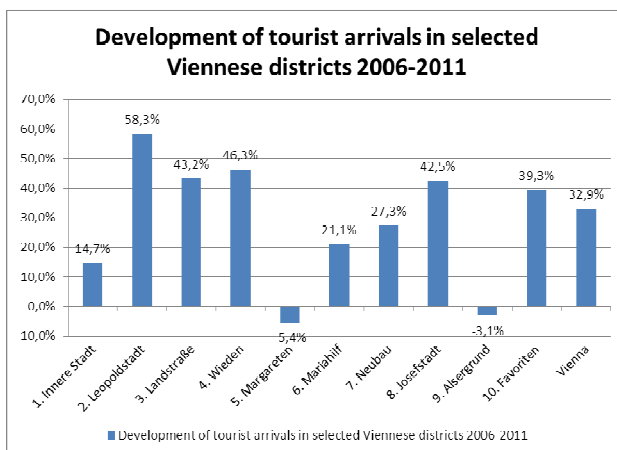
**Figure 1: Spatial patterns of urban tourists in Vienna**



Source: Kádár 2012

Kádár (2012) used geo-tagged pictures uploaded on the social platform flickr.com as statistical indicators to show urban movements. Hereby the integration value describes to what extent the individual sights are integrated in the urban network. According to his calculations the majority of urban tourists are using the historic part of the city center, although southern sights are in general more integrated than the canal area. The most important attractions within the city center are amongst others the St Stephens Cathedral, Kärtner Straße and the Opera. Due to recent investments in the touristic offer new attractions were developed such as the Secession, Karlsplatz, Urania and Danube canal. As a consequence new connections between the single attractions were established. As shown in Figure 1 recent development activities did not change the city's main attributes, but extended the pedestrian network and touristic offer. In comparison to 1989 a diversification of tourist sights and routes have been achieved. A spread of visitors towards neighboring districts can also be measured by the number of tourist arrivals (cf figure 2). Between 2006 and 2011 the majority of the districts around the 1<sup>st</sup> district developed more dynamically than the historic center itself (Magistrat der Stadt Wien, Magistratsabteilung 23, Wirtschaft, Arbeit und Statistik n.d.). Of course these areas are perceived more dynamic as tourism is less developed. Thus they show a higher development potential. The second district, Leopoldstadt, is especially frequented by visitors due to the exhibition center located there.

**Figure 2: Tourist arrivals in selected Viennese districts 2006-2011**





Source: own calculation and illustration; Magistrat der Stadt Wien, Magistratsabteilung 23, Wirtschaft, Arbeit und Statistik n.d.

## **2.2 Tourism Marketing as a tool to construct an image of Vienna**

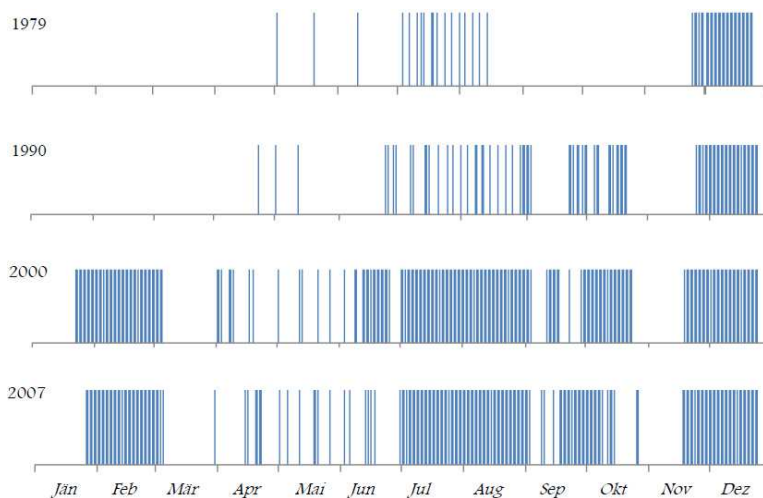
Besides the investments in the physical and cultural offer, also increased marketing activities lead to a growth of tourism activities in the city. As marketing activities aim to construct an image of the city, they are especially important in theming the city and the historic center of Vienna. In general the term city marketing combines different forms of marketing such as tourism marketing, place marketing, inner city marketing and municipal/regional marketing addressing different target groups by focusing on different urban aspects (Freyer, 2005). Especially marketing activities for touristic purposes aim to provoke certain feelings about the built environment, the city's lifestyle and its cultural offer. Thus it is chosen as an example in order to show how the city center and Vienna as a city is (internationally) branded.

In Vienna the Viennese Tourism Association, which was founded in 1955, is responsible for coordinating marketing activities for touristic purposes. Since the 1990s activities were focused around the idea to implement theme years in order to organize special concerts, exhibitions and other touristic offers that increase the popularity and strengthen one particular aspect of Vienna each year. While in the years from 1997 to 1999 historical persons, such as the emperor Sissi, functioned as the main inspiration, a change of themes is noticeable during the last decade. Since 2001 the idea of theme years has been developed further into more abstract and "open" slogans, e.g. "Vienna waits for you." (2001) (Gebharter & Hatz, 2002, WienTourismus, 2011). This year's theme is called "Vienna. Now or Never.". By promoting various central elements – e.g. the imperial heritage of the city, its music and cultural offers, its culture of enjoyment ("Genusskultur"), being a well-functioning city and being well balanced between urban and green spaces – the Viennese tourism association aims to strengthen the brand "Vienna" (WienTourismus, 2011). Thus central marketing activities are focusing on the artist Klimt, urban design

and architecture, the Viennese lifestyle as well as music and nightlife referring always back to the contrasts of “modern” and “old” Vienna (WienTourismus, 2012). The general marketing strategy shifted due to the understanding that only relying on classic cultural heritage will not be efficient to maintain and further develop the tourism economy in Vienna. Since then the marketing agency tries to position Vienna as a city encountered between (cultural) heritage and (post)modernity.

In addition to this, the festivalisation of urban culture is highly influencing the perception and image of Vienna. On the one hand this includes the organization and realization of events as a primary marketing tool to draw (inter)national media attention to the city, which shall result in an increasing number of visitors. Within this context the square in front of the town hall functions as a central location. During the entire year festivals, fairs, concerts and other events take place. As analyzed by Hofer (unpub.), the town hall square developed from the location for the local Christmas fair towards a universal event location. In the year 2007, the square could be freely accessed only on 24 days because it was not in use for any kind of event. Figure 3 visualizes the increase of festivals and events on the town hall square over the past decades.

**Figure 3: Number of events taking place on the town hall square 1979-2007**



Source: Hofer unpub.

On the other hand festivalisation strategies also include the production of the Viennese way of life and its historical past. This becomes most visible in the city center due to the existence of souvenir shops and street vendors dressed up in "historic" clothes, besides a resurrection of the traditional Viennese coffee houses (Gebharter & Hatz, 2002).

