

Session : **‘Green spaces in cities since 1918: politics, ideology and perceptions’**

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Historic cities and conservation in Germany: the use of green spaces in Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1925-90

The subject of green public open spaces in German cities is multi-faceted. As in all European countries, there are elements of politics, urban design, questions of public health, municipal pride and even symbolism relating to national and cultural valuesⁱ that determined how green open space became preserved within an urban environment. To retain green public spaces in or close to a city brought all these elements into play. Rising land prices and decreasing availability of urban land and the demands of transport and industry were obviously the strongest factors determining the use of space. To counteract these bred a new self-consciousness about the importance of public open spaces. The question for the historian, is how and when did this self-consciousness become manifested and how were outcomes determined. There are no easy answers as conditions varied in every instance. But perhaps a case-study can provide a useful tool for unpicking some of the variables. In the course of the 20th century a little historic city in southern Germany, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, survived not only the impact of modern transport but also the massive destruction wrought by the firebombing of the city centre during the Second World War to emerge as the ‘greenest’ small city in Germany by the turn of the twenty-first century.ⁱⁱ

It did not do this by chance. Its history over the course of the twentieth century is unique and totally unrepresentative of the process of mass urbanisation in Germany as a whole.ⁱⁱⁱ However, from 1925, when Freiburg gained its first modern town planner, its history reflects, albeit in microcosm, how planners in Germany have encountered issues about

conserving historic cities and green open spaces in a modern context.^{iv} Professional planners worked within a framework of ideas created in a broader context than the specific town or city where they were actually working. For the previous half century, Germany had led the way in developing the technical expertise needed to create an orderly, healthy environment as cities grew. The practice of holding competitions for city plans, especially where city walls were being demolished had also introduced a whole range of ideas about the quality of the urban environment, its aesthetic appeal and its significance for its citizens. Camillo Sitte's work had split the planners with a more artistic bent from the technocrats.^v But all were united in the belief in control over the built environment according to accepted practices established at least since the 1870s and the pioneering work of Richard Baumeister and later, Joseph Stübben.^{vi}

As professional planning practice was emerging, there were parallel movements taking place devoted to nature conservation and the conservation of the historic environment.^{vii} The rapid destruction of familiar towns and landscapes, which had escalated as Germany industrialised and urbanised in the half century before the First World War, had triggered a reaction especially amongst the educated middle classes. Just as Britain had its Arts and Crafts movement and William Morris' Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings, so in Germany, architects such as Fritz Schumacher (later to become the first town planner of Hamburg) had been a founder member of the Werkbund in 1907, one year after the national exposition of applied art that Schumacher had helped to organise. Freiburg was a university town, as well as being dominated by its Cathedral and the Church, and recruits for conservation movements were readily found there. Carl Johannes Jung, Professor of Economics at the University of Freiburg, was a founder member of an organisation called the Heimatschutz, founded in 1904,^{viii} which attracted artists, craftsmen and architect-planners such as Fritz Schumacher of Hamburg.

Founder members were each given a particular area of German physical culture to analyse and find acceptable solutions to modern problems in those areas. Jung as a non-architect was given the environment as his brief. The area known as the Black Forest begins at the very walls of Freiburg and the region as a whole was widely recognised as

an area of outstanding beauty. Thus his hometown provided Jung with an inspiration for his work. Others in Freiburg were also involved in the conservation of the historic environment of the city. Without much modern industry, Freiburg depended on its image as a tourist destination, or an excellent place for retirement, for economic survival. Its swashbuckling mayor, Oberbürgermeister Otto Winterer (in power from 1888-1913) had travelled to Hamburg in 1892, after the cholera outbreak there, to persuade millionaire businessmen to flee their city and retire to Freiburg. From the beginning of the twentieth century, Freiburg was locked into the environmental movement for strong cultural and economic reasons. It had set itself up as an antidote to the kind of urbanisation developing in northern Germany. It promoted itself as an unspoilt historic city located in a region of great natural beauty.

Freiburg was thus strongly self-conscious about its historic legacy and its relationship with green open spaces. In its very fabric, it sought to embody not just the historic past but also the values of German society. For example, the medieval towers on the city walls were embellished with turreted roofs and decorations to make them appear more magical. Tourist guidebooks were full of ancient folk customs that were still enacted there at specific times of the year.^{ix} The challenge of modernisation when it came was not due to massive population growth, (it did not reach 100,000 inhabitants until 1925), nor as the result of industrial development. It came as the result of technological change, especially in transport and in the implementation of higher standards of public health. Preserving the quality of the environment, indeed sustaining Freiburg's image as a desirable place to live necessitated building roads, creating a modern infrastructure and controlling development in the outer suburbs beyond the city walls, to protect the despoliation of the countryside. Freiburg appointed its first town planner, Joseph Schlippe (1885-1970), in 1925. He was to stay in Freiburg for the next quarter of a century, through political changes and the Second World War. His work was to make the greatest impact on the little city's future in that he established a planning tradition that was more or less sustained thereafter.

Schlippe and the introduction of modern town planning in Freiburg

The timing of Schlippe's appointment was significant. Bosma and Hellinga, in their survey of German urban planning in the interwar period suggest that the important new additions to twentieth century urban planning in Germany, compared with planning in the previous century, were mostly concerned with a broader approach to the relationship of cities with their hinterland and the natural environment.^x The new perspective on urban planning demanded a regional approach and incorporated a desire to mould the demands of city dwellers with the life of the city's region in some kind of unity. The key protagonists of this approach were Robert Schmidt(1870-1934) who had been asked to serve on the Essen town council in the Ruhr in 1907; Fritz Schumacher (1869-1947) the first architect planner appointed by Hamburg in 1913; and Gustav Langan (1878-1959, who was an active member of both the German Garden City movement and the Heimatschutz. Schmidt became concerned about the environmental consequences of the development of industry and urbanisation in the Ruhr area as a whole (rather than just the problems of Essen) and set about systematically developing ideas about how the future of the city and the region should be planned for together.^{xi}

As befits members of the Heimatschutz, both Schumacher and Langan wanted something more. Schumacher found himself responsible for Germany's second largest city. His decision to take up the post of City Architect at Hamburg was taken, in his biographer's words:" in the spirit of the Werkbund, in which science and art were brought together for the service of mankind".^{xii} He was a man with a spiritual as well as a material mission. His first challenge was to create a park, a great open space for the people, in a city notorious for its lack of green open spaces.^{xiii} The First World War and the subsequent hyperinflation left no resources for major projects in Hamburg and Schumacher went to Cologne to advise on a modern plan for the city after the destruction of the city walls. His response again was to emphasize the importance of green open spaces. First, much of the space formerly used for fortifications was given over to parks. Expansion was then planned as a star shaped development, radiating out from the city, leaving green open space in between so that those living in the new suburbs would have immediate access to green space. Langan took this latter idea further in seeing the solution to the problems of

densely populated cities in terms of building rustic suburbs connected to the centre by a good transport system but retaining the rural nature of the area as much as possible.

When Schlippe took up his post in Freiburg in 1925, he had knowledge of these new ideas though he himself at that time was relatively unknown. He had trained under Karl Gruber of the Technical University of Darmstadt who had recommended him for the job as planner in Freiburg. Schlippe had had a number of years training as an architect though he never completed the course. Instead he had got caught up in the debate about the future of German cities in the immediate aftermath of the First World War. He taught at the TH Darmstadt from 1919-22 while completing a thesis on the history of town development in Darmstadt over the previous two hundred years. What he cultivated was a strongly historical approach to urban planning which is why Gruber believed him to be the best candidate for Freiburg. In the event, he brought to Freiburg three things: a passion for the historical legacy of the past; a passion to rethink ways of making the old fabric of the city suitable for life in the 20th century; and above all, a passion for the old city and the beautiful natural environment which surrounded it. These passions offset the problems with which he was faced: the lack of resources, the deficiencies of the economic structure of the city and the levels of poverty to be found in the some parts of the old city, where people lived in insanitary housing in considerable squalor. Schlippe's leadership provided a framework within which the 'bürgertum' of Freiburg could play their part in preparing the old city and its people for the future.

An example of the latter, initially outside the remit of Schlippe was the provision of vegetable gardens as a relief measure for the poor. Since there was little space within the city, these were to be found outside the city walls. In 1902, the ancient established practice of town gardens outside the city walls was taken up and developed more systematically. Nationwide, with the development of Schrebergarten in Leipzig, the philanthropic provision of such gardens had been seen not only as a practical matter of helping the poor to feed themselves but also as a means of giving the German people access to the land, and building on the values of family and shared activities out of doors, ideals espoused by the Heimatshutz.^{xiv} It was only during the First World War that the

supply of such gardens became more than a matter of philanthropy as access to food supplies became increasingly difficult. The number of gardens available in Freiburg grew dramatically, peaking at around 10,000 gardens by 1923, when hyperinflation was adding to the problems of post war recovery.^{xv} In cities all over Europe, allotments had flourished during the First World War as citizens tried to find ways of feeding themselves.^{xvi} What was exceptional about Freiburg though, was the number of these gardens in relation to population. In terms of the use of green open space, Freiburg had taken a nineteenth century custom and developed it with more enthusiasm and success than was found elsewhere. It became an important element in nurturing citizen support for green open spaces.