### **2.3 Interim Conclusion I**

As previously mentioned tourism is an important economic sector in Vienna with 10.6 million overnight stays (Magistrat der Stadt Wien, Magistratsabteilung 5, Finanzwesen, 2011). Due to this it seemed reasonable to see how tourism in general and marketing activities in particular influence the image of the city. As shown by the research of Kádár (2012) Vienna has a well-interconnected and very dense urban system of touristic sights. With the re-development of tourist attractions, spatial patterns of tourists gradually changed over the past decades. Nevertheless tourists are spending the majority of their time within or very close to the first district. Despite few exceptions (e.g. Schönbrunn), the city is well-known for its offers within the historic city center. In the Viennese case, the re-development of tourist attractions did not lead to a major change of the image of the city, rather it enhanced its variety.

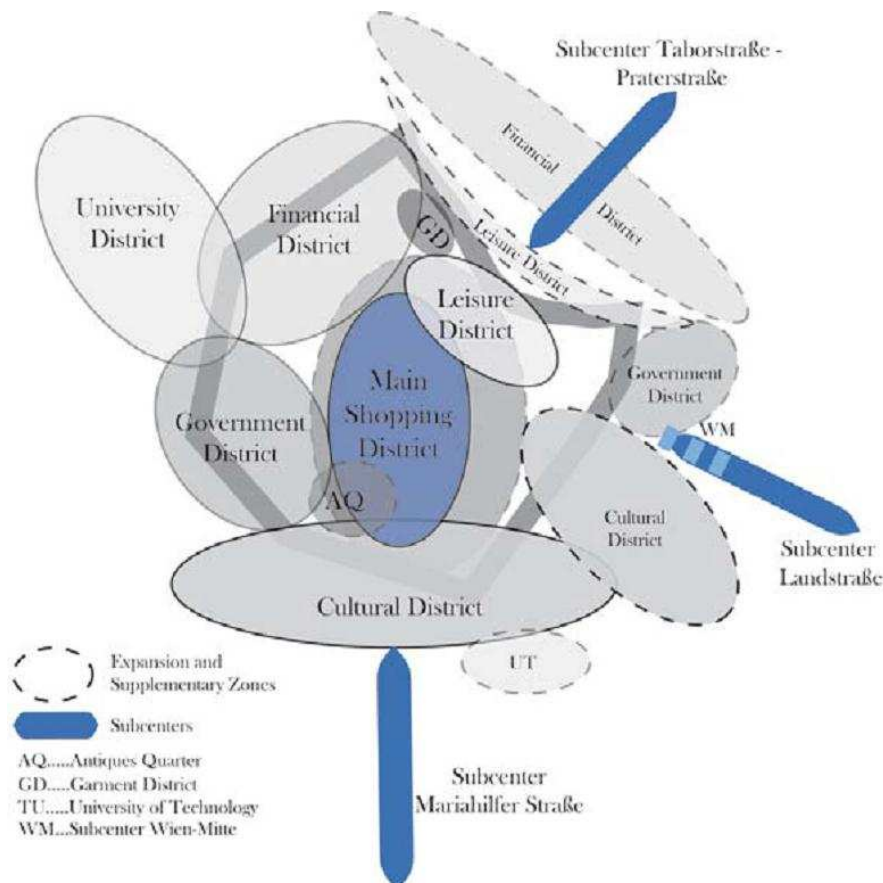
The second touristic element, marketing activities, are also important in theming the historic center as it aims to increase the (inter)national popularity of Vienna. This is achieved by different strategies. Due to the great variety of different approaches, only few were chosen to examine: City marketing is generally often used a.o. to coordinate advertising activities; festivalisation is focusing either on the organization of events and/or on the commodification of urban culture. By promoting different characteristics of Vienna, different images are created (inter)nationally. These have a major impact on the perception of Vienna and especially on the historic city center - as tourism activities are the highest within the historic city center, marketing activities especially promote the center. Despite attempts to balance touristic movements

equally within the urban area, the historic center and its offer still function as the main urban attributes.

### **3. Central Places in a Historic Center – The Spatial Functional Divide of the Historic City Center**

Vienna is a city with a historically strong center. As the seat of the Habsburg monarchy and thus the capital of a large multi ethnic empire Vienna's center always played an important symbolical and economical role. This role is still evident and in a transformed role still active today. In terms of orientation and landmark the center seems to be the most important ordering element for peoples understanding of the city (Hatz, 2010, p.5). Furthermore, the city center's strong economic role within the city cannot be doubted. In 2009 about 100 000 people (13% of the cities entire work force) worked in the city center. About 27% of all jobs in government institutions are located in the historic center. Furthermore the center shows the highest concentration of jobs in finance and insurance (about 40% of the the city as a whole) (Hatz, 2009, p.8). However, the city center has undergone important changes over the last decades, especially with regard to the functions that are located in the center. In order to understand these changes we first need to understand the spatial functional set up of the city that is shown in the graph below.

**Figure 4: The spatial functional divide of the historic center**



Source: Hatz, 2009

The functional clusters that are shown in this graph still remain. However, they have undergone profound changes. We will offer an explanation for these changes inspired by Central Place Theory (CPT).

CPT was first developed by Walter Christaller in 1933. Although it has often been criticized and reformed it still offers an interesting angle to understand cities as and in a networked spatial system. However, we are fully aware of the sort comings of this theory. Therefore we will not apply the theory, or any specific variant for that matter, to it's fullest extend. We will use Central Place Theory more as a heuristic tool that can help us to understand certain developments that the historic center of Vienna has undergone. The central theme that we will link with CPT is a change of centrality due to larger geo political changes such as the fall of the Iron Curtain.

CPT tries to understand the the size and geographic distribution of cities, towns

and villages and their relation to one another. In its original form it is a rather static model using geometric forms such as triangles and hexagons in order to describe a system. A central place in this theory is understood as a node that serves its surrounding area with goods and services (Mayhew, 1997). There are three main concepts in this theory: centrality, threshold and range. Centrality describes the draw to a place or its hinterland. Threshold is a critical mass that is needed in terms of market size to sustain certain goods or service providers. Range is the distance that people are willing and able to travel in order to obtain a certain good. These three concepts together are called the “marketing principle” (Agarwal, 2011).

In the previous two decades Vienna significantly changed its geo political and geo strategical position in Europe. The fall of the Iron Curtain transformed Vienna from a city on the fringe of the western world to a “gateway between East and West” (Musil, 2009, p. 555). This transformation went hand in hand with Austria's accession to the European Union. Since then Vienna has gained in importance on a global but especially on a European scale and has thus gained in importance as a central place. The rise in air traffic was certainly faster than in other European cities (Vienna Airport, 2011; Statistik Austria, 2011). Furthermore foreign direct investment has increased significantly in terms of inflowing as well as out flowing (Musil, 2009). This furthermore underlines the changes in terms of centrality that Vienna has undergone in the last two decades. In this section of the paper we will ask how the geo political changes since the 1990's affected Vienna's historic city center in terms of functions. We claim that in order to understand the city center development in Vienna over the last two decades one needs to take into account larger geo political changes. However, geo political changes only describe part of the over all picture. We will now go step by step over the various functions active in the city center and apply Central Place Theory as described above, taking into account the just described historical developments.

### **3.1 Main Shopping District**

The heart of the main shopping district is located at the so called “Golden Triangle” made up of Kärntner Straße, Graben and Kohlmarkt. This is the area with the highest rent per square meter in Vienna. Because of rising rents in this area many traditional shops and retailers have been pushed out of the area. The available free retail space has been taken up by chain stores of international retailers (Hatz, 2011, p.13). Hence, we cannot speak of a loosening or weakening of this function of the city center but of a transformation. This transformation could also be described as a homogenization. 80% of the retail area in the main shopping district is occupied by the fashion and style segment. Furthermore 80% of the shops are owned by international retail companies (Hatz, 2010b).

These international chain stores certainly need a large market in order to sustain their shops, which is why these international retailers usually locate at central places. Thus the increase in centrality of Vienna certainly benefits these stores. Furthermore the high rents in the historic center provides a high threshold that excludes most other companies.

### **3.2 Antiquities Quarter**

Linked to the Main Shopping District is the Antiquities Quarter. It is not only spatially connected but also in its function. Spatially speaking the Antiquities Quarter is located on the southern tip of the Main Shopping District. This proximity seems to follow a global trend in which the inner city “mall” has some sort of arts and artists quarter next to it (Zukin, 1995). Thus the spatial proximity also indicates the functional proximity for these two quarters.

In terms of processes and developments the Antiquities Quarter has strengthened its position and location in the last years. Next to a slight reduction of stores we find an extension of floor space in this segment (Hatz, 2009a, p.21). Thus we can speak of a stabilization. A further indication of the stability of this function at this particular location in the center is the low number of chain stores. The ownership of a majority of the stores and galleries

in this segment is in the hands of single owners (ibid.). Therefore the future of this function in the center can rely on a rather divers and local network of owners and does not depend so much on investment decisions by company headquarters abroad.

However, despite the divers and local ownership structure in this segment we can nevertheless detect a certain degree of homogenization. Partially due to the high rents in this part of the city the floor space is taken up by stores and galleries aiming at the high end segment of the art market. Furthermore the products on display tend to favor established aesthetics over new trends. Hence, a young and vibrant art scene is not and will most likely not be hosted in this part of the city (Hatz, 2009a, p.13).

In terms of CPT, art and antiquities are high order goods (as opposed to newspapers that rank as low order goods). High order goods need a strong centrality in order to establish themselves somewhere. Furthermore these goods usually demand a high range in order to have a market large enough. Those aspects were certainly strengthened in the previous years in Vienna.

### **3.3 Garment district**

The garment district is in some regard the problem case of the historic city center. At the peak of it's activities it served as a factory outlet location for affordable clothing and fashion items. This function however has disappeared and has not been replaced yet by new functions. The neighborhood shows rather little dynamics in terms of new shops or new developments (Hatz, 2009a, p.39). This lack of new functions is also the reason why we find so many vacant stores in this area. The number of vacant floor space is certainly highest in the center of Vienna. In 2009 the proportion of vacant stores approached a quarter of the total ground floor commercial space and therefore became a dominating aspect of the look and feel of the entire area (Hatz, 2009a, p.14). This trend of vacancies and decay is further accelerated by the moving out of working population (Hatz, 2009, p.26). Certainly, such areas also always carry potential in them. However, until now this potential has not



been utilized and it is also not clear in which direction the Garment District will go in the future.

With regard to CPT, the function previously located in this part of the city does not need such a strong centrality. Also, neither threshold nor range need to be as high as in the previous two cases. However, we can explain the falling away of this function in this location by accessibility which we can see as a version of range. Affordable, factory outlet clothing might be better located at large places that are more easily accessible by car.

#### **3.4 Cultural Districts**

The main cultural district in Vienna has its epicenter around Karlsplatz and the Opera. Further on around Schwarzenbergplatz we find another sub center for cultural institutions. However, no matter where we look for cultural institutions in Vienna's historic city center they have been expanding in size and numbers since the 1990's (Hatz, 2011, p.13). We seen an increase in theaters and locations for music performance as well as exhibitions. However the biggest expansion was probably in terms of museums. This expansion was crowned in the year 2000 with the opening of the "MuseumsQuartier" that replaced the former fair and exhibition grounds. This new complex catapults Vienna up in the world wide rankings for high cultural institutions as the Museums Quarter features among the top 10 largest museum complexes word wide (ibid.). It has to be noted however that this extension in cultural institutions mostly took place in the field of high culture. It is opera, big theater productions, large art museums that dominate this area of the city center. You will look in vain if you try to find underground or subculture art in this part of the city.

Cultural institutions certainly offer high order services. For a large museum complex such as the MuseumsQuartier to blossom it needs a large market. Therefore the threshold for such institutions is rather high and they would not work anywhere. Furthermore, we assume the rage of these services to be rather high as might be seen in numbers about tourism in Vienna. In addition it needs to be stressed, that a strong centrality is not only needed for these

kinds of services but that they also might further increase the centrality of a place.

### **3.5 Governmental Districts**

Governmental services and institutions cluster at two locations in the city center. The first is around the parliament and the city hall. The second is close to the confluence of Wien River and Donaukanal. The first cluster is host to a variety of symbolically very important institutions. Next to parliament and city hall we find the office of the Chancellor of the Republic of Austria and the office of the President of the Republic of Austria, both located around the Hofburg. At the second cluster, just outside the Ring we find less representative and more working locations. It is among others the location of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Traffic, Innovation and Technology.

This looks like quite an impressive representation of governmental functions. However in the last two decades the city center and the immediately adjacent areas lost to other parts of the city. While in the 1990's approx 18 000 government related jobs were created in Vienna the historic city center and the buffer zone of the UNESCO world heritage area lost more than 4000. While many "headquarters" remain in the center due to the symbolic importance of the place other back office functions are exported (Hatz, 2011, p.9). For example Section III of the Ministry of Transport which is located outside the "Gürtel" at Ghegastraße. Thus we see that even central governmental institutions are willing or able to maintain their centrality in terms of location in Vienna.

The fall of the Iron Curtain and the accession to the European Union certainly extended the government functions in Vienna. Yet, there seems to be a clash between increased importance of Vienna as a government location and the decreasing of the city center in that respect. However, a way out of this contradiction might be to acknowledge that the increased importance of government functions in Vienna is in relation to the rest of Austria, the rest of Europe and the World. Thus, a micro managing of this centrality in the historic

core of the city might not be needed in comparison to the scale of government functions.

#### **3.6 University District**

The University District is the traditional location of the University of Vienna since the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century and still is it's main location. Next to this location however the university is spread out over Vienna and even other Austrian States. Despite its long tradition at this particular location the university has not had such deep impact on the offers and services in this area. Despite abundant fast food at the metro station Schottentor there are only few cafes and restaurants that cater specifically to the large student population of the area. Furthermore nightlife and specifically student oriented nightlife is taking place in other parts of the city. The existing cafes and restaurants tend to aim at an income group that excludes students on a tight budget (Hatz, 2009a, p.11).

However in 1998 the university managed to expand in this area by adding functions at the "Altes AKH". This old hospital was renovated and transformed into a new campus. This campus today hosts about 15 departments from the fields cultural, historical and philological studies. In addition shops, cafes and restaurants were added. However, the restaurants and cafes do not offer student prices, a particular student atmosphere or a student oriented menu. With its hearty deep fried and grilled meat dishes (Schnitzel, Spare Ribs, Chicken Wings) and the middle aged male waiters typical for traditional Viennese gastronomy these places seem to be aiming more at neighboring non student residents and tourists.