When Schlippe started his work in 1925, the conservation of the city's historic core and the use of green open space were already matters of great concern to Freiburg's citizens. What he had to do was to provide the framework for sustaining this for the future. In the old city, he opted for the approach of what the British town planner, Patrick Geddes, called 'Conservative surgery'.^{xvii} He gently modified and improved, almost imperceptibly, eyesores or neglected areas. Partly this was an approach dictated by resources and the nature of the challenge. With slow growth of population, housing was less of a problem than elsewhere though resources were so limited that rehousing the poorly housed on any scale was not an option. So Schlippe prioritised conserving the historic environment and making it more functional; carefully restoring architectural monuments and eliminating developments that had happened without regulation; and dividing the old city up into areas in order to concentrate the necessary effort, systematically, to improve public health. The most important challenge he believed he faced was the question of traffic circulation.

Again, Schlippe was lucky in his timing. There was already a good railway network, linking Freiburg with surrounding small towns of the region. The tramway system for the inner city had been begun and the motor car was not yet universal. Schlippe initially devoted his efforts to developing a public transport system using trams to crisscross the city in a star shape. After a decade or so, he produced a new plan for the city in 1936

which outlined a major ring road around the outside of the old city to take traffic, hoping that by doing so, the old city could be left to public transport and pedestrians. The key element of the traffic scheme as a whole was to preserve the structure of the city and the unspoilt nature of the surrounding countryside. The latter was to be achieved by limiting development to narrow bands along the tram routes, which in any case, connected surrounding villages that could accommodate surplus population. In this way, open space could be preserved right up to the city walls. Schlippe was now, of course, working within the framework set by new political masters, the Nazi regime. In fact, Freiburg was never one of the cities included in the so-called 'Führerstädte' and therefore was comparatively freer to pursue its own urban planning. In any case, what Schlippe was doing, preserving an historic city and countryside, was totally acceptable in political terms.^{xviii}

The key plank of Nazi nature conservation policy was the Reich Nature Conservation Law of 1935. But as Karl Ditt has shown, the commitment to conservation came second to the economic and political demands of the state.^{xix} In the case of Freiburg, however, economic development was always weak and the strength of local support for the preservation of the Black Forest facilitated the attempts of the Town Planning Office to limit development. A start was made on what was to become a key tool of city planners in Freiburg after the war: buying up the land and selling it very dearly so that building lots were limited in size. This was to lead eventually to high densities along the tram routes, with open undeveloped land immediately adjacent to it. This occurred long after Schlippe's time but his policy of conservation, modernisation and control had prepared the way. His last great service to his city came, though, with the Second World War. Catastrophe hit the little city of Freiburg on the 27th November 1944. Just a few months before the end of the war, the city was firebombed. Three thousand people were killed, more than a million cubic metres of city centre reduced to rubble and 3000 buildings destroyed.^{xx} Within less than a year, Schlippe had produced the plan for its reconstruction and survival.

Post war reconstruction

Schlippe was one of the few urban planners not to experience the de-nazification process after the war and lose his job.^{xxi} He had been sent by the Nazi regime during the war to work in the towns of Alsace, to make them German once again. But the French commanders, in charge of Freiburg and its area after the war, recognised the importance of using his skills. He was able to produce his reconstruction plan because his office was left intact. His priorities were the same as before: to respect the historic environment whilst modernising it. The cathedral had miraculously survived the attack. What he wanted to do was to restore some of the key architectural monuments and recapture the 'essence' of the old city through the attention to detail.^{xxii} The plan was modified in 1948 to include some widening of streets. When the central street was restored from being Adolf Hitler Strasse to Kaiser Joseph Strasse, it was widened to take the tramways more easily.^{xxiii} Schlippe's ring road to keep traffic out of the centre was finally completed in 1971.