For the university district, a likely explanation in terms of CPT seems to be that centrality might cause further centrality. We already mentioned this argument before with regard to the cultural centers. For the university district it does however apply on a much smaller scale. The range of university as a service compared to the range of cultural institutions does seem rather limited.

#### **3.7 Leisure District**

In another area of the city center we also see a concentration of food places and gastronomy. If the shopping district around Kärtner Straße should be seen as a mall then the so called Bermudadreieck would be its food court. Clustering close to Schwedenplatz we see a high concentration of bars, cafes and restaurants. This function as a leisure district supplementing the retail functions in the center is further extended and solidified. We can observe an increasing homogenization in this part of town (Hatz, 2009a, p.34). This functional homogenization is further strengthened by the waterfront development in recent years. Today the canal flowing through the city is clustered with bars and artificial beaches. These places are an interesting mix between local context (the waiters dialect, local drinks like Weißer Spritzer) and a removed, abstract, unified, global context (Hamburgers, Coca Cola, Sand Beaches). Nevertheless, the leisure infrastructure of the Bermudadreieck and the Donaukanal seems to complement the other functions of the city center seamlessly.

The extension of the leisure district might best be explained by CPT in relation to the central shopping district. As already mentioned, these two functions do seem to go together. Therefore an extension or strengthening of one function due to increased centrality, threshold or range does also affect the other.

#### **3.8 Financial district**

A function that is loosing in the historic city center is the financial sector. Just like the governmental sector, the financial sector is keeping headquarters in the city center due to its symbolic significance. However, much of the actual work and many of the actual duties are relocated outside of the center. A reason that is often mentioned for this relocation of back office work outside of the center are the strict regulations concerning buildings and architectural coherence. Due to these regulations it is increasingly difficult for international companies and especially banks and the financial industry to provide for the appropriate work environment. (Blaas et al. 2003, Hatz, 2009, p.9, Hatz, 2011,

p.15).

For the financial sector a similar explanation applies as for the governmental sector. Despite an increase in centrality, for example through the extension of FDIs, we see a weakening of the financial sector in the city center. Again, this centrality might just not have the same scale as the historic center. Therefore an increase in centrality in Vienna does not mean an increase of centrality in the core.

### **3.9 Interim Conclusion II**

As we could see, the centrality of Vienna's historic city center was in cases strengthened and in some weakened. The development of most of the functions of the city center does have a connection to larger geo political developments in the previous two decades. With the fall of the Iron Curtain and the accession to the European Union Austria and Vienna moved out of the European periphery and formed a new center. This affected the attractiveness of Vienna and also had an impact on developments in the Historic center. Leisure, shopping and cultural infrastructure that would not have been able to sustain themselves in a less central place are striving now. On the other hand governmental and financial functions that were strengthened in Vienna overall often left the historic center. This shows that CPT also has its limitations for explaining developments. One important reason is certainly that different functions act on different scales. Shopping, culture, leisure and university functions are active on a human scale. Therefore, centrality, threshold and range become active on a micro level of a city. Financial and governmental functions are often active broader scales such as national and or European. Thus, the Central Place is also established on a broader scale such as Vienna as a whole and not on the micro level of the historic city center.

## **4. The preservation and transformation of the historical city center of Vienna**

### **4.1 Definition of a UNESCO World Heritage site**

The protection of outstanding historical and natural sites are one of the functions of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientifics and Cultural Organization) founded in 1945. The step to create a programme for cultural and national heritage protection was taken during the 17th UNESCO general conference held in Paris in 1972. The agreement of the convention was the fact that there is a need to protect the cultural and natural heritage from destruction in relation to social and economical conditions.

*The Convention divides monuments into:*

- *"Cultural Heritage", i.e. single monuments, such as works of architecture, sculptures or paintings, ensembles and sites;*
- *"Natural Heritage", i.e. works of nature, such as waterfalls, geological and physiographical phenomena*
- *"Mixed Ensembles", i.e. examples in which man-made structures who are combined with nature.*

(Vienna City Planning Bureau MA18, 2005)

At the moment there are 962 World Heritage sites are listed, 745 cultural, 188 natural, and 29 mixed properties located in 157 different States (World Heritage UNESCO 2012).

### **4.2 The acceptance of the historic center of Vienna on the World Heritage List of UNESCO**

At the 25th Meeting of the World Heritage Committee in Helsinki on the 11th to 16th December 2001 was decided on the basis of an application by the Republic of Austria to take the historic center of Vienna to the list of world cultural heritage. The acceptance criteria included the historical, urban and

architectural values and expressed also the cultural importance of Vienna as the "music capital of Europe". The commission recommended the evaluation of the project "Wien-Mitte", which is located in the heritage buffer zone.

*"(...) to review the height and volume of the proposed new development near the Stadtpark, east of the Ringstrasse, so as not to impair the visual integrity of the historical town.*

*(World Heritage UNESCO 2002)"*

The Committee recommended also that special attention should be given to monitoring and control any changes related to the morphology of the historical building stock.

**Figure 5: The world heritage zone and buffer zone**



Source: Perspektiven Magazin, 2002

### **4.3 The historical, architectural and cultural values of Vienna's inner city**

The historic center of Vienna is a unique city landmark which has special values of historical and architectural importance. The outstanding importance was manifested from the middle Ages until the end of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1918, when Vienna was the capital city of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

Three key periods of European cultural and political development - the Middle Ages, the Baroque period and the Gründerzeit - are exceptionally well illustrated by the urban and architectural heritage of Vienna. (World Heritage UNESCO, 2002)

Vienna was the capital of a big empire and developed its status of the "imperial city". The focus was to promote and develop science and art on the highest European level. Vienna was built on the medieval tradition and developed especially in a distinctive Austrian Baroque culture, later in a very specific shape of the Viennese "Gründerzeit" and finally in the famous Viennese Modernism. (Perspektiven Magazin, 2002)

#### **UNESCO acceptance criteria:**

The World Heritage Committee, who met in the 25th Meeting in Helsinki, also pointed out the universal significance of the historic center of Vienna. The acceptance for the World Heritage List based on the criteria (ii), (iv) and (vi) of the "Operational Guidelines":

*(ii) The urban and architectural qualities of the Historic Centre of Vienna bear outstanding witness to a continuing interchange of values throughout the second millennium.*

*(iv) Three key periods of European cultural and political development – the Middle Ages, the Baroque period, and the Gründerzeit – are exceptionally well illustrated by the urban and architectural heritage of the Historic*



*Centre of Vienna.*

*(vi) Since the 16<sup>th</sup> century Vienna has been universally acknowledged to be the musical capital of Europe.*

*(ii) Historic towns which are still inhabited and which, by their very nature, have developed and will continue to develop under the influence of socio-economic and cultural change, a situation that renders the assessment of their authenticity more difficult and any conservation policy more problematical. (World Heritage UNESCO, 2002)*

#### **4.4 The historical transformation of the inner city of Vienna**

The UNESCO zone of the historic city center of Vienna covers an area of approximately 371ha and consists the medieval core city structure (based on the Roman settlement), the principal Baroque ensembles with their axes, and the Gründerzeit constructions from the beginning of the modern period.

The different development phases are impressive examples of transforming individual epochs, based on the previous historical layers. In this sense the most changes are in the second half of the 19th Century.

The change in the political situation after 1683(French Revolution) also brought many important changes to the city of Vienna. An very important development started from 1683 on and Vienna became a Baroque metropolis. The population increased and inhabitants settled in suburban areas outside the city walls. Baroque palaces were designed for the centre of the town by the leading architects of the time, such as J.B. Fischer von Erlach and L. von Hildebrandt who were constructing the palaces of Schönbrunn and Belvedere and the extension of the Hofburg. Vienna became the European capital of music with genius of Haydn, Beethoven and Mozart. After the defeat of Napoleon it was the venue of the Congress of Vienna (1814-15), which resulted in the political continuation of absolutism (Vormärz, it means before March 1848). At the same time, the petite bourgeoisie continued an interest in arts, furniture

(Biedermeier), painting, and especially music (Beethoven, Schubert) (World Heritage UNESCO, 2000).

At the end of 1848, the young Emperor Francis Joseph I ascended the throne of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The city walls were razed to ground in 1857 in order to create the Ringstrasse, an outstanding example of 19th century town planning. With the emerging ambitions of the bourgeoisie, the new Ringstrasse became a major construction site for an impressive number of major buildings, including theatres, museums, university, and large private constructions, characterized as the *Gründerzeit*, the period. There was also an very important development in the field of culture like in the field of painting, architecture, philosophie and music linked to names like: Bruckner, Brahms, Wolf, Mahler, and Schönberg, architects and painters such as Otto Wagner, Adolf Loos, Josef Hoffmann, Gustav Klimt, and Oskar Kokoschka, and philosophers including Ludwig Wittgenstein (World Heritage UNESCO, 2002).

The interventions in the built environment of the historic center were exclusively associated with individual buildings. One of these individual buildings is the house at Michaelerplatz which was built from 1909 to 1911 and is the major work of the world known modernist architect Adolf Loos. It was his first, most important and biggest construction. The specific site opposite of the Habsburgian Hofburg gave the building from the beginning a special attention. The Looshaus in Vienna (also known as the Goldman & Salatsch Building) is regarded as one of the most important structures built in the "Wiener Moderne". The building marks the rejection of historicism, as well as the ornaments used by the Wiener Secession. Its appearance shocked Vienna's citizens, since their overall taste was still very much historically oriented. Because of the lack of ornaments on the façade, people called it the "house without eyebrows" (Muscheler 2007).

**Figure 6: Michaelerplatz with view on the Looshaus**



Source: Zajicek, 1900

Muscheler, 2007

Another individual building designed by the architect Siegfried Theiss and Hans Jaksch in 1931/32 and was the first high-rise building in the historical core area of Vienna. Despite its sixteen floors it is fitting well into the historic cityscape and also stands for one of Europe's key buildings in the thirties of the 20th Century (Perspektiven Magazin, 2002).

The impact of the Second World War can be seen as a big spatial transformation in the historical city center. Although the damage in Vienna was compared to other cities relatively low, there were 807 small, partly and total destructed buildings in the inner city. This was more or less every second house in the historical inner city (Report World Heritage, 2002). The Austrian government decided in accordance to the Viennese population to do a quick and grateful reconstruction and renovation of the Viennese City core. The reopening of the Vienna State Opera and the Burgtheater in 1955 was within the official withdrawal of the Allied forces from Vienna's occupation (*Stadt Wien für die Republik Österreich*, 2002).

Two of the inner city areas around Schwedenplatz and Landstrasse were so heavily damaged that the reconstruction of the historic urban landscape was not possible.

The ruins of these two areas were directly demolished after the Second World War and a new urban fabric with different heights and volumes was built (Perspektiven Magazin, 2002).

The specific geographical location of Vienna was a key issue for the post war city development. Vienna became more and more a globalized city and had in

the recent years a rapid increase of employees in the telecommunication and service sector. This development reflected in numerous architecture projects throughout the city of Vienna.

The historical development of Vienna was built up over decades on a centralized city structure. The historical city center stayed as the most important part of the city and no newly built sub-centers could change this fact. The old city center became a fully integrated and transformed central part within the global development of Vienna as a European capital city.

To save Vienna's inner city from too radical modern transformations the preservation law who existed since 1930 were adopted towards a protection zone law in 1972. Today there are 115 protected areas in Vienna with about 12,000 individual objects. These are approximately eight percent of the entire built environment of Vienna (Perspektiven Magazin, 2002).

#### **4.5 New buildings in the historical built environment**

To transform Vienna towards a global European Capital the built environment in the city center was changed towards the preservation law. The most visible changes were the replacement of unprotected buildings from the 60s and 70s with new ones. One of the most famous examples of these facts is the so called "Haas Haus" at Stephansplatz. The first big warehouse in Vienna was built in 1866 and totally destroyed in the Second World War. It was a magnificent building in the style of the Viennese historicism designed by the Architects August Sicard von Sicardsburg and Eduard van der Null (*Stadt Wien für die Republik Österreich, 2002*).

After the destruction of the building towards the end of the war a new warehouse building was built in 1953 by the architects Carl Appel and Max Fellerer. This building was demolished in 1985 and replaced by today's Haas House who was opened in 1990. Designed by the famous Austrian architect Hans Hollein the building became similar to the Loos Haus 70 years earlier a scandal in the Viennese society. The building provides with its post-modern mirrored glass facade a strong contrast to the St. Stephen's cathedral. The

new construction was a controversial debate for many years (Achleitner, 1996).

**Figure 7: Haas House historical change**



Source: Klein, Kupf, Schediwy, 2004

A more recent development is the new “Weltstadthaus” at Kärntnerstrasse. British star architect David Chipperfield won the international competition to build a new flagship store for Peek & Cloppenburg, the German designer clothes retailer. The new store is also a replacement of a post war building but compared to Holleins “Haas Haus” a very insensitive example of new built structure in the protected historical ensemble. The store opened in 2011 and was very much promoted by the famous name of the architect.

**Figure 8: Kärntner Straße with view on Weltstadthaus**



Source: Putschögl, 2011

### **Rooftop developments**

In the last 30years rooftop developments became an often used option for the inner city densification and transformation in Vienna.

In the core area of the UNESCO world heritage zone the possibility for rooftop extensions in their cubature and architectural design is more limited than in other parts of the city.

Rooftop developments are very much discussed in relation to the preservation of the historic city structure, although these changes are not that much visible from the streetscape perspective. Out of that reason the rooftop can be seen as a playground for contemporary architecture. Some very experimental examples of roof “add-ons” were built in the inner city of Vienna in the last 25 years like the very famous Coop Himmelblau project in the first district.

**Figure 9: Experimental rooftop development Falkgasse**



Source: Noever Haslinger, 1991

### **“Facadism” and Luxury Shopping**

“Facadism” is a growing practice of developers and architects to keep only the existing facade of historic buildings. The structure is demolished but the face of a building stays intact. The original architecture is reduced to its most superficial elements - the facade. In the most radical form of “Facadism” only the front elevation is maintained. Usually a radical change in the building’s functional program and economic interests justify the method. “Facadism” is a controversial balancing act between the demand for city renovation and people’s desire for preservation.