In the Altstadt, old shops, when rebuilt, were given arcades so that shoppers could shelter from rain or sun. The street structure however, remained the same and the main market space around the Cathedral restored with buildings of historic height and width. No attempt was made to amalgamate building plots. City architects worked on the restoration and owners were allowed back when it was completed. Progress was so rapid that most war damage was repaired by 1953 and in 1954 Freiburg's Stadhalle reopened. The crucial aspect of the restoration was its modesty and conservatism whilst actually making the city centre easier for pedestrians and shoppers.^{xxiv} The only loss was of housing densities. The numbers of people able to live in the old city dropped, but the numbers in the city as a whole had regained pre-war levels by the early 1950s. The reconstruction had been so strongly planned and controlled that the pattern for the next half century was set. Subsequent planning decisions built on this. Within a couple of decades, the little streams that had traditionally flowed through the streets were reopened. Street texture was carefully controlled using only local materials and local stones wherever possible. Restoration became recreation. It fostered a groundswell of support amongst local

citizens that was to prove vital as the city's administrative context was to change over the next decades.

The modernisation of the city

Freiburg had little part to play in Germany's 'economic miracle'. Life continued much as it had done before the war, with little new industrial development. At the end of the 1950s there were probably as many *kleingarten* in Freiburg as there had been in 1939, and in addition, there were about 3000 private gardens. Green open spaces surrounding the city were left untouched. There was some expansion to the west in the 1960s that was crowned with the creation of Freiburg's first major park for the people, the Seepark, planned by Schlippe before the war but the resources had never been there to build it.^{xxv} In fact in the post-war world, Freiburg had initially as few resources as before when it became marginalized due to local government reorganisation. In the teeth of hostile lobbying from the Freiburg town council, the enlarged state of Baden-Württemberg was created in 1952. But what seemed like a disaster at the time turned out to have some advantages as Freiburg qualified for state support for economic development and social improvements, especially new housing for the people. A new estate was built at Weingarten-Binzengrün in the west to be followed in the 1970s by another major development yet further out at Rieselfeld.^{xxvi} For Freiburg, it was a small experience of mass urbanisation which was the norm elsewhere. By the end of the century, these areas had become the nearest thing that Freiburg has to 'sink' estates though immediately adjacent to Rieselfeld is one of the largest new nature reserves.

But once again, circumstances were to push Freiburg to the forefront in the changing responses in Germany to green open spaces and sustainable living in cities. The city and its surrounding rural hinterland were to become politicised on an environmental issue, the building of a nuclear power station. So great was the reaction to this proposal, that the groundswell of organisation in the protest movement played an important role in stimulating the growth of 'green' politics across Germany as a whole. In Freiburg, the strength of the protest was fed by the student revolution of 1968. Equally important, the

nature of the struggle was to involve country people as well as those from the city, both united on an environmental issue. In 1970, the state government of Baden-Württemberg and the energy industry wanted to build a nuclear power station in the state. They chose Breisach, a little town on the banks of the Rhine as the location. There was instant public protest and the government, wishing to avoid confrontation, relocated the project to a more rural site near Wyhl. This location was near the Kaiserstuhl hills, a well-known centre of wine production and a mere twenty kilometres away from Freiburg. The farmers started to protest and were joined by citizens of Freiburg especially politically active students.

Even more surprisingly the rural womenfolk got involved. These women had never been politically active before and were just as surprised themselves to find how strongly they felt on the issue. Historians have debated whether 'green' issues liberated women to think and act for themselves and to be part of the 'liberation movement of the 1970s. Jens Ivo Engels suggests that these women were deeply imbued with the values and beliefs of the traditional role of women within the family and they did not act to assert their independence.^{xxvii} Rather they were outraged that the state should be, as they thought, endangering the very things they held dear: their children, husbands and homes, by building this nuclear plant. This is what motivated their action. When a camp was set up by the protesters in the area to be excavated by the contractors, the rural women took over the kitchen hut, cleaned it and discharged the food they found. Orderliness, traditional roles, domestic values were not to be lost even when undertaking illegal actions! This commitment and passion was extraordinary and it was to be found in towns and villages across the entire region. All were united on this issue. In fact, the state was forced to withdraw and no nuclear power station was built.