At the so called “Golden Triangle” in Vienna’s city center many of these examples can be found. The current investment by Rene Benkö is transforming



the historical buildings at Tuchlauben into a luxury shopping center. The former inner office space will be totally changed and only the facades of the buildings are remaining.

**Figure 10: Luxury shopping Tuchlauben**



Source: Signa Holding, 2011

#### **4.6 The urban development project "Wien Mitte"**

The project is located at the very center of Vienna, at the eastern edge of the buffer zone of the world cultural heritage, about 300 meters away from the ring road and with approximately 800 m distance from St. Stephen's. The historical context of the city is in the "Wien-Mitte" area is interrupted. The previous building was from the sixties and had no architectural qualities.

The reason why the entire area was taken into the buffer zone was that the historical environment cuts very radical at this point of the city.

**Figure 11: Old “Wien-Mitte” train station**



Source: Pfeifer, 2006

The project follows the development along the city's excellent public transport and to focus on the expansion of the railway stations. In the Wien Mitte transport hub 150,000 people per day are switching between underground and suburban trains and since 2002 there is a direct connection to the Vienna airport (*Stadt Wien für die Republik Österreich, 2002*).

The project “Wien-Mitte” was discussed for more than fifteen years by residents and experts from various disciplines. By an expert commission in 1991 several studies were conducted. The design of the internationally renowned architects Ortner & Ortner (Berlin-Zurich-Vienna) has been announced as the winner project. They proposed in their design a mix use from retail, housing, offices and cultural institutions. An essential part of the land use concept was the focus on improving the passenger switch between the three existing suburban train lines and the two subway lines.

Due different complications and problems the project realization of “Wien Mitte” was stopped for several years. The Citizens Initiative Wien-Mitte argued their concerns with the proposed urban densification of the traffic junction Landstrasse and the negative effect on the retail street Landstrasse-Hauptstrasse. Also the height and the number of high-rise towers and its resulting urban spatial effect were criticized (*Stadt Wien für die Republik Österreich, 2002*).



**Figure 12: First and second “Wien- Mitte” design proposal**



Source: Ortner& Ortner, 1998    Beyer, 2006

Out of the real estate down run in the early 1990s and the priority of the development of the new high-rise district in Vienna at Danube City, the “Wien Mitte” project was not ready to be built. In 1999 the project made a turn into another direction. The justice center which was built next to the “Wien Mitte” designed by the same architects Ortner&Ortner was built much higher than accepted. With the significant higher perception of the “Wien Mitte” development the resistance against the project was quite high. In May 2000 the City Council accepted the construction of the project, but many prominent architects, including Roland Rainer, Friedrich Kurrent, Gustav Peichl criticized the design a lot (World Heritage Report, 2002). Finally the resistance from the UNESCO committee, who saw the project in the so-called buffer zone of the World Heritage site, stopped the project. Different visibility analyses showed that the “Wien Mitte” development will only be visible from the area at the ring road next to the Stadtpark (*Stadt Wien für die Republik Österreich, 2002*).

**Figure 13: Belvedere Veduta by Canaletto**



Source: Canaletto, 1760

The comparison view with the famous veduta seen from Belvedere towards the historical city center created in 1760 by Bernardo Belotto, also known as Canaletto has been used since the beginning of the “Wien Mitte” discussion (Perspektiven Magazin, 2002).

All the perspective studies didn't showed that much influence in the perception of the historical built environment, but the city of Vienna hosted a architectural competition to stop all the discussions. The winner was the well-known Viennese Architecture Office Henke Schreieck. Their more sensible proposal seemed to fit better into the World Heritage requirements but finally the architecture team rejected the building contract. They were forced from the “Wien Mitte” Immobilien Gmbh and the investor Bank Austria to do too many changes from their original design. The built proposal was at the end realized by the Architect Wien Mitte group (Ortner & Ortner, Neumann + Steiner) and can be seen as a unsuccessful example of contemporary Viennese building policy. The only interest was to create a maximum of retail and office space at the “Wien Mitte” site. The whole project can be seen as a missing chance for a successful large scale inner city development (Bartl, 2012).

## **4.7 Interim Conclusion III**

The past and current Viennese development projects are showing the missing link between historical preservation and contemporary architecture. The view successful examples were discussed over many years by politicians and experts. These long processes create a lack of quality and are not forcing a continuance of high qualitative architecture. Historical preservation is a very important fact but there is a need for more “risk” in the relation between “new and old”.

## **5. Vienna – an Anachronism?!**

### **5.1 Vienna – Now, Never Or Just In The Past?**

By the history of the city and how it has been and is perceived, the following paragraph focuses on the contrasts within the city of Vienna and asks the question of what this city really is – a peculiar little, but imperial utopia, a mere anachronism with a stagnant historic city center or a hip and modern capital doing well in the global competition between cities? The focus will be on the city's performance, what it gives the impression of being, and how it is perceived by the people visiting and inhabiting it.

Austria is a rather provincial country, but its capital is imperial. It developed in a way would not have been possible without it being part of an important empire.

It was not until the fall of the Austro-Hungarian empire that Vienna really gained its status as capital; until then the city had to share this status with Budapest. But the city seemed to ignore this fact: “Vienna adopted a pose of serenity, splendor, and permanence. Far from expressing the society that produced it, Vienna is a magnificent denial of objective historical reality: a proud product of the human will and imagination, a triumph of art over reality.”(Olsen, 1986, p. 4)

With the onset of industrialization, but maybe not because of it, in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Vienna experienced an enormous population boom from all

regions of the monarchy. The population reached one million by 1870 and 2,2 million by 1910, making it the fourth largest city in the world after New York, Paris and London (Leopold Museum, 2012).

In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, all the biggest cities were also automatically cultural hotspots. This is not the case today, where there are many mega cities, and many of these are still culturally behind cities such as New York and Paris. This does not seem to hold them back in the pursuit of glory in the cities' competitive race, however.

After the Austro-Hungarian collapse following the WWI, Vienna lost half a million of its inhabitants, but now, since the fall of the iron curtain and the EU extending towards Eastern Europe, the city is growing again. This gives the impression that it has the potential to gain back some of its former glory and importance. As will be concluded later in this report, it is undoubtedly because of the new centralist renaissance that has made the blooming of this capital possible. But because of Vienna's village-style "old-Viennese-architecture", the famous composers, the Spanish Riding School and other factors, Vienna based blogger Rick Stevens has called it "a head without body, an elegant capital within tiny Austria." (Stevens, 2012). The question is whether this potential importance that is prospected only counts for the rest of the world and not for Vienna itself. One could be lead to the conclusion that Vienna has "always" perceived itself as this "proud product of the human will and imagination" that Olsen suggests (see above).

Vienna has always been a favored destination by the leisured classes, because of its unique qualities. But the city has also fallen victim to the great "G" - in this case not gentrification, but globalization

## **5.2 Too pretty a city?**

One of these unique qualities, is a bright and embellished historic city center. When visiting this city center, one cannot help to experience that the city might be a bit too pretty for a city. A "theme park"-element as some have called it, because this glory of the city's history is what counts when valuing the

urbanity (Boyer, 1992). A historic city center is beautiful, the investments in this is surely legitimate, albeit it only takes little reflection to conclude how one can feel alienated when inhabiting the city for a longer period of time. The city's center is the heart of the city as well as a strange neighbor, made for tourists swinging their credit cards it could seem, or even stranger: to the noble people of the past who built this beautiful city.

Still, Vienna *could* have been an anachronism, a mere monument of Western civilization, or an embarrassing relic like Liverpool or a museal city like Bruges or Venice. Instead, it has managed to remain a city, "a treasure to be preserved, an achievement of Western Civilization, with a flourishing economy, a culturally active city, a joy to visit and a privilege to inhabit." (Olsen, 1986, p. 5).

The abundance of projects for urban embellishment shows that the 18<sup>th</sup> century conceived the city as a unified work of art. And the people of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that built Vienna were very aware of the cities historical significance, so everything that was built had to remind the visitors as well as the inhabitants of Vienna of how ancient the dynasty was, or of the great Austrian victories against other nations in wars and battles (Olsen, 1986, p. 58).

Now that it is no longer widely accepted to make war and boast about such victories, and now that the attraction of tourism has become more important in the competition between cities (Boyer, 1992), the monuments of war and great men are used for city branding, side by side with the legacy of the great artists that once inhabited Vienna, and the beauty that remains in the city scape.

Back in the day, according to Olsen, people built to express and convey ideological and aesthetic messages (Olsen, 1986, p. 9). Now, by allowing practically no new buildings in the first district, the city does not allow the aesthetic and architectural ideology of the present to manifest. It seems it is the market that gets to decide; offices and shops pay more than other costumers which could benefit the city and those inhabitants who ask more for their city. The challenge is to seize that opportunity.

This is also seen in the example of preserving the old street lamps on Kärntner Straße and Graben rather than installing more contemporary street lights. But

retail-shops can build whatever they want for their facades in any non-Gründerzeit style they want. This is a great paradox.

The thesis is; if great contemporary architects and urbanists were allowed to do things of good quality, the Viennese might come to like what they build. This was what happened with one of the one of Vienna's very treasured children, Albert Loos. The Viennese might come to accept something from their own present, the way they have not only come to accept Loos' former radical inventions, but even developed a liking to it.

Also, one must ask: Why all this culture? Apparently it is not just for attracting tourists; the inhabitants seem to like it too. Zukin suggests that the restaurants, cafes and museums etc., has the function to lift us out of the "mire" of everyday life and into the "sacred spaces of ritualized pleasure" (Zukin, 1995).

Although marketing has become more diversified, this culture is just for the middle class, she suggests. If one goes to the Wiener Prater, one will see that many of the Neo-Austrians prefer a different and much more colorful kind of leisure.

Still, there is a huge interest in the beautiful buildings; 86% of the Viennese are proud that the city is so attractive for tourists (market Institut, 2011).

*Vienna – Now or Never* is the slogan chosen by the Viennese tourist office. This inadvertently causes a smirk: When looking at Vienna it becomes obvious that it has only undergone little changes in the urban morphology<sup>1</sup>, and that the many and varied cultural offers have also been around for a many years; Klimt, Mozart, the Spanish Riding School, etc. The imperial buildings will also still stand. In other words, if you do not visit Vienna *now* you will most likely be able to do it next year, or even in five years time.

When Vienna chooses to coin its brand with the phrase "Vienna – now or never" (WienTourismus 2012), this only counts for the festivalisation, for events that only take place for a short period of time and/or are branded as something that will expire. Yes, the tents will be torn down, the up-and-coming-artists will be others, the theme will be different. But in reality Vienna

---

1 An overall view, of course. Here is e.g. not with-counted the projects along the canal, Landstraße etc.

is renewing it self so that is not just the before mentioned open-air museum. It is not exactly a city that will disappear, if you do not see it "now". This way, it is rather a comical city branding, that denies its own policies of strong preservation of the city center

So, to conclude; Vienna *is* a beautiful city to inhabit and visit; a good place to do business, a place of class struggle and perhaps most visibly; an arena of struggle between the conservative and the progressive powers. It does have the aspects of a mono-functional theme park to it. But these features are not necessarily specific for Vienna.

*If Vienna truly wants to stand out, like it is both fashion and necessity among global cities today, and should it continue to stand out as the most pleasant place to live in, continue to make the city an interesting, vibrant and historically beautiful city for the tourists, wonderfully liveable for its inhabitants, it should avoid the PPP's<sup>2</sup> that only has one purpose; to make money. And it should avoid the branding of the city as one that is good at making festivals; because... they are. It should rather embrace the fact that people actually want to live there, and it should embrace the fact that it really does have so many unique qualities. This way, Vienna will continue to be a quite alright city.*

## 6. Conclusion

Tourism has an immense importance as economic factor in most cities as well as Vienna, and therefore the investments in this sector it plays a considerable role in creating the image of the city. Vienna has a well-connected, dense and varied urban system of touristic sights, and even though recent times have shown some changes in the touristic patterns, most of the touristic activities still goes on in the historic city center. Thus most of the changes and re-development of tourist attractions have been of a nature of enhancing the variety of the image of the city, and has not lead to a change of image as such. The marketing directed towards tourism, that mainly promotes the historic city

---

2 Public Private Partnerships, like seen on e.g. Landstraße

center has mainly been focused on increasing the international popularity of Vienna. Different images of Vienna has been created within this. The city center contains a diversity of images; these include the old and the new, the *high culture* and the particular Viennese *Genusskultur*.

The city center of Vienna has always played a symbolic and economic role; it serves as orientation and landmark as well as being the a conglomerate of sectors as well as having a high concentrations of various jobs. But the different sectors work on different levels and, and therefore plays different roles in the perception if *the central*.

Relatively late in its history, Vienna was accepted onto the UNESCO World Heritage List, although the historical development of Vienna was build up over decades on a centralized city structure, and with a long lasting preservation law.

Although the old city center is fully integrated in the city as a whole with all its sub-centers, and the city center clearly is a central part of Vienna as a European capital city, there is something strikingly old-fashioned about it as well.



## 7. References

**Achleitner, F (1996)**, Wien Architektur: Zwischen typologischen Fatalismus und schematischen Schlamassel, Böhlau Verlag Wien, pp. 148-152

**Agarwal, P (2011)**, Walter Christaller: Hierarchical Patterns of Urbanization, retrieved online 15.7.2012 from <http://www.csiss.org/classics/content/67>

**Ashworth, G & Page, SJ (2011)**, 'Urban tourism research: Recent progress and current paradoxes', *Tourism Management*, no. 32, pp. 1-15, (online Elsevier).

**Bartl, A (2012)**, „Wien Mitte“ wächst sich zum baulichen Desaster aus, Profil Magazin Online, Retrieved online 14.6.2012 from <http://www.profil.at/articles/1220/560/328197/wien-mitte-desaster>

**Beyer (2006)**, Wien Mitte, Retrieved online 14.7.2012 from: <http://www.einkaufsstrassen.at/einkaufsgebiete/3landstrasse/landstrasse/wien-mitte/>

**Boyer, C.M (1992)**, *Cities for Sale: Merchandising History at South Street Seaport*, in Sorkin, M (ed.): *Variations On a Theme Park, The New American City and the End of Public Space*, New York: Hill & Wang.

**Brittner-Widmann, A (2003)**, Destinationsmanagement-Herausforderungen für die Planung', *STANDORT-Zeitschrift für Angewandte Geographie*, no. 3, pp. 120-124, (online Springer).