Conclusion

What was left behind from this unprecedented event was a politicised commitment to the land and the natural environment that actually encompassed the political spectrum and united the rural and urban population. The commitment was translated into ever-greater

support for the well-established planning traditions of Freiburg. In a forty-year period, Freiburg had only two Mayors, Eugen Keidel from 1962-82 and Rolf Böhme between 1982-2002. The latter particularly worked closely with his Chief Planning Officer to sustain the green open spaces around the city and to preserve the town and countryside from uncontrolled development.^{xxviii} Further technological developments were to bring high-tech industries to Freiburg that did little damage to the environment. At Expo 2000 in Hannover, the first World Exposition in Germany, there were 11 so-called 'thematic areas' about the future related topics of humankind (among others: energy, climate, food, education). In the energy section, *Solar Region Freiberg* was featured.^{xxix}

It was the result of a decade of development of solar power strongly supported by the city. Such power is now used for industrial and domestic purposes all around the city and even powers the water pumps in the Seepark, the environmental project originally planned by Schlippe. Politics, economics and the will of the people have come together now in a totally self-conscious way.^{xxx} The policy of high land values limiting development has been taken to extremes that make it very difficult to build single detached houses surrounded by private gardens. Most of the new houses, built in the 1990s, have some element of solar energy to minimise their use of scarce resources. The aim is to make what has been achieved in Freiburg sustainable into the future.^{xxxi} The historic city centre is now exactly as it was rebuilt after the war, with only very small changes of detailing to improve it such as street furniture, city emblems and civic shields which have been laid in pavements to encourage civic awareness.

Freiburg was a pioneer in Western Europe in pedestrianising the city centre, which not only improves access for people but also ensures that the main culprit transforming civic road layouts, the motorcar, has been banned. The Black Forest remains public land for the recreation and benefit of citizens and visitors. In 2002, the city elected the first Mayor from the Green Party across Germany. The downside of these developments is that everything about the city's life is highly controlled. Those who benefit from them are the highly educated affluent middle class elites; those who suffer are the poor and the unemployed. The only people able to come to live in the city are those who come for

well-paid jobs. The allotment gardens have been revived over the past decade and there is a waiting list amongst residents anxious to obtain one. The strict rules that regulate the use that can be made of these gardens: the precise location of the garden huts and amount of land for cultivation as opposed to recreation, provide a symbolic indication of the kind of price paid for the preservation of green open space across the city and its hinterland with open access for all. Yet while Freiburg remains unique, its experiences over the 20th century have pioneered a way towards the sustainable city of the future, a city in which history provides an inspiration rather than a strait-jacket and green open space the reward for a greater commitment to the public rather than the private sector, within a capitalist economy.^{xxxii}

ⁱ Riordan, C (1997) 'Green ideas in Germany: a historical survey' in Riordan, C (ed) *Green Thought in German Culture: historical and contemporary perspectives* Cardiff, University of Wales Press pp.3-41

ⁱⁱ Ward, S V (2002) *Planning the Twentieth-Century City: the advanced capitalist world* Chichester, John Wiley and Sons, p. 328. Ward suggests that the main innovators in planning for sustainability in the twenty-first century tended to be smaller western German cities such as Freiburg, Münster and Heidelberg.

ⁱⁱⁱ The main history of Freiburg is Haumann, H and Schadek, H (eds) (1992) *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg-im-Breisgau* 3 vols., Stadt Freiburg Theiss Verlag

^{iv} For an introduction to some of the issues see Ursula von Petz "'Aus grauer Städte Mauern..." Grün- und Freiraumplanung in Deutschland: Historische Aspekte der Moderne' in Longo, A, von Petz U, Potz P, Selle K, (eds) *Spazi aperti-Offene Räume; Freiraumplanung in Italien und Deutschland* Dortmund, Institut für Raumplanung, Universität Dortmund, pp.45-63

^v Collins, GR and Collins, CC (1965) *Camillo Sitte and the birth of modern city planning* London, Phaidon

^{vi} Sutcliffe, A (1981) *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain and the United States and France 1780-1914* Oxford, Blackwell

^{vii} Ditt, K (1996) 'Nature Conservation in England and Germany 1900-1970: Forerunner of environmental protection?' *Contemporary European History* 5, 12-14

^{viii} Jeffries, M (1997) 'Heimatschutz: Environmental Activism in Wilhelmine Germany' in Riordan, C (ed) *op. cit.* pp. 42-54

^{ix} Kalchthaler, P (1997) *Kleine Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg* Freiburg-im-Breisgau

^x Bosma, K and Hellings, H (eds) (1997) *Mastering the City: North European City Planning 1900-2000* Vol II The Hague, NAI Publishers/EFL Publications, p.63

^{xi} von Petz, U (1999) 'Robert Schmidt and the public park policy in the Ruhr district 1900-1930' *Planning Perspectives* 14, 2, 163-82

^{xii} Frank, H (1994) 'Fritz Schumacher 1869-1947: Hambourg et Cologne' in Dethier J, and Guiheux A, (eds) *La Ville: art et architecture en Europe 1870-1993* Paris, Centre Georges Pompidou, pp.144-5

^{xiii} Meller, H (2001) *European Cities 1890-1930s: history, culture and the built environment* Chichester, John Wiley and Sons Chap 4 'Hamburg and Marseilles: cultural institutions, civic exhibitions and city development 1890-1930'. pp. 149-187

^{xiv} Hataka, T (2002) 'Civic movements for urban green space: the case of Leipzig 1871-1918' in Bernhardt, C and Massard-Guilbaud, G (eds) *The Modern Demon: pollution in urban and industrial European societies* Clermont-Ferrand, Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal pp. 393-406

^{xv} Stadtplanungsamt/Gartenamt Freiburg i. Br (1990) *Kleingarten Entwicklungsplan Freiburg 1990-2000* Freiburg, Stadt Freiburg p.8

^{xvi} Monédiaire, G (ed) (1999) *Agricultures Urbaines et Ville durable Européenne: droits et politiques du jardinage familial urbain en Europe* Limoges, Presses Universitaires de Limoges.

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- xvii As illustrated in a selection of Geddes' Indian town planning reports made between 1914-24 in Tyrwhitt, J (ed) (1947) *Patrick Geddes in India* London, Lund Humphries
- xviii Schlippe wrote in 1941 "Der wundervoll neubelebte Sinn für die geschichtliche Vergangenheit und ihren Niederschlag in jeglicher künstlerischer Gestaltungsform wirkt sich aufs schönste aus in der nun als selbstverständliche Pflicht erkannten Sorge um die treue Bewahrung auch unserer alten Stadtbilder. Kommt zu dieser aus der Liebe zur vaterländischen Geschichte geborenen Einstellung noch das Einfühlungsvermögen in die heimatlich bedingte Eigenart und den besonderen Kunstwert unserer Altstadtbilder hinzu., dann sind die Grundbedingungen für eine bessere Bewahrung der Gesamtkunstwerke, als welche unsere alten Städte vor uns stehen, gegeben" Quoted from Vedral, B (1985) *Altstadtsanierung und Wiederaufbauplanung in Freiburg i.Br. 1925-1951* Freiburg, Schillinger Verlag GmbH. p.17
- xix Ditt, K (2000) 'The perception and conservation of nature in the Third Reich' *Planning Perspectives: an international journal of history, planning and the environment*, 15, 2, 161-187
- xx Böhme, R (1994) 'Geleitwort' in Ecker, U P (ed) *Freiburg 1944-94: Zerstörung und Wiederaufbau* Freiburg, Stadt Archiv, p.7
- xxi Diefendorf, J M (1993) *In the Wake of War: the reconstruction of German cities after World War II* Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 181
- xxii Diefendorf *op.cit.* p. 281
- xxiii Stadelbauer, v J (1994) 'Wiederaufbau, Strukturwandel und funktionale Umgestaltung' in Ecker, U P (ed) *op.cit.* p. 123
- xxiv Diefendorfer suggests that Freiburg is an excellent example of conservative planning in its reconstruction. *Op.cit.* p. 197
- xxv Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau (1988) *Westentwicklung* Freiburg, p.53-60
- xxvi K.Maier (ed) (n.d.) *Der Beitrag der Sozialarbeit zum Aufbau neuer Stadtteile materialien und Vorshläge zur Socialplanung für den Freiburger Stadtteil Reiselfeld* Freiburg, Evangelischen Fachhochschule für Socialwesen.
- xxvii Engles, J I (2002) 'Gender roles and German anti-nuclear protest: the women of Wyhl' in Bernhardt, C and Massard-Guilbaud, G (eds) *op.cit* pp. 425-438
- xxviii Interview by author with Oberbaudirektor, Herr Daseking 03/04/02
- xxix City of Freiburg im Breisgau, Environmental Protection Agency (2000) *Freiburg Solar Energy Guide* Freiburg.
- xxx Self-consciousness does not, though, mean simplicity. The complexity of interlocking factors in creating and sustaining an environment are outlined in André Corboz's essay 'Le territoire comme palimpseste' in Marot, S (ed) (2001) André Corboz *Le Territoire comme palimpseste et autres essays* Besançon, Les Éditions de L'Imprimeur. Pp. 209-230
- xxxi Interview by author with Oberbaudirektor, Herr Daseking 03/04/02
- xxxii Beatley, T (2000) *Green Urbanism: Learning from European Cities* Washington DC, Island Press.