**Canaletto, (1870)**, Wien Belvedere retrieved online 18.7.2012 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:1Canaletto-Wien-Belvedere.jpg>

**Dear, F & Flusty, S n.d.**, *Postmodern Urbanism*, provided by G Hatz, University of Vienna, 16 May 2012.

**Freyer, W (2005)**, Stadtmarketing & Tourismus', in S Landgrebe (ed),

*Städtetourismus*, Oldenburg Wissenschaftsverlag, Munich.

**Gebharter, K & Hatz, G (2002)**, Inszenierung und Festivalisierung der städtischen Kultur', in H Fassmann & G Hatz (eds), *Wien. Stadtgeographische Exkursionen*, Verlag Ed. Hölzel, Vienna.

**Hatz, G (2009)**, New Urbanism in Historic City Centers? The Glocalization of Vienna's Historic City Center as an Art and Cultural Hub. Proceedings REAL CORP 2009 Tagungsband 22-25 April 2009

**Hatz, G (2010)**, Bedeutungen der Wiener City - Ergebnisse einer Befragung von Studierenden an Wiener Universitäten zu räumlichen Repräsentationen, Image und Nutzung der Wiener City. Projektbericht erstellt für MA19-Architektur und Stadtgestaltung März, 2010

**Hatz, G (2009)**, Soft Urbanism - Modes of Policing the Private City. 5th International Conference of the Research Network Private Urban Governance & Gated Communities Redefinition of Public Space Within the Privatization of Cities March 30th to April 2nd 2009, University of Chile, Santiago, Chile

**Hatz, G (2009)**, Shopping Wiener City. Schnellbericht, erstellt für: Magistratsabteilung 19 □ 3. Plattform Zielgebiet Wiener City (17.11.2009)

**Hatz, G (2011)**, City Centers- Heterotopias of Belonging', *The struggle to belong. Dealing with diversity in 21st century urban settings*, 7-9 July 2011, International RC21 conference 2011, Amsterdam.

**Hofer, G (2008)**, Die Festivalisierung der Stadt. Am Beispiel des Wiener Rathausplatzes, Magisterarbeit, University of Vienna.

**Kádár, B May (2012)**, Spatial patterns of urban tourism in Vienna, Prague and Budapest, paper presented at the Professional Seminar of Young Regionalists at the Hungarian Academy of Science, Budapest.

**Klein, Kupf, Schediwy, (2004)**, Stadtbildverluste Wien, retrieved online 24 May 2012 from: <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haas-Haus>

**Magistrat der Stadt Wien, Magistratsabteilung 5, Finanzwesen (2011),** *Wien in Zahlen*, Vienna.

**Magistrat der Stadt Wien, Magistratsabteilung 23, Wirtschaft, Arbeit und Statistik n.d.,** *Gästekünfte nach Gemeindebezirken seit 2006*, retrieved online 30 May 2012 from <http://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/wirtschaft/tabellen/ankuenfte-bezirk-zr.html>

**Muscheler, U (2007),** *Haus ohne Augenbrauen: Architekturgeschichten aus dem 20. Jahrhundert*, C.H. Beck Verlag, pp. 45-54

**MuseumsQuartier Wien (2011a),** *Eine Chronologie*, retrieved online 3 June 2012 from <http://www.mqw.at/de/das+mq/eine+chronologie/>

**MuseumsQuartier Wien (2011b),** *Daten & Fakten*, retrieved online 3 June 2012 from <http://www.mqw.at/de/das+mq/daten+u+fakten/>

**Musil, R (2009),** Global Capital Control and City Hierarchies: An Attempt to Reposition Vienna in a World City Network, in *Cities*, 26 (5), (2009), 255-265

**Noever P., Haslinger R. (1991),** *Architecture in transition: between deconstruction and new modernism*, Prestel Verlag

**Olsen, D (1986),** *The City As a Work of Art*. Yale. Yale University Press

**Ortner & Ortner, (1998),** retrieved online 29.7.2012 from: <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=83857&page=15>

**Perspektiven Magazin Sonderausgabe (2002),** Wien und das Weltkulturerbe, N.J. Schmid Verlag

**Pfeifer, C. (2006),** Bahnhof Wien Mitte, retrieved online 24.7.2012 from: <http://de.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Datei:Bahnhof-Wien-Mitte-110606.jpg&filetimestamp=20060619181554>

**Putschögl, M (2011),** Wo Beethoven einst die Nachbarn nervte, retrieved online 6 June 2012 from: <http://derstandard.at/1304552329564/Wiener->

Stadtgeschichte-Wo-Beethoven-einst-die-Nachbarn-nervte?\_artikelIndex=2

**Signa Holding (2011)** retrieved online 24.7.2012 from:  
<http://www.signa.at/291.html>

**Stadt Wien für die Republik Österreich (2002)** *Bericht zu den Anforderungen und Empfehlungen des World Heritage Komitees*, Retrieved online 16.7.2012 from  
[www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/.../bericht-weltkulturerbe.rtf](http://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/.../bericht-weltkulturerbe.rtf)

**Statistik Austria (2012)**, Personenverkehr, retrieved online 13.7.2012 from  
[http://www.statistik.at/web\\_de/statistiken/verkehr/luftfahrt/personenverkehr/index.html](http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/verkehr/luftfahrt/personenverkehr/index.html)

**Stevens, R (2012)**, Vienna: Und der Beat Goes On. Retrieved online 19.7.2012 from <http://www.ricksteves.com/plan/destinations/austria/vienna.htm>

**Vienna Airport (2011)**, Rising Air Traffic and Passanger Volumes. Retrieved online 16.7.2012 from  
[http://gb2011.viennaairport.com/jart/VIEGB11/html/en/index.jart?stucture\\_id=1319527284569](http://gb2011.viennaairport.com/jart/VIEGB11/html/en/index.jart?stucture_id=1319527284569)

**Vienna City Administration (2012)**, Redesign of the pedestrian area in Vienna's city centre, retrieved online 29.7.2012 from  
<http://www.wien.gv.at/english/transportation/roadconstruction/kaerntnerstrasse/index.html>

**Vienna City Planning Bureau MA18 (2005)** Vienna World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture, Retrieved online 28.6.2012 from  
<http://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/veranstaltungen/ausstellungen/unesco/pdf/ausstellung-englisch.pdf>

**WienTourismus (ed) (2011)**, *Marketingkonzept 2012*, Vienna.

**WienTourismus (ed) (2012)**, *Wien. Jetzt oder Nie*, Vienna.

**WienTourismus (ed) n.d.**, *Tourismusbewusstsein der Wiener Bevölkerung. Studie durchgeführt von market Institut, Vienna.*

**World Heritage UNESCO (2002)** Justification by State Party, Retrieved online 22.7.2012 from [http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory\\_body\\_evaluation/1033.pdf](http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/1033.pdf)

**Zajicek, C. (1900)**, retrieved online 22.7.2012 from [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Carl\\_Wenzel\\_Zajicek\\_017.jpg?uselang=de](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Carl_Wenzel_Zajicek_017.jpg?uselang=de)

**Zukin, S (1995)**, *The Culture of Cities*, Cambridge, Mass. and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers