

**Cultural Tourism and Social Resilience:
Discourse of Historic Cities in East Germany,
the Case of Gotha and Eisenach**

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**Cultural Tourism and Social Resilience:
Discourse of Historic Cities in East Germany,
the Case of Gotha and Eisenach**

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Abstract

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This thesis explores how cultural heritage plays a role in the development of urban identity by engaging both actively and passively with memory, i.e. remembering and forgetting. I argue that architectural heritage is a medium where specific cultural and social decisions form its way of presentation, and it reflects the values and interests of the period. By the process of remembering and forgetting, the meanings between inhabitant and object in urban environment are practiced, and the meanings are created.

To enable the research in narrative observation, cultural tourism management is chosen as the main research object, which reflects the alteration of interaction between the architectural heritage and urban identity. Identifying the role of heritage management, the definition of social resilience and the prospects of cultural heritage as a means of social resilience are addressed. Case region of the research is East Germany, thereby, the study examines the distinct approaches and objectives regarding heritage management under the different political systems along the German reunification process.

The framework is based on various theoretical paradigms to investigate the broad research questions: 1) What is the role of historic urban quarters in the revitalisation of East German towns? 2) How was the transition processed by cultural

heritage management? 3) How did policy affect residents' lives?

The case study is applied to macro level (city level: Gotha and Eisenach) and micro level study (object level: specific heritage sites), to analyse the performance of selective remembering and making tourist destination through giving significance to specific heritage. By means of site observations, archival research, qualitative interviews, photographs, and discourse analysis on printed tourism materials, the study demonstrates that certain sites and characteristics of the city enable creating and focusing messages, which aids the social resilience.

Combining theory and empirical studies this thesis attempts to widen the academic discussion regarding the practice of remembering and forgetting driven by cultural heritage. The thesis argues for cultural heritage tourism as an element of social resilience and one that embraces the historic and cultural identity of the inhabitants.

Zusammenfassung

Kulturtourismus und soziale Resilienz: Diskurs historischer Städte in Ostdeutschland, der Fall von Gotha und Eisenach

Diese Arbeit untersucht, wie das kulturelle Erbe bei der Entwicklung der städtischen Identität eine Rolle spielt, indem es sich aktiv und passiv mit dem Gedächtnis beschäftigt, z.B. dem Erinnern und Vergessen. Ich argumentiere, dass das architektonische Erbe ein Medium ist, in dem bestimmte kulturelle und soziale Entscheidungen seine Darstellungsweise bestimmen und dass es die Werte und Interessen dieser Zeit widerspiegelt. Durch den Prozess des Erinnerns und Vergessens werden die Bedeutungen zwischen Bewohner und Objekt im städtischen Umfeld eingespielt und die Bedeutungen werden geschaffen.

Um die Forschung in der narrativen Beobachtung zu ermöglichen, wird das Kulturtourismusmanagement als Hauptforschungsobjekt ausgewählt, das die Veränderung der Interaktion zwischen dem architektonischen Erbe und der städtischen Identität widerspiegelt. Die Rolle des Kulturerbes, die Definition der sozialen Resilienz und die Perspektiven des kulturellen Erbes als Mittel der sozialen Resilienz werden angesprochen. Fallregion der Forschung ist Ostdeutschland, dabei untersucht die Studie die unterschiedlichen Ansätze und Ziele hinsichtlich des Kulturerbemanagements unter den verschiedenen politischen Systemen im deutschen Wiedervereinigungsprozess.

Der Rahmen basiert auf verschiedenen theoretischen Paradigmen, um die brei-

ten Forschungsfragen zu untersuchen: 1) Welche Rolle spielen historische Stadtviertel bei der Revitalisierung ostdeutscher Städte? 2) Wie wurde der Übergang zur Verwaltung des Kulturerbes durchgeführt? 3) Wie hat sich die Interaktion zwischen Politik und Bewohnern verändert?

Die Fallstudie wird auf Makroebene (Stadtebene: Gotha und Eisenach) und Mikroebene (Objektebene: spezifische Kulturerbestätten) angewendet, um die Leistung von selektivem Erinnern und Erstellen von Reisezielen zu analysieren, indem dem spezifischen Kulturerbe Bedeutung beigemessen wird. Anhand von Standortbeobachtungen, Archivrecherchen, qualitativen Interviews, Fotografien und Diskursanalysen zu gedruckten touristischen Materialien zeigt die Studie, dass bestimmte Orte und Merkmale der Stadt die Schaffung und Verbreitung von Botschaften ermöglichen, die die soziale Widerstandsfähigkeit unterstützen.

Durch die Kombination von Theorie und empirischen Studien versucht diese Dissertation, die akademische Diskussion über die Praxis des Erinnerns und Vergessens im Bezug auf kulturelles Erbe zu erweitern. Die Dissertation argumentiert für den Kulturtourismus als Element sozialer Resilienz, das die historische und kulturelle Identität der Bewohner mit einbezieht.

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1. Introduction: Research Conception, Scale, and Structure

1.1 Background to the Research Question

How to communicate with memory has been a lasting question in human history. Along with the development of modernism and promptitude, accordingly, the nostalgic movement to recall ‘the old’ and ‘the classic’ has also been spreading its own territory. The complexity of remembering seems to be all about the focus, the eye of selection. Some things are ‘here’ valued more than the others. Often some specific architectural heritage is selected to be the symbol of the cities. Also, a few numbers of heritages are selected to be remembered and promoted as ‘must see’ tourism attractions and named as national/ world heritage (Harrison 2013, p. 580).

Today’s phenomenon of looking at the past first came to the question, either it is the organic process of happening, or it involves any causes and effects. Thanks to the technology and transportation, time and location are not as limited as in the past, and this has brought direct impact on national/regional branding based on their local gems.¹ Historical artefacts have become important assets as for its economic value as well. As a pull factor of the locales, its long-term branding value and potentially incremented monetary value of the whole tourism industry has become the greatest than ever. Naturally, not only to consume it but it also requires greater planning and execu-

¹ e.g. Lowenthal (1985, 1998); Hewison (1987); Walsh (1992); Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998); Dicks (2003) and Di Giovine (2008).

tion for the city and the nation to become a tourist destination. Once visited, it needs to show what contains the most of the impressive, unique and memorable to see and to experience in a limited time slot. How are these sightseeing products generated? Who decides on what should be chosen?

In tourist destinations, there have been debates on the power which generates a certain focus, what to look at. The most relevant stakeholder, in this case, is often the state (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 44-45). Considering that tourism is a connotative communication channel through which a nation builds and expresses its ideology, I began to be keen on tracing East Germany's tourism management. While certain heritages are remembered and exhibited in public, 'the rest' of 'the old' might shade in 'forgetting'. My curiosity bases on the abrupt reunification of Germany. When tourist destinations are the result of the cognitive decision of a particular power, usually the state, what happens when the state in a total change all of a sudden? What messages can be read from this move, how does people's life alter by the move, if that is applicable to other locales, these questions were the start of this thesis.

What is to be remembered and what does 'remembering/ forgetting' bring to the society? Along the German unification process, specifically after the sudden occurrence of the removal of visa control between East/West Germany in 1989, the exhibition of the cities was to be a crucial issue, and not to mention, rather in the Eastern states, after its being shut down for decades. Revealing of the face of East Germany must have been an interest of both sides. How different ideologies function and crash in this region was and is a worthy example to be documented. The division of territory is not only the issue in the past. Currently, we live in a world where more categories of conflicts exist due to various extremism in different sectors. Without hesitation, it is certain that the complex has never got lessened.

Selection of urban heritage is an issue to be collectively discussed. Cultural heritage is a physical extraction of the remembering process, and at the same time, it is

where daily life of residents happens. People bond with local heritage sites which reflect their identities. Therefore, it is crucial to observe the internal relationship between cultural heritage policies and the effects on urbanism, especially the societies which have been through radical disturbances. While observing Germany's current situation, this thesis is dedicated to analysing the role of cultural heritage management and its current functions in a specific urban environment.

According to Ashworth and Graham, place historicity is the extensive ground in which a place reminds people or makes them think of the past. Following this point of view, they argue that heritage assumes a "demand-oriented approach" in which the questions of selection are answered in terms of the demands of the consumer not the nature of the object being preserved (Ashworth and Graham 2005, p. 3). Heritage producing sounds unusual, but on the other hand, that is the only and the ultimate way to breathe in history and integrating it in today's interface. When history is just an object to research, as a captured moment, then it freezes its intrinsic meanings.

While it looks old, heritage is actually something new. Heritage is a mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past. Heritage thus defined depends on display to give dying economies and dead sites a second life as exhibitions of themselves. (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1998, p.7)

Barbara Kirschenblatt starts her book, *Destination Culture*, with a sharp assessment of heritage management. It suggests that the word 'heritage' is a newborn conceptual definition. Certain moments of the past are caught by the present eyes and become meaningful objects by today's own understanding. The quotation points out the three major objects of this thesis. The flexibility of defining heritage, the strategies (in the quotation, it could be 'production' and 'display'), and lastly, the economic use of it. In her book, Kirshenblatt covers various concerns when the heritages get wrapped in glass boxes and exhibited in museums. How to deliver them in today's life

is, therefore, the core of discussion. Cultural heritage sites, apart from museums, bring less concern regarding how to address it in a right way. However, its existence in an urban environment brings complex debates on ‘selection’ and ‘management’. Not every old corner of the city is recognised as a heritage preservation zone. Collectivistic urban life has been with humanity for centuries, and its shared memory is theoretically all over the cities. Among the layers, what to choose to remember is, therefore, the choice of the society and its representatives.

When there is a political or cultural discontinuity, the question of ‘how to deliver the remembrance of the past for the coming era’ becomes even more complex. Since history is not one version of the definite truth, the selections of importantly valued heritages also vary depending on the society. Irrespective of the subjects, one of the most dominant issues deciding the direction and the volume of cultural heritage management is the political identity of the central government. We have witnessed how the colour of regime affects urban landscapes during the last decade all over the world. Germany is probably worldwide the most known example of a nation with two different political governments with a territorial partition in the 20th century. The German government has been through unprecedented tough decisions and struggles after the national reunification in 1990. Whereas some attention was given to resolving political and economic challenges, intangible issues such as culture, coherent balance in urban heritage management and cultural identities in memory building have not been profoundly discussed in the academia. This study explores how German central government and local municipalities have been performing regarding the discourse of cultural heritage policies.

Quite extraordinarily, East Germany has been through two massive systematic changes in the recent history; from Nazism (National Socialism) to Socialism and from Socialism to Capitalism. Each layer of the eras brought excessive changes to urban structures and same as to cultural heritage. There are different previous/ongoing discussions about architectural remains, such as socialistic building structures (i.e.,

Plattenbau), GDR authority buildings and also the socialism symbols in East Germany. However, what is missing, and still needs to be collectively discussed are the local cultural heritage and the involved actions. Psychological bonds between the residents and the architectural artefacts of the city form the urban identity. That is why it is necessary to look at cultural heritage and the people at the same time.

This study examines the management of cultural heritage before and after the fall of the Berlin wall, and the new use of the historicity as touristic asset. In former East Germany's region, as it lacks economic production and the presence of global companies, since the reunification, the cities have been attempting in various ways to attract domestic and international visitors. Urban tourism is certainly one of the most important economic functions driven by heritage (Ashworth and Graham, 2005).

As one of tourism's special interest branches, heritage tourism is often indiscriminately used along with 'cultural tourism'. Passing over the discussion on this terminology debate, here it will be focused on the type of tourism which involves interests in architectural heritage. Defining heritage is firstly a matter of how to see the past. Since there is not a fixed version of past that can be commemorated without any bias, it has to be first considered which past we would like to relate to the object. With heritage tourism, the perspective issue gets more precise because tourism itself is a way of framing certain sites in order to communicate with the visitors. Tourism is probably the most visible way to control the city image, differently put, how the city wants to be shown to the visitors.

Heritage tourism is mostly for the group of people who are already aware of what they are going to see. It is a particular type of travel, which aims not at exploring a completely new place but learning and appreciating one's relationship with the past (Graham and Howard 2008). It implies that the information is provided already before the tourists visit the city. Therefore, heritage tourism is a type of tourism, which needs good storytelling, marketing and strategic planning.

For the citizens of the historic towns in East Germany, it was a sudden task to face, not only to deal with the political changes but also to involve themselves in the process of selling their city for money. It was a desperate situation for the local economy to develop some financial sources as well, and the old and well-preserved historic quarters were re-discovered for economic interests. As a phenomenon of the drastic change, Rutherford mentioned the psychological reaction of the former GDR citizens; ‘not belonging (Rutherford 1990).² ‘Not belonging’ explains the stranger feeling of the citizens in their own country. However, along the quick and proactive acts of capitalizing their their own city, even this feeling was not allowed among them. Instead, as survival goods, it was covered with ‘welcome vibe’ towards the market economy. It is imaginable that their internal disorder would have been rather discarded for the practical functions. Due to their active involvement or the desire to be involved to bring up the city as a touristic destination, they were not in the general definition of the term ‘urban dropout’ either. This ironic urban development is not yet well analysed in the academic community.

After 29 years of the open economy, it is time to question in East Germany, how the time has been spent in regard to cultural heritage. Choices, plans, re-naming, modifications and also un-doing and forgetting, all the tools possibly delivering messages in the case cities will be explored. Under the big question of ‘how cultural heritage policies affect the urban vitality of small East German towns, this thesis analyses the situation of both case cities, Eisenach and Gotha.

² Rutherford notes that when the dominant groups take power of decision making, there are groups of people considered as ‘others’, that is, not belonging the community and ‘marginalized’ in order to preserve the qualities of ‘their’ place. (Ashworth and Graham, 2005).

The research objects divide into three different categories. To begin with 'what', it departs from the question 'what to remember'. This question stands for the perspective that heritage is not an object which is simply given but chosen by definitions and justifications. The way it appears to people is a definite sign of the society what they want to remember. The selection involves three levels of value assessment. Firstly, choosing a place as heritage is an evaluating process which reflects the needs of the times and the location. The recognition (or marking) exposes them to the world with a new significance. Second, among the layers of history, what specific period is chosen to be celebrated and shown as the core message of the heritage is a selection process. Third, as soon as it is named as heritage, it is not the building which talks about itself but the involved actions. Lectures, exhibitions, maps, games, cards, and the souvenirs connect the heritage to people with a specific method. The way it is delivered and also the context of the delivery are collective messages what people want to tell or to discover. Following this idea, it implies that the memory management (or remembering/forgetting process) is under a big plan to manage the community in a co-ordinated manner. Then, how about the cities with layered actors, multiple identities or divided histories? Here I introduce East Germany's case to have a close look at the re-set process after the German reunification. The cultural heritage sites which were recognised before the communist regime and already went through the shared memory process in people's mind are the target objects to explore.

If the first outline was about 'what', then the second outline is about 'how'. Behind the architectural face of cultural heritage, there are the invisible systems which select, control or sponsor the heritage and they decide the way how the heritage appears in public. For instance, the socio/cultural system and authorities are one of the most doubtless 'producers' of heritage and in reality, they decide the tone and the voice of the message of the heritage. In the study, 'how' the organisational and systematic approaches to heritage have been transformed, and its influence will be analysed.

The last outline of the study is ‘who’. Here ‘who’ means not the ones who mark what to remember but rather the public, the citizens. From passive reactions under the ruling regime and to active involvements along the changes are to be analysed. Studies explaining the relationship between cultural heritage and residents have been revealing the role of having a cultural heritage in urban structure. Rose argues that identity is “how we make sense of ourselves (Rose 1995b, p. 99)”. It explains the examples of the intense bond between a place and the people, so the place turns to the core part of their identity. The academic documentation has been still missing closer observations on East Germany. After a few decades of capitalism, it is not odd anymore to see excessive commercial signs and tourist souvenir shops in East Germany. However, it has not ever been an issue yet when and how this part of Germany started actively involving themselves in place marketing.

Tourism information of any German city is nowadays available on the internet. Now, the global competition among tourist destinations is an overwhelming concern in many East German cities. From the perspective of urban sociology, it is important to remember how it has been transformed from a socialistic system-based place to a capitalistic touristic destination. Regarding the residents, there are many who faced the massive changes during their lifetime. Eventually, it is a great opportunity to contribute their personal experiences and perceptions to the rest. Last but not least, it is also crucial for the rest of the world which still have divided territories to archive the process how the German cities have been solving this problem, and how we can utilise this data for the coming pages of our history.

As method of empirical research, the thesis will expand from the theoretical discussion to detailed qualitative case studies. Following the background of the research question, East Germany was chosen from the very beginning of the research phase. The empirical research with case studies will accompany interview methods and various types of qualitative and quantitative data. For the qualitative analysis of various sources the method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is applied. As an

outsider, the researcher explores the towns in various ways and creates a discourse of the topic of cultural heritage management in Gotha and Eisenach. As the method combines a large number of qualitative data such as photographs, discourse analysis of printed materials and narrative interviews, it contains the characteristics of exploratory anthropological studies. According to Andrew David Fretter³, to analyse a city objectively is a very difficult task for the people who are closely involved. Keeping that as an advantageous factor, as a foreign tourist, the researcher attempted to conduct interviews and analyse the locality without having shared memories.

The criteria of the case selection, detailed strategies, methodological approach and the structure are described in detail in the following pages of Chapter 1.

1.2 Objectives and Research Questions

Based on discourse analysis and qualitative fieldwork, the thesis explores the effects of cultural heritage policies on urban resilience. The primary objective of the study is to investigate the function of historic urban quarters in eastern Germany in the transitioned urban environment both inside and outside. Inside applies for mostly intangible qualitative changes such as the discourse of the residents' perception during the transition period and so far, and outside applies for the more systematic and quantita-

³ Andrew David Fretter was head of Economic Development at Gwent County Council. He was previously Head of Marketing in the Economic Development Unit at Birmingham City Council.

tive changes such as organisational changes, formulations, involved authorities and also strategies. Here, the term ‘resilience’ is used to describe the general phenomena that things tend to get back to a certain condition or to a certain period of time. As there is a firm debate on the term ‘resilience’ in academia, detailed definitional debate will be introduced in the theoretical part of this thesis in Chapter 2. By looking at Eastern Germany’s case, it is used to describe the tendency of historic towns that are driven to re-promote their splendid period of the history in current Germany after the national division during which public interplay was strictly limited. To include the case as another urban phenomenon, ‘urban vitality’ and ‘revitalisation’ are also compared and revised respectively in the thesis. For its respect to increasing urban population, investment, and also visible vitality on the urban environment, the case cities certainly share the periodical characteristics of urban vitalisation and rejuvenation. While trying to define the case in its individual respect and individual analysis, it is an attempt to see it in other relational frames, so it can practically contribute to the existing debates.

Through a close investigation of the towns with GDR history, this research is expected to add valuable discussion of heritage policies in former East Germany, after 25 years of capitalism. In specific, it aims;

1) to fill the gap in the discourse of heritage management after the fall of the Berlin Wall in East Germany,

2) to analyse the consequences of the actions (policies, promotions, management details) and

3) to reflect the residents’ perception and attitude towards the transitions.

Achieving these objectives, it aims to widen the academic discussion regarding East German cultural heritage studies and cultural identity studies in current

Germany. Further, I hope to contribute to our understanding of cultural heritage management in either mixed or divided cultural/social societies, which exist across the world.

While investigating the case region of Thuringia, the thesis proposes heritage tourism models of East German towns. Sorting the towns by different approaches and results, it expects to deepen the understanding of the situation what East German towns have been through and are facing in common. The findings of the study could directly orientate other small-medium sized towns in East Germany and also elsewhere historic towns in such need in Europe.

Under the major research question, the alteration of cultural heritage policies in East Germany and its effects on urban resilience after the fall of the Berlin Wall, I raise three sub-research questions, which guide the study to approve the objectives.

1) What is the role of historic urban quarters in the revitalisation of East German towns? In the large number of medium-sized historical towns in East Germany, were there new internal/external initiatives on historical quarters after the national unification? If so, what are they?

2) How was the transition process carried out on cultural heritage management in the case of specific towns: involved authority levels, agreements, marketing and 'remembering' selections along the layered system changes?

3) The interplay between policies and residents;

-Was the heritage management strategy discussed and agreed with the residents?

-Were there considerations for the residents regarding the transition and capitalisation of the heritage?

-How do the residents perceive the manner and the process of managing the shared memory?

This study aims to add knowledge on cultural heritage management and the role it plays in people's lives by exploring profound insights on-site. Approaching in detail the case sites in East Germany, it provides a chance to review urban changes in a dynamic background. Also, the characteristics and phenomenon of the sites could apply not only to Germany but also encourage other societies to reflect the impacts of history/memory management within layered identities. Additionally, at the end of the dissertation, it will be attempted to look at another divided country, Korea's case, to observe its current heritage acknowledgement (at national level) and how the situation could learn from Germany's case.

1.3 Approach: Theoretical and Empirical

As the work engages various fields (memory studies, urban studies, anthropological, social and cultural theories), it is almost impossible to find a singular analytical model or a methodology, which can explain this specific phenomenon respectably. It digests existing respective theories, links them to the cases of the thesis. This research does aim at widening the theory to generalize the phenomena but to add a significant step to the desired field. Its explorative and flexible approach while looking at former studies as well as the cases, drives from the interdisciplinary nature.

The advantage of this study lies in the intersection of different fields. Its benefit comes from bringing these fields together and thereby contributing to emerging issues. Three central elements of the study consist of heritage studies, tourism management and urban resilience, and these are mutually inter-related. Heritage studies

bases of remembering and forgetting. It is about the desire of humanity to identify and relate themselves to objects. Among various architectural objects, it narrows down to 'selected cultural heritage' in order to capture the specific objects which are meant to be 'remembered'. As a modern use of 'remembering', cultural tourism is a way of 'consuming' the heritage and it is where the cognitive action occurs. Addressing tourism to a city has diverse economic effects and brings lives to the urban landscape. Urban resilience is a term, which knowingly adding its value while depopulating cities struggle to rejuvenate the urban vitality. This study critically engages these three elements and analytically bridges the cases.

While working through this interplay, an important value of this study is, to observe, witness, understand and document the narrative of the case sites. Studying this dynamic scene in a relation of the theoretical elements enables us to acknowledge the happening to the subtle details but in a larger picture. As this framework raises, tests and answers the research questions, it can potentially develop into a tool to examine the current status for different urban environments with disturbances.

1.4 Research Strategy

The research departs from the basis of memory building and heritage management, and it applies the debates to the field, to the former East German towns. While there are adequate debates on the theories and perspectives on museum management, post-war memories and collective identity studies have not yet reached the depth that they might require given the delicate academic inspection of East Germany. From the existing researches, there is more weight on economic and political development. The social and cultural adjustment process of the people after the German unification has not been fundamentally investigated. How the transition has been psychologically

perceived from the people's side, how the 'shared memory' performed during the GDR, what has remained, and how it is to be maintained are, surprisingly, not much discussed. Throughout this study, I pursue to fill the gap by taking the former GDR cities as practical cases to apply theoretical frames.

As for sites selection, the town history and topic fitness were first considered. Medium sized towns are chosen as research objects to deepen the empirical knowledge of former East Germany which is until now mostly limited to the national level of observation. Selection of small cities (in German term; Stadt, Städte) enabled it to be more efficient on analysing the direct effects on the sites because other marketing resources are deficient. The capital cities of provinces (in German; Bundesland), were mostly unsuitable for this reason. They possess other sources to boost the city such as education, rich cultural background and modernisation. Industrial cities and university towns are eliminated from the case selections for the same reason. In the sense of how heritage has been affecting the urban landscapes and residents' lives, it was crucial to choose where the heritage and history are a significant share of urban life and identity. This selection aims to apply the much-argued academic discourse in an ongoing situation and to discuss it for current needs. The details of case sites selection follows in Chapter 1.5.

Preservation of urban heritage accompanies many bridges to broaden discussions in sociology, philosophy and anthropology studies. The academic debate on using terms, preservation, conservation and remembering has been a hot topic, but in this research, the focus is rather the functionality of cultural heritage than its exhibition. The motivation develops from how to make 'the old' function in the modern daily lives. The questions arise then, which 'old' and why it has to be chosen. And therefore, the theory departs from heritage production and heritage selection. Under the premise that people tend to value more the recognised heritage, the bond between residents and heritage under different political systems will be investigated. As the most tangible way of using cultural heritage today, heritage tourism, shares a big part in explaining

the functions of cultural heritage. The theoretical part of the research covers memory building, heritage management and the function of the collective memories.

The empirical part of the work is driven to examine how the theories work in reality. By questioning at a specific community which has been through severe changes, what it wants to remember and tell the outside world is the original content. The history of East Germany with socialism is a useful tool in this case, because of its peculiar socialistic policies during the GDR and the abrupt change of political orientation after the reunification. Its unique characteristics contribute to the thesis by demonstrating the people's involvement in the relatively close past. Over the last 28 years, what it has formed/reformed, forgotten/remembered, and how they have redefined the cultural heritage as goods to revitalise the society will be examined. The currently fashionable term, shrinking city, especially in East Germany, will also interplay in order to explain social demand towards economic functions of cultural heritage. Parallel to the structural and system analysis, how the residents have involved themselves in the transition process or how the municipality played a role to encourage the involvement will be analysed. To do so, data collecting in the local libraries archives, tourism offices and interviews in different forms and levels was conducted.

The research methodology is chosen to satisfy the unique characteristic of the research. Combining theoretical and empirical methodologies is expected to be most effective to compensate for the weakness in praxis of theoretical studies and at the same time to fill the theoretical gap in the rapidly transforming urban praxis.

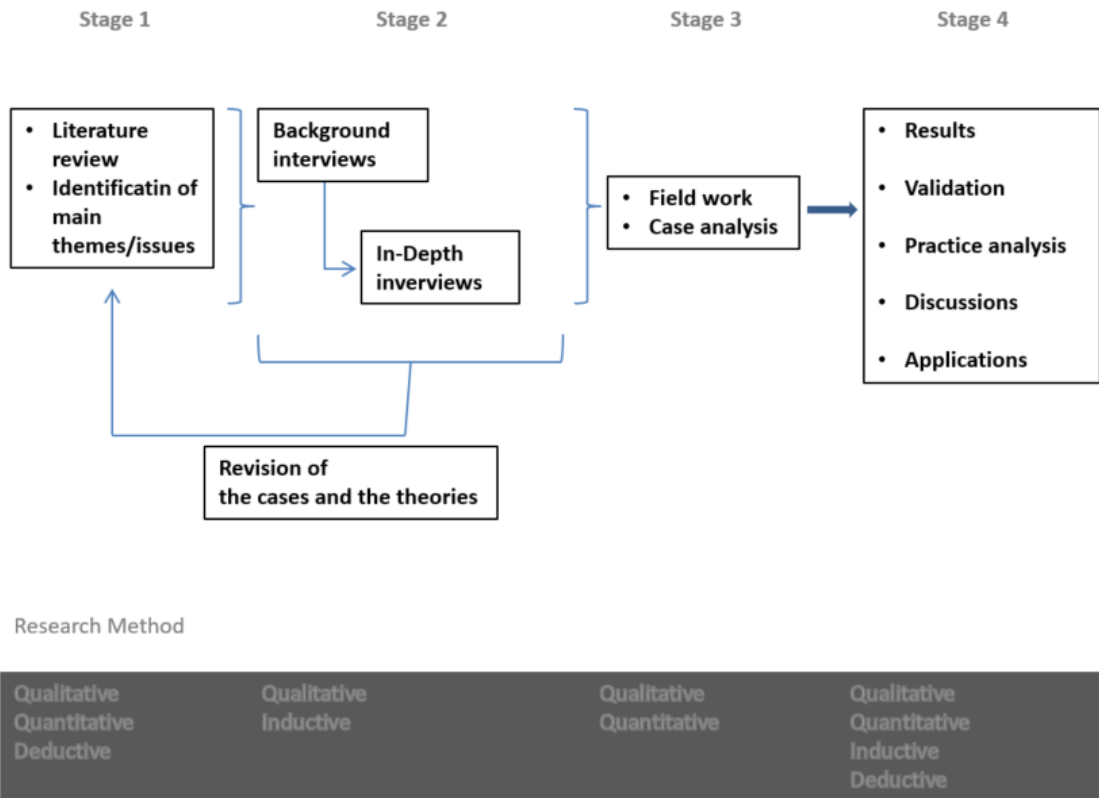


Figure 1-1 Research methodology

1.4.1 Data Collection Methods

Multiple sources of data were collected. Following the interdisciplinary and explorative approach, it was intended to collect as much data that was relevant to the topic as possible regardless of its formality (please see the Figure 1-1 Research Methodology). For the concrete information based on historical events including any human

actions to restore the architecture and also some actions to regain public attention, publications on the sites were collected. This includes quantitative data, such as books, brochures, media records, regional newspapers et cetera. The city archives were a helpful source to collect reportage and images of specific events. Not many of the former brochures were archived in each city, and even if there were, the GDR publications were rare to find. Some of the documents could be found at the Tourismusarchiv⁴ in Berlin. As a next step, further printed or recorded materials which could be also subjective - depending on the production - have been collected. Often the institution which takes care of the heritage site took the initiative to decide what has to be done to the architecture and for that, a pre-formed way of its further development was decided. It adds its importance as the voice of 'presenting' the site. The example of Lutherhaus Stiftung (Lutherhaus Organisation) shows well how the religious approach have been more and more absorbed into the re-management of the Lutherhaus in the last 25 years. Most importantly, as the source of the study, direct observation and formal/informal qualitative interviews were the primary source of data collection.

1.4.2 Interviews

Interviews and informal talks, which delivered the most data for the study, were based on the anthropological approach. From the trials of the beginning phase of the research, it turned out to be crucial to use an ordinary and less-pressured environ-

⁴ Historical archive on Tourism (HAT) is dedicated for historical materials on tourism, Center for Metropolitan Studies, Technical University of Berlin.

ment while interviewing the citizens. As the context of the interview covers personal memories and attachment to architectural heritage, it was essential to create a mood that could lead to a mutual conversation and, additionally, a good motivation to talk to the interviewer. The place, size of the group, occasion, number of meetings and all other factors that might influence the quality of interviews were carefully chosen. How the interviewees consider the researcher makes a huge difference on the interview result. To make the interviewees feel that the researcher would not make judgments on their personal opinion was important. Prompt reactions to questions often led the conversation to a certain topic which was not possibly all planned beforehand. The challenge of undertaking the interviews was foreseen to a certain degree (and was suggested by all the given factors as a foreign visitor). This positioning of the interviewer and interviewee and the involvement in the interviews were flexible depending on the interviewee. Combining the factors mentioned above and also, adding my personal observations, as well as other extempore gestures during the interview were powered by the strong anthropological data that I collected. The details of interview methods will be introduced more in the research planning as well as along the result analysis.

1.5 Empirical Cases

1.5.1 Case Selection

As mentioned in the research strategy (Chapter 1.4), the factor which makes this study distinctive is that smaller East German cities were selected as cases. Among smaller cities in East Germany, the case cities were chosen by considering the trends of demographics, geographical condition, history and cultural heritage. It was neces-

sary to consider not very successful or extraordinary cases but to choose one which can also speak for many towns in similar conditions. There are a few successful gem cities with an exceptional historical background such as Weimar, Quedlinburg, Potsdam, and et cetera. Usually, they are related to worldwide important figures or architecture with outstanding historical values, and it was necessary to avoid them in order to investigate the more ordinary phenomena. To observe how cultural heritage has been managed after the fall of the Berlin Wall in relation to urban vitality in East Germany, it was important to select the towns which had a glorious past but also have been through shrinking population and economic crisis after 1990. Since the policies orientate from each state government in Germany, it was necessary to choose a state which has rich cultural assets and bigger ambitions for tourism development. Counting the fact that it is a state of smaller size cities, the state of Thuringia was chosen. For the city level case analysis, Eisenach and Gotha were selected. The details of selection criteria follow as below,

1) Towns which have nationally prominent and historically significant architectures as the symbol of its identity were first considered. Since the orientation of the study is historicity of urban environment, it was the priority to choose the towns known for its architectural cultural heritages which had been already recognised its importance before the national division. It was considered most importantly if it had an artefact as the symbol of the town. Eisenach, in this regard, was selected because of its nationally prominent castle of Wartburg. It was aimed to choose historic towns, where architectural heritage has a clear connection to the urban identity and which means also the artefact itself is a collective memory of the residents.

2) Small towns which have been dealing with the severe economic deficit and shrinking population were listed. Compared to West Germany, there are far more monofunctional towns in East Germany with less than 60,000 inhabitants. Cities with multifunctional uses, the capital city of the state or past/potential industrial centre in the neighbourhood such as Leipzig, Dresden or Erfurt were excluded. These cities are,

although there is a wide economic gap compared to West German cities, not in an urgent crisis as medium-sized towns. It neither means that it has a less glorious past or less impressive cultural heritages nor that it has more significant sites than the smaller towns. The bigger towns in Eastern Germany have more attention of the states, also, they have naturally more various functionalities, as well as more economic resources or resistance to keep the status quo. Smaller towns, however, have been literally facing the danger to their existence, physically because of their shrinking population and identity-wise, due to their lost functions as a city. In both manners, smaller towns are considered to be the group in need of developing the asset of their own cultural heritage.

3) Keeping the second criterion in mind, it narrowed down the regional scale to Thuringia which claims to be ‘Germany’s cultural heart’.⁵ Having such a motto potentially shows the pride and attachment to the cultural asset, which implies not only the intention to promote the urban historicity from the municipality level but also its intention to lead outside attention to certain attractions. The policies (strategy, manner, objective, etc.) and background of the selection are the main elements to look at in this study. In addition to that, analysing a few towns from Thuringia, aims at analysing the corresponding relations between top-down policies and bottom-up initiatives. As a result of pre-visits to this region, the co-ordination between the two parallel bodies has become a concrete topic to look into along the system change.

⁵ Not officially earned, but local newspapers and brochures often use the expression, Thüringen das grüne Kulturherz (i.e. <https://www.unser-thueringen.de>).

1.5.2 Introduction to Selected Sites

The empirical research is conducted in the old city centres of Gotha and Eisenach. These two cities both belong to Thuringia (Thüringen in German) and therefore, they share the regional development plans and general conditions when it comes to tourism market and destination competition to a certain degree. Thuringia is a centrally located federal state of Germany, which used to belong to the GDR facing the borderline to Hesse (Hessen in German) and Bavaria (Bayern). Since the case cities and heritage sites will be covered in the following Chapters in depth, here I will briefly address the background, why the state of Thuringia was targeted for this research question.

Thuringia

The Free State of Thuringia has possessed different territories with the long flourishing history of their own dynasties. Since the German history is a big mosaic picture made of constantly changing borderlines and states, Thuringia is a relatively freshly merged state. It partly connects gigantic histories of bigger neighbour states such as Hesse, Saxony, and Bavaria. First in 1920, after the World War I, the small loyal states voted to become one state as for today's geographical concept. After the first indication as a state of itself, in 1130 A.D., a number of reformations and wars divided continuously and subordinated the states. The Prussian led unification of Germany, where it was administered in within the province of Saxony. This was a critical period, because it has set up the architectural remains which are recognised as German identity until today. For example, the traces during Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Eisenach, Saxe-Jena, Saxe-Gotha and Saxe-Altenburg stand for Thuringia's historical pride and also serve an importance to Germany's classical assets.

Being apart from Saxony and firming up its own particular identity was and still is a challenging theme for Thuringia. Besides the difficulty of directing attention to those small but fine histories, it is natively difficult to attract visitors to the region, due to its location. Hesse, Bavaria, and Saxony have more to offer in the sense of metropolitan regions, transportation and infra-structure. To appreciate the local heritage and particular history of each city, the State of Thuringia did not have sufficient time to develop some configured concepts. The Nazi period (the Third Reich) started in 1933 and Thuringia happened to be one of its main ideological territories. Certainly, the traces of this era are not preferred to be marked as urban heritage, although there are monuments and statues which are reserved for remembrance of the madness. Weimar is a good example of this challenging dual heritage. As a representative city of Thuringian residential city, it has been promoted for its gorgeous gems and tracks of Goethe, Schiller, etc. At the same time, the concentration camp of Buchenwald which belongs to Weimar city has been also urged to be publicized at least the equal level of the city's cultural charm.

Passing through the war, much of the old towns were destroyed all over Germany. The situation of East Germany differs from the one of West Germany when it comes to the topic, how to re-construct the city. It has been noted by some architects and historians that East Germany has kept it more likely to its original shape than in the West.⁶ Economic deficiency and distraction towards building a socialist society resulted in saving (rather keeping) some original shapes of the old city centers. Despite

⁶ "Poverty is a good conservator" is a widely said expression. Schmidt (2008) adds, however, lacking the minimal maintenance measures such as replacing broken roof tiles or cleaning gutters eventually caused harder damage than keeping the shape itself. Schmidt, Leo (2008, p. 68) in *Architectural conservation: an introduction*.

the tremendous efforts of re-constructions and restorations of building states after the reunification, well captured pretty old towns have turned out to be the great source of tourism nowadays.

Concisely, in case of Thuringia, the focus on heritage management and cultural tourism is not only because of its beauty, but also because of the desperate socio, cultural and economic regression of the region.

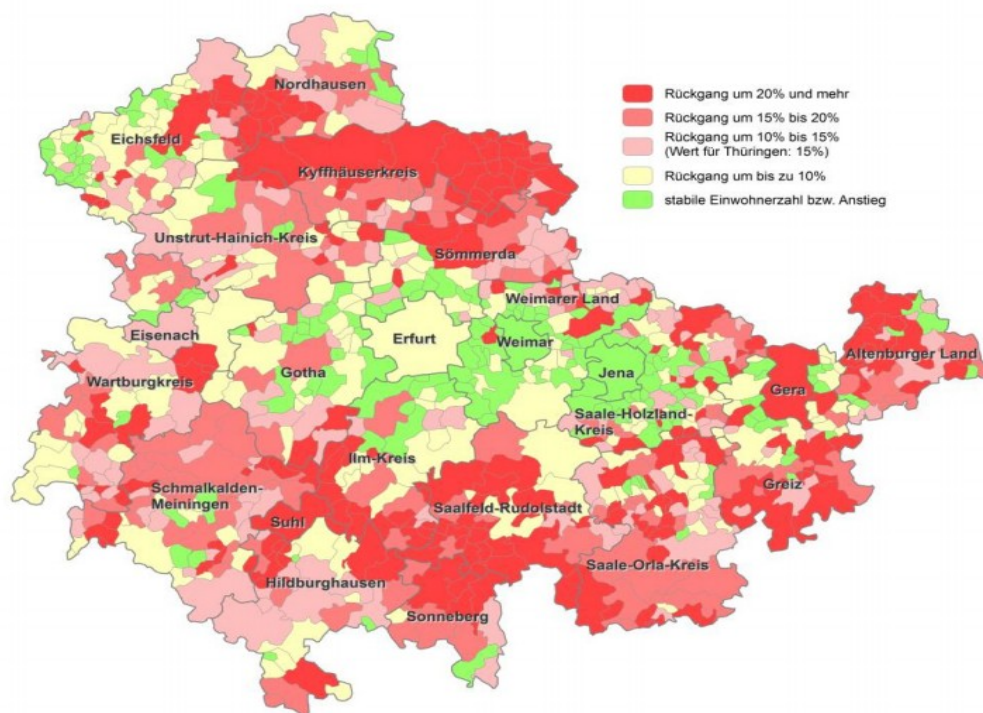


Figure 1-2 Population trends in Thuringia 1990-2012⁷

⁷ Source: Demografiebericht (2013).

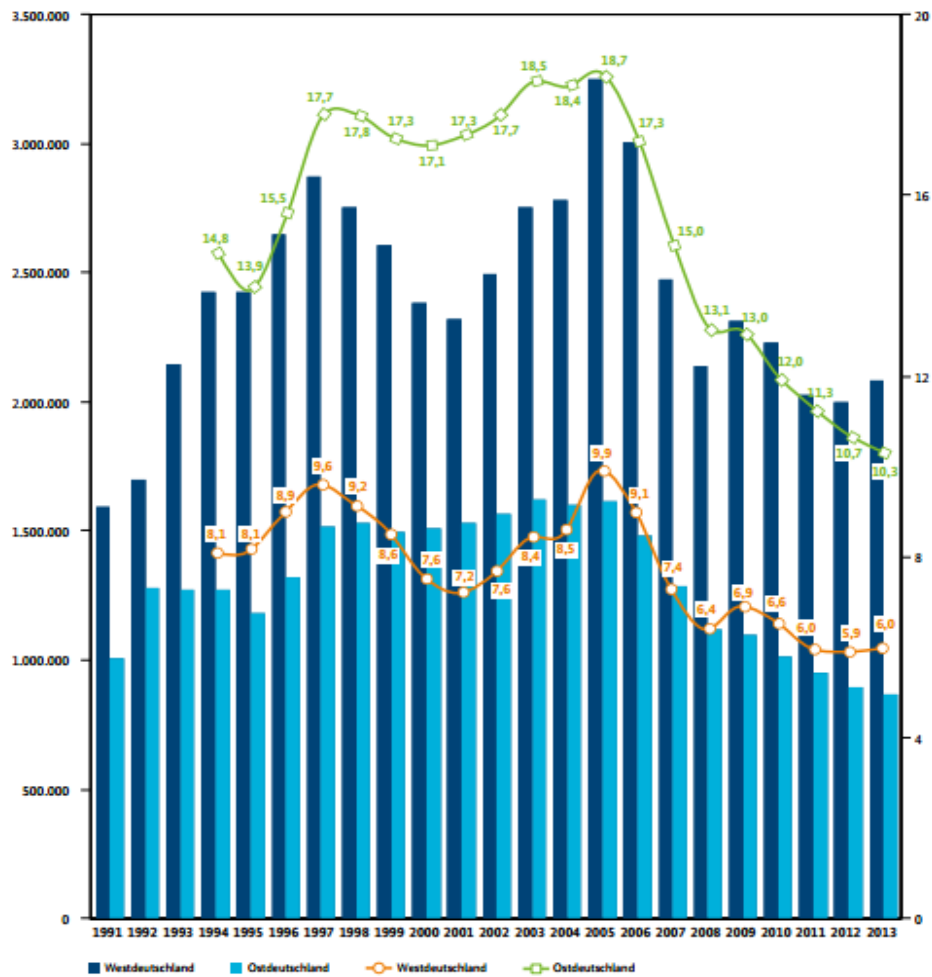


Figure 1-3 Unemployment rate 1991-2013⁸

As the graphics (Figure 1-2 and 1-3) show, the population of Thuringia has been rapidly decreasing in the past years. According to the German central demographic report, steady decline on inhabitants in the former GDR states is foreseen, and

⁸ Source: Wirtschaftsdaten Neue Bundesländer Juli (2014).

Thuringia together with Saxony-Anhalt (Sachsen-Anhalt in German) are especially radical in its speed.⁹

The regression of the population and job market is originated from the decline of many local industries which used to feed the state-wide business in the GDR system. Whether the business got naturally insolvent as the result of the open competition or closed down by the administrative reasons, it basically caused the huge wave of the population migration to the West German bigger cities. In this situation, the urban tourism based on the newly restored old towns has become an alternative possibility for the local economy.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organised in two parts, theoretical (Part 1: Chapter 2-3) and empirical (Part 2: Chapter 4-5). Part 1 consists of the theoretical framework and the development of the thesis frame, and it introduces the diverse theoretical background of the topic and how to develop the theories into the frame in which the empirical study will be analysed. In Part 2, empirical field research will examine the empirical observation and relate them to the theoretical framework. The significance of theories will be comparably addressed with the empirical materials.

In Chapter 2, the three elements that the study is based on will be introduced,

⁹ Demografiebericht (2013).

heritage studies, cultural tourism and urban resilience. How the cognitive action of remembering and forgetting is linked to heritage management and how it can affect the cultural management in tourism industry will be addressed. This includes questions such as what has to be chosen by whom, who decides the level of selection, and what the key components are. Parallel to it, the conceptual terms of urban sustainability, urban regeneration, urban revitalisation, and livability will be introduced for further discussion of how tourism can affect the city identity.

Chapter 2 starts with the introduction of cultural tourism and urban resilience in Chapter 2.1.

In Chapters 2.2, the theoretical background of the thesis consisting of heritage studies, cultural management, and heritage tourism is introduced.

In Chapter 2.3, as a parallel focal point to memory studies, urban ecology theories will be introduced. Definition reviews on resilience, sustainability, revitalisation and the links in the context of urbanism are discussed.

In Chapter 2.4, the framework of the thesis based on the theoretical approach and case application will be addressed.

Chapter 3 is introducing the case regions. The background of the case selection and the development of thoughts along the case introduction are introduced.

Chapter 3.2 deals with the transition of ' from the GDR and to a unified Germany in respect of tourism.

In Chapter 3.3, the tourism culture in the GDR is examined covering the lifestyle and understanding of tourism under the system before the era of today's capitalistic tourism industry and marketing began. It is to provide background information on how

to see the change in the perspective of the city and the residents. Also, as a continuation of tourism culture, vacation culture and tourist rituals in the system will be introduced.

In Chapter 3.4-5, in a relation of heritage tourism and cities, it bridges the case study which continues in Chapter 3.6 and 3.7.

Chapter 3.7 and Chapter 3.8 introduce the empirical cases cities, Gotha and Eisenach, at a macro level.

Part 2 presents a rich amount of local data dedicated to the cases cities and the dwellers of Gotha and Eisenach.

Chapter 4 presents and describes various data for the critical discourse analysis of both case cities. It introduces the region Thuringia as the state of both cities, and it describes in detail each city in Chapter 4.4.1. Gotha and 4.4.2 Eisenach.

Chapter 5 is mainly about the personal implications of the historic change and experiences. The primary source is the memory of the people and the in-depth interviews with the residents of the case cities using with the detailed narrative on the sites. It applies the research questions and answers descriptively.

As a closing, Chapter 6 summarises the findings and capture the attempts and limitations. For the future dedication of the thesis, it suggests learnings to the last remaining divided nation or territories, such as Korea.

Diagram of the thesis structure

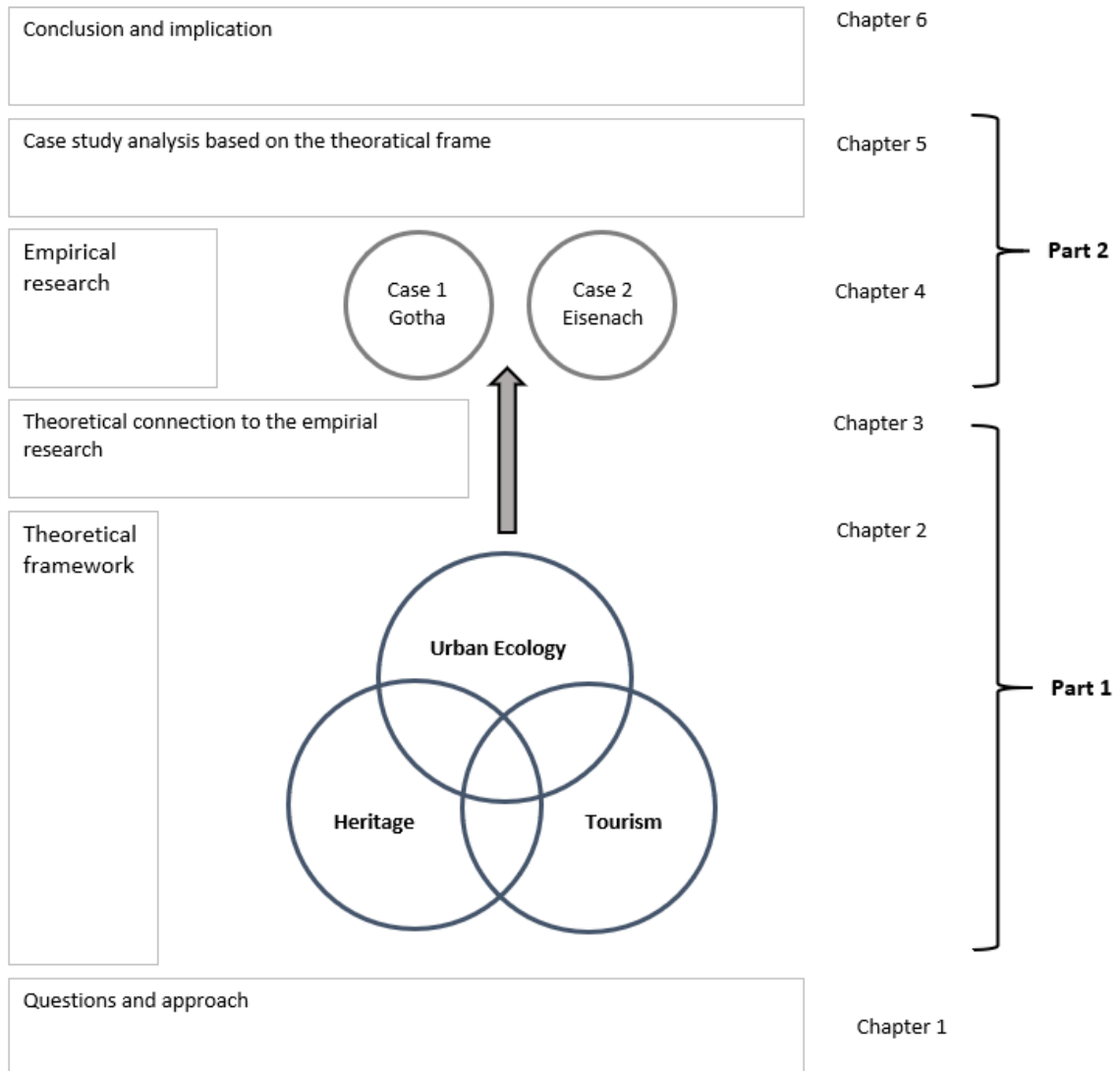


Figure 1-4 Diagram of the thesis structure

2. Theoretical Development

2.1 Introduction: Cultural Tourism and Urban Resilience

In this Chapter, the theoretical background of the research topic and recent studies of the relevant fields will be discussed. This study seeks to define the role of cultural tourism in urban resilience. To understand the interplay among the central themes, definitional narratives of each topic will be discussed first. Cultural tourism is a way of consuming heritage, where selective remembering and forgetting take place. Resilience, a seemingly new topic in social science, is here to revise urban ecology in order to observe how cities evolve after a phase of a total systematic change. In this sense, resilience, especially social resilience firmly connects to community identity. Therefore, memories, as well as identity studies, form the fundament of the theoretical background. Parallel to this, relatively recent debates on social resilience will be introduced by reviewing different perspectives and the uprising relevant topics. At the end of the Chapter, heritage management is linked to urban resilience, taking ‘tourism’ as the vehicle.

In Chapter 2.2, cultural tourism will be defined by giving an overview of heritage studies, heritage management, and tourism. In Chapter 2.3, urban resilience will be addressed by explaining the terms and academic debates on the topic of resilience studies. Focusing on the social aspect of resilience, the author defines the way how the topic of urban resilience will be approached in the empirical cases. Based on the definitions, in Chapter 2.3.3, the connection between tourism and urban resilience will be explored. Finally, in Chapter 2.4, the research structure based on the theoretical background will be introduced.

2.2 Cultural Tourism

2.2.1 Heritage Studies: Remembering and Forgetting

The definition of heritage has been changing over time (Littler and Naidoo 2004; Graham and Howard 2008). We interpret very selectively past material such as artefacts, mythologies, memories, traditions and landscape referring to how we could benefit culturally, politically and economically in the present. The difference between an object and a heritage is not just the time that the physical object has existed. The meaning of time is certainly framed when it is called heritage. This study shares the theory of selection and argues that heritage is chosen by its certain necessity to the present society. The definition of heritage therefore involves the subject, ‘what’: which past object, ‘who’: the person or organisation which is entitled to choose the heritage, and ‘how’: the selection process.

Heritage is not then solely ‘all things to all people’ (Larkin, in Brett 1996, p. 319)

...

*We manipulate it for validation, legitimation, and unity and we call on it in order to challenge, refute and undermine. Heritage is political and often territorial, serving certain agencies and groups through communicating narratives of inclusion and exclusion, continuity and instability. All in all, it is a complex concept which cannot be separated from the interrelated concepts of memory and identity
(Graham and Howard 2008, p. 49).*

Heritage is based on a highly politicized process that is subject to contestation and bound up in the construction, reconstruction, and deconstruction of memory and identity (Whelan 2003; McDowell 2008). Heritage is not just everything which is old, but the ones which have been filtered by a selection process which draws on the past and it is intimately related to our identity in the present (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 49). When heritage is a selection process, then the question also goes for the rest others, which are not chosen. The not selected past is presumably relatively unimportant to be remembered in this particular time spectrum. By layers of doing so, it has formed the way we believe in things and the way we judge the importance. However, it is crucial to recall and reargue in this study, how all these processes happen and what the circumstances are. As MacDowell states (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 37-54), memory always represents a struggle over power, and is thus implicated in the ‘who decides?’ questions about the future.

This Chapter, 2.2.1 Heritage Studies, will cover the understanding of heritage management in the thesis. This study argues that heritage management is the result of selective remembering and forgetting. The theories on past and memory will be introduced by various scholars with whom the study shares the perspective. It centrally focuses on ‘what’ gets chosen from the past to be remembered. While doing so, it bridges to ‘who’ to decide on heritages, so the subject and stakeholders involved in heritage selection will be discussed, and it will be followed by ‘how’ heritage gets to be chosen and what the relevant factors are. Defining the relation of heritage and collective memory in the end, it states the overall picture of heritage management process and human life interplay.

Heritage: What to Remember

We visit the past through heritage. How specific heritages are treated in different periods is multi-dimensional documentation. Depending on the needs of the society, the object can be in one period considered as relics and in another period as junk. It is not too rare to find that war memorials, specific art types or religious symbols get treated differently by the change of regimes. A good example of the drastic change in urban heritage, from the national monument to unimportant legacy can be observed in the case of Memento Park in Budapest.¹⁰ Promotions and policies such as designated museums, campaigns, exhibitions and registrations on prominent international heritage lists can make changes on how the society appreciate the certain past. This widely accepted fluid definition of heritage looks at the use of heritage for contemporary purposes (Harvey 2001; Lowenthal 1985; 1996). At the same time, looking into heritages enables us to look at not only how important the past is in the present but also a society's changing relationship to its past (McDowell 2008). As McDowell (2008) notes, it has been emphasized that heritage is a dynamic and negotiable process, subject to contestation and malleable to the needs of societies and cultures in the present.

Barbara Kirshenblatt wrote, viewing an object in a museum where it seems to be disconnected from any subjective values, already suggests a certain way of review-

¹⁰ Memento Park (Memorial Park); It is a park with a collection of statues of historically important communist figures and Hungarian Communist leaders. After the fall of the Communist regime in Hungary in 1989, most of the Communist sculptures and symbols were removed immediately from the city. As they were all moved to the outskirts of Budapest, it formed the basis of the current collection. With a new exhibition hall (built in 2007) and new naming, it is now becoming a tourist destination in Budapest.

ing it. From the process how it found its way to that specific museum, by whom and how it is displayed affect the way it approaches the audience.¹¹ During the interaction between the people and the artefacts, the ‘intervention’ and ‘framing’ is also subjectively orientated. Often the artefacts are not recognisable by itself of the basic means such as, ‘what’, ‘from when’ and ‘the significance’. Without the titles and basic information which are exhibited in front of the material, we cannot even know what it is. Then it can be said that we rather appreciate the explanation of today than the artefact itself. Her argument makes more sense when it comes to historical art pieces. In the case of heritage sites, the significance of the architectural heritage would be evaluated more by how the users (the dwellers) relate themselves to the architectural heritage or the city quarter. Since it did not appear one day to the other, there was no time gap between the production and the appreciation. The critiques will intervene and ask ‘when’ and ‘how’ it has been recognised. However, the perspective of ‘exhibiting’ the certain ‘history’ or ‘memory’ can also be applied to architectural heritages in the same way as the artefacts in museums.

Halbwachs, who proposed the concept of collective memory, claimed that ‘spatial frameworks’ serve local recollection and identification (Halbwachs and Maurice 1980). Capturing ‘the’ specific moment and selecting ‘the’ edge of the city from the entire urban structure is active participation in building a collective memory. For Halbwachs (1980), the physical objects played specific roles in making a memory. The existence of objects creates certain habits, routines, and circumstances and people associate them with their lives and traditions, and this is how physical stability affects the shared memory, identity.

¹¹ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) claims that heritage is exhibited goods which strengthen the power, which intentionally discovers the specific past.

In the same manner, Ashworth, Graham, Tunbridge, and Allison have argued the flexible significance of architectural heritage. Books such as *Sense of Time, Sense of Place* (Ashworth and Graham 2005), *Dissonant Heritage* (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996) and *Period of Significance* (Allison and Peters 2010) have been introduced in the last decade and they commonly imply that contemporary local identity comes forth from the physical object.

Meanwhile, the question arises about the past which is not chosen. Harrison (2013) argues that the late modern period has been the one which has witnessed not only an exponential expansion in the categories and numbers of objects, places and practices which have come to be defined, listed, conserved and exhibited as heritage, but fundamental shifts in the values which heritage is held to represent (Harrison 2013, p. 580). He notes that the value shift on the past has brought the change of expansion of heritages. The representation of the past seems to become more crucial in the modern period due to social and economic values. Then the question also comes to the rest which is not chosen to be recognised.

Augé (2004) argues about the importance of collective forgetting and the active cultivation of some memories at the expense of the other. As in the case of individual memories, societies must be able to forget to form memories properly. If we, as individuals, were able to remember everything, we would not be able to make sense of the information we could recall. Our memories would be saturated with information, and it would be impossible for us to adequately sort through the piles of memories to find the ones that were important to us.

Augé notes:

Remembering or forgetting is doing gardener's work, selecting, pruning. Memories are like plants: there are those that need to be quickly eliminated in order to help the others

burgeon, transform, flower. Indeed, memories are crafted by oblivion as the outlines of the shore are created by the sea. (Augé 2004, p. 20)

In the same way that individuals need to disregard certain memories to remember, memory and oblivion stand together. Both are necessary for the full use of time.

We must forget in order to remain present, forget in order not to die, forget in order to remain faithful. (Augé 2004, p. 89)

The process of collective forgetting is thus not one which is opposed to collective memory, but an integral component of it, a work. (Harrison 2013, p. 588)

In certain places, these groups are considered 'others', which is, not belonging and out of place, while dominant groups marginalise these 'minorities' in order to preserve the characteristics and qualities of 'their' place. (Ashworth and Graham 2005, p. 155)

As Augé, Harrison, Ashworth and Graham commonly agree, heritage selection leaves the room of active forgetting. The process of selecting heritage is, recognising the importance of certain periods, architecture, policies and ways of conserving the objects. The subject, who pursues what to be remembered, remains then as the next question.

Who: The Decision Makers

Heritage is often defined by a dominant group within a particular society, which, in many ways, tends to be national governments. Sites of memory such as monuments, plaques, museums, and symbolic architectural spaces, as static and permanent reminders of the past concretised in the present, are often constructed by national governments to represent hegemonic values that cultivate notions of national identity and frame ideas and histories of the nation. (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 44-45)

This process of repossessing the past usually involves inevitable struggles which reflect power plays within the society (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 47). While doing so, often some people are considered ‘the others’. Out of interests’ groups, the ones who get to choose and involve in the process of generating memory are the ones in favour of power, and the ones who were against the decisions will not appear as any trace in the history. When not supportive of the specific/desired characteristics of the society, the dominant group can marginalise them as minorities in order to preserve the qualities of ‘their’ place (Ashworth and Graham 2005, p. 155). The difference here from the usual political process will be that there will be no record on the objects to see the rest of voices other than the main decision. In practice, the ruling power which forms spatial practices, maintaining the hegemonic values in an urban environment, is usually the nation-state (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 48). Ideological change of the regime is, therefore, one of the most influential factors in heritage management. As Graham notes, this power play aims at a universal consensus, but it often does not take criticism in the construction of commemoration sites (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 47). Hence, remembering the past is a cliquish process which follows the way where the power stands. This is what makes it so difficult to see a cultural heritage site as a result of the fully agreed manner of the past, rather than a solution of the period

chosen by the state government. Naturally, it connects to the picture of a passive population which passively follows the decisions or lets it flow without active intervention, especially, when it is about reconstruction after some traumatic event such as wars.

Decisions are made by certain players who possess the power in the community disregarding how the power is formed. And power tends to have its intentions and a destination to bring the others. Following the notions of power is central to the construction of heritage, and consequently, identity, giving weight to the argument that heritage 'is not given; it is made' (Harvey 2001, p. 336; Brett 1996, MacDowell 2003, p. 37-54). Therefore, power can decide or define what the society is up to look at, and more importantly, to utilise it in specific ways; e.g. ideological reinforcement, public unity, patriotism, and economic benefits.

As the power influences and defines the values, there are consequences what is to be seen as important. Simply put, it would not make any sense to look at things which do not make any meanings in modern lives. Power can make things visible by putting some connections between the 'object' and our lives. The subject of powers can be represented by various stakeholders such as citizens, governors, NGOs, and various interests' groups.

Like previously mentioned, it might not represent the whole population of the period, but it is a voice that the society has chosen in order to achieve its contemporary goals. In other words, it can also be a way of forgetting. Choosing a certain past may result to forget the rest of history associated with the object. While processing 'forgetting', we can proceed to remember what we want to or have to conceive. Harrison puts it as 'a collective duty to forget (Harrison 2013, p. 588).' When the selection is a decision made by one certain powerful group of the population, then forgetting is also chosen by giving up the voice of the rest who do not involve themselves. In sum, it converges to the idea of what people want to keep in the present and the next generation, whether it is chosen by the democratic majority or not.

Kearns and Philo (1993) add the notion of how important the decision makers are. Depending on what the background, political perspective, worldview or interests are the decisions can turn out a completely different result. Out of the whole population which lives in the space where the heritage is located, the political decision reflects on the particulars of the small selective population which either lives in the city or not.

Think in this respect of such groupings as diverse as children and elderly people, gays and lesbians, people with physical or mental disabilities, people with unusual political or religious beliefs, tramps, travellers, criminals: all of these overlapping groupings - together with workers, women and ethnic minorities- constitute the 'other peoples' of the city who for one reason or another depart from, irritate and threaten the spaces of bourgeois culture. (Kearns and Philo 1993, p. 16)

Many academics have written the conceptual relation of identity and heritage and it is not necessarily arguable that the two are intensively connected. As heritage is put 'product' or 'social construct (Ashworth and Larkham 1994)', this social production is linked to another social construct, and that would be 'identity'.

By the conservation of physical urban heritage, people attempt to firm up their significance and identity. Coherent to this idea, Urry argues in his book, *The Tourist Gaze*, that the generated heritage is usually more appealing towards the periods of disturbance (Urry 2001, p. 109). The nostalgia is felt more strongly by the community at a time of discontent, anxiety or frustration. The nostalgic memory is yet quite different than the total recall, but it is rather a socially organised construction (Urry 2001, p. 109). These collective beliefs play a fundamental role in securing a sense of togetherness and cultural solidarity which is vital in the formation and legitimisation of any national identity (Lowenthal 1985; Graham and Howard 2008, p. 41).

One of the earliest theories on the place and its memory credits to Lefebvre. While introducing the urban studies, Lefebvre (1996) addresses the concept of architectural heritage as 'virtual object'. According to him, the city, which was constructed in the past, has died away, and it is no longer taken seriously practically. It exists in documents and stories but the text, the coherent praxis has been taken away. The text which used to keep the original use of the material setting is a social set which constantly changes. Even for the people or the occasions to respect and recall its creation in the past, there is no chance to reach the originality but the representation of today such as museums and exhibitions. Therefore, the use of 'the old' has to be created in a new social text, and certain virtual objects out of the entire urban remains become an object of cultural consumption. Here the word 'text' is the concept which binds the past and the present in an inseparable bond. Without the scale of today, the virtual object would not have a chance to be exposed.

In his book, *Right to the City*, he gets more specific and asks, who is the one to change today's society to a better place. His answer is the power of the working class. The system is realised by sub-systems, meaning what the inhabitant receives and changes in practice by choosing to be either actively or passively. According to him, amongst the whole urban hierarchy, the ones who have the strategic capacity at the tactical level is the working class. From all social classes, this fraction is capable of revolutionary initiative. It means to change the society in another direction, it needs a revolutionary initiative, and this can finally force and reconstruct the society. Only the working class can reconstruct centrality of the system, and at the same time it means to lessen the segregation but pursue integration. When they are not there, the society is missing the 'subject' and the 'object'. The society itself is incomplete, and it has holes which can bring some possibilities. Due to the structuring actions and the power of the social void, it prohibits actions and presents its power. This is why the only way to realise the steps for utopian goals has to accompany radical movements. Again, the policy is necessary but not enough. The policy does happen to direct the community but also has to change during its implementation. Utopia built by this conversation of

the policy and social force is safe and healthy.

At the end, he believes, the right to the city (cry and demand to the urban) is inclined by nostalgia and tourism. At the same time, the claim to nature and the desire of having it restricts and hinders the right to the city. The right to the city is therefore right to urban life, which can be realized by the action of working class the same way as they claimed their own right to be listened to a hundred years ago.

Heritage and Collective Memory

Harrison concerns about analysing the conditions in which nostalgia is generated. He argues that it is felt most strongly at a time of discontent, anxiety or disappointment.

And yet the times for which we feel most nostalgia were themselves periods of considerable disturbance. Furthermore, nostalgic memory is quite different from total recall; it is a socially organised construction. The question is not whether we should or should not preserve the past, but what kind of past we have chosen to preserve.

(Urry 2001, p. 109)

In 1985, Halbwachs published a significant book in memory studies, *The Past is a Foreign Country*. As the title says, he views the lived past as a different world as a whole from the believed past. The present empathy, realisation and commemoration 'consume' the lived past and it is a complete overwhelmed version of the history. The impulse here is the nostalgia for the golden age.

This perspective of his is a continuation of the theory that the past departs from the present. As claimed by Lefebvre (1996), the modern urban tends to intimate

the good old times which usually refer to symbols, arts, architecture and sometimes the way of living. Commonly, the period of time that the present heads back with nostalgia in Europe, is before the World Wars. As Lefebvre slightly touched the topic of tourism, how tourism and tourists can influence the way of the re-creation of the past, Halbwachs focuses more on the conversational interplay between the past and the present. The enrichment, loss of the past and the alteration are the components when we visit the past. In 1985 he wrote, nostalgia is the universal catchword at the moment for looking back. He meant that it fills the popular press, talks and sociological studies. Nostalgia still does now in the 21st century.

If the past is a foreign country, nostalgia has made it the foreign country with the healthiest tourist trade of all. (Halbwachs 1985, p. 4)

As pursuing the high technology applied newest and fastest trains, empathising the steam engines and sepia scenes of old railway which was once denied using any longer seem to make a disharmony. In other words, one is the practical needs, and the other one is a sentimental or romantic attachment. He claims that the recollection and revisiting the past which is inclined by the romantic appreciation started due to the urban redevelopment in older cities in the early 1970s. European cities, at least the cities in the West and Central European nations went through a large transformation process in the mid 70s. It also channelled interests towards historic preservation and the past. In the same line of this movement, the East and West German governments independently established laws concerning the preservation of architectural heritage. The two different ways of dealing with architectural heritages caused a different state of urban façade. Much of the rebuilt or re-modelled architecture on the old cities cover the traces of the World Wars. The two different approaches to heritage management will be discussed in detail in the later Chapters (Chapter 3 and 4).

Another crucial perspective which Halbwachs (1980) brought to the academic discussion on memory building is the alteration of the past. Every act of recognition alters survivals from the past. Simply to appreciate or protect a relic, let alone to embellish or imitate it, affects its form or our impressions. Just as selective recall skews memory and subjectivity shapes historical insights, so manipulating antiquities refashions their appearance and meaning. Interaction with a heritage continually alters its nature and context, whether by choice or by chance (Halbwachs and Maurice, 1980).

Manipulating the past sounds disturbing, and it involves doubts about historical knowledge. How can we rely on a past that is fluid or alterable? The answer seems to be clear and indispensable. Lowenthal (1985) argues that for many of these alterations we are not responsible for these changes that happen even at this very moment and nothing can prevent them. He writes that relics undergo two types of transformation. One is the direct transformation such as protection, enhancement on the substance, form etc. The other one is indirect transformation, impinging less on the physical condition but the perceptions of the artefacts; how they are seen, explained and appreciated. In practice, often, there is no sharp boundary separating the two activities, so to distinguish them is often complex and needs different steps of observations.

Lowenthal (1985) sees that heritage alteration is part of nature whether it was by chance or not. We are there to appreciate the alteration of the periodical approach of the era but not the alteration of the original meaning of the objects. Every period has a way of seeing and these perceptions are documented or framed so that they can be handed over to the next generation. When accepting the subjectivity of material objects, it lets us relax about the alteration but at the same time be alert about what and how we preserve the present but old heritage.

On the same line with Lowenthal but putting more weight on the choice of the contemporary society, there are representative theorists such as Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge. Regarding the approach on how to manage and plan the heritage will be

discussed in Chapter 2.2.2 based on the ideas of the three mentioned theorists.

Criticizing that there are not many substantial studies done on memories in tourism studies, John Urry notably introduced a sociological approach to tourism studies. In addition, he points out the relation between heritage and tourism development (Urry 1990). He notes that often three considerable local stakeholders lead the heritage conservation. The first are the local people who are concerned to conserve features of the environment in which the locality is significantly served. These people want to influence the development of their own neighbourhood. Secondly, a variety of private sector owners and potential owners of tourism-related services play a role. These are the stakeholders who are financially involved in the process of certain heritage conservation. Lastly, the local state which is comprised of local authorities as well as the local/regional representatives, national level bodies, including tourist boards. These are the ones who are administratively and politically involved with the local/regional development or management (Urry 1990, p. 112).

Besides the state as the third factor, both first and second, local people and variety of private sectors appeared as new interest groups since heritage started to become an important segment for the regional economy. As a tourist resource, heritage generates the reason why a city is so unique and deserves a visit. Elaborate cooperation with private retails, labour, logistics, and commercials enabled tourism to become a powerful industry over the past decades. Nevertheless, along with the fast tendency of altering cities and depopulation in Western Europe, urban tourism has been gaining its importance. Driving more population to the city also facilitates different effects on the city level such as infrastructure, facility and also liveability.

Römhild argues that cultural tourism (Histourism; History tourism) can exceptionally contribute to urban cultural revitalisation (Römhild 1990). Due to the actions which are the productions of the region in order to put their speciality, it firstly helps the region redefine itself; stabilising the local and regional identity which is the crucial

positive moment (in German, positive Spirale). By the production, while communicating with the outside people, it creates an intercultural communication process with the others, and this between communications serves as ‘positive’ impression for the locality. It adds its importance within the local people by having themselves standing for the locality with a positive and communicative attitude. Furthermore, before the encounter between the local and the visitors happens, it needs to be proceeded to collective communication and agreement on the expression of the local culture or site promotion. This process of mutual understanding and collective communication about the shared memory and self-reflection provide the community with opportunities to re-agree on their past. Another point here is that this is the moment when the locals decide what to remember and how to be remembered in the coming generations. The ideal selective memorising process of a community in modern democratic times can be much influenced by heritage/ cultural tourism.¹²

¹² Original text and German context is as follows:

Regina Römhild analysed in her book, *Histourismus*, cultural-heritage tourism in the Hesse state of Germany, during the 80s. Her argument is very much appealing for East German states as well: Local cultures, not only architectural memories but also the group of people having rituals in the urban environment, are the tourism sources. This mechanism and its socio-cultural influences are highly relevant in East Germany as tourism did not exist as the concept of today neither the involvement of the residents. The change in the reunified states, therefore, is an exercise to build the positive spiral in the region.

Heritage management in urban tourism often attracts live discussions on how to deliver the narratives which are embedded in the physical objects the same as curator works in museums or exhibitions. According to Lowenthal (1985), most people exaggerate their cultural antiquity or conceal its relative recentness. The societies change or alter the past while dealing with its current needs or want so the new, pre-

Der wirtschaftsbelebende Aspekt des Tourismus wird auf allen politischen Ebenen und in Untersuchungen, die sich mit der Situation des ländlichen Raums beschäftigen, immer wieder hervorgehoben. Dabei ist allerdings der tatsächliche Erfolg entsprechender Förderungsstrategien durchaus umstritten. So kann die Tendenz zur Etablierung touristischer Monokulturen, d.h. die ausschließliche Ausrichtung aller Maßnahmen auf diese Entwicklungsrichtung (vgl. Becker 1979, p. 37) - wie sie in den "klassischen" Fremdenverkehrsgebieten oft feststellbar ist -, gefährlich werden (vgl. u.a. Gatzweiler 1986, 36 f.). Die daraus resultierende, unausweichliche Abhängigkeit von der allgemeinen Entwicklung dieses Wirtschaftszweigs wird vor allem dann prekär, wenn man die Prognose eines stagnierenden Wachstums bezüglich der Nachfrage im Fremdenverkehr ernst nimmt: Eine weitere räumliche Ausdehnung touristischer Nutzungsmöglichkeiten ist in der Bundesrepublik nicht zu erwarten (Römhild 1990, p. 49).

sent, more appropriate histories are ‘invented’ (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 42-43; James 2001).

This idea of ‘reproduced past’ has been also questioned by James (2001; 2012), who is the author of one of the very few books writing about East Germany’s cultural heritage, *Preservation and National Belonging in East Germany -Heritage Fetishism and Redeeming Germanness-*. In his book (James 2001), he is keen on finding out how the city of Eisenach relates and defines itself along the discourse of cultural heritage management. His observation on the debate is focused on the institutional actions and initiatives which often crashed with capitalisation after the reunification. Given its drastic changes, there were absolute changes on urban landscape and different stakeholders had conflicting opinions over all kinds of directions. However, the core topic here has been always the capitalism and the classic. As his book title says itself *Preservation and national belonging in eastern Germany -Memory in culture. (Heritage fetishism and redeeming Germanness-)* (James 2012), his perspective reflects the redemption towards ‘earlier glorious times of Germany’ as the sense of preserving the cultural heritage. The link between collective memory and national identity has been regarded as an identical form of ideal picture in this sense.

Preserving the ‘wanted’ past is a common feature in the sense of selecting the past. However, lately there has been the opposing trend of preserving the ‘dark’ and ‘unwanted’ history has been adding its importance by the modern historians. For instance, bullet traces from the wars, destruction of buildings, destroyed façades from the war have not as popular as the recent fashion of heritage conservation. Then, how about the history of Socialism?

There are a few points here to be discussed to understand the issue in the context of the Eastern states of Germany. First, the preservation of heritage in former GDR needs to be introduced. This will be discussed in Chapter 3 while introducing the autocratic system and its systematic approaches towards heritage in former East Ger-

many. Second, the choice of what is important is also a form of memorialisation. Every community looks for what is essential in relation with the present. Martin Luther's heritage is important because his role in Christianity has remained as a great achievement and regardless of the time scale, it has stayed as crucial until today. On the contrary, focusing on dissonant heritage has never been an exclusive way of memorising the past. In the natural form of memorialisation, the decisions are made up according to the grace and glory of the history. Re-claiming the past is, therefore, a tricky question to define for every society including the case of East Germany.

2.2.2 Cultural Management/ Heritage Management

Ever since heritage was recognised as one of modernity's most powerful cultural forces (Appadurai 2001, Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Lowenthal 2015), scholars have examined how individuals, communities, and nations use discourse about the past to craft evocative window in which to examine heritage as a powerful cultural force for social change. Whether it is the self-conscious reevaluation of under-appreciated ruins placed on display for economic gain, or contests between self-proclaimed descent groups and site managers over presentation, heritage plays a transformative role in the ways we travel. (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 267)

As it is covered in Chapter 2.2.1, the research takes the perspective that heritage is a subjective concept which represents contemporary choices. Including the choices, heritage management can actively include, exclude or modify the conceptual value of the architectural heritage. Sites of memory, where power is often constructed are public spaces, argues Graham and Howard (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 45). Not everyone in a community or within a nation would give equal support to the remem-

bering of a particular aspect of the past. In other words, heritage in public space can manipulate the rest of the public who was not involved or invited to the decision process. Also, different attitudes towards a certain aspect of the history can add its importance or be forgotten. It is tightly connected to the collective memory, and here I will focus on heritage management and especially its structural connection to the community.

As Porter (2008) notes, nation-states hold exclusive powers to transform heritage management, and heritage tourism practices the power (Porter in Graham, Howard 2008, p. 270). He argues that while scrutinising the nation establishes itself, and how they self-fashion the raw materials of history, the history is absorbed into a modern sense. When scrutinising how nation-states establish themselves, what is particularly notable is how they self-fashion the raw materials of history and tradition. The way of looking at it, how the contemporary society appreciates the heritage is where we can orientate where the community's values lie.

In the 20th centuries, heritage management became a more global issue due to the empowerment of international agencies like UNESCO, ICOMOS, the European Commission, the European Heritage Network, etc. These organisations sometimes take over the power of heritage selection and preservation of the monuments. This raises concerns about conflicts between international agencies and nation-state over the preservation of the monument. The radical sense of global stewardship they carry can dominate local and national sentiments and importance of the artefacts (Porter in Graham and Howard 2008, p. 278). The patent and rights over decisions are still weighted exclusively more on the nation, however, with the growth of multinational governance, and severe wars threatening borders and also cultural heritage (e.g. the Syrian civil war from 2011), the potential outgrowth of international agency seems to be optimistic.

Identifying heritage management can further influence the role of history. His-

tory in selling place is not an alternative role of heritage, but actually one of the main roles which can directly affect the city income and indirectly attributes to the city image in the long term. As known, international mega-events such as Olympics, world cups and global festivals may bring a substantial income to the city as well as priceless images to the city and also the nation. Adding to this, cities like Rome, Paris, Venice and many other top-ranked tourism destinations use their historic charm and occasionally traditional mega-events for city branding. In the shape of an anniversary such as Bicentenary in Paris when a place-specific 'historical' event is turned into a gigantic attraction in its own right and into a vehicle for the more general promotion of what the place can offer to enterprises and tourists (Kearns and Philo 1993, p. 5). Frequently, locally promoted events combine cultural and historical referencing with momentary surges in local capital accumulation. As the contemporary emphasis on culture, heritage can be seen as the uniqueness of fixed capital. Same as art collections, performance spaces, even shopping streets, monuments accumulated over the past can be the uniqueness of fixed capital. Zukin (1995) writes culture is the sum of the city's amenities that enable it to compete for investments and jobs, its "comparative advantage (Zukin 1995, p. 12)."

The motive to blow the 'originality' into the city as well as the big boom of heritage and memory studies in the last decades aroused a thirst for historical city. It links to a sense of nostalgia "a longing for what is called the historical city" (Soja 2000, p. 246). Cultural richness, unique patrimonies, great history and well-preserved architectures have become an exclusive value in cultural management.

Respectful use of 'the old' cannot be strictly defined, because any formulation in a materialistic way would be based on a certain aspect. To be alert, not to overwrite the history, has also been discussed over decades. Röh mild claims the tendency of perfect-ionising or goal-oriented reconstruction of the past (Römhild 1990, p. 57). Since heritage management generally involves several needs of the location, it tends to aim the great representation of the local or national history. Smith points out the

auction of not to ‘overwrite’ the original significance of heritage spaces when managing the historic part into a tourist destination (Smith 2006, p. 4).

All these notions and concerns confirm that historicity has become another competence of cities which provides different doors to the affluent urbanity. Given the nature of capitalism, every city competes against a number of cities with similar characteristics in the market in scale, history, charm and services. Upon the speedy globalisation, the market positioning of a city gets day by day tougher. Today, city marketers should consider a much wider scale of potential competitors in terms of tourism destination development. The low budget airlines broaden connection of railways, online agencies and meta searches are expanding regardless of language and continent, offering deals all over the world. The unified monetary system in Europe and online payments shorten or demise the border gaps and enable the limitless mobility.

2.2.3 Heritage Tourism/ Cultural Tourism

As one of tourism’s special interest branches, ‘heritage tourism’ is often indiscriminately used with the term ‘cultural tourism’. In this thesis, cultural tourism uses a broader sense of heritage as material and its psychological territory as culture. It will focus on the type of tourism which involves interests in architectural heritage, regardless of the strict boundaries of these two terminologies. It is to include festivals and events which are not necessarily related to a single heritage but occasionally include the local culture and folk customs. This research uses the term cultural tourism to embrace the overall tourism activities within the urban scape. Cultural tourism is a broader concept which includes heritage tourism as well as the generic definition of city tourism which focuses on old town sightseeing. Culture, at its widest level, signi-

fies material and symbolic resources in infinite depth (Rojek and Urry 1997; Desforges 1999). The word 'culture' is also colloquially used in daily life to describe personal, mobile, traditional customs and also the way of thinking of the people. This aspect of culture is, in fact, difficult to put in words. However, as commonly agreed, it is the definite point of locality when we concern the local identity. It is not to deny the standard term of recognising 'high' culture, but it is to include all the sentiments stimulate tourists to come and experience. Hence, cultural tourism can be a package of all possible cultural aspects of a city or region and the speciality of it. The difference from other types of tourism may lie in the 'practical' aspect of it. In other words, the local heritage, whether it is tangible or intangible, comes into play within cultural tourism and experienced by the tourists directly or indirectly. In most cases, architectural heritages can be explained or viewed, and this appreciation becomes an indirect way establishing its significance.

Defining heritage is firstly a matter of how to see the past. Since there is not a fixed version of past that can be commemorated without any bias, it has to be first considered which past we would like to relate to the object. With heritage tourism, the perspective issue becomes more critical, because tourism itself is a way of framing certain sites in order to communicate with the visitors. Heritage tourism is mostly for a group of people who are already aware of what they are going to see. It is a particular type of travel which aims not at exploring the new place but learning and appreciating one's relationship with the past (Porter, Graham and Howard 2008, p. 268). It implies that the information is provided already before the tourists visit the city. Therefore heritage tourism is a type of tourism which needs good storytelling, marketing and strategic planning. Timothy (1997) suggests heritage tourists have a certain attachment to the destination. According to their level of experience and attachment, he developed a scale that categories from the personal to the local, national, and world levels of heritage tourism experiences. Therefore, heritage tourism is a type of activity which involves active thinking, a certain degree of knowledge and interests in the specific locality.

As it is covered in earlier Chapters of heritage selection and heritage management, heritage tourism is then the production of the selection and marketing of a certain aspect of the locality. As Ashworth and Voogd (1990) argue, the place marketing nowadays is more to construct an image for the potential visitors or residents. To make the place more attractive and competitive, the place requires different levels of coordination and planning. Regarding planning, especially, in positioning and visualising tourism is an indispensable and useful tool.

Greg Richards (2012) is a leading scholar in cultural tourism from the 1990s until now. In his book *Eventful Cities*, he claims that today's cities need to be more eventful and more entertaining so that they can be resistant to economic restructuring and to remain distinctive. According to him, cultural production has become a major element of the urban economy. In addition, no longer it is just a question of possessing significant architecture and museums. Festivals and events are generated more and more regardless of the size of a city, and this is a general phenomenon of the postmodern symbolic economy.

Concerns

Many historic districts are tourist destinations and are seen as contributors to the overall economic vitality of the city. While this might be true, it is also true that there may be a downside to historic districts. For example, it is possible to install a single monument as a tourist attraction and satisfactorily manage the traffic, parking, and hours of operation, but historic districts are people's neighbourhood. People live there, 24 hours a day. Inviting an influx of tourists into neighbourhoods can negatively alter the quality of life for residents. (Allison and Peters 2011, p. 135)

Considering that selling places is an effort to enhance the appeal and interest of places, and especially to show and interest people outside the place, there are concerns of manipulation of the culture. Philo and Kearns (1993) suppose that there is often a conscious and deliberate manipulation of culture in the process (Philo and Kearns 1993, p. 1-48). This concern is not only limited to architectural heritage and the manner of its preservation but also includes the locally rooted culture, such as traditions and lifestyles. To be alert about delivering one's own local culture is a complex issue because it is again a very subjective theme regarding the boundaries, degrees and the ways of looking at it. Each country and city have a distinct approach to developing regional tourism. The way of preserving heritage sites, marketing, promotions and management of the facility including transportation, all of these can head to the different implementation of heritage use or manipulation. In addition, while elaborating on the significance of the place and the way it is exhibited is another way of 'making' the local history.

Economic use of urban heritage, whether consciously or not, does have a certain degree of its manipulation, and one of the biggest causes is the financial objective in each regional administration. However, another significant issue which is often dismissed in the planning process are the local people whose everyday lives take place beyond the events and commercialisation of the place. Philo and Kearns (1993) refer to Harvey (1989)'s 'bread and circuses' in describing the scene; "you give the disaffected a taste of bread and a day of fun, and then (and for somewhat longer) they will forget about their problems and believe in the beneficence of the system (Philo and Kearns 1993, p. 5.)". This perspective of viewing at heritage in its relation to the power structure is based on the motif of 'bourgeoisie'. Differently put, to distinguish the upper level which has the right and access to decide on how the city has to be, is a continuation of the pre-postmodern society's dominance power theory. As Marx and Weber would have seen, cities demonstrate the class and social division.

Obviously what Philo and Kearns are concerned about is a central issue in heri-

tage tourism. The role of history and local sentiments which surround the space is the responsibility of the whole process and the involved administrations. However, on the other side of it, just protecting heritage is perhaps not the best way to serve its originality per se. As Kirschenblatt (1998) has argued earlier, when the old is in the protection of the glass cube, it is not itself as it was earlier produced for either. The manager, who is looking at it, sets therefore the fundamental standard for deciding how to preserve and how to show it. Each society needs to have a unique angle to adjust it depending on the environment, customs, neighbourhood and people (all in another word: culture). Therefore, what to suggest is that the involvement of community level is the entrance to direct democratic approaches to heritage management and moreover, tourism development. The open access to heritage preservation and regional planning is the key to look at heritage ownership and its further development.

Concerning the recent financial and economic crisis all over the world, the tendency has been observed in some regions that they make decisions to concentrate development -including city marketing- towards bigger cities as a way out for the severely suffering economy (Scott and Storper in Müller 2011, p. 15).

Referring to Urry (1990), the preservation of heritage has been particularly marked in Britain due to its unattractive modern architecture. In the 1970s, when the modern had begun to replace the old architecture (pre-1914), the attention for conservation of those old façade had grown. Again, nostalgia towards objects is felt strongly exactly when it is in disturbance.¹³

¹³ Please see Chapter 1.2.1 Heritage Studies.

Regarding urban changes in modern society Müller (2010) notes:

Seemingly strong and shock-resistant cities such as London struggle in the light of an economic downswing as do more peripheral regions at the fringe of Europe. The current crisis has tended to lead decision makers to concentrate development impetus on large cities-continuing neoliberal development principles, expecting the neo-liberal policy measures in many European nations parallels widening gaps between sub-national regions, measured for example in income inequalities. (Müller 2010, p. 15)

As both Urry (1990) and Müller (2010) write, it is seemingly organic trend for cities in the modern times to generate extra charm from their historicity. It can originate from the historical disturbance or economic reasons, or to beautify their unique history. Another factor which promotes the competition is that the global tourism environment allows us to compete with a much larger variety of destinations regardless of the size and location of the cities. However, it is not always easy for cities, especially former industrial cities, to sell themselves as a beautiful classic city, given the urban landscape which been blighted by heavy industry. For those cities, the alternative would be to develop a series of new, global attractions, but then they are prone to create 'landscapes' (Short, 1989) or 'placeless' environments. So, here is the danger of faking the historicity or heavily exaggerating and beautifying it without having much local connections and meanings. Walsh (1992) criticises the phenomenon which he calls 'heritagisation', whereby the past is transformed by process of 'historic aestheticisation' creating fantasy spaces, which are home to no one and have few local associations or affiliations (Smith 2006, p. 4). When cities imply certain significance to architectural heritage, history and local customs, the heritage is again digested by the locality and especially by the communities who are actively involved in recreating the place from the decision-making process to the level of on-field business owners. At the same time, the consumers also attribute to the culture of communication. Their needs and interests will bring suggestions to the heritage management. Despite the

concerns that heritage can be manipulated during this process, heritage comes back to life when the community actively lives it, which again brings us back to the principal question of the use and definition of urban heritage. The fluid meaning definition of heritage, which can be selected, remembered and consumed by current modern settlers, frees the burden of sticking to conservators' heritage.

In the discussion of the heritagisation and touristification, the marginal regions are inevitably the smaller cities. When the focus has been fixed to the bigger and multifunctional cities, the rest of the small cities have been deprived of all the hopes including the regional development for tourism marketing.

Visitors

The visitors themselves play an important role in preserving, presenting, and managing heritage tourism destinations. Nation-states and NGOs do not need to declare heritage tourism destinations for visitors to treat them as such. In fact, destinations can take on meanings that developers never anticipated, attracting groups who demand a role in the preservation and presentation of the past. This tendency for tourists to demand a greater say in heritage tourism industries becomes increasingly common (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 274). As a consequence, a proliferation of exciting and colourful festivals, events and spectacles, many of which have global appeal could be noticed as well. As stated by Sandercock (1998 p.213), "Our deepest feelings about city and community are expressed on special occasions such as carnivals and festivals (Smith 2006, p. 4)".

Earlier studies focused on tourism more in the perspective of marketing, industry, display and hospitality. Recently, on the contrary, while acknowledging the product-wise characteristic of it, tourism is getting more and more beloved by the

researchers of sociology, anthropology and geography as a social phenomenon which involves cultural, social and political issues of the urbanity (Porter 2007). This change implies how tourism study has been growing in global academia as well as how it adds its importance for reading the society and urban culture. During the economic growth and modernisation, tourism has become a resource to bring capital to the city, but also, a medium to communicate with the rest of the world in a certain way. In multicultural and cosmopolitan societies, especially, it adds its importance for a city to decide what to and how to 'place' the city in the market. It is not only to get more lucrative but also, or potentially more progressively, how to communicate with the rest of the world. For this reason, the coordinated management of the sociological urban planning and more external part such as city branding, marketing and the rest commercial tools such as transportation, accommodation, gastronomy etc. is compulsory. How to display the urban heritages and how to be recognised is a crucial job of every municipality.

More of the chosen social function of tourism in cities will be introduced in the following Chapter of urban resilience.

2.3 Urban Resilience

2.3.1 Resilience: A Concept for the Ideal Future?

Resilience is certainly the buzzword in the 21st century and especially one of the dominant topics for English based academics. Can cultural heritage be a source of urban resilience? As the popularity explodes, the definition of resilience seems to be still debatable. Yet, the main discussions commonly include the terms, 'vulnerability' and 'adaptation'. The most classic definition roots from ecology and defines resilience

as the capacity of a system to withstand the changes and continue to function (Holling 1986, p. 292-317). In social science, the definition is almost identical except for the fact that the subject is not an ecosystem but a system, and it refers to organisational resilience in human society. Until the 90s the disturbance in resilience was usually regarded as natural hazards. The tragic disasters in the 90s such as the hurricane Katrina, the Southeast Asian tsunami, a few numbers of earthquakes in Asia and Europe, and the bird flu have contributed the increasing vulnerability of human society. Despite the rapid development of technology and bioscience, the growing number of threats has led to a number of studies focussing on how to control the level of disturbance and the adaptation afterwards. However, disturbances result not only from nature but also from a human society which is expanding in multi-dimensions simultaneously to all the developments. How to make society resilient to vulnerating events and how to conceptualise the ability to return to its original characteristics is adding its importance. The fundament is a society's capacity to cope with the impact of disturbances and evolve to function ordinarily. In this study, urban resilience in relation with architectural heritage is regarded in the context of social resilience.

Sustainability

The fear of the 'unknown future' has been concerning us since a while. Before the resilience discussions, in the last three decades, 'sustainability' was certainly one of the most discussed topics in social science and it still is. Within the growing amount of literature, the social sustainability of places and communities has been adding its importance as an ongoing factor for social sustainability. To include the discussion of definitions, but also to observe the developing needs upon the period the concept of sustainability and its criteria will be covered in this Chapter.

The concept of sustainability was based on the physical form of permanence

and the socio-cultural meaning of resistance in a balanced weight. It was therefore used in various ways in social studies to carry the meaning of consistent healthy status along the process of development or progress. In urban studies, Colantonio and Andrea described social capital as ‘thickness’ of a locality in terms of both the cohesion and mutual understanding existing among its members (Colantonio and Dixon 2011, p. 29). Along the extension of sustainable development, the term ‘sustainable cities’ has appeared, which ideally means cities that contribute to the achievement of sustainable development discourse.

The assessment of sustainable development so far shows the importance of integration, strategies and comprehensiveness of themes. The main objectives of social sustainability can be summarised as below:

- Housing and environmental health
- Education and skills
- Employment
- Health and safety
- Demographic change (ageing, migration and mobility)
- Social mixing and cohesion
- Identity, sense of place and culture
- Empowerment, participation and access
- Social capital
- Well-being, happiness and quality of life
- Equality
- Human rights and gender
- Poverty
- Social Justice

The ODPM (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister), the EU Ministerial Infor-

mal on Sustainable Communities, has defined ‘sustainable community’ as “places where people want to live and work, now and in the future. They meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality of life. They are safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run, and offer quality of opportunity and good services for all”.¹⁴ And for this to happen, the components of a ‘sustainable community’ are supposed to embody these principles. It can be done by doing:

- *balancing and integrating the social, economic and environmental components of their community*
 - *meeting the needs of existing and future generations*
 - *respecting the needs of other communities in the wider region or internationally to make their own communities sustainable.*
- (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister 2005, p. 56)*

Approaching sustainability often commonly complies with the interactions of three key realms: Environmental (or ecologic), social, and economic (Goodland 1995, p. 1-24). Social sustainability considers how individuals, communities, and societies live with each other. S. McKenzize (2004) argues social sustainability occurs when the formal and informal processes such as systems, structures, and relationships actively support the capacity of current and future generations to create healthy and livable communities. As a result of it, ‘socially sustainable communities are equitable, diverse

¹⁴ Definition and Components of Sustainable Communities, Great Britain, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister 2005

and connected and democratic and provide a good quality of life.’

After assessing the regeneration practices of European cities (Cardiff, La Mina, Porta Palazzo, Leipzig East and Rotterdam) Colantonio concludes that the social dimension of sustainability lacks overall in planning, assessing and monitoring (Colantonio and Dixon 2011, p. 44). As the result of the assessment, Colantonio suggests ten dimensions of social sustainability and policy area:

- *Demographic change (ageing, migration and mobility);*
 - *Education and skills;*
 - *Employment;*
 - *Health and safety;*
 - *Housing and environmental health;*
 - *Identity, sense of place and culture;*
 - *Participation, empowerment and access;*
 - *Social capital;*
 - *Social mixing and cohesion; and*
 - *Well-being, happiness and quality of life*
- (Colantonio and Dixon 2011, p. 44)*

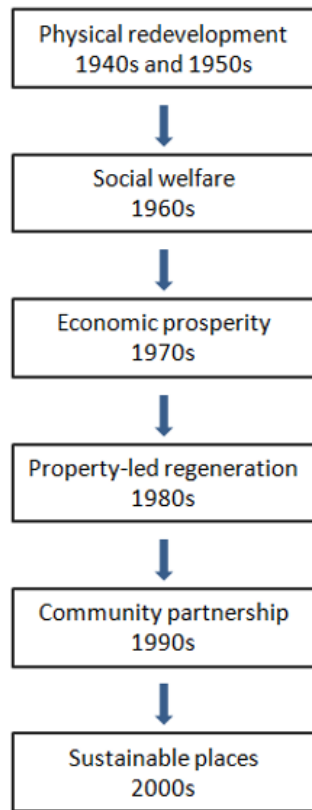


Figure 2-1 Evolution of urban regeneration policy (in the UK) by Colantonio and Dixon

| | 1960s EIA: Environmental Impact Assessment | 1970s SIA: Social Impact Assessment | 1990s SEA: Strategic Environmental Assessment | 2000s SA: Sustainability Assessment |
|-------------------------------------|--|---|--|--|
| Selected definitions and objectives | A public process by which the likely effects of a project on the environment are identified, assessed and then taken into account by the consenting authority in the decision-making process. | A systematic, iterative, ex-ante form of assessment that seeks help individuals, groups, organisations and communities understand possible social and cultural, or economic impact of change or, better still, impacts of proposed change | A form of environmental assessment intended to identify and assess the likely significant effects of a plan, programme or policy of the environment, the results of which are then taken into account in the decision-making process | A form of strategic assessment that integrates environmental, social and economic parameters and relies on the application of variety of methods of enquiry and argument to produce policy-relevant information in order to evaluate human actions against the normative goals of sustainable development |
| Main features | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focus on environmental dimension of sustainable development, though it may include separate social considerations Physical/quantitative approach to the measurement of selected variables Selection of objective but contextual targets and thresholds Limited to project level | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focus on social dimension Speculative in nature, does not provide precise, accurate and repeatable results The selection of targets and thresholds relies on system values rather than scientific criteria Primary, secondary, cumulative and 'dead-weight' effects are difficult to calculate and measure | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Operates at a strategic level Stresses process rather than detailed technical analysis Foundation in EIA but by nature more open-ended, consultative and iterative than EIA No need for sophisticated and expensive data gathering and modelling capacity Inter-institutional cooperation and public participation key determinants of success | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Integration of sustainable development of dimensions Relies upon principles rather than targets and thresholds Acknowledges the existence of uncertainties concerning the results of our present actions and acts with a precautionary basis Engages the public Includes equity considerations (intra- and inter-generational) |

Table 2-1 Overview of main methods used to assess sustainable development and its dimensions (Colantonio and Dixon 2011, p. 44)

These criteria are important outcome to measure the social sustainability of the society, and they contribute to the specification of social dimension assessment. An intangible feature of social- and cultural dimensions of cities has been left out for the quantitative urban/ regional research. However, with the increase in life quality and the growth of capital per person, it adds importance to read if the society is wealthy in terms of happiness and contentment level of the population. The aspect of sustainability is a way to assess a society in regard of capability of being sustained, so it is more of the capacity of stability and continuity. Nevertheless, it does not equal to ‘the resilient capacity’ of the city. Assessing how resistant the city is considering economic, natural and social disturbance remain still as an untouched territory. On the other hand, different dimensions of society have been developing different concepts to discuss the future risks: such as risk management in economic dimension or future studies in disasters and trends predictions. Socio-cultural aspects remain still in a buffer zone of all the dimensions or none of these.

The evolving characteristics of sustainability and expanding criteria for a sustainable city peruse a new terminology, which fulfils the basic sustainable characteristics and centrally embraces the socio-cultural aspects in an urban scale. These needs lead us to have a precise look into ‘resilience’, more specifically ‘social resilience’. While using the term of resilience we can cover the characteristic of ‘turning back to the original state’ as ‘sustainable’ would suggest, and at the same time, there are multiple criteria which could not be fully explained by ‘sustainable’ in city studies.

While sustainability and resilience both consider the capacity of current and future generations, sustainability stresses more on the sense of the ability to assure development ‘meets the needs of the present’, ‘without compromising’ the ability of future generations. Thus, the goal of sustainability implies protecting the interests of future generations.

Resilience and Social Resilience

Resilience has arisen as the buzzword of the 21st century presumably as an ultimate concept of sustainable and ecological development. Whereas resilience has been studied across a range of different disciplines, there is no commonly agreed universal definition of social resilience. In this research, to explain the relation of cultural tourism and its socio-cultural consequences, the conception of social resilience is chosen, questioned and analysed. According to Folke (2006), the social resilience approach is a way of understanding the dynamic systems of interaction between people and the environment. As a growing branch of resilience approaches, social resilience is especially referring to the capacity of a community to cope with disturbances or changes and to maintain adaptive behaviour (Maguire and Cartwright, p. 2008). Maguire and Cartwright extracted representative characteristics of resilience into three major views upon which the community is able to withstand and respond positively to stress or change:

- 1. Resilience as stability: Buffer capacity*
 - 2. Resilience as recovery: Bouncing back*
 - 3. Resilience as transformation: Creativity*
- (Maguire and Cartwright 2008, p. 10)*

As resilience is neither the equivalent word for 'risk management' nor for 'shock recovery', the constant involvement towards unexpected incident or event is the fundamental factor. 'Regaining' its earlier capability equals with the second point and last but not least, the transformational personality is important for as multi-dimensional recipes depending on the occurrences. The way of bouncing back to the normality can be new and innovative, as it fights against the new type of vulnerabilities. Thus, resilience is a concept which deals with different facets delivering ideal durability to the community. These characteristics associate ideally with the

debate about the former East German states.

Regarding ecological and social-ecological systems, many references are made to Holling's influential writings. In his writing, *Resilience and Stability of Ecological Systems* (1973), he differentiates stability and resilience as such; "Stability, which represents the ability of a system to return to an equilibrium state after a temporary disturbance", and "resilience, that is a measure of the persistence of systems and of their ability to absorb change and disturbance and still maintain the same relationships between populations or state variables (Holling 1973, p. 15)".

The core difference of resilience from sustainability can be found in 'absorbing changes', that it is not only to sustain the system but to lead the vulnerability and uncertainty to increase the strength and continue to develop¹⁵ Embracing the dynamic character of communities, human interactions and the multiple faced changes within the urban structure, it provides a way of understanding how a place/ community unit can overcome outbound risks and organically keep its stability by its own dynamics.¹⁶

As an 'interactive' and 'self-leading' organism, urban resilience closely linked to community organism. As a case of community- based resilience, the African Biodi-

¹⁵ Müller, Holling and Stockholm Resilience Center (Stockholm Resilience Centre: <http://www.stockholmresilience.org>, definitions by 22.01.2015).

¹⁶ The concept of urban resilience is used to describe characteristics and potentials of cities and urban societies to react to disturbances and processes of changes as flexibly and robustly as possible. Research approaches that study the resilience of cities have referred to individual partial systems, problem areas, and particular institutions to date. Sonja Deppisch, Mareike Schaerffer p. 25-33 in Müller 2010, p. 30.

iversity Network (ABN) can be mentioned. The ABN is rooted in 12 African countries, and it is conceived to fight against the threats to biodiversity and community livelihood in Africa. By informing the threats and sharing local knowledge/ solutions, it protects Africa's heritage.¹⁷ The SRC funds the network, and it shares the ideal how SRC defines resilience in a regional concept. The ABN focuses on indigenous knowledge, agricultural and biodiversity-related rights and legislation. Cultural assets and local knowledge are therefore an important asset while talking about urban resilience. By the nature of the industry, tourism shares this point by involving the local communities as the producer. Well managed tourist destinations absorb disturbances and still retain their basic function and structure, or, the ability of a community to embrace changes in conditions and prosper. Rahmawati states, the understanding of tourism as part of a city's resilience has been focused to a place-centred network that will expand its practice of resilience to include tourism communities (Rahmawati et al. 2014, p. 143).

Cultural Heritage and Social Resilience in the Former Socialist Cities

Quoting Lefebvre's urban studies, Saunders (2004) related three initial elements for Lefebvre's urban concept; space, everyday life and reproduction of capitalist social relations. Saunders also defines "Urban, as the global spatial context through which the relations of production are reproduced in people's everyday experience (Saunders 2004, p. 159)." As a representation of neo-capitalism, these two scholars argue the exaggerated capitalistic aspect of the urban. Concerning tourism, Lefebvre

¹⁷ See more on <http://www.stockholmresilience.org>.

(1970) also notes that space has extended its meaning. The leisure, as enjoying nature such as the sea and mountains, it extended its boundaries much further with the cooperation with the construction industry, and it transformed the traditional production industry. Saunders writes “Our leisure space reflects capitalist relations (since it commercialises our non-work lives in line with our working lives, the dispersal of our homes in far-flung suburbs is a product of capitalist relations central areas are taken over by commercial functions while residential use of space is relegated to the periphery), and so on (Saunders 2004, p. 159).” In short, it stresses the new capitalist land use in urban environments and its impacts on people’s everyday life. Although these two scholars concern about neo-capitalism and the new phenomena of land use by capitalising the space in the 70s and 80s, we could easily connect it to a new phase of industrialisation after the national unification in Germany. Spreading the capitalistic mindset over the urban environment in pre-existing tourism sites is a crucial point to observe in terms of understanding ‘wearing capitalism’, while it already existed in the other part of the nation. While having the existing leisure industry during the GDR decades, how the whole ‘management process’ was introduced to the one-third of the population will be introduced by the following points; 1) changing the leisure industry from a state-owned systematic approach, 2) adopting the level of West German settings to the reproduction of capitalism in East Germany, and 3) the process of ‘new-capitalisation’ and the dwellers understanding of the changes.

The ‘capitalising space’ period is analysed in this research by looking into the details of adapting the characteristics of capitalism, individualism, commodification, and the interplay between the system and the local communities. While observing this communal pattern, it explains reproduction of urban environment in a capitalist setup. The reproduction of the meanings of urban objects should be explained in relation to people’s understanding of the objects and the regional identity. The way the objects are placed in people’s daily life is colonised by the dominating ideology and values of the society. Through observing East German cities, this study attempts to observe the reproduction of relations between the people and the objects of cultural heritage. Here

cultural heritage are physical objects which existed over the different political eras. I argue here that cultural heritage in East Germany shows the selective character of the memorisation process, as it is a mirror of the contrasting focus on the same object from two different eras.

Urban Resilience: Community and Local Culture in East Germany

Following the terminological debates, the research centrally applies the social resilience approach. Taking social resilience as the capacity of a community to cope with changes and to maintain it in a sustainable form, it considers the factors which can cope with the stresses productively. The ‘soft’ factors, such as collective memories, cultural management and livelihood are becoming central to the social resilience whereas the ‘hard’ factors are considered to be a more pre-existing condition, for instance, infrastructure development, employment rate and also other political debates. The economic value of tourism development in the degraded regions is a classical topic which has prevailed with the development of mobility across the world. What matters nowadays in tourism studies is no longer whether to select a tourism destination to develop, but the thematic approach and social impacts of the regional tourism development. Thus, the research is keen to see the socio-cultural connections to the urban resilience and what factors contribute in which way. Nevertheless, despite the nature of social science, and the emerging mix of hard and soft themes in the social policy debate (Colantonio and Dixon 2011, p. 35-36), it may partly adopt the hard themes such as measurements and qualitative evidence, especially for economy and management discussions.

Hoffmann Hempler’s folk culture research (1984) concludes that tourism contributes to the revitalisation of cultural life while strengthening the identification and trust of inhabitants in their region. In particular, he finds this phenomenon as an in-

creased interest in community life (Vereinsleben in original text) and cultural reactivation of festival culture. As tourism revitalises social life such as community activities, festive culture, trade and small craft shops, the entire market dynamics affect a positive spiral, and it can be seen as an evident trend (Hoffmann-Hempler 1984, p. 348). Another German scholar, Römild (1990), also strongly argues that tourism can contribute to cultural revitalisation in the sense of “intercultural communication readiness” turning rural culture in a positive and communicate way. She also mentions “dead” cultural elements that have no fixed place in the everyday and festive life context can probably only be reactivated if their qualities are re-discovered for everyday communal life and modified by the inhabitants according to their current needs (Römild 1990, p. 1-8). Here, an interesting fact is that it is exclusively noted that culture has to be re-defined for everyday communal life by the inhabitants according to their current uses. It is allowing the old culture to be modified and reproduced, and it justifies the significance of the past in the today’s selective remembering. Furthermore, Römild also adds that it is still doubtful whether foreign traffic can actually be helpful given its unusual appearance for the community and the different needs of the tourists. In other words, tourism is produced by the eyes of the community itself which involves the selective use of old heritage while choosing what to show and what to revitalise. While doing so, the community revives the heritage, and only by then, the externals have a chance to see and experience the exotic culture (Römild 1990).

The phenomenon of revitalising the old and turning it into a modern tourist product is a suggested solution to the question, “Wohin mit dem Dorf? (Where to with the village?)”¹⁸ In his essay, Henckel (1983) argues that the rural productivity poten-

¹⁸ “Wohin mit dem Dorf?” is the sub title of *Annäherungen an das Dorf: Geschichte, Veränderung und Zukunft* (Hauptmeyer 1983).

tials serve less and less to cover inhabitants' own needs, and the industry tends to fulfil more of the service functions, especially in small towns. For instance, in his analysis, Henckel rates the chances of conservation of historical and rural settlement are particularly high when they correspond to the 'type of function that is residential, leisure and service communities characterised by residential use (Henckel 1983, p. 19)'. The precise use of rural assents for leisure and service requires an excess of coordination and planning, which goes along with urban tourism planning and marketing.

The fact that this communal revitalisation process of regions focuses mainly on small towns refers to concrete reasons. The priority functions of the city such as work, education, consumption often apply only to metropolitan areas, which become the "production centre (Römhild 1990, p.47)". The near urban areas serve primarily as a residential and recreational location for the working population, and as it gets farther away from the central urban areas, the dependency on the urban area gets weaker as well. The non-urban areas try to fulfil the reproductive functions of the production centres. Its chance of survival arises from the provision of resources for regeneration and what it can offer. However, the growing metropolitan areas and a growing number of shrinking towns make the competition hard, and it is rather questionable how much of the rural areas are able to survive. The requirement seems to be given to "common good" and to where the spatial, functional context is allowed (Römhild 1990, p. 47). Thus, the touristification process of their historical heritage and regenerating leisure and festive entertainment gets a more realistic solution to the smaller sized towns than the metropolitan areas, although there are also big cities which struggle from their

industrial loss and tend to become more of a leisure city.¹⁹

Writing about ‘urban managers’, Saunders (1989) concludes that urban managerialism is neither to be called a theory nor a complete form of framework. He claims that there are too few variations of frameworks when it comes to the empirical analysis, and the same goes for Pahl (1977)’s corporatist state theories. Referring to Weber’s leading societal explanations, Pahl (1977) explains how an individual’s thought and will (value) could affect the relationship. He identifies a relationship based on domination, which a clear connection to the society in which every day ritual happens. Crucial urban issues such as social housing, labour distribution, welfare system and education do influence urban management. Reflecting the 1960s and 1970s where the major social issues such as housing, health and education evoked, Pahl’s corporatist state theory (1977) mirrors the labour market and the private sectors which reflects the situation of Britain under the Labour government from 1974 to 1979. Following the given situations, urban managers generalise the general urban environment, but they also need to question what the society is dominated by or to be neglected from. After all, to understand urban managers and the policies, it is necessary to follow the urban rituals and collective ideas of the society for empirical studies.

The time after 1989 in Germany, when the periodical frame has not been pre-

¹⁹ Former big industrial cities in cities typically from the 1960s and 1970s, such as NRW (North Rhine-Westphalia) in Germany and Liverpool in England have lost their main function as a city as the coal industry lost its role in the current decade. These cities tend to fight for their touristic charm and attract attention from external visitors. There are cases from these locales that the old plants and industrial area turn to service generating industry, such as fashion platforms, hipster bars, cafes and new emerging sightseeing destinations.

cisely defined for urban development, the urban theories which are based on Marx, Weber and Durkheim's general observation on society, do not entirely apply for modern cities. The concept of the city has been evolving more rapidly than ever and there have been appearing regions which cannot fit into a classic concept of urbanity. Germany is now a leading capitalist nation worldwide, and at the same time, it contains a symbolic part of the former Eastern Bloc. As an in-between region, East Germany, its cultural, political and social approach for urban studies has not been much defined. To analyse the bodies 'who' influenced urban transition within the timescale of this study, it does not only follow the framework which debates the role of urban managers. Combining the 'will of people' and 'politicians', the existence and role of urban managers in the specific period will be questioned.

East Germany suits well to examine the phenomenon of urban resilience. First, the cities in the former GDR territory have been through drastic changes in many dimensions in the years of after the reunification. Urban transformation and socio-economic changes are one of a kind, and it cannot be compared with any other examples of political changes. The German reunification was a onetime event nearly in the past. However, the absolute change from the governing system until the urban landscape is a long process which is happening until now. This significant amount of time and the volume of changes cannot be easily answered either in the scope of shock recoveries nor by urban restructuring. Secondly, it involves inner-competence. Lang (2011) describes resilience as more than coping with critical events; it is "something underneath (Murphy 1974 quoted in Lang 2011, p.16)." Similarly, Folke defines resilience as "the self-organisation capacity of a social system (Folke 2006)". After the reunification, changes came from every dimension of the society. Starting from the financial funds from the federal governments and NGOs, social, cultural, economic, and political changes influenced every district and each of the citizens. The result of the adaptation is inherent in the society. Thirdly, it is a multi-dimensional and long-lasting capacity of the organism. The region can be seen as an organism or an overall systemic ability, which performs the massive transformation.

2.4 Summary: Building the Framework

Based on the primary research, this paper aims at adding the knowledge of urban heritage, identity and social resilience studies with the praxis of East German cities. Based on the ground hypothesis that cities evolve, and heritage management reflects what the people pursue today, it is dedicated to seeing the narratives on architectural heritage over layers of political changes. Tourism is a medium to look into the changes in a focused way, as it marks the focal points of what the city wants to present to the visitors.²⁰ While tourism shows certain aspects of the city to visitors, it as well affects dwellers in direct and indirect ways while setting up the concept of their own city, especially in the case of top-down tourism policies such as in the former East German cities.

Through chronological observations on architectural heritage, three fundamental theoretical perspectives have been discussed: heritage studies, cultural tourism and urban resilience. These three main themes are the pillars to understand the changes of heritage management along the touristification of the case cities and to review the impact of changes in urban identity. Resilience is to reflect the result over a public discussion, and in the end, the study aims to utilise and to document the knowledge along the storytelling in East Germany. Additionally, it contributes indirectly to the regions which undergo disturbances and divisions.

Through focus group discussions and in-depth interviews, a set of transcript data is analysed by content analysis method. The findings reveal the factors to social

²⁰ The marker theory from Urry 1992, p. 172-186.

capacity of the local community in order to cope with fundamental changes.

As the continuation of the theoretical framework to the case study, in the following Chapter 3, Development of Thesis Frame, it will be discussed how to bridge the theories to practical examples will be discussed.

3. Development of the Thesis Frame: A Method for Analysis of Cultural Tourism Management in the Former GDR Cities

Before going into the microanalysis of each site (Chapter 4), this Chapter will introduce the background knowledge of the case region and its significance in the further development of theories that are covered in Chapter 2.

This chapter will describe how architecture can be observed and analysed as an element, which serves periodic meanings. As memory studies and heritage management have addressed in the earlier Chapters, it will reflect why the place can be and should be documented as an object of remembering/forgetting interplay. For that, the beginning of Chapter 3 is dedicated to providing the structural background of cultural tourism in the former GDR. As the concept of cultural tourism tends to be the new main stream in this region, it begins with exploring the concept of heritage management and tourism culture of East Germany. Although it may seem distanced to the current development of cultural tourism in the case region per se, it is crucial to understand how the historicity and tourism concept have evolved in the GDR territory. The meaning of architectural heritage and the role of tourism culture in the GDR changed tremendously after the reunification. This vast change was perceived with mixed emotions by the residents. Exploring the evolvement of the main research topics, tourism and heritage, helps understand the current confusion and parallel identities in a bigger picture.

In Chapter 3.1 Introduction, how heritage management has been treated since the reunification will be observed and questioned in content analysis accompanied by photographs and self-observation.

Through Chapter 3.2 to 3.4, the background of heritage tourism development in the GDR will be introduced. In detail, it covers the system transformation, tourism

culture and heritage management during the GDR and during the early stage after the German reunification. Finally, Chapter 3.5 introduces the content of cases, what to be reviewed, and Chapter 3.6 and 3.7 will introduce the selected case regions and the background. Detailed sites information and microanalysis on the heritage site will be covered in Chapter 4.

3.1 Introduction: Heritage Management of East Germany

Along with the political and economic transformations led by the German national reunification, the heritage conservation debates started in the 1990s. The national and municipal governments recognised its importance of symbolic unity, and it directly affected the reformation/ preservation agenda of the 90s. However, surprisingly, heritage management in the former East German states has not been much researched after the unification of Germany in 1990. As an invisible border between former West and East Germany still exists in many social aspects, a far graver borderline is present regarding architectural heritage between the two Germanies. Although very broad to generalise, as commonly known, the physical shape of the cityscape in the Western and Eastern states is remarkably distinct. Not to mention to the architectural aesthetics which developed during the Cold War era, but also how the buildings from before the division had been preserved created a huge gap. Since the division between the West and the East originates from the termination of the Second World War, the architectural aesthetic story re-began from the reconstruction of the urban ruins after the war. Continued by the parallel governments, the gap of resources and heritage policies shaped the cityscape distinctively in the East and the West. In the East, there are notably many buildings in its original shape in comparison to the West. In the West, due to the excessive concern and investment in the architectural ruins

after the War, almost every building, especially in the old city centres, has been entirely/ partly reformed. Here architectural heritage includes not only public buildings and streets but also private houses and commercial centres. While West Germany has been constantly renovating the old shapes and colours of buildings, East Germany has different perspectives on maintaining and remembering them.

In the East, despite the ideological or political reasons towards specific cultural heritage -foremost the churches-, the historic urban structure mostly remained as it used to be. Supposedly minding of the prestige of the communist government, the historic old towns, landmarks, and well-known cathedrals in towns are quite well preserved as they used to be before the world war. The lack of funds played a significant role here as well especially in smaller towns, so many sites kept the way they were. Economically less significant towns barely got any funds for conserving their old parts. It, however, resulted to have a number of medieval looking small towns in Harz region (Sachsen-Anhalt) and also in Thuringia. If the old part of the city survived the whole GDR regime, without crashing down during the 80s, multiple sources of funding were distributed to save the urban scape after the reunification. In cases, some of much run-down buildings were completely re-done after the reunification, and they happen to look strange in the middle of medieval style old town. The re-preserving process of the GDR went on as an emergent action right after the reunification, and many Eastern German cities, which have economic value as tourist destinations, still are getting the help of different funds and are revitalised in a colourful, and somewhat in a Western German style. As good examples there are Quedlinburg, Wernigerode in Sachsen-Anhalt (Saxony-Anhalt), or Weimar and Erfurt in Thüringen (Thuringia). Especially, Weimar is the most visited East German tourist city -except for the metropolitan areas-, and, following the growing tourism industry, an increasing budget has been re-updating the urban aesthetic. Erfurt, similarly, has been growing its medieval atmospheric old town in the last years. Parallel to this historic urban regeneration, a great commercial centre overlapping with the old town has also appeared. While imbuing the old towns with more lives, it happened to be inevitably more colourful,

freshly rejuvenated and newly addressed to the present tourism market.



Figure 3-1 Quedlinburg (Sung, 2013)



Figure 3-2 Quedlinburg and German tourists (Sung, 2013)



Figure 3-3 Quedlinburg (Sung, 2013)



Figure 3-4 Wernigerode (Sung, 2013)



Figure 3-5 Wernigerode (Sung, 2013)



Figure 3-6 Weimar Marktplatz (Sung, 2013)



Figure 3-7 Erfurt, Commercial district (Sung, 2013)

At first glance, the colourful façade of old towns in the East German towns seem entirely new, especially, considering the original construction years which are usually written on top of the building. In addition, the commercial districts in the old town and the brand signs in these roads are somewhat inharmonious at times due to the fact that they are actually fairly new in this so-called ‘old town’. Not surprisingly, it was often commented to be odd by the interviewees when it came to the topic of urban transformation after the reunification. The connotation of the new shops, not exclusively for the tourists but also for the locals, involved for each of them a long story, sensations, how it began, and what used to be there ‘before’. To the living generation, the cityscape seems to be still quite a new change even after 25 years. The privatisation, modernisation and partly happening gentrification in the old towns constantly remind them of the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ gap.

The colourisation was a new act which quite rapidly spread after ‘the Wende’²¹, and it continues until today. The process of modernisation seems to be that it has immediately been processed followed by the instant needs that those buildings were aesthetically too run down. It must have been necessary to unfold it carefully and observe the internal ‘happenings’ after the closed-up GDR era, as it accompanies ideological changes, and most importantly, this practice affects the daily life of the citizens. It is doubtful that such urban planning went through the communal board and public discussions. To build new commercial centres and promote it citywide the touristic zones, the process of selecting and promoting specific sites in the city, must have involved certain shapes of political interests, and there is almost no trace of the decision-making process in this period.

Regarding administrative structural changes in the former GDR states, there are not many public sources available. The status of documentation is very poor since there is no organisation or archive which is dedicated to the structural transformation during and after the reunification. Two publications regarding the transformation of system changes are fortunately available: Heike Bähre²² compared the systems in tourism discipline in the BDR and GDR and analysed the transformation of politics before and after the German reunification in detail. The rich collection of materials is one of its kind, and so far, it is the most significant publication which gives an overview of Germany’s domestic tourism policies of the 20th century. The technical and termino-

²¹ ‘The Wall’ in casual language to refer German Reunification in 1989/1990.

²² Heike Bähre (2003) introduces the organizational system transformation of tourism management in the former GDR state (Tourismuspolitik in der Systemtransformation. Eine Untersuchung zum Reisen in der DDR und zum ostdeutschen Tourismus in Zeitraum 1908 bis 2000).

logical insights provide an administration level transformation and also quantitative data. Also, Heike Wolter (2009) documented the GDR tourism culture in her doctoral thesis, *Ich harre aus im Land und geh, ihm fremd.*²³, which covered in detail most of the tourism culture and holidays elements. To have a clear understanding of how tourism was organised and took part in the socialist system these, two references were utterly essential.

In regard of the sociological and cultural approach on the topic of urban tourism in the former GDR state, Jason James is the first and the only researcher who observed one specific former GDR city as a case of preservation debates, focusing on the issue of nostalgia. He requests debates on Eisenach's city centre reformation and dissonance of different social initiatives. James (2001) argues that not only the system-transformation by the national unification but also the sentiments of the people took an important role in to be finally 'together' again in the 90s. The unexpected sudden fall of the wall caused quick adjustments to the cultural monuments, and thereby the temporal political intentions of the national leaders aiming nationalistic bond intervened over the process.

The central focus of this research lies on the sociological perspective on tourism development in the former socialist cities. The interests include the economic and systematic transformation, but more importantly, the research reflects the psychological and cultural impacts of the changes on the dwellers level. Whereas there is a tendency to look at nostalgically the former socialist life among the citizens, the objective discourse on urban changes and its impacts on the population in regard of 'locality' are not yet explored. Concerning the ambiguity of personal reflections, and also the

²³ In English, "I persist in the country and grow apart."

explorative characteristics of the study, the research has taken a multi-disciplinary methodology. Since the research focuses on the human perspective along the changes, the details of system changes such as politics, laws, and organisations are included under the condition that it would bring some consequences to the urban life. Chapter 3 covers the GDR tourism culture and its impact on life before entering the microanalysis on each city level in Chapter 4. Plus, it provides background information on dwellers life regarding vacation customs in prior to Chapter 5, where empirical interviews on specific urban sites are analysed.

3.2 The Transition in Tourism: The GDR and After

Heritage management is linked to multiple different categories such as marketing, urban infrastructure, architecture, art, and communication. Thus, it involves different ministries for its overall communication and performance with potential audience. Based on the historical development of national tourism policies and regional categorising system, it is dealt within different departments in each country. However, to come to the actions for visitors, it is consequently handled by the tourism department of each regional authority. Depending on the needs, it is then processed to cooperate with some other departments, and the most common example of such cooperation would be the traffic and infrastructure management. In this chapter, the development of tourism system and heritage management during the GDR and the initial period of after the reunification will be analysed.

To begin with, it needs to be first discussed what is regarded to be tourism here. Under tourism, there are handful of terminologies referring to similar social activities; travel, trip, holidays, vacation, etc. Additionally, there are different German words

which are considered to be the research topic; 'Tourismus', 'Reise', and 'Urlaub'. 'Tourismus (tourism)' is the most common, at the same time, an overarching word to refer to this social phenomenon of spending free time. The other terminologies position themselves in slightly different dimensions in time and place (or the way of consuming places). 'Reise' as the noun from a verb, 'Reisen' is about the action. Similar to 'to travel', 'Reisen' brings a picture of the movement from point A to point B. Wolter (2009) explains that it is an activity, in the space of time, money and the market itself (Wolter 2009, p. 22-23). It also has a tendency of less structured and more liberal conceptual boundary, such as 'Journey' or 'Voyage'. 'Urlaub' stands for holidays or vacation. 'Urlaub' is the word, which brings more attention to distinguish between the word 'tourism'. As Opaschowski (1991, p. 15) described 'Urlaub' as the contrast word for daily routine (Alltag), 'Urlaub' can mean the contrary state of ordinary daily life. The composition, 'Urlaubsort', means a holiday destination and 'Urlaubssaison' means vacation season. The word 'Tourismus' involves relevant industrial factors, such as infrastructure, promotions and other service sectors. It gives a concept of the host, guest and the communication between them, whereas 'Urlaub' or 'Reise' is more focused on the subject. Considering these characteristics of the terms, it is understandable that the word 'Tourismus' is the right selection when it comes to describing the system, strategies or marketing. Supposedly, this is why the word 'Tourismus' was not commonly used among the people when referring to the holiday in the GDR. The concept of the private sectors to industrialise the attractions did not exist. Without the capitalist concept of destination management or hospitality industry, the state promoted the citizens to 'rest' in order to achieve a better condition for the mental and physical health of the communist labour system. When asking about the 'Tourismus' in the GDR, it very often directed at talking about 'Urlaub'. 'Urlaub' was indeed a crucial component in the socialist governing system to let the people take enough rest and regulated breaks.

To embrace the overall cultural tourism management in the former GDR cities the research intended to chronologically follow the changes of two main system

changes, tourism and cultural legacy. To begin with tourism policies, first, it is necessary to look at the legal conception which formed the comprehensive tourism policies. Second, the different organisations and authorities are to be analysed. Finally, it goes to the state and city level to deal with a particular heritage site or the actions.

Historical Development of Tourism Management in the GDR

Tourism policies are the essential source to observe the transition of embedded meanings in heritage. While covering terminological and formal changes of the management, this Chapter will describe the systematic changes during the transformation from the GDR to unified Germany.

Bruno Basthien, the minister of tourism from November 1989 until April 1990, notes the significant importance of finding the ministry of tourism (MfT: Ministerium für Tourismus) as one of the first actions which were done during the transformation process. As a member of FDP (Freie Demokratische Partei: Free Democratic Party) and an expert in German geography, after the provisional government, he also served at the ministry for Trade and Tourism (Ministerium für Handel und Tourismus) until October 1990. He notes GDR of this period as ‘tourism developing country (Touristisches Entwicklungsland’ and ‘tourism development capable country (Ausbaufähiges Reiseland)’. Bathien notes the needs and difficulties of the re-start in unified Germany (Freyer 2000, p. 34-35).

On the 19th of December 1989 in Dresden, at the ‘Economic and political reform in the GDR (Wirtschaftspolitischen Reformen in der DDR)’, the first collaborated actions for tourism in unified Germany occurred. In this meeting between the two submits of Germanies, Hans Modrow and Helmut Kohl, the foundation of MfT was addressed as a clear signal with which the GDR could boost its independent

business through potential tourism (Freyer 2000, p. 36). The joint economic commission for FDR/ GDR also agreed on setting up a professional group of tourism which was later integrated into the functions of federal government in January 1990.

By the decision of the first democratic election on the 18th, March 1990, the ministry of tourism was substituted to the ministry of trade and tourism (Ministerium für Handel und Tourismus). It was after five months of its existence, a ministry for tourism. Then in August 1990, a few months after the inauguration of the new unified federal government, the necessity of a ministry of tourism for unified Germany was requisitioned, and it failed to meet the approval. This short history of the ministry of tourism did not leave many traces which we could follow and back up to document the transformation of tourism policies. However, it reminds us of the importance of inland tourism during that period and the instant recognition of such needs from a national concept which did not last so long.

Hans-Jürgen Wolff, the first marketing manager/coordinator of the DZT²⁴ for the new states of Germany (NBL: Neue Bundesländer), appealed the difficulties to integrate the former GDR states in unified Germany's tourism infrastructures.

He notes:

The initial situation 1989/ 1990

²⁴ DZT: Deutsche Zentrale für Tourismus (in English GNTB: the German National Tourist Board).

The tourism in the GDR was overall not sufficiently linked to the regional economic structure. There was a lack of efficiency in tourism organisation and inadequacy at the decentralised level. The deficiencies in general and tourism-related infrastructure in the urban landscape of the inner cities, and also in the variety and attractiveness of the “tourism product as a whole” were obvious. At the beginning, the disproportions of the necessary industrial promotions and infrastructure development were critically in need.

“Ecological legacy” magnified the negative image of the former GDR states.

(Freyer 2000, p. 45).

The original text in German:

Die Ausgangssituation 1989/ 1990

Der Tourismus war insgesamt nicht ausreichend an regionale Wirtschaftsstrukturen gekoppelt. Es gab eine mangelnde Effizienz in der Fremdenverkehrsorganisation, ein ausgeprägtes “Kirchturmdenken” auf dezentraler Ebene. Die Mängel in der allgemeinen und Tourismus relevanten Infrastruktur, im Stadtbild der Innenstädte, in der Vielfalt und Attraktivität des “Gesamtprodukts” waren unübersehbar, es gab Disproportionen zwischen notwendiger gewerblicher Förderung und Infrastrukturförderung waren Anfang kaum zu vermeiden. “Ökologische Altlasten” vergrößerten das Negativ-Image der NBL (Neue Bundesländer)

(Freyer 2000, p. 45).

According to Wolff (2000), the former GDR states were critically lacking the concept of market competition, image commercials for successful local tourism and offers for tourists. All the market-oriented communication tools and promotions were not comparable to the standards of West Germany. In fact, it is a fair result of 45 years of the socialist regime. While returning to market economy, during the process

of gliding capitalistic tourism industry, it is questionable, whether it was considered, how to stir the accustomed way of 'having' the city from the citizen's perspective. Referring Wolff and the DZT, the tourism policies of first years after the unification were focused on the pulling up of the standards of the former GDR states' tourism marketing as the level of West Germany. Covering the cityscapes with the market economy was the expectation following the absorbing unification. However, the sentimental nostalgia of urban quarters for the residents would have deserved philosophical discussions.

Systematic changes of the former GDR states regarding tourism policies are neither available in the written German history nor offered by a single source which provides detailed information about the unification process. Concerning the character of the tourism industry, and also Germany's municipal governing system, it is to trace from different sectors of political bodies and overall levels of decision makers. The following data on tourism development since the year 1989 is, therefore, the result of data collection from the federal German government level, the state level, and also the municipality. From the central government of Germany, the responsible authority for tourism is the ministry of economy and energy (Ministerium für Wirtschaft und Energie). The marketing organisation under the ministry, Germany travel (die DZT: Deutsche Zentrale für Tourismus), takes the national concept of tourism commercials and promotions. At state level, the strategic plans and state concept projects from the government of Thuringia is analysed. Finally, regional specific information from the municipal marketing strategies of the city of Eisenach and Gotha are scrutinised.

As mentioned above, concerning tourism politics in former East Germany and its transformation has been most analysed by Bähre (2003). Her research focuses on the systematic changes in tourism management in the GDR and their consequences on the economic system. It is applied here as the documentation of system change. Along the administrative changes, Wolter's contribution on tourism culture (such as tourism types, accommodation, organisation and application process, etc.) were reviewed,

mainly in order to have a fundamental understanding of the situation. The rest of system change related documents were supplied by different publications, through private collection of guidebooks, essays, regional history documents and politic books, often it was also redirected to certain documents or related historical events, such as policy changes.

This study aims to answer the research question, however, in terms of solving the issue, it documents the overall changes in heritage tourism management during a period of ideological change.

3.3 Tourism Culture in the GDR

The concept of tourism was interpreted differently by the socialist regime. The legal principles which are the foundation of the tourism policies were to support the development of society and individuals. The legislation and legal, systematic and administrative structure were driven to realise a constitutional framework of the socialistic development of the nation. While displacing this goal, the free time activities were led in the identical dimension, the leisure meaning of tourism and the variety of interest groups were pushed aside (Wolter 2009, p. 72). This Socialistic goal oriented free time policies affected in particular fields relatively well and constructively. The systematic characteristics are summarised based on the former research and documentation, and it is combined with the praxis. As a result, a few categories that represent vacation culture in the socialist era in the GDR will be introduced.

To note here is, the selections of the themes and feature analysis are made by the author considering the differences from tourism culture in West Germany. In addi-

tion, being outside of the socialist system provided the room for approaching what is especially characteristic in the case of GDR. For local insights, the main vacation forms and culture were chosen after the interviews conducted in Gotha, Eisenach, and also another former GDR city that the city that the author lives in, Weimar.²⁵

3.3.1 Vacation System in the GDR; Basic Understanding of the GDR Tourism Structure

In the GDR, vacation was a part of socialistic labour policies. Vacation was defined as not only compensation of employment but also as socialist right for forming the society. The SED²⁶ confirms the goal of vacation as physical and psychological rest through active participation in the achievement and solution of social affairs, the pursuit of a meaningful, content-rich and beautiful life in the socialist society, a high level of education and versatile intellectual and cultural interests and needs and a healthy

²⁵ More detailed interview contents will follow in Chapter 4 and 5.

²⁶ SED (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands): Social Unity Party of Germany.

lifestyle, physical culture and sports.²⁷²⁸

For ordinary people to go on a vacation there were two possibilities; either to get a place by the FDGB (der Freie Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund)²⁹ or to be distributed to one of the Betriebsferienheim. The FDGB is one of the two most moderate ways to apply for vacation placement regardless of what the job can offer for holiday places. The FDGB functioned as a pool to provide and manage vacations, but also, each company had a department to deal with vocational issues with the FDGB. The Betriebsferienheim means holiday houses that belong to bigger corporate size companies. They had their own holiday places, and the number of places and locations vary by each company. For exceptional cases, there were also private houses which one can only apply by informal connections. Also, there was Reisebüro hotel, which was more

²⁷ Original text of the SED agenda :

Eine Erholung des materialen und geistigen Lebensniveaus durch die aktive Teilnahme an der Leistung und Lösung der gesellschaftlichen Angelegenheiten, das Streben nach einem sinnerfüllten, inhaltsreichen und schönen Leben in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft, ein hohes Niveau der Bildung und vielseitige geistig-kulturelle Interessen und Bedürfnisse und eine gesunde Lebensführung, Körperkultur und Sport

²⁸ Schneider, Eberhard (1977): SED, Programm und Statut von 1976. Text, Kommentar, didakt. Hilfen. 1. Aufl. Opladen: Leske und Budrich (Analysen, Bd. 21), p. 66.

²⁹ More explanations follow in the next paragraph.

for the people in the higher socialistic positions or highly educated officers.³⁰ In the selection process, it factors such as the members of the family, the position at work, religion, political activities and social involvement were considered. All vacation ways were paid individually. The most economical way was going on a vacation through the company. In this case, the price was more affordable, and people mostly preferred it although it was often the case that one goes to the same destination a few times in a row.

During the holidays, the life in the vacation houses was a continuation of systemized distributions. Each person or family got a placement, meals, activity schedules which were regulated and collectively organised.

FDGB

‘The FDGB (der Freie Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund)’³¹ is the umbrella organisation for trade unions founded in 1947 (Wolter 2009, p. 184). In praxis, it was the only official organisation, which was in charge of holiday immobility and its management. Its goal was to serve the socialist meaning of vacations that anyone can

³⁰ Reisebüro was as VEB (Volkseigener Betrieb: Publicly Owned Operation) under the Ministry for Transportation (Ministerium für Verkehrswesen). It organized individual or group tours for domestic and international tours and as accommodation it included hotels, pensions, private rooms and all kinds of public transportation. It also organized group guide tours, school visits, and all other types of tours (Freyer 2000, p. 225).

³¹ In English, Free Federation of German Trade Unions.

afford holidays without the strain of financial pressure. The FDGB accommodations were either taken from the private landlords or from the immobility which belonged to the state, and they were rented usually for a very affordable price (Schaufuß 2011).

Betriebsferienheim

As introduced earlier, it is a type of vacation accommodation for the own employees from bigger companies. They were usually located in nature-oriented relaxation holiday places. For example, state-wide important and big companies would have a few holiday houses in the most beloved vacation destinations such as the Baltic sea, Thuringian forest, Harz forest and so on. Since people tended to work for a company for a long time, mostly until the reunification when there was not a specific reason for a formal change, it was possible to exchange the vacation destinations between companies.³²

Reisebüro

In the 50s there were actions to strengthen the organisation and settlement for GDR vacation. Until then, for the system, there was the FDGB, and as settlement, mostly bungalows and camping sites were responsible for the whole population. In the early 50s, there was a socialisation process of private tourist businesses in classic holi-

³² More information can be found in interviews with Mrs Grauel, Mrs Tuebner and Mrs Fehse in Appendix.

day regions. There was also the well-known case, Aktion Rose³³, an expropriation from the GDR government. Also, in 1957 the previous private travel service providers were forcibly taken and named as “VEP Deutsches Reisebüro” on the orders of the Ministry of Transport. It was the only service provider in the GDR, which worked under the market dynamics like on cost delivery including overseas tourism for private clients. Nevertheless, it was still under the complex state planning, management and organisation and involved organised recreation and coordinated activities. In 1964 it changed its name to “Reisebüro der DDR (Wolter 2011, p. 65; Freyer 2000, p. 215) ”.

Camping culture

‘Camp tourism’, as one of the typical holiday types in the GDR, camping was often mentioned by the interviewees.³⁴ The variety of vacation types and providers can be found in Table 3-1. Family vacations, especially at the coastal destinations (e.g.

³³ Aktion Rose: In February 1953, by the alleged violation of the “Law on the protection of public property and other social property (VESchG)” more than 400 entrepreneurs of hotels, pensions, taxi and service companies were arrested, and the properties were nationalized. The region was mostly seaside accommodations in the Baltic coast.

Retrieved from MDR 27.07.2009

<https://www.mdr.de/damals/archiv/artikel57280.html>

Retrieved from MDR Zeitreise video 07.11.2017.

³⁴ Based on interviews of Mrs Holzhäuser, Mrs Schedel, Mrs Aschenbrenner et al.

Baltic Sea coast and Mecklenburg lake area), camping was an economical way of holidays. Often there was a cabin or camping car fixed in the vast field, and to each of them, there was a standard tent attached in front of it. The format was all the same, and one could easily become friends in this complex (Freyer 2000, p. 215). According to references from 1945 to 1952, the vacation culture was similar to the one in West Germany. The vulnerable situation of war destruction and system unsettlement has brought rather an informal setup of accommodation and camping sites and bungalows (Freyer 2000 p. 215; Jensen 2013, p. 17).

| | |
|--|-------|
| Coastal landscape exclusively the Baltic sea area nearby Rostock (37.5% of the accommodations in the organised accommodation in the GDR) | |
| FDGB | 21,0% |
| VEB Reisebüro der DDR | 11,2% |
| Betriebe | 24,3% |
| Campingplätze | 43,5% |
| Central mountain region (27,8% of the accommodations in the organised accommodation in the GDR) | |
| FDGB | 49,2% |
| VEB Reisebüro der DDR | 10,4% |
| Betriebe | 17,9% |
| Campingplätze | 22,5% |
| Near Lakes (29,1% of the accommodations in the organised accommodation in the GDR) | |
| FDGB | 3,8% |
| VEB Reisebüro der DDR | 0,9% |
| Betriebe | 4,8% |
| Campingplätze | 90,5% |
| Rest etc. (5,6% of the accommodations in the organised accommodation in the GDR) | |
| FDGB | 12,2% |
| VEB Reisebüro der DDR | 18,1% |
| Betriebe | 42,5% |
| Campingplätze | 27,2% |

Table 3-1 Proportion of vacation provider/ type by regional division³⁵

³⁵ Source: Edited from Tabelle: Auslastung der Erholungslandschaftstypen durch die Leistungsträger, Wolter (2009 p. 60) based on Oehler (1989).

3.3.2 Tourism Trend in the GDR

During the interviews, it was noticed that despite the regional differences the way tourism itself used to be is certainly different from the one in West Germany. The reasons can vary; from infrastructure, service providers, the format of settlement at the destination to the mentality of people. A few characteristics of tourism trends in East Germany is analysed here in order to provide the background of cases which will follow in the later Chapters in micro level observation. Also, the introduction to Thuringian Forest, which plays an essential role in learning one of the cases, Gotha, and additionally, the top destinations in the GDR will follow.

Nature/ Sports tourism

As we can see in the Table 3-1, tourism destinations in the GDR have much to do with Nature, especially mountains and coastal/ lake regions. Baltic Sea ranks as the most popular tourist destination, and it is followed by Thuringian Forest. One important thing to note here is that when searching for tourism destinations in former East Germany, the two terminologies “Reisegebiet (travel area)” and “Erholungslandschaften (relaxation landscape)” are used equally (Hensel 2012; Freyer (2000) p. 128). As most of the destinations show in the table, the tourism destination in the past used to be dominant by natural landscape-oriented destinations. This also explains the outside activities during the vacation as well, such as swimming, hiking and skiing. In both the case cities, although they are city tourism destinations, they used to have a prominent activity route such as hiking routes. Rennsteig near the city of Eisenach and the ski area nearby Gotha, Tabarz and Friedrichroda in Thuringian Forest would be the most popular examples. Regarding coastal/ lake area, a well known GDR habit is the custom of FKK (Freikörperkultur: Nude culture). The concept of unclothing in the

natural environment was one of the most common GDR customs. Although it can be found at some beaches in united Germany, and the concept might have existed beforehand, it was one of the common words answered when interviewing the GDR vacation culture. Perhaps freeing the body in politically restricted state must have given a certain blast of freedom, which people longed for. However, this is only an assumption people answered personally during the interviews.

Culture/ History/ City tourism

There was the concept of city tourism in the GDR as well even though its relevance was lower than the other format of tourism. As the destinations, most cities with high cultural resources can be addressed: Thuringian cities; such as Eisenach, Gotha, Erfurt and Weimar, also Eastern part of Saxony; Freiberg, Meissen, Dresden Bautzen and Görlitz, also Berlin, Potsdam, Leipzig were known for fairs and historical events (Freyer 2000. p. 127). Unfortunately, the exact number of visitors in each city above could not be found in publications, but specific sites like castles, will be addressed in the next Chapter when explaining the tourism development in a city level.

Thuringian Forest (Thüringer Wald)

Thuringian Forest used to play an important role in the case city, Gotha. Gotha is located next to the Thuringian Forest, which ranks as the second most beloved tourist destination during the GDR. As Table 3-3 shows, out of the overall vacation destinations, Thuringian Forest is the second popular destination after the East Coast.

Thuringian Forest is usually associated with the mountain sports, mostly ski

trips, however, for the local people it mainly served the function as short-term picnics for refreshment in the nature. Given the fact that Gotha was an industrial city with heavy machinery factories, such as machine construction, railway building, glass, watches, heating system and so on, the air was severely contaminated. Not only Gotha but also a number of cities in the GDR, spread widely to each Bezirk, air pollution was a serious concern at the time.³⁶ Mr Wenzel comments “On the days that we had ‘Ostwind (wind coming from the East)’ , it was terrible to breathe. Thuringian Forest is, therefore, the place we go from to time to breathe.”³⁷

³⁶ Air pollution in the GDR: Please find the Table 3-2

³⁷ Mr Wenzel, Citizen of Gotha, more interview content can be found in Appendix

Tabelle 1: Gesamtemission von Schwefeldioxid (SO₂) in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in der DDR 1970 bis 1990 sowie in den alten und neuen Bundesländern 1991/1992 (einschließlich Verkehrswesen)

| Jahr | Bundesrepublik Deutschland | DDR | DDR : BRD BRD = 100 |
|------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| | in 1000 t | | in vH. |
| 1970 | 3 800 | | |
| 1975 | 3 308 | 4 111 | 124 |
| 1978 | 3 400 | | |
| 1980 | 3 166 | 4 320 | 136 |
| 1981 | | ca. 4 360 | |
| 1982 | 2 900 | 4 610 | 159 |
| 1983 | | ca. 4 700 | |
| 1984 | 2 600 | 5 090 | 196 |
| 1985 | 2 369 | 5 385 | 227 |
| 1986 | 2 300 | 5 403 | 235 |
| 1987 | | 5 605 | |
| 1988 | 1 218 | 5 255 ¹ | 431 |
| 1989 | 939 | 5 250 ¹ | 559 |
| 1990 | 878 | 4 755 ² | 542 |
| | Früheres Bundesgebiet | Neue Bundesländer und Berlin-Ost | |
| 1991 | 896 | 5 534 ² | 394 |
| 1992 | 875 | 3 021 ¹ | 345 |

1 Rückgang des SO₂-Ausstoßes durch den Einfluß milder Winter.

2 Rückgang des SO₂-Ausstoßes infolge von Sanierungen erhaltenswerter Kraftwerke und von Stilllegungen veralteter Kraftwerke sowie von Produktionsanlagen mit hohem Verschleißgrad und mit einer weit überdurchschnittlichen Umweltbelastung.

Table 3-2 Overall emissions of sulfur dioxide in the FRG and GDR³⁸

³⁸ Kuhrt, Buck, and Holzweissig (2003 p. 227)

| Vacation Destination | Tourism type | Actual proportion % | Wished % |
|---|----------------|---------------------|----------|
| Ostseeküste Baltic sea | Nature | 29 | 35 |
| Mecklenburgische Seenplatte Mecklenburg Lake District | Nature | 11 | 11 |
| Havel-Seen und Dahme-Spree-Gebiet Havel Lakes and Dahme Spree area | Nature | 5 | 3 |
| Harz, Kyffhäuser Harz, Kyffhäuser | Nature | 6 | 8 |
| Thüringer Wald, Schiefergebirge Thuringian Forest, Thuringian Highland | Nature | 17 | 18 |
| Erzgebirge, Vogtland Ore Mountains, Vogtland | Nature | 7 | 8 |
| Sächsische Schweiz, Lausitzer Bergland, Zitauer Gebirge, Dresden Saxony Switzerland, Lusatian highlands, Zittau mountains, Dresden | Nature City | 7 | 11 |
| Berlin | City | 7 | 4 |
| Andere Gebiete, Rundreisen Other destinations, round trip | - | 11 | 3 |

Table 3-3 Tourism Destinations in GDR³⁹

³⁹ Edited from “Tabelle: Realisierte Urlaubsreisen im Inland im Vergleich zu geäußerten Wunschvorstellungen, Institute für Marktforschung 1975”, Wolter (2009 p. 128).

For visitors, Thuringian Forest was a ‘Kurort’.⁴⁰ Small towns in the forest have a long history of ski and relaxation tourism and the most visited places were Tabarz and Friedrichroda. Thuringian Forest was the top destination for winter sports but was also popular during the summer for its hiking routes. It is easily noticeable that the people are very proud of their own natural assets. Although the incoming tourists of Thuringian Forest have been radically decreasing after the reunification, the significance of local pride was very visible. When asked about Thuringian Wald, every interviewee was excited to introduce its charm, and at the same time, the question of shrunken meaning was slightly avoided.

3.4 Analysis of Heritage Management Development

Under the total control over place management and municipal governing in the GDR system, it is certainly predictable that heritage management had been through a drastic conceptional change after the reunification. Following the winner theory (Freyer 2000, p. 218–219), the re-possession of heritage in the territory of former East Germany have changed multiple times in the 20th, first by the socialist regime and then by the capitalistic governance. To explore the control over the remembering process, relevant books and documentation were reviewed. To trace the administrative management of architectural heritage, the chosen equivalent German word for heritage is

⁴⁰ Kurort: Healing spot. It refers to locals going for relaxation but sometimes it has sports or medical infra-structures as well. Often it is situated in countryside and has natural spas, mountains and great nature around.

‘Denkmal’. ‘Denkmal’ is however not quite heritage per se, but it refers more to a monument or memorial. As an umbrella word ‘Denkmal’ embraces the significance of ‘the old’, which deserve remarks and remembering. Cultural heritage can belong to one of its kinds, ‘Baudenkmal (architecture of historical importance; historic monument)’. Another word for cultural heritage can be ‘Kulturerbe’, however for administrative initiatives, Denkmal is more commonly used, whereas Kulturerbe would generally include from historical cultural objects to intangible traditions. Especially, on behalf of ideological significance, the word ‘Denkmal’ was the dominant term to explain overall heritage during the GDR, and it also naturally included the political memorials which were newly added in the GDR state. Gotha’s Denkmal introduction book from 1987 explains that “the care and affection of this extensive cultural heritage are of the prime political and spiritual importance to the present and the future.”⁴¹

Following the fundamental reorganisation of the heritage lists and management system change from 1975 (19th June 1975, to be precise⁴²), the GDR government started its own categorisation of the heritage.⁴³ The existing law for heritage conservation goes back to the Weimar Republic (Heimatschutzgesetz). Aside from the newly

⁴¹ “Die Pflege und Aneignung dieses umfangreichen kulturellen Erbes ist von erstrangiger politischer und geistiger Bedeutung für die Gegenwart und die Zukunft” from Denkmale des Kreises Gotha, (Rat des Kreises Gotha 1987 p. 8).

⁴² Heritage list following the “Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Berlin 1976 p. 52)”.

⁴³ Here heritage is the sum of German Denkmal, Memorial and Kulturerbe. For the details, please see Chapter 2 for details.

set up conservation laws in 1972 by the FRG (Federal Republic of Germany), new standards and regulations were developed in the GDR, and its legalisation cleared out the commonly existed heritage assessment until then. By enacting the law of heritage conservation in 1975, the GDR government clarified its responsibility towards the physical conservation of the monuments, and also defined the moral and classical value which is embedded in the monuments.⁴⁴ In the structure side, classification has changed based on its value and meanings: Zentrale Liste (Central), Bezirks- (District-) and Kreisliste (City including the surrounding). Bezirksdenkmalliste means the heritage with national meanings, Zentrale Denkmaliste stands for special domestic and also internationally meaningful heritage, and there is also alphabetical classification next to the items from I to VI.⁴⁵

I. Monuments on important historical and cultural events and developments or personalities (Denkmale zu bedeutende historischen und kulturellen Ereignissen und Entwicklungen oder zu Persönlichkeiten)

II. Monuments of the culture and way of life of the working classes and strata of the people (Denkmale zu Kultur- und Lebensweise der werktätigen Klassen und Schichten des Volkes)

III. Monuments of the production and traffic history (Denkmäler der Produktions- und Verkehrsgeschichte)

IV. Monuments of urban planning and architecture (Denkmale des Städtebaues)

⁴⁴ Gesetzblatt Teil I Nr. 26 – Ausgabetag: 27. Juni 1975.

⁴⁵ Denkmale des Kreises Gotha (1987) p. 90.

und der Architektur)

V. Monuments of landscaping and garden design (Denkmale der Landschafts- und Gartengestaltung)

VI. Monuments of visual and applied art (Denkmale der bildenden und angewandten Kunst)

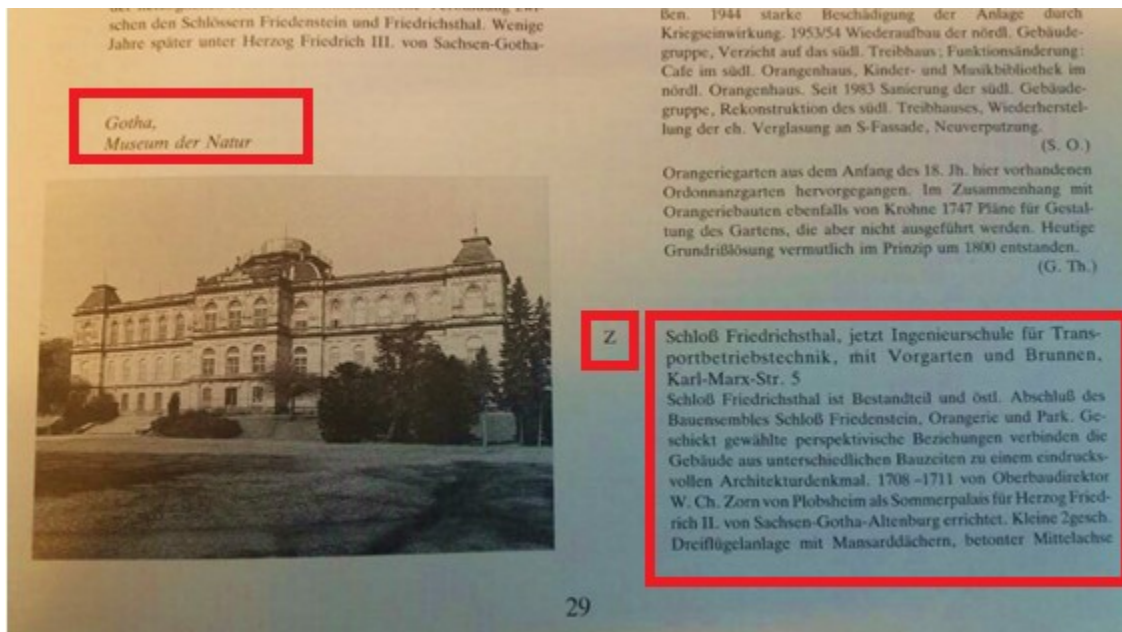


Figure 3-8 Denkmale des Kreises Gotha (1987 p. 29)

| | |
|---|-----|
| Gedenktafel für Märzkämpfer 1920, Hauptpostamt Leninplatz 1 | (I) |
| Inscription: „ZUM GEDENKEN DER HELDEN, die hier in den Märzkämpfen 1920 im Kampf gegen die Reaktion für die Befreiung der Arbeiterklasse ihr Leben gaben.“ Gedenktafel erinnert an die wichtigsten und erfolgreichsten Angriffe, die von der Ohrdruffer Kampffront gegen die befestigten Stellungen der Kapp-Putschisten im März 1920 geführt wurden. | |
| Gedenkstein mit Thälmannbildnis am Kreis- kulturhaus „Joh. R. Becher“ | (I) |
| Gedenkstein Märzkämpfer im VEB Kraftfahrzeug- werk „Dr. Th. Neubauer“, Kindleber Str. 99 | (I) |
| Inscription: „Zum Gedenken der gefallenen Kämpfer der Arbeiterklasse des Betriebes im Kapp-Putsch 1920 und in den März- kämpfen 1923.“ | |
| Gedenktafel Dr. Hans Loch am Haus Dr.-Hans-Loch-Str. 3 | (I) |
| Gedenktafel Pfarrer Werner Sylten am Haus Gartenstr. 29 | (I) |
| Arnoldi-Stele am Berggarten | (I) |
| Betonstele mit eingelassenem Marmorreliefkopf. | |
| Gedenktafeln: | (I) |
| Böhner, Ekhof, Gotter, Schwarz, im Museum für Regionalgeschichte und Volkskunde | |
| Stieler, am Haus Schützenberg 25 | |
| Prof. Dr. H. Haack, am Haus Emminghausstr. 18 | |
| Kellner, am Haus Puschkinallee 4 | |
| Perthes, Huttenstr. 10 | |
| Meyer, am Haus Querstr. 5 | |
| Jacobs-Denkmal, Bergallee/Burgfreiheit | (I) |
| Auf hohem, einmal abgestuften Sockel Obelisk oben abgeschlossen mit Palmetten-Ornament, darunter Lorbeerkranz, fünfstrahliger Stern über Inscription: „Dem verdienten Mitbürger dem Maler Paul Ernst Jacobs 1867“, darunter Bronzemedaille mit Reliefkopf. | |

Figure 3-9 Denkmale des Kreises Gotha (1987 p. 31)

Leo Schmidt (2008) notes that the most significant difference between the two heritage conservation laws in the West and the East lies on the subject and the object of the artefact:

Whereas without exception West German laws stated that the legal protection of a place required that its preservation should be in the interest of the public, the conservation laws of the GDR required that the conservation of any object had to be in the interest of socialist society. In addition, monuments were expected to “serve the development of socialist consciousness, aesthetic and technological education as well as ethical upbringing (GDR conservation Law 1975)” thus bringing politics into the debate. Whereas West German law had to go to some lengths to regulate the restriction of ownership rights of a monument, GDR law naturally had an easier time of it because the idea of private ownership of real estate had relatively little importance (Schmidt 2008, p. 67).”

In East Germany, the significance of the historical object was also affected by the socialist consciousness, from the selection to the management. The government ownership of public space and authorisation led the heritage conservation starkly centrally oriented as well. Parallel to this change, in West Germany, celebrating ‘the European Heritage Year’ in 1975 has drawn much attention to heritage conservation. By the declaration of heritage conservation in these two regimes, the war ruins in old towns, city façade, classic architecture, historical figures and Christian heritage officially began to be managed in two parallel directions.

3.5 Empirical Case Study Analysis

So far, in Chapter 3, the former structural setup of heritage management and tourism system were reviewed. This information allows us to understand better how the current tourism format might have been perceived by the residents. The pre-existing concept of vacation and understanding of historicity in the GDR socially determined how to view the architectural heritage and its importance for the living generation. For example, the alteration of the meaning of the castle, the church, the ducal culture and the emphasis on solidarity and communist values is the invisible identity of East Germany and it is a relevant topic for the current heritage tourism. Keeping that in mind, in the following chapters, the empirical case region and the cities will be introduced.

The empirical case study will be analysed in two different layers of Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. In Chapter 4, the discourse of cultural heritage policies will be covered, along with the hard factors such as political situations, change of policies, documentation and status of architecture. In Chapter 5, the urban life of the citizens, feelings, emotions and narratives according to the historical changes will be analysed. For being exploratory research, case studies serve the significance of the thesis itself. The construction of connectivity between the framework and empirical studies will be followed along the path of choosing the case, background research, data analysis, and exploratory interviews.

As the Approach and Research Strategy Chapters highlighted, the interdisciplinary nature of this study can be realised by detailed case analysis. Based on the GDR tourism culture in Chapter 3, tourism destinations in former East Germany have been reviewed, and the following cities, Gotha and Eisenach have been selected for discourse analysis and interviews. These two locations in the state of Thuringia share the

common aspect of average former East German cities such as shrinking population, higher unemployment rate, a decrease of industrial potential and aging. Besides, they both have been promoting much of their city as tourist destinations, have great historical resources, and quite similar regarding the size and population. Locating in the same municipality helps that they are under the same structural condition and historical events.

The cultural heritage in these two cities has been recognised differently and shown differently in different time periods. How the focal point of a specific period changes, and how that affects cultural heritage to the way it is framed will be analysed. Observing tourism marketing, the promotion of particular heritages became more precise and visible. The urban life evolves accordingly to the heritage management. To grasp the memories and self-understanding of people is the goal of this exercise.

3.6 Case Study 1: Gotha

Located in the middle of two cultural destinations Eisenach and Weimar, Gotha is a great example to look into how historicity is placed upon the flow of different time and power. Gotha is situated at the outskirts of Thuringian Forest. The small towns in the Forest used to be under the jurisdiction of city Gotha.

Gotha is the eldest city in Thuringia. The reference of the city goes back to AC 774, and from 1640 to 1825, it was the royal residential city of the imperial Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha. As a result of it, the city possesses the massive and well preserved Baroque architecture, such as the Castle Friedenstein together with substantial loyal gardens, orangery and museums. The ducal history seems to be the central identity of the town until the wave of modern industrialisation hit the city. As the industrial de-

velopment began, other faces of Gotha also started to shine, such as publishing, heavy metal production, train/ airplane construction and assembling industries. The School materials, vehicles, watches, metal goods and many other goods were produced centrally in Gotha for the state of GDR. During the GDR, Gotha had its peak as an industrial hub of the Thuringian state. Simultaneously, the Thuringian Forest had an essential role as relaxation and natural holiday destination in this period.⁴⁶ The heavy industry of the city also promoted that the citizens would go to the forest for fresh air and picnics in their free time.

In presence, Gotha is the 5th biggest city in the Thuringia, and like any other cities in the state except for Weimar, Jena and Erfurt, it is going through decreasing inhabitants, unemployment and ageing issues. There is a new perspective getting developed throughout the past years regarding Gotha's city development. The ducal heritage, which has been rather omitted during the socialist regime, is again having its phase to shine. The Thuringian Forest is still a famous local destination in the East for skiing and hiking. However, the reunification has brought the worldwide market competition which is generally the sharp break down for the former vacation destinations. The narratives of Gotha are the live example of a former GDR industrial city, which is driven to a new role in this era. The urban life that has lived through the changes, and the voice of citizens are worth documenting. It is essential to learn from it when re-positioning a city after a radical discontinuity.

⁴⁶ Please see Chapter 3.3 for more information of vacation culture in GDR and Thuringian Forest as top holiday destination.

3.7 Case Study 2: Eisenach

Eisenach plays a critical role in observing tourism in both former GDR and unified Germany because of its geography as well as the historical features of the city. With the magnificent appearance of Wartburg castle overlooking the town, Eisenach is the first town to encounter right after the former Eastern German border. While the dramatic appearance of the castle can remind the people of the separated past, it shall also signify the originally shared roots before the separation, at least this is how the local people believe.

Although the well-preserved 11th century-built castle Wartburg is itself a great heritage, it carries more significances to the local people than just the medieval architecture. In the castle there is the Martin Luther room (in German: Lutherzimmer), the original place where Martin Luther translated the first German version of the bible, which adds the importance of Wartburg and Eisenach as the symbol of the Protestant Reformation. As if showing the meaning of the castle and the city identity, once the border was drawn and Eisenach began manufacturing the GDR automobile series, the car brand was named after the castle 'Wartburg'. The name of Wartburg doubled its importance as Eisenach became famous as an automotive city during the GDR.

Eisenach also holds a handful of other cultural heritage of German history such as the Bachhaus and Lutherhaus. Lutherhaus is a small house in Eisenach's old town where young Martin Luther lived while serving the Catholic school in Eisenach. As Eisenach was and is the capital of the Catholic church of the state, Eisenach is a traditional church town. On another note, Bach continues the Catholic characteristic of the city as the father of church music. The complete modernisation of the Bachhaus was finalised in 2007, and it reopened to the public. Its renovated modern look brought an unexpected grievance to the citizens. When the construction was finished, the initial

reaction of the residents was not so smooth as the futuristic look with glass and lights, plus the reformation of its original shape were too distant from the original Bachhaus shape. Nonetheless, the Bachhaus is one of the leading cultural attractions of the city.

Recently, Eisenach held multiple commemoration events for Luther to celebrate his achievements and the Christian history of Germany as the Reformation anniversary was in 2017. It is an opportunity to have a closer look at how the history of Christianity reflected in the socialist regime as well as how citizen's life altered in the religious perspective. During the organisation and management of the today's events, how the recent history of Luther and his heritage in Eisenach is shown and observed. At the same time, the content of the relevant events which was held in Eisenach during the GDR is questioned to assess the questions of cognitive 'remembering process' of cultural heritage by the time.

On the contrary to Gotha, Eisenach is an example to analyse how a cultural city evolves to a heavy industrial city, and again comes back to redeem its medieval charm after decades. How the citizens have been coping with the political and cultural redemption is worth observing. In addition, how the church and Catholic history have been managed as cultural heritage is another point to look into.

4. Data analysis: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Cultural Tourism Management

As an interdisciplinary approach, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a useful method to look at social symptoms and analyse them in multi-dimensions (Weiss and Wodak 2007). Since the early 1980s, CDA has become well acknowledged as an approach to the analysis of different types of data across disciplines (Van Leeuwen 2009). As it does not limit the analysis to a single form of data source, it enables socio-political issues to be discussed in a liberal and united way. It does not use a common theoretical or methodological approach, but more importantly a common goal and thereby enables continuously to include expanding aspects. The humanities and social sciences use the CDA research in order to examine ideologies, power relations and different discourse involved within the issue. The ideological interpretation of discourse was successfully used by a number of influential social theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, and Jürgen Habermas. These scholars, although they might not agree on the level of emphasis on the role of discourse in praxis, they generally emphasise the importance of social practices and investigating social power effects in discourse (Fairclough and Wodak 1995, p. 114).

To note while using the CDA is, due to its liberal characteristic of collecting data, it is crucial not to systematically relate the data and create the context as it might cause high danger of abusing the discourse by too broad interpretation. The critical value of using CDA is to be able to utilise the materials adequately and relevantly.

In this study, CDA is an effective methodology to constitutionalise the various time data sources. Due to the nature of the research topic, reasonable selection and interpretation of the various forms of resources were utterly essential. While collecting data across history, memory, psychology and architectural studies, staying in the life of

narratives gave the freedom at the same time a good orientation.

The narratives of GDR heritage management and tourism culture are the main resource to understand the change after the reunification and until today. Due to the characteristic of GDR tourism, heritage tourism, which often duplicates with city tourism can be observed by two parallel concepts, tourism culture and heritage management. The data collection, therefore, tends to have two big pillars. Tourism culture is covered by the systematic approach from state organisation, policies and destination management. Different documentation and photographs were collected in chronological order for the discourse of heritage management. Throughout the process, interviews with experts and non-expert citizens were the primary source of information, at the same time played a guiding role to indicate what to focus on.

Chapter 4 analyses the structural and hardware changes of tourism culture in the transition period. The case based real stories in texts from archived documents, photographs, brochures, books and interview data are used to prove the systematic changes. This will contribute to understand the individual experiences of the change in the following Chapter 5.

4.1 Introduction

Ever since heritage was recognised as one of modernity's most powerful cultural forces⁴⁷ scholars have examined how individuals, communities, and nations use discourse about the past to craft evocative window in which to examine heritage as a powerful cultural force for social change. Whether it is the self-conscious revaluation of under-appreciated ruins placed on display for economic gain, or contests between self-proclaimed descent groups and site managers over presentation, heritage plays a transformative role in the ways we travel.

Porter 2008, p. 267-281

To the discussion that the past is no longer the pre-steps of presence, but a completely different object (Lowenthal 1985; Jackson 1994). Claval (2008) adds a question of the difference between the past as a living memory, and the past as high culture (Claval 2008, p. 85-93). What is regarded as past here is a distant past? This is judged and appreciated by today's observation and has to exist only as interpretations. The connection to the past can be obtained by observation, face-to-face relations, imitations, and appreciations by the public and thus, it is not a completely foreign past, as long as the living elder generation is bridging different generations. Claval (2008) claims that high culture is not meant to be transmitted by direct relations. High culture ought to be more specifically centred on intellectual knowledge and values that used to build the power system in the nineteenth century. Then, it raises a question of, what

⁴⁷ Appadurai (2001); Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000); Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1998); Lowenthal (1985).

exactly the boundary is to decide what belongs to which past and since when it belongs to the recent history. In the case of architectural heritage, the concept of high culture gets somewhat blurry. While Goethe is perhaps the classic symbol of the German language and his pieces are appreciated as the highlight of Western literature, Goethe's house and Goethe's life story are not so simple to put it in this strict table of 'high culture', especially when it involves physical objects of daily life. However, this is how the modern society consumes the past. The past does not have an empty gap. Different generations are bridging periodical fashion and archaeological trends. People consume the past days in the context of architectural heritage as well. Therefore, it is certainly not crystal clear when Claval defines the traditionalism of culture and how it passes down in modern society. Nevertheless, his argument on looking at heritage forming a certain identity in the European context leads us to reflect on how it strategically works to react to new situations in presence. He also mentions himself that the division between different components of cultures appear to be diminishing. As a result of it, in order to keep the vernacular forms of identities alive, people try to preserve the physical environments of the past, giving newfound importance to the role of heritage.

Local, regional and national identities are often redefined. Instead of being the expression of social groups trying to organise their life and environment through political action, they are often perceived as ethnic entities. Their 'truth' is based on the cultural interpretations given by past generations to particular places. Observation of the periodical meanings given to the architectural object can, therefore, unveil the reflective and altering values of the community.

In the following subchapters, discourse analysis on structural changes and written materials will be introduced. Looking into communal levels helps to go into details of heritage management in the way of describing it, where the focus is, how it is directed to look at things by observing 'how' the heritage appears on the materials. In that sense, it is a great opportunity to see the brochures since it delivers the closest

way how the municipality in that time wanted to present their city.

Fortunately, in Gotha, thanks to Mr Wenzel's help, it was possible to get a series of Gotha's cultural calendars from the GDR publication. It was also possible to observe how the organisation went on by categorising the printed materials and the publishing organisation itself. In the case of Eisenach, materials were collected as pieces from different archives. In both municipalities, the GDR brochures were stored neither in the city management nor the tourism department. It was mainly the case that the citizens kept them as their piece of personal story. I could get in touch with private collections although I firstly started looking it in official city authorities. The tourism offices were helpful to connect me with the local elderly population who were locally known to have clear knowledge or saved the old materials. Parallel to that, I collected old books about the city in the local second-hand bookstores, and also on the internet. Comparing the guidebooks, which were published in the GDR times, was helpful as they emphasize different things depending on their publishing year. It shows the main items that the city promoted in a very short and explicit level. Since both cities, Gotha and Eisenach, are historical but small size cities, the focus gets more evident in the given few pages. Considering that the state proved all the editors and publications, it also shows what were allowed and encouraged under the GDR governing.

The discourse analysis using tourism promotion materials of GDR cities has not been conducted so far in academia. Looking into the chronological narratives of places allows us to widen the view of how neighbourhood and historical buildings were described in the different systems. Further, it lets us consider how the space management, urban planning, and tourism management influenced the citizens' perception of their own city. The interviews of the later chapters attempted to uncover how much this observation matches with the memories of the people.

4.2 Tourism in Thuringia (Thüringen) in Macro-Level Observation

Situated in the centre of Germany, Thuringia is the bridge region of the West and the East. Thuringia is famous for its nature and history. It possesses more than 300 castles, numerous hiking routes in the Thuringian Forest and the cities of Goethe, Schiller, Bach and Martin Luther.

Following brochures of the 20th century provides us with a broad picture of its attractions. Thanks to the Tourism Archive in Berlin and the archive representative, Professor Spode, and Professor Irmischer, it was possible to analyse the old brochures from the early 1900s to late 1990s. Regarding the Thuringian Forest, Mrs Aschenbrenner from Tourismusverband Thüringer Wald/ Gothaer Land e.V. shared her collection of tourism-related materials of Thuringia, which were exclusive and unique documents. Although it might not reflect all the perspectives existed during these periods, looking into brochures and commercial materials is the most organic way of capturing tourism consumption, as it is a result of different motives and acts of the time. There is no database and institutional initiative which documents how the tourism industry has developed along time. Tourism management is a result of different main components, such as politics, urban facility, transportation, municipality and dwellers' involvement. These elements add up to a complexity while this research aims at completing full-pictured conclusions. Based on the collected materials, interviews and personal observations, the following is an attempt to draw an overview of Thuringian tourism concepts in recent history starting from the 20th century.

“Thüringen, das grüne Herz des Deutschlands”⁴⁸ is the most classic and well-known slogan of the region. According to Dr Raßloff, this slogan was used for the first time in 1897 as a book title of *August Trinius*, and the state of Thuringia used it for the first time in 1920.⁴⁹⁵¹ After the reunification in 1990, it started to become again the identity of the state, reminding people of the old times and the re-formed state.

Based on brochures and guidebooks from before the socialist regime, major attractions of Thuringia were Wartburg in Eisenach and the Thuringian Forest.

The selected case cities’ attractions and the marketing before the GDR period will be elaborated in the next pages.

⁴⁸ In English, “Thuringia, the green heart of Germany.”

⁴⁹ For more information, please see the article:

http://www.erfurtweb.de/Th%C3%BCrtingen_das_Gr%C3%BCne_Herz_Deutschlands.

⁵⁰ Steffen Raßloff *Geschichte Thüringens*, München 2010; Jürgen Valdeig and Steffen Raßloff, 2017; *Malerisches Thüringen. Eine Liebeserklärung in aquarellen*, Erfurt.

⁵¹ Thuringia was divided into different Bezirk (districts; administrative scope in the GDR) in the GDR from 1952 until 1990 and Thuringia was divided into three different Bezirks; Suhl, Erfurt and Gera.



Figure 4-1 Thuringia brochure (1928)

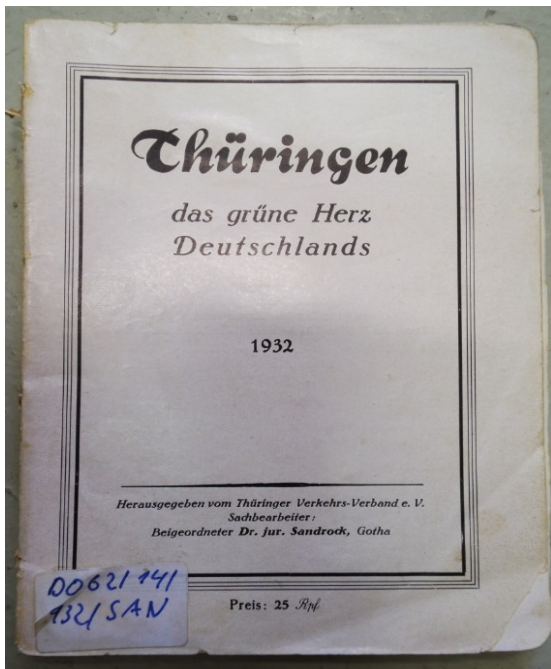


Figure 4-3 Thuringia brochure (1932)

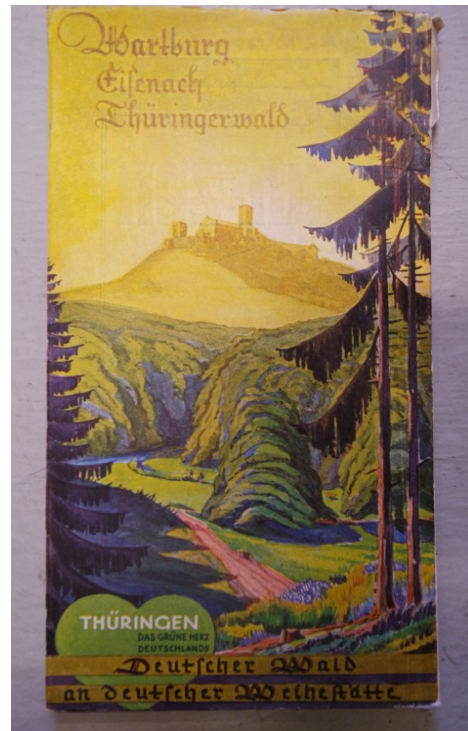


Figure 4-2 Thuringia brochure (1936)



Figure 4-5 Thuringia brochure (1937)



Figure 4-4 Thuringian brochure (1952)



Figure 4-6 Thuringia Brochure in the GDR (1953)

Eisenach

Eisenach is nearly a synonym for Wartburg in all printed tourist materials starting from the early 20th century. Also, guidebooks, brochures and images such as posters and postcards for the state of Thuringia often use Wartburg as its symbol. Wartburg is doubtless the most important and known heritage of the state Thuringia. At the same time it was the representative attraction of the city Eisenach regardless of the time from 1890 until the early 1950s, before the socialist regime took over the

central dictated print industry.⁵²⁵³



Figure 4-8 Eisenach Guidebook (1916)

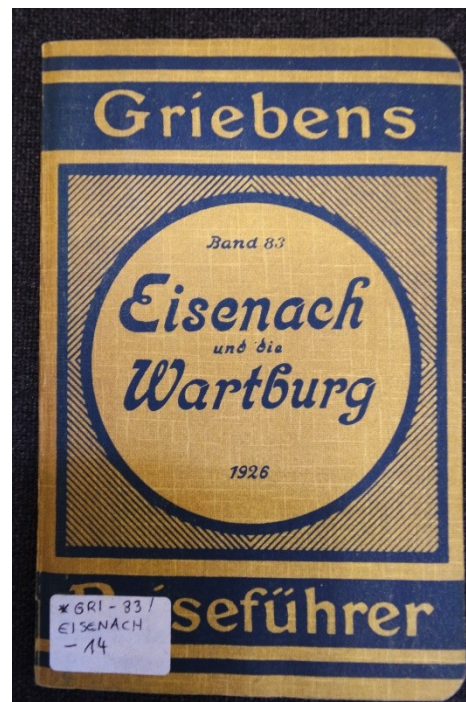


Figure 4-7 Eisenach Guidebook (1926)

⁵² Based on ca. 50 guide books and printing materials from 1846 to 1953.

⁵³ Collection of Griebens Reiseführer series from 1916, Badedeker's Mittle-und Nord-Deutschland, Badeker's Reisenbuch, Rechts und Links der Eisenbahn series, and numerous Brochures before and after the GDR. Materials were collected from the Historisches Archiv zum Tourismus, private collection of the researcher and the citizens.

As the establishment of the GDR, more materials are showing the Thuringian Forest front page as the main attraction. In the case of Eisenach, the hiking route ‘Rennsteig’ was promoted much as for the benefit of situated in the Thuringian Forest. Nevertheless, the Wartburg is one of the major destinations covered gloriously at the beginning of the Thuringia section. It is common to see the cover image that the Wartburg combined with the Thuringian Forest. The impression describes the castle on the mountain, so it promotes two main attractions of the region together (Figure 4-9). After Wartburg, it usually introduces the St. Georgen Kirche, Lutherhaus, Bachmuseum and historical libraries. Interestingly, it also includes war memorials which were demolished and replaced multiple times over the time (see Figure 4-10).



Figure 4-9 Thuringia Brochure in the GDR (year unknown), Tourismusarchiv

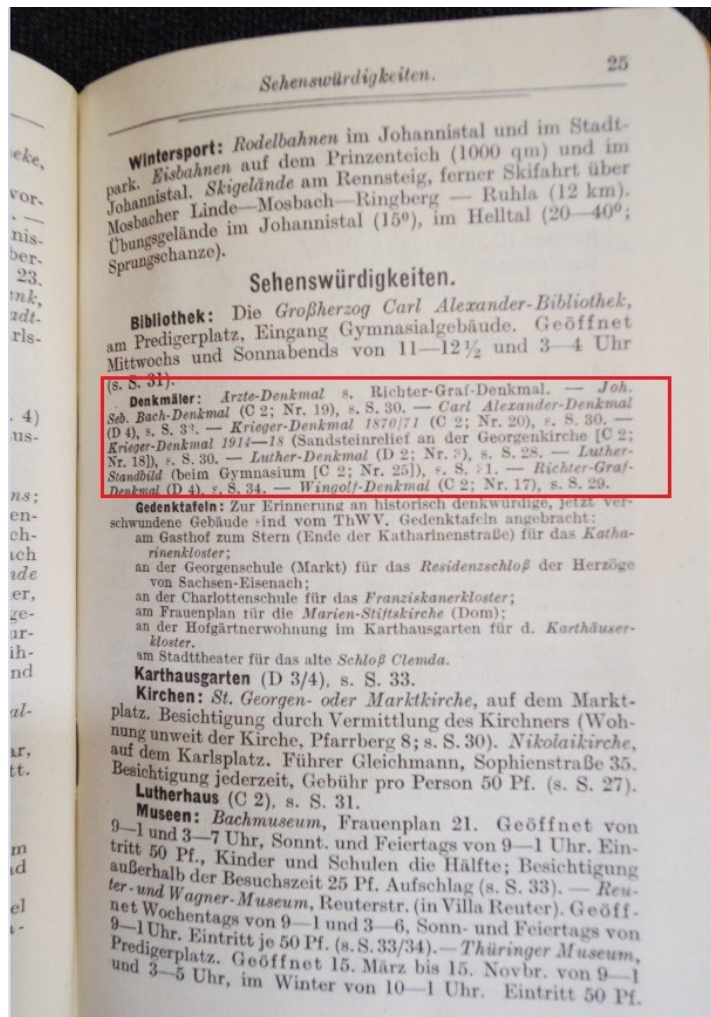


Figure 4-10 Thuringia Guidebook and Attractions 1926⁵⁴

In the guidebook of Thuringia from 1926, in the ‘Denkmal’ section, ‘the krieger Denkmal’ has been the ever-changing memorial spot in Gotha. In 1926, as the title says as Krieger Denkmal (War memorial), it was to commemorate the soldiers who were sacrificed during the war (Kriegerdenkmal; the monument existed from

⁵⁴ Griebens Reiseführer series of Thuringia

1920 to 1946). During the GDR, it was changed to a memorial for the heroes of the anti-fascist resistance move (the monument existed from 1967 to 2011). Currently, the statue is removed, and the space turned to an empty garden. More details will be followed in the city level analysis, in Chapter 4.3.1, which contains the qualitative data of Rosengarten.

Gotha

Looking into guidebooks can provide quick and extract overview on the cities as it is compressed information in a given few pages. Especially, small cities have only a very limited few attractions and stories which describe their ‘most important to see’. Gotha is one of the few cities that are introduced in Thuringia tourism guidebooks together with Eisenach, Erfurt, Weimar, Naumburg, and Jena.⁵⁵ The section of Gotha in guidebooks usually focuses on two things 1) the Thuringian Forest and 2) the ducal history. The state of Thuringia is proud to possess the Thuringian Forest, and Gotha is the most affected city together with the surrounding small towns. After the natural advantage of the forest, it always includes references to the period when the capital city of the duchy Schsen-Cobourg-Gotha. It contains the content of the castle Friedenstein, such as the ducal museum, the art collection of Duke Ernst and the gardens. In guidebooks, compared to Eisenach, the text is certainly short, and it is focuses on the castle Friedenstein and its ducal history.

⁵⁵ Collection of Griebens Reiseführer series from 1916, Badedeker’s Mittle-und Nord-Deutschland, Badeker’s Reisenbuch, Rechts und Links der Eisenbahn series.

The brochures which are dedicated to Gotha cover more diverse aspects of the city itself, in addition to the castle and its components, also the old city hall, market square and museums are mentioned. One notable feature of Gotha's materials is that they usually grant relatively large space for small villages in Gotha's sub-lands located deeper in the Thuringian forests. It is notifiable that Gotha was the gate city for smaller villages in the Thuringian Forest, which played an important role as a vacation destination since the earlier times, at least from the early 20th Century since when the materials are available.



Figure 4-12 Gotha Brochure 1921

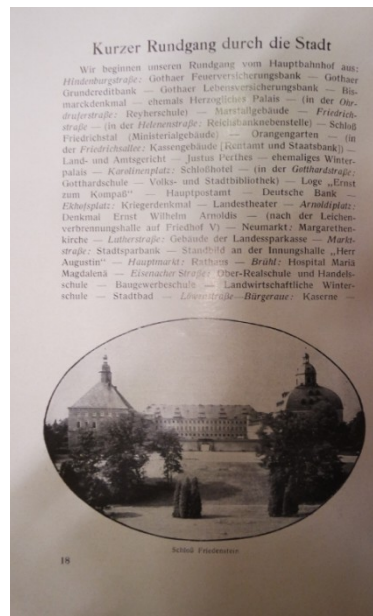


Figure 4-11 Gotha Brochure 1921

During the research period of 2012 to 2018, the observation of tourism management in the region was naturally much more convenient, as it has its designated strategy planning organisations and plans which are available to the public. As we can

see in the chart below, Thuringian tourism planning has clear goals to promote the cultural tourism. Weimar has become the evident centre of the tourism development, based on its classic assets such as the traces of Goethe and Schiller, and it is followed by Wartburg, Luther and other medieval cultural charms in the state. The focal point of culture is doubtless the strength of the state, as it possesses a number of castles, historical places of critical German personalities in arts and religion.

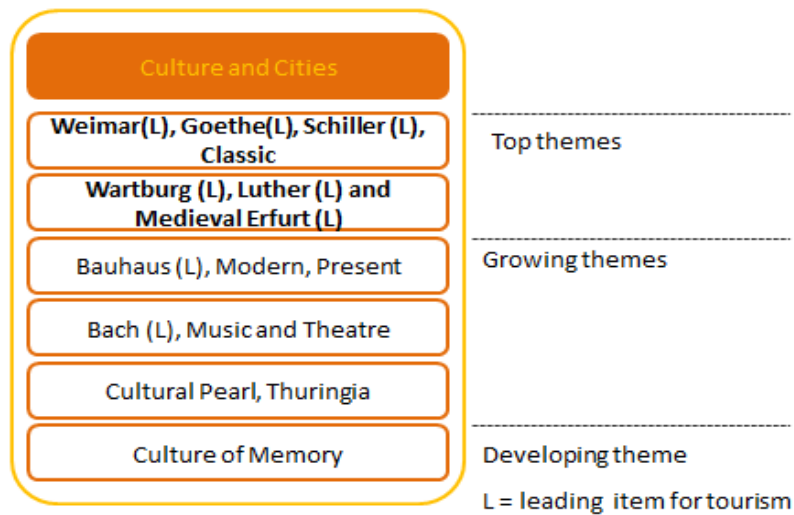


Figure 4-13 Prioritisation of tourism themes: culture and cities⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Tourismuskonzeption 2011-2015 2012, p. 38.

Besides the tourist attractions, regional industry and social conditions are to consider when it comes to tourism industry management. Quite different from its position in the GDR history, Thuringia is not a very influential state anymore after the reunification as it lost its most of the industrial functionality. During the privatisation process starting in 1990, the majority of manufacture plants in Thuringia, which used to be the primary employer in the cities, started to struggle. Thuringia's heavy metal industry, which was mainly developed in Gotha and Automobile plants in Eisenach, and also other state-owned big manufacturing plants were dissolved or went bankrupt (Grosser 2013; Frank 2011).

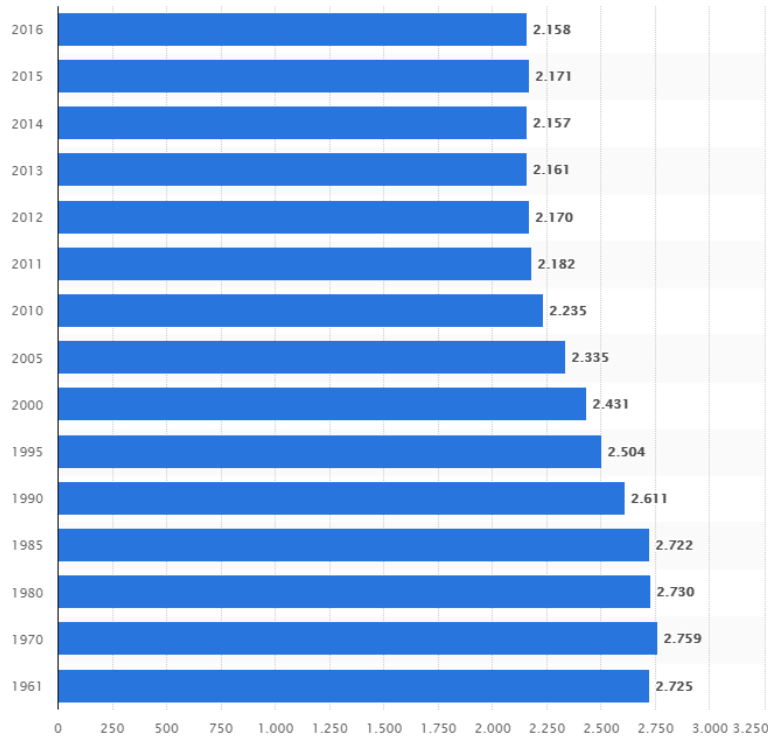


Figure 4-14 Inhabitants of Thuringia until 2016 (in Thousands)⁵⁷

As the result of the industrial decline, the unemployment rate has been increasing. It resulted a drastic decrease of the young population, as they would migrate to other states; meanwhile the ratio of aged population has been increasing.

⁵⁷ The statistic portal, retrieved from:

<https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/155172/umfrage/entwicklung-der-bevoelkerung-von-thueringen-seit-1961/>

Population aged 65 and over
By Land, percent

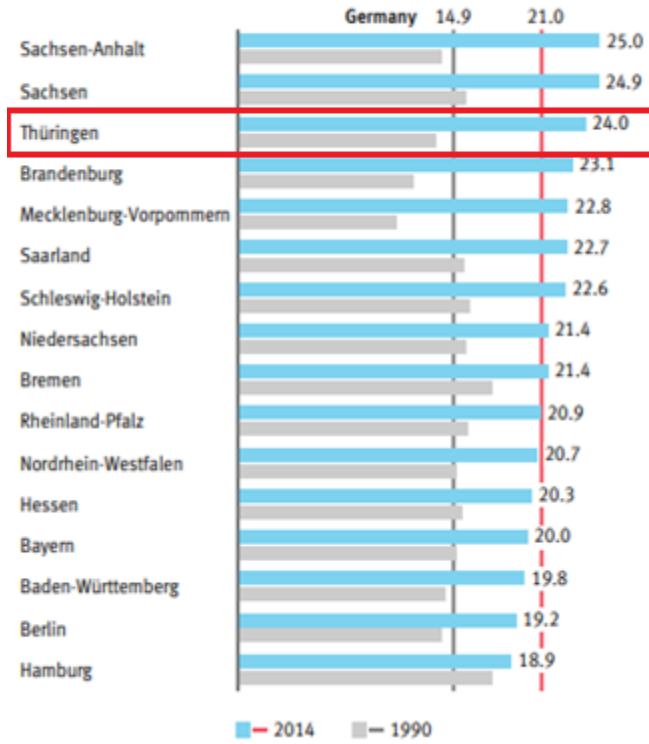


Figure 4-15 Population aged 65 and over in comparison between 1990 and 2014

Development of the generation 65+ by Land

| | 1990 | 2014 | Change 1990–2014 |
|----------------------------|--------|--------|---------------------|
| | 1,000 | | % |
| Baden-Württemberg | 1,400 | 2,120 | 51.3 |
| Bayern | 1,720 | 2,540 | 47.3 |
| Berlin | 490 | 670 | 37.5 |
| Brandenburg | 310 | 570 | 81.3 |
| Bremen | 120 | 140 | 19.0 |
| Hamburg | 290 | 330 | 14.5 |
| Hessen | 890 | 1,240 | 38.9 |
| Mecklenburg- Vorpommern | 210 | 360 | 74.0 |
| Niedersachsen | 1,170 | 1,680 | 43.5 |
| Nordrhein-Westfalen | 2,610 | 3,650 | 39.7 |
| Rheinland-Pfalz | 600 | 840 | 40.3 |
| Saarland | 170 | 220 | 34.4 |
| Sachsen | 750 | 1,010 | 35.0 |
| Sachsen-Anhalt | 400 | 560 | 37.9 |
| Schleswig-Holstein | 420 | 640 | 52.3 |
| Thüringen | 360 | 520 | 44.7 |
| Germany | 11,910 | 17,090 | 43.5 |

Figure 4-16 Population aged 65 and over in comparison between 1990 and 2014⁵⁸

This demographic change and industrial deficit increases the importance of the tourism industry. As discussed in Chapter 2, the contemporary needs of cities, especially smaller cities, can generate the industrial production of tourist cities (Kearns and Philo 1993, p. 5).⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Federal Statistical Office, Report Older People in Germany and the EU 2016.

⁵⁹ Related literature research can be found more in Chapter 2.

4.3 Municipality-Level Analysis

4.3.1.1 Gotha

4.3.1.2 Tourism Marketing Structure Overview

The Transition - Tourist Information Centre⁶⁰

During the GDR, there was a unique organisation called “Gotha Information” responsible for Gotha city tourism marketing, Friedenstein Castle management and Thuringian forest information centre. There were two branches of tourist information centre in the region of Gotha. One was the city Gotha’s main information centre, and the other one was the information centre of Thuringian Forest which belonged to the administrative region of Gotha. This information centres belonged to the city of Gotha, and thereby, they all belonged to the state. The information centres operated the guided tours, and Gotha was the only city in the region with its own tour guides. Tour guides were educated at the VHS (Volkshochschule: ca. state-owned a life-long learning centre). At the VHSs, the regional history, heritage, monuments and important facts of

⁶⁰ Result of collected data after interviews with the Gotha tourism experts; former and present tour guides (Mrs Greiner, Mrs Hoffmann and Mrs Gerlach), Tourismusverband: Thüringer Wald/Gothaer Land e.V. (Mrs Aschenbrenner), Kultourstadt Gotha GmbH (Mrs Schedel and Mr Petters), Mr Wenzel and more. Please see Appendix for more interview details.

the city were educated and examined. Mrs Greiner who started working for Gotha tourist information since 1974 notes, “the quality of the education was much more profound and more strictly examined in the GDR times compared to now”.⁶¹ After the privatisation of the city marketing department, tour guide organisation and management were handed over to the private sector. Nowadays online classes and the self-examining system are in operation, and it produces many more tour guides after a brief certification process. At the same time, the working hours per month increased, and hourly payment has become less competitive for the tour guides according to Mrs Greiner.

Mrs Greiner used to give courses to other tour guides until 1990, and she applied for a new position in unified Germany in the city management department. In October 1990, with the begin of the new era, City Gotha started a transformation of city management. In 1990 and 1991, with a drastic transition to capitalism, Gotha opened a new department called “Wirtschaftsförderung Gotha (Office for economic development of the city of Gotha)”. One of the goals of this department was to develop a concept for tourism marketing for the city of Gotha and its rural surrounding. ‘New’ tourism appeared abruptly, and there was a need for an administrative department to define the market strategy. In the GDR times, the closest comparable department would have been “Abteilung Kultur (Department of culture)”, however, tourism was not directly connected to the city economy. As a state organisation, Abteilung Kultur (Department of culture) organised the information centres and the employees there including the tour guides were civil servants.

In 1991, about 1.5 years after the reunification, the tourism sector was divided

⁶¹ Mrs Greiner (75 years old, Gotha city tour guide for over 40 years)

into the city (Stadtverwaltung) and the rural area of Thuringian forest (Fremdenverkehrsverband Thüringer Wald). In the GDR, it was not allowed to form different associations or communal clubs (in German, Verein or Verband). For small towns in Thuringian forest it was necessary to build a common platform to promote them as a connected holiday destination area.

Mrs Grauel recalls the period full of hectic decisions, which she experienced herself. The promotions on the tourist destinations started rapidly in 1990, and to promote the idea that in Gotha, one can experience the nature at the same time culture together, was rapidly taking place. At this point, for better concepting and communication, an external marketing company ‘Thüringer Tourismus GmbH’ was hired. Until this moment, it was all mainly done by the municipality, which did not have a separate institute or department to promote city tourism. So, it was a whole new start of a concept of marketing. In the beginning, however, Thüringer Tourismus was formed mainly by the people who used to work for the municipality. Mrs Grauel was one of the few starting members of Thüringer Tourismus. Also, there were a handful of people who used to work for hotel management during the GDR.⁶² Based on their local knowledge in the tourism sector, the department started on destination planning and management.

The Gotha’s tourism industry has now three main stakeholders; the Stadtverwaltung (city administration), Kultourstadt Gotha (GmbH)⁶³ and the Stiftung Schloss

⁶² Mrs Grauel (62 years old) Gotha tourism information center, KulTourstadt Gotha.

⁶³ GmbH (Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung) is the equivalent type of entity as the limited liability company (LCC). The owners of the entity are not personally credible for the company’s financial debts.

Friedenstein (Foundation of castle Friedenstein). These three parties cooperate on project basis, but often they seem to have separate concepts for tourism marketing. The Stadtverwaltung has its own logo of “Residenzstadt (imperial city)”, which can be confused by the slogan of the tourism office.⁶⁴ As the designated marketing agency, Kultourstadt GmbH has been changing its name a few times in the past years until 2007 when the Stiftung Friedenstein have settled its marketing focus to the ducal culture. Since 2011, Gotha tourism office and information centres have the slogan of Gotha Adelt (Gotha, to ennoble).⁶⁵

4.3.1.3 Tourist Publication (Brochure, Guide Books, etc.) Review

At the beginning of the GDR, in the brochure observations, the socialist ideal is not as overwhelming as it is in the later GDR publications. One of the very rare examples of this period, *Führer durch Gotha* (1956, Figure 4-18 and 4-19), introduces the city focusing on its historical buildings and pictures. 10,000 copies of the brochure were published in 1956 by the city of Gotha. At the end of the brochure, it is written to send them a short report of the visit and personal information of the visitor. If one reads it without knowing when it is published, it is hardly recognisable that it is from the socialist administration. It goes around the historical value of architectural heritage and attractions that contain a humanistic or historical value in Germany’s history. Ex-

⁶⁴ Tourism offices are operated by the Kultourstadt Gotha.

⁶⁵ For more information, please follow the interview transcript of the Kultourstadt in the Appendix.

cept for the ‘introduction’ part written by the city mayor, the socialist vocabulary seldomly appears, and there are few sentences mentioning socialism’s greatness. While describing the tragic scenes after the Second World War, it still excludes the ideological division and its consequences to the city.



Figure 4-17 Materials of the Research



Figure 4-18 Brochure Series of Gotha

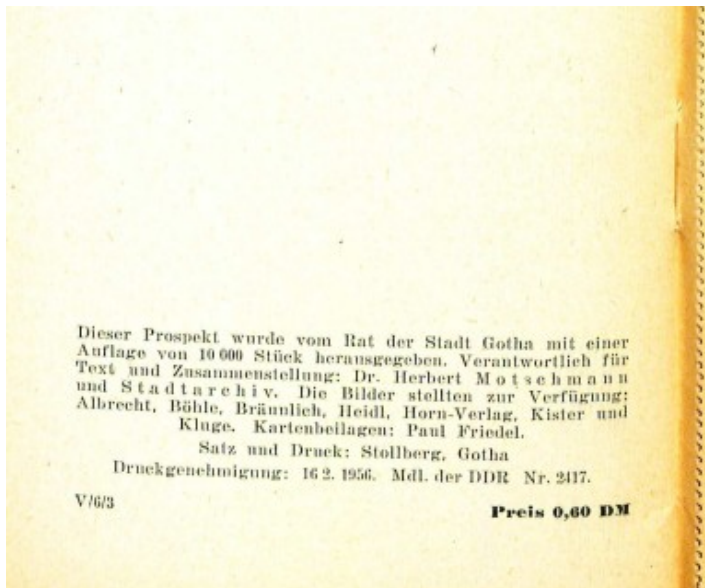


Figure 4-19 Führer durch Gotha, Rat der Stadt Gotha 1956, p. 36

In the brochure of *Führer durch Gotha (1956)*, it covers not only Gotha's visit-worthy places but also regional industry and other background information about the city. There are two keywords which demonstrate the socialist touch describing the city. First, the industry of the city was introduced, and it covered most importantly the VEB Waggonbau⁶⁶ and Geographisch Kartographische Anstalt "Hermann Haack".⁶⁷ Second, it introduces Gotha as a city of education and schools. A number of technical schools specialised in specific disciplines (Fachschulen in German) were founded in Gotha, and also there were many cultural programs including theatre and music for the Gothaers. These two features continue appearing in later versions of city brochures.

In later series of Gotha brochures from the 60-70s, the ideological influence gets evidently thicker. There was a series of Gotha's cultural attractions brochure called *Ein Kleines Bildheft (a small picture folder)*. It was published once in 1964 and again in 1971. On the one hand, this pair of cultural guide shares the same structure and concept. The cover design is almost identical. The colour, and the contents are organised in a very similar way. For example, both of them start with the finding story

⁶⁶ VEB: Volkseigener Betrieb. This term means nationally owned company and it was used state owned companies during the GDR system. Waggonbau: Wagon construction.

⁶⁷ Hermann Hack (1855-1966) is a human and physical geography scholar from Gotha. After his name there was a map and geography related publishing house in Gotha which used to publish provide all the maps and school materials for geographic science in the GDR. The firm was first called VEB Justus Perthes Verlag and it changed the name in 1955 to VEB Hermann Haack Geographisch-Kartographische Anstalt Gotha until 1989.

of Gotha city and at the very front introduces the monument site Tivoli.⁶⁸ Also, the order of monuments and their introduction is very similar. On the other hand, in 1971, the political comments on monuments, socialist vocabulary, focus more on the regional economy and conceptualised pictures are added. The border closing in 1961 and socialisation of all the business and immobility in the mid-1960s are examples that the regime has moved to stricter socialism. The brochure published in 1971, contains evidently more socialist terms and comments on socialist government, system and the greatness of them. The cover page, invitation from the city mayor, starts with the memorial for victims of antifascism (Mahnmal für die antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer).

⁶⁸ Gedenkstätte Gothaer Parteitag 1875, Tivoli: a former restaurant, but became a historical place after being used as the founding house of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (SAP) in 1875. More information will be followed later in this Chapter.



Mahnmal für die antifaschistischen Widerstandskämpfer

Einrichtungen oder durch eine Fahrt in den mit der Thüringerwaldbahn schnell und bequem erreichbaren Thüringer Wald. Auch für viele tausend Urlauber, die alljährlich durch den FDGB oder über das Deutsche Reisebüro in die Kur- und Erholungsorte zwischen Inselsberg und Gotha kommen, führt der Weg über unsere Stadt. Die vielen Gäste der 1200jäh-

Figure 4-21 Memorial for the antifascism resistance fighter, Gotha Ein kleines Bildheft, Rat der Stadt 1971⁶⁹

⁶⁹ The brochure does not have page numbers

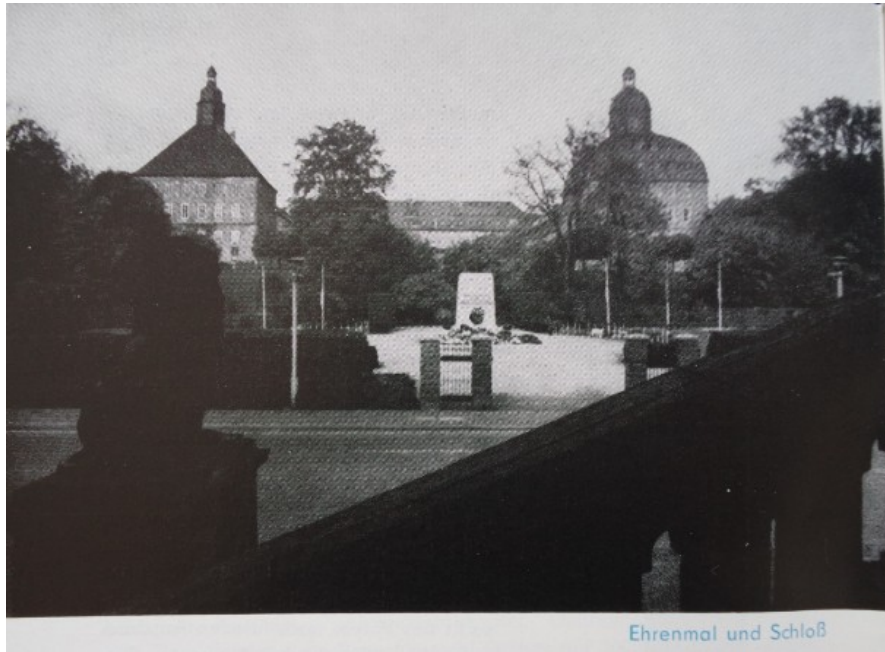


Figure 4-22 Memorial and Castle, Ein Kleines Bildheft, Rat der Stadt 1971

Often the pictures of architectural heritage in the brochures were displayed in a subtle way that contains the socialist or anti-fascism statues. As an addition, present information about the city, the new architectural style of ‘high building’⁷⁰ appeared.

⁷⁰ High apartment buildings of the typical shape in the socialist states. Plattenbau.



Figure 4-23 Plattenbau architectures: Residential apartments, Ein kleines Bildheft, Rat der Stadt 1971



Figure 4-24 Plattenbau architectures: Residential apartments, Ein Kleines Bildheft, Rat der Stadt 1971



Versand im VEB „Hermann Haack“

Figure 4-25 Gotha Ein Kleines Bildheft, Rat der Stadt 1971



Thüringer Wurstwaren aus dem VEB Fleischkombinat Erfurt, Betrieb Gotha

Figure 4-26 Gotha Ein Kleines Bildheft, Rat der Stadt 1971

One distinctive feature of the cultural brochure from 1971 is that it contains for the first time a number of conceptualised pictures. It demonstrates socialism in different dimensions and tends to present a socialistic living concept. For example, people working in factories, enjoying hobbies, walking or shopping in the city centre and lively children described as ‘our young citizens’ are shown. Especially pictures of the market square, hobby places and nightclub for youth give a positive impression of daily life although it happened to appear stiff and artificial. While doing so, it provides the readers with an ideal image of the socialist government.



Figure 4-27 Gotha Ein kleines Bildheft, Rat der Stadt 1971



Figure 4-28 Gotha Ein kleines Bildheft, Rat der Stadt 1971



Figure 4-29 Gotha Ein kleines Bildheft, Rat der Stadt 1971



Figure 4-30 Gotha Ein kleines Bildheft, Rat der Stadt 1971



Figure 4-31 Gotha Ein kleines Bildheft, Rat der Stadt 1971

4.3.1.4 Attraction Analysis

To answer how the promotions and marketing have changed along the ideological changes in the past 28 years, it is indispensable to know how it was during the GDR. To have a general overview of heritage marketing in the GDR, discourse analysis on guidebooks from the period is implied. Five selected guidebooks in chronological order present what the state wanted to show and focus on the particular history. Under the hypothesis that heritages are chosen artefacts which are chosen by the society to show and promote, it represents the remembering and forgetting process. How similar or different the promoted attractions in the GDR to the ones now in the unified Germany are, is a practical question to apply here. The analysis on GDR publication is, therefore, a great source which can be applied to compare the differences to today's tourism promotions. The following chapter will discuss how the specific heritage has been treated differently along the transition period from the socialist GDR to the capitalist BRD.

City Guidebooks

Among various GDR tourism publications, the five guidebooks below were chosen to represent the description of the city attractions. As selection criteria, the pages of the book and the publication houses were considered. The size was important to have roughly the same amount of content to expect, and it was intended to vary the publication houses in order to collect different perspectives. Also, the guidebooks with certain thematic approaches such as youth trips, rail trips, etc. were avoided, as it does not allocate destinations by standard importance. Overall, it is essential to have guidebooks which cover all the GDR states and contain the usual city heritage intro-

duction and ordinary city tourism information. Additionally, there were not many guide books available earlier than 1970, so the choice selection was limited. Out of five books, four books are edited by the VEB, and it allows us to understand the tendency of context change.

The guidebook content analysis is used to find out the most significant attractions in the GDR and observe the descriptions over time. Also, the continuation of tourism marketing on these chosen attractions will be analysed in a micro level in the next chapter. The goal is to see the alteration of the focus on the most significant architectural heritages in the city, and how it is affected by the sense of the power of each period.

1) *Kunst-Reiseführer DDR*, 1977, Gerd Baier, Elmar Faber, Eckhard Hollmann

In this book, the portion of Gotha was not so significant. Although the book as a whole tends to focus on cultural heritage, Gotha was not given much of attention. It was mentioned as one of the small cities with attractions on the way to Wartburg (in Eisenach) and did not have its page.

2) *Reiseführer*, 1978, VEB Tourist Verlag, Berlin-Leipzig, DDR

In this book, Gotha is introduced as both an industrial and cultural centre. Noting that train connections are well supported, Gotha is described as a hub of the region. Here the connected destinations are introduced as Friedrichroda, Tabarz and other relaxation destination in the Thuringian Forest. Also, it comments on different technical schools, museums, VEB Hermann Haack, and the printing company. Additionally, there are two separate sections, one is a history section, a dedicated page

to Karl Marx and Tivoli⁷¹, and the other one is the Thuringian Forest described as a ski destination. Over 40 pages are exclusively dedicated to these two topics.

3) *Reise Atlas*, 1985, VEB Tourist Verlag, Berlin/ Leipzig

This book introduces the GDR tourist destinations in 8 different vacational regions. Thüringen has its own Chapter called "Thüringen – Zwischen Werra und Unstrut". In this Chapter, 11 different routes are introduced, and cities appear overlapping in different travel routes. Gotha and Eisenach are covered repeatedly. Gotha is introduced as the gate city of North-Western part of Thuringian Forest.

4) *Reisebuch DDR*, 1982, VEB Tourist Verlag, Berlin/ Leipzig⁷²

Gotha is mentioned as a third biggest city of the region. It is represented as not only a hub of industry, culture and education but also a city of great factory complexes and monuments. Also, it mentions the Thuringian Forest in detail, and even more space is dedicated to the monument, Tivoli.

5) *Baedekers Allianz Reiseführer DDR*, 1990, VEB Tourist Verlag, Ber-

⁷¹ Tivoli is where the Socialist Worker's Party of Germany (SAP) is founded. More detailed explanation follows in the next chapter.

⁷² Socialist ideology related memorials most added. This book is oriented to the GDR vacation style and the destinations.

lin/Leipzig⁷³

It is very similar to the one above. Gotha is introduced as an educational and cultural hub with monuments and the Thuringian Forest.



Figure 16 Guidebooks used for Analysis

⁷³ This guidebook was published in 1990. In the detailed editor's information, it is written that the language, pictures and maps are still done by VEB Tourist Verlag Berlin/Leipzig. The book is however licensed in Stuttgart (West Germany) and printed as one of the known tourist guide book series, the bigger western corporate. It is assumed that along the national reunification, the book was released for the expected travel waves to the East German cities.

Table 4-1 Gotha Attractions in GDR Tourist Guide Books

| Guide Book | Listed attractions | Remarks |
|--|---|---------------------------|
| <p>1) Kunst-Reiseführer DDR, 1977, Gerd Baier, Elmar Faber, Eckhard Hollmann</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Marktplatz · Rathaus · Barocktheater, Hoftheater · Schloßkirche · Schloßmuseum, Forschungsbibliothek: historic paintings · Alte Waidhaus · Orangerie in the Schloß · Tivoli | |
| <p>2) Reiseführer, 1978, VEB Tourist Verlag, Berlin-Leipzig, DDR</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Schloß Friedenstein · Eckhoftheater · Heinrich Heine Bibliothek · Orangerie · Augustinerkloster · Krematorium | <p>VEB Tourist Verlag</p> |
| <p>3) Reise Atlas, 1985, VEB Tourist Verlag, Berlin/Leipzig</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Schloß Friedenstein mit Museen · Tivoli · Kapp-Putschisten 1920 gefallenen Arbeiter Gedenkstätte · Rathaus · Hauptmarkt · Hospital Mariä Magdalenaä · Augustinerkirche · Orangerie · Erste Krematorium Europas · Urnenstätte der Friedenskämpferin Bertah von Suttner · Wohnhaus Gustav Freytags | <p>VEB Tourist Verlag</p> |

| | | |
|--|---|-------------------------------|
| <p>4) Reisebuch DDR, 1982, VEB Tourist Verlag, Berlin/ Leipzig</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Schloß Friedenstein · Ekhoft Theater · Schloßmuseum · Forschungsbibliothek⁷⁴ Museum für Regionalgeschichte und Volkskunde · Kartographisches Museum · Museum der Natur: im Stil der französischen Neorenaissance erbaut. · Wasserkunst · Hauptmarkt · Rathaus · Lukas Cranach Haus · Brühl, Hospital Maria Magdalena · Augustinerkloster-Kirche · Margarethenkirche · Gedenkstätte – Gothaer Parteitag 1875- Tivoli⁷⁵ · Hauptfriedhof | <p>VEB Tourist Verlag</p> |
|--|---|-------------------------------|

⁷⁴ Extra remarks on the contents of the museum, “one of the most significant GDR museums”. Original text: über 500,000 Bände, dazu 5,500 europäische und 3,300 orientalische Handschriften, eine der bedeutendsten Sammlungen der DDR.

⁷⁵ Extra remarks on the monument, Tivoli and the Karl Marx’ notes in Tivoli museum. Original text: Im ehem. „Tivoli“die Gedenkstätte „Gothaer Parteitag 1875“, ein sehenswertes Geschichtsmuseum, worin besonders die historische Bedeutung der Marxschen „Kritik des Gothaer Programms“ gewürdigt wird.

| | | |
|--|---|-------------------------------|
| <p>5) Baedekers Allianz Reiseführer DDR, 1990, VEB Tourist Verlag, Berlin/ Leipzig</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Schloß Friedenstein · Rathaus · Lucas Cranach Haus · Hospital Maria Magdalенаe · Augustinerkirche · Margarethenkirche · Gedenkstätte 'Gothaer Parteitag' · Hauptfriedhof · Wohnhaus von Gustav Freytag | <p>VEB Tourist Verlag</p> |
|--|---|-------------------------------|

The attractions which are mentioned more than three times are Friedenstein castle and belonging museums, Rathausm (the old city hall) and Gedennkstätte Tivoli (the memorial house Tivoli). By the time, ideological symbolic heritages had added its importance, and it became more evident in the 1980s. In Reisebuch DDR (1988), it introduced for the first time the Nature Museum in the Friedenstein Castle, and it also allocated a separate paragraph on the Tivoli monument. The old Rathaus (city hall) of Gotha is an architectural gem, which is located in the centre of the city. Out of the lists, most repeated two items, the Friedenstein Castle and its belonging museums and Tivoli will be analysed in detail in the following chapter.

4.3.1.5 Attraction Promotions Microlevel Analysis

4.3.1.5.1 Schloß Friedenstein

Introduction

Friedenstein Castle has always been the most important tourist attraction of Gotha before, during and after the GDR era. Friedenstein Castle is the residence of the dukes of Sachsen-Gotha and was built in the middle of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), during the reign of Duke Ernst (1640-1674). As one of the few remaining early baroque architectures in Germany, it consists of four elements, Grimmenstein Castle, Eckhof theatre, orangery, landscape park and the ducal museum. It has been through remarkable changes along the time during the wars and regime changes. A significant change in the GDR was done to the use of the Ducal Museum (Herzogliches Museum). The Ducal Museum was built between 1864 and 1879 to store the grand antique collection of the Duke. It has Neo-Renaissance style architecture and was in the garden of Friedenstein. The collection was a variety of gems from all over the world, Egyptian mummies, cases, sculptures, treasures from East Asia, and European artistic highlights such as paintings of Jan van Goyen, Lucas Cranach and so on.

Here, to note is that the content of the Ducal Museum has altered over the time. The Ducal Museum was transformed to Nature Museum (Naturkundemuseum) in 1952. Until 1954, there was an exhibition of animal painter Friedrich Reimann (1896-1991), and in 1959, there was a special exhibition of “10 Jahre DDR (10 years of GDR) (Wenzel 2003, p. 98)”. The building now the Ducal Museum is in use, had a different name, Nature Museum (Museum der Natur/ Naturkunde Museum), in the GDR. It used to hold the biological exhibitions which played a great educational role in the GDR. The nature exhibition contained animals and plants in real-sized models, and especially, it had a dedicated section for the Thuringian Forest. Lots of residents recall it as an exceptional playground for children in the GDR, where they used to spend the weekends. The lack of kids’ entertainment facilities in the GDR, and as the museum

was a non-profit facility with educational materials, visiting the Nature Museum was a popular local leisure activity as well as a regular school excursion programm.⁷⁶

In 2013, the former Nature Museum re-opened with a complete different set of exhibition. The Gotha's unique art collection was the new exhibition, which stems from the 18th century. The name of the museum has also changed accordingly to the Ducal Museum. Renovated in recent years with the support of the Ferdral Republic of Germany, the new era of this castle building was the major campaign of Gotha's new approach toward tourism and city management. Until the reopening of the Ducal Museum in 2013, the collection of unique paintings, sculptures, jewellery and works were scattered in the castle over 60 years. The Museum of Nature became a part of the castle exhibitions in 2010 in a separated space, together with another castle exhibition, the Museum of history.

⁷⁶ Based on field research data, the interview quotations will be followed in Chapter 5.



Figure 4-32 Naturkundemuseum (Blaß, 1965)⁷⁷



Figure 4-33 Re-Opened Ducal Museum (Sung, 2015)

⁷⁷ Mr Bernd Blaß was one of the interviewees from Gotha. He donated his photographs of Gotha's urban spaces which he has been taking over 50 years.

Another significant change happened in one of the gardens in the castle. In the main garden of the castle complex, between the Ducal Museum and the main Friedenstein castle building, there used to be a garden, named Rosengarten. Originally, Rosengarten was inaugurated in order to honour the soldiers who were sacrificed during the First World War in 1920.

On the 13th of May in 1946, an allied decision of liquidation of the war memorials went active, and the Soviet regime decided to dismantle the monument. Until the 1950s, it was just an empty rose garden. In 1967, a memorial for the heroes of the anti-fascist resistance was built, which lasted during the entire GDR. During the GDR, Rosengarten served a certain role in the communal life. It used to be a place to celebrate, march and gather. The Rosengarten was the space to celebrate the youth festivals and club activities. At the same time, it was the place to march on socialist ceremonial days such as the 1st of May. Every year on the 1st of May was “Tag der Pflicht (day of duty)”. All the citizens of Gotha had to line up and march around the garden as a circle.⁷⁸ When the Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein took over the management of the castle, the decision was made to eliminate the memorial as it does not convey any relevant message anymore.⁷⁹ The elimination of the memorial was proceeded in 2011, and the spot is now an empty garden.

⁷⁸ References: Matthias Wenzel, Museum für Regionalgeschichte und Volkskunde, Gotha ein Fotoalbum (2003), Sutton Verlag GmbH, Erfurt, and interviews with Mathias Wenzel, Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein Gotha, Mrs Greiner, Mrs Grauel and etc.

⁷⁹ Interview with Marco Karthe, the representative for press and administration of the Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein Gotha. More interview script can be found in Appendix.



Figure 4-34 Rosengarten with War Memorial (Wenzel, 1927)



Figure 4-35 Rosengarten and Memorial for Sacrifice of Anti-Fascist Heroes (Wenzel, 1984)



Figure 4-36 Rosengarten and Memorial for Sacrifice of Anti-Fascist Heroes (Wenzel, 2004)



Figure 4-37 Rosengarten (Sung, 2015)

The changes of the castle were a powerful move of Gotha for the new paradigm of cultural marketing in the reunified Germany. The privatisation of tourism marketing brought new marketing policies and concepts. There were different trials on the main attraction Friedenstein Castle, but it started to be more structuralised starting from 2004. In 2004, the organisation of Stiftung Friedenstein was founded. Marketing and promotional actions actively started from 2007. Hence, the Stiftung Friedenstein focuses on the management and marketing of the castle and its museums.⁸⁰ In 2007, under the initiative of the Stiftung Friedenstein, the castle introduced campaigns under the new slogan “Baroque Universum”. In addition, the city tourism office adjusted the city slogans and marketing concept accordingly, focusing on Gotha’s ducal and medieval charms.

City Marketing Materials during and after the GDR

In the brochure of 1956, the description of the castle focuses on its history; mainly, the Orangery and the Nature Museum (Naturkundemuseum) are introduced. The Nature Museum is introduced as an important place for biology and education. However, it does not contain the further history of the original content, how the use of the building was before the socialist regime. This categorisation and the focus remain almost identical from the brochure of 1964. More details were added in the part of architectural techniques of the main castle building. An exceptional change of this series is that the Nature Museum added its details on its concepts, the arts of the

⁸⁰ For more information, please follow the interview transcript of the Stiftung Friedenstein in Appendix.

animal exhibition, and its architectural beauty of the space. Also, the 1971's brochure contains almost the same has from the 1964 one. First, the greatness of the castle is introduced, and the castle park, orange garden and the architectural beauty of the natural museum.⁸¹ Therefore, the animal exhibition and the architectural beauty were more highly emphasised than before. Additionally, the image of the castle includes a picture of the castle and the memorial for the sacrifice of anti-fascist heroes.

The castle Friedenstein has been the core attraction of the city Gotha and also the region regardless of time. Most space is allowed in regard of tourism marketing and promotions for the castle in the region Gotha during the GDR. Nevertheless, throughout the brochures and tourist guidebooks of the GDR, there was no track of information about the originality of the Ducal museum. Considering that the Castle Friedenstein is the main attraction of the city, and the ducal museum is the most prominent part of it, it is notable that there was no mentioning the greatness of the art collection and the architecture itself. Instead, there were explanations of the grand exhibitions in the Nature Museum and the memorial.

⁸¹ Gotha brochures (1964; 1971) from the city Gotha.

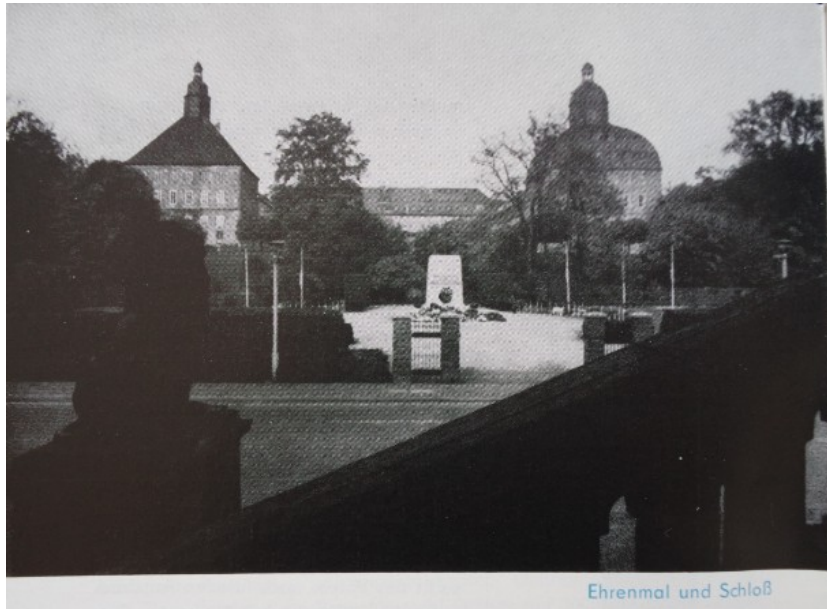


Figure 4-38 Extract from Gotha Brochures Series from 1964 and 1971

The history of the castle provides the power play of the respective period with how the museums have changed its context. The Rosengarten used to express the periodical values in each era. Currently, the actively promoted historical value of the pre-existed ducal museum and the royal heritage is again a new branding.

The brochures after the reunification show the ambiguous transitional period. Until 2008, until the recent conceptual marketing on castle and the “classic Gotha” appeared, there were no significant promotions on the Ducal heritage. The cultural brochure series which existed from the GDR already barely show significant development after the reunification. It also decreased its publishing intervals from weekly to once or twice a month. Until 2013, there was no mentioning on the ducal heritage which the Ducal Museum stems from, nor the Nature Museum which were open but not heavily visited anymore.



Figure 4-39 Brochures from 1990, Private collection from Wenzel

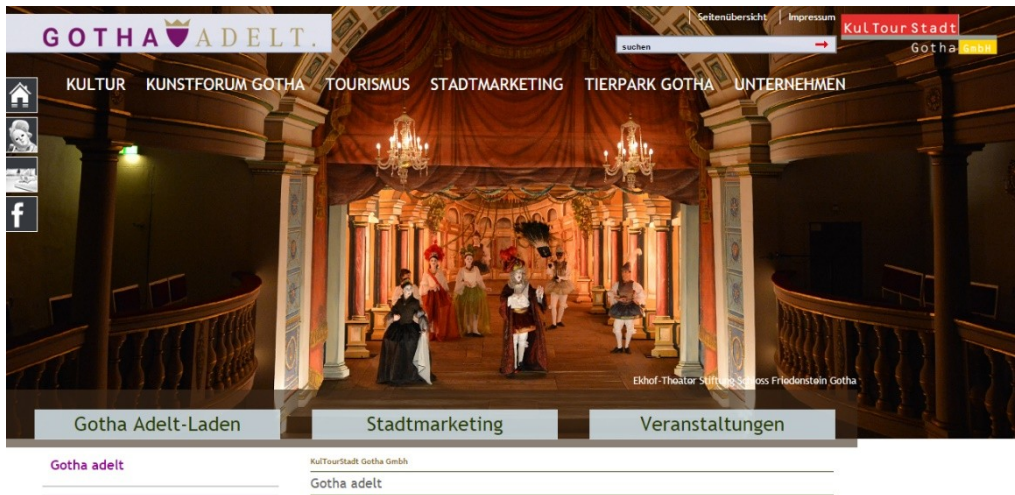


Figure 4-40 Gotha Website Image 1 (Kultourstadt.de)



Figure 4-41 Gotha Website Image 2, Stiftung Friedenstein (stiftungfriedenstein.de)

Lately, Gotha city marketing is focused very much on the castle. The re-opening of the Ducal Museum in 2013 came together with the launch of the new marketing concept of “Baroque Universium”. The new Ducal Museum has the newly installed famous imperial family tree at the main hall entrance, which shows how European Royal families are related to the aristocracy of Gotha.

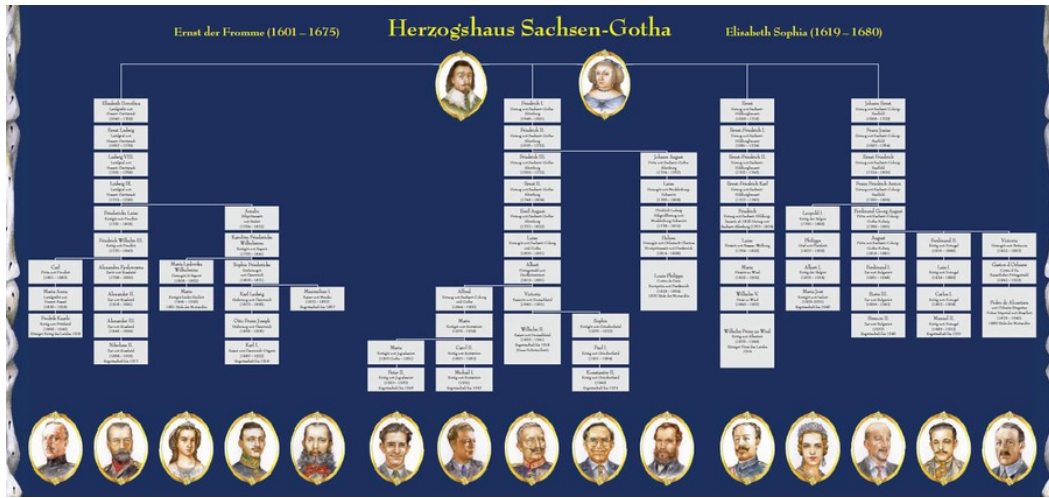


Figure 4-42 Sachsen-Gotha Imperial Family Tree, Gotha municipality homepage (<http://www.kultourstadt.de/>)

4.3.1.5.2 Gedenkstätte Tivoli

Introduction

While the castle has always kept its importance and attention, there are a few sites which have been neglected or rediscovered during the history of tourism marketing. The Tivoli is perhaps the most obvious example of this altering public attention.

The building which is now called Tivoli is an old house from 1830. It used to be more known as a local restaurant for a long time until it happened to hold a historical event. On 22-27th May 1875, the former Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeitsverein (ADAV) and Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei (SDAP) gathered here and came to an agreement of finding a new party, the Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschland, (SAP) which became one of the two contemporary leading parties, Sozialdemokra-

tische Partei Deutschlands (SPD).⁸² Gotha is proud to remind the rest of the world that this happened not anywhere else but in a small city, Gotha, in an ordinary restaurant.



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-37587-0004
Foto: o.Ang. 1 18. April 1956

Figure 4-43 Tivoli, View of the Hall (1956), Bundesarchiv⁸³

⁸² ADAV: the General German Workers' Association.

SDAP: the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Germany.

ASP: the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany.

SPD: the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Since 2009, it is one of the two major political parties of Germany, along with the Christian Democratic Union (CDU).

⁸³ Bundesarchiv (The Federal Archive of Germany): <http://www.app-in-die-geschichte.de/document/50249>.

Supposedly, it was to avoid political noises at that time, but it is still remarkable that Gotha was selected for such occasion. Moreover, in the process of setting up the agenda, Karl Marx wrote his critiques to the preliminary agenda on the edge of the agenda paper.⁸⁴ He could not attend the meeting himself, still sent his contribution by post to one of the members who were present there. This hand-written letter of Karl Marx pointing out his political socialist ideals holds great historical value.

The building was still used as a restaurant for decades, also as kindergarten, and later in 1953, it was recognised for holding historical value and listed as a national monument.

City Marketing during and after the GDR

In the 1956's brochure, the Tivoli appears very simple at the very end. It is listed as one of the five national memorial sites of Gotha. Before the cover page, there are a few sites mentioned separately with its opening hours similar to today's ads. There it again comes with the comment "Gotha shows the famous Kritik des Gothaer Programms" from the period of working-movement.⁸⁵ Given the fact that it is listed in 1953 for the first time as national memorial site, the promotion in the brochure serves an introductory text. In the main contents, the Tivoli is not covered as the main attractions of Gotha. All other attractions are listed from number 1 to 37, and they vary from the old city hall, memorials, castle, churches and squares. It is an evidently small

⁸⁴ Kritik des Gothaer Programms

⁸⁵ Arbeitsbewegung in German.

amount comparing the other two brochures published later in the GDR. In the copy of 1964, Tivoli appears at the very front while introducing the city history. It is the first image, at the same time the first attraction introduced in the brochure. Content-wise, it now covers the details of the historical event and ideological meaning for having this in the city. Marx' involvement in the story of founding the party is detailed described and also another half-page picture of the politicians is added. It then explains the connection of having this event in the city and how it develops later as Gotha now. A profound background of having this incident is believed to be the true destiny of Gotha to optimise socialist Germany based on Marxism and Leninism.

Mit der vereinte Kraft der Arbeiterklasse, unterstützt von den bürgerlichen Blockparteien und den demokratischen Massenorganisationen, begann der zielbewußte Aufbau einer antifaschistischen-demokratischen Ordnung und später des Sozialismus auch in unserer Stadt. Am 10. Jahrestag der Gründung der DDR, des ersten deutschen Arbeiter- und-Bauern-Staates, konnten auch die Gothaer Bürger stolz auf zahlreiche Erfolge zurückblicken, die sie in friedlicher Arbeit errungen hatten.

Gotha Ein kleines Bildheft (1964) Rat der Stadt (From introduction of Tivoli)

In English:

With the unified force of the working class, supported by the bourgeois parties and the block democratic mass organizations, the purposeful construction of anti-fascist democratic order and later of socialism began in our city. On the 10th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, the first German workers ' and peasants' state, the Gothaer citizens could proudly look back on the goal-oriented success they had achieved in peaceful work.

To note the subtle action of the city that they connected the socialist government in Gotha with the ASP party agenda is not very difficult. The aim of idealistic socialism is clearly revealed, and it influenced the publication in a very evident way.



Figure 4-44 Führer Durch Gotha 1956

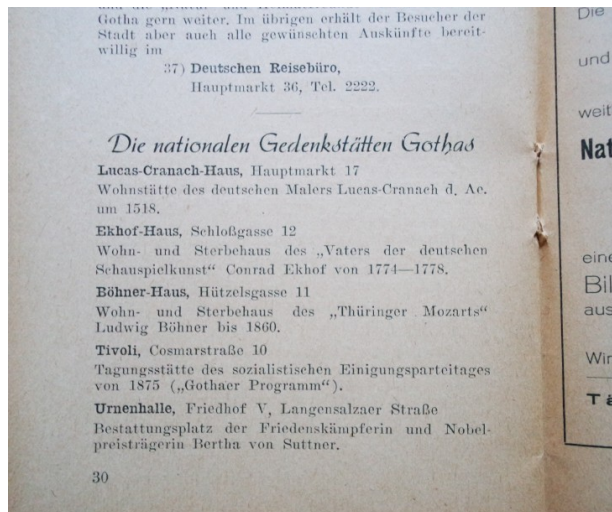


Figure 4-45 Führer Durch Gotha 1956 p. 30

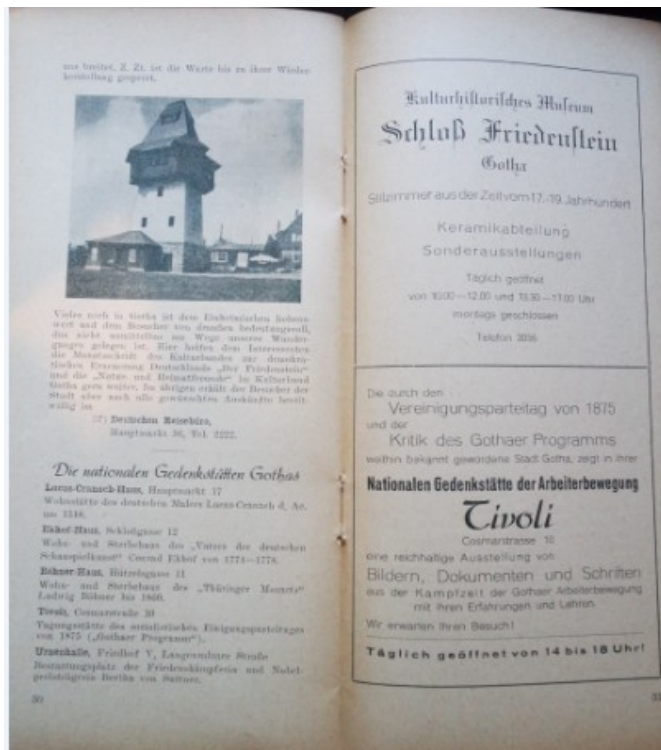


Figure 4-46 Führer Durch Gotha 1956 p. 30-31



Figure 4-47 Gotha Ein Kleines Bildheft 1964

In the 1971's brochure, the portion and text of Tivoli are very similar to the 1964 one. Interestingly, at the end of the Tivoli introduction part, a full-page picture of

the visit of Ernst Thälmann⁸⁶'s visit to Gotha is added. Repeatedly, the socialist ideology and its physical evidence in the city are clearly shown. It is assumed to provide a picture of the ultimate fate; a socialist city.

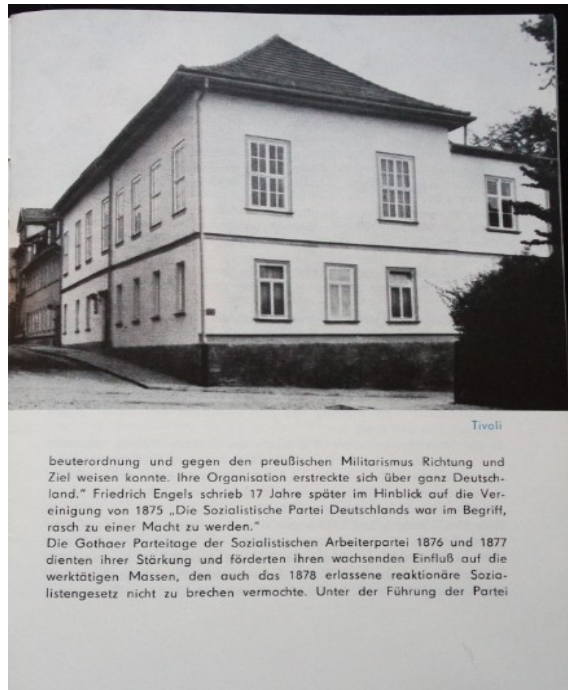


Figure 4-48 Gotha Ein kleines Bildheft, Rat der Stadt 1971

⁸⁶ Ernst Thälmann (1886-1944) was the representative of the Communist Party of Germany for (KPD: Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands). He is one of the most important figures in Germany's socialism history and was shot to death in Buchenwald on Hitler's order. There are a number of memorials and squares in the former GDR states remembering his ideals and sacrifice.

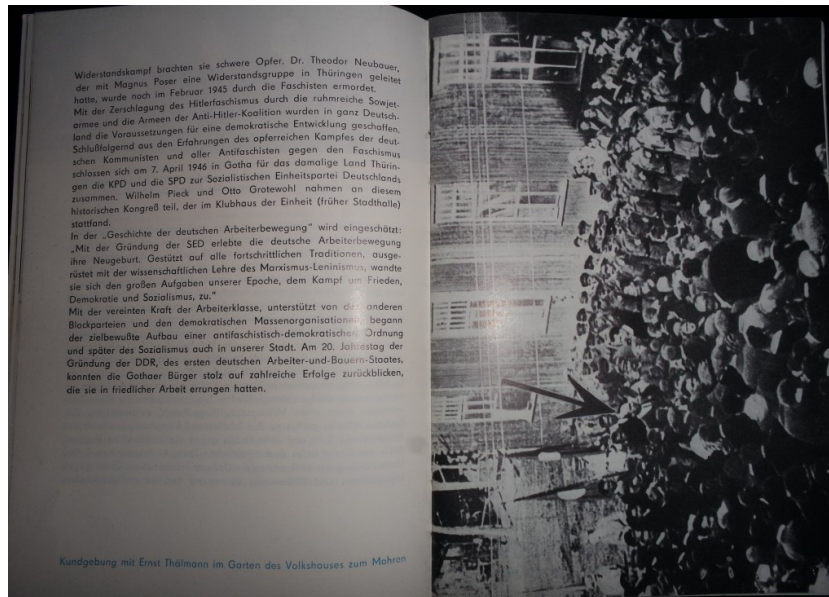


Figure 4-49 Gotha Ein Kleines Bildheft, Rat der Stadt 1971

As it was repeatedly mentioned in the GDR tourist guidebooks, Tivoli used to be an important attraction of Gotha. Important figures of the GDR time who visited Gotha for political reasons, most likely have been to Tivoli.⁸⁷ It used to be a symbolic and proud site of the region.

⁸⁷ Besides Ernst Thälmann, on April 7th, 1971, Elly Winter, the daughter of Wilhelm Pieck (German Politician, Communist, 1876-1960) visited Gotha for Tivoli. Also, on April 28th, 1975, celebrating the 100th anniversary of Marx and Engels' critique on the draft of party program, around 500 politicians including the central members of SED and head of the Propaganda Department (www.tivoli-gotha.de).

After the reunification, the Tivoli memorial (opened in 1956) was closed in October 1990. The historic hall of Tivoli was open, and already in 1990, the Socialist International and honorary Chairman of the SPD, Chancellor Willy Brandt (1913-1992), the SPD state association Thuringia re-established the relation after 44 years of break. Interesting enough, the Tivoli memorial is not anymore a promoted attraction of Gotha. In the new marketing wave of Baroque heritage and ducal nobles marketing, it does not seem to have much room and significance to the city. Although the SPD is at its most powerful position in the German history, the birthplace of the party does not seem to get much attention for its popularity. During the process of field work, the Tivoli memorial became a significant part of this research. It was mentioned by one of the first interviewees from the beginning stage of the field research and caught my attention, as it was not promoted as a tourist attraction currently. Later on other interviewees repeatedly witnessed its importance. Afterwards, it was investigated further by collecting information from documentation and narratives.

4.3.2 Eisenach

4.3.2.1 Structure Observation & Macrolevel Observation

Eisenach is utterly different from Gotha regarding heritage management and the alteration of cityscape over time. Eisenach possesses two keywords which represent the city history nationwide, the Wartburg city and the Luther city. The city is hardly imaginable without thinking of the historical figures such as Martin Luther and Johann Sebastian Bach, but most importantly, there is the castle Wartburg which represents the whole historical background.

Historic gem cities like Eisenach went through a rapid modernisation process after the German reunification. The approach to reconstruct buildings and old town after the massive destruction of the WWII was progressed in two parallel ways in the West and East. The heritage preservation planning, execution, and the prioritisation was handled fully different during the divided 40 years, which resulted in a visibly different architectural status of cityscape even today.^{88 89} At the beginning of the reunified Germany, there were immediate acts from the West to save the shared past, especially the classic architectural heritage. In this period, most of the significant architectural heritage were firstly approached by different organisations and initiatives to save the crumbling façades (Schmidt 2008). Public funds and public donations emerged on short notice. Not surprisingly, in the beginning of unified Germany, deci-

⁸⁸ Please find more in *Architectural conservation: an introduction* (Schmidt, 2008).

⁸⁹ “In the new federal states of Germany, there is an enormous need to catch up with historic preservation. While in the old Federal Republic has been caught up since the beginning of the 70s, except for the few examples, the situation in the former GDR was just the reverse. Since the reunification, great efforts are poured to promote monument preservation and monument protection in the new states (Schabe. 1992).”

Original text in German:

“In den neuen Ländern besetzt ein enormer Nachholbedarf an Denkmalpflege. Während in der alten Bundesrepublik seit Beginn der 70er Jahre aufgeholt wird, war die Entwicklung in der DDR, von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen, gegenläufig. Seit der Wiedervereinigung sind große Anstrengungen im Gange, um Denkmalpflege und Denkmalschutz in den neuen Ländern voranzutreiben.” Schabe, P. (1992). *Denkmalschutz in den neuen Ländern. Wer fördert was?* 2. Aufl., Stand: Okt. 1991, Materialsammlung 1991. Bonn.

sions were done in a rather chaotic way by different initiatives to rebuild or to ‘save’ the heritage. Lutherhaus and Bachhaus in Eisenach were the prior projects of the city in order to recover ‘the past’. In the following Chapters, it will be discussed how these heritages were preserved -or rebuilt-, how the promotion has been developed, and also how other heritage have been selected and deselected from the tourism industry.

4.3.2.2 Tourist Publication (Brochure, Guidebooks, Etc.) Review

As we can see from the current city logo (Figure 4-50 and 4-51), the focus of Eisenach tourism is heavily focused on the Wartburg castle. This reflects the importance of the Wartburg castle in terms of city identity and historicity. The fact that the castle is in the centre of the urban identity regardless of the era in the regional history was shown in the guidebooks in Chapter 3. On another note, however, there was a second significance of the name ‘Wartburg’ in Eisenach. Eisenach served as the biggest car manufacturer in the state during the GDR, and the car model which was produced in Eisenach was named after ‘Wartburg’.

When the interview questions ask about Wartburg, most of the older generation who experienced the GDR still tend to think of these two ‘Wartburg’ meanings simultaneously. Additionally, they also comment that in the GDR times, the car was the first thing to think of in daily life prior to the castle, which means Wartburg did not only mean the great castle to the dwellers for a long time.



Figure 4-50 Current city logo of Eisenach (<https://www.eisenach.info>)

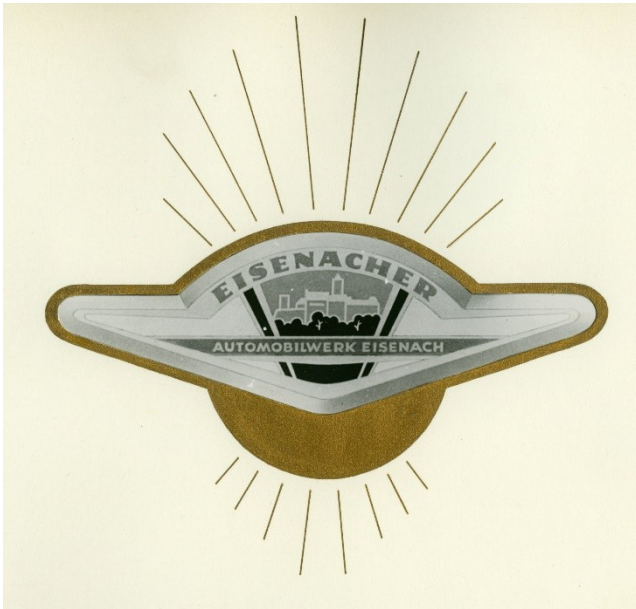


Figure 4-51 Eisenach Car Logo (1969), Eisenach Stadtarchiv



Figure 4-52 Posters; Wartburg with Wartburg (1960), Eisenach Stadtarchiv, Picture from the GDR

4.3.2.3 Attraction Analysis

As Gotha was reviewed earlier, the description of Eisenach in five different guidebooks is reviewed. In chronological order, the same books as the analysis of Gotha are used again.

All the five guidebooks show common characteristic on introducing Wartburg, Bachhaus, Lutherhaus, and the memorials of these two historical figures. The Richard

Wagner collection was also listed in one book.⁹⁰ Parallel to its focus on historical figures and classic gems, there is a monument which is repetitively mentioned in four out of the five sample books, the Gedenkstätte der Arbeiterbewegung Eisenacher Parteitag 1869 (ehem. Gasthaus “zum Löwen”).

The Gedenkstätte Goldner Löwe⁹¹ is the place where the formation of the Social Democratic Workers' Party (SDAP) was discussed for the first time in 1869. In 1967, “Eisenach Party Conference 1869 (Gedenkstätte der Arbeiterbewegung Eisenacher Parteitag 1869)” was recognized as a memorial at the same time as an historical event and place by the SED. To educate and remember the event and historical value of the place, a comprehensive renovation of the building the building and the inhouse exhibition was installed on the occasion of 120th anniversary during the GDR.⁹² The party kept the name of SDAP until 1890 and evolved to today's Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD).

This monument came to attention of this study thanks to this guidebook analysis, otherwise it would not have been found from the current tourist materials. Later on, during the interviews, the Gedenkstätte Goldner Löwe became one of the most mentioned heritages, although the latest tourist information brochures and campaigns do not mention its existence. This monument reminds the case of Gotha, of the Gedenk-

⁹⁰ Reiseführer 1981, VEB Tourist Verlag

⁹¹ There are different sources with different names, however the restaurant must have been called “Gasthof zum Löwen” in the 1530s. After 1731, it was fixed to “Goldener Löwe”, and that is why the sources use the names in a mixed manner.

⁹² Articles and materials can be found in www.eisenach.de.

stätte Tivoli. Both the sites are about the formation of SDAP and the significance of the monument has been shrinking after the reunification.

Table 4-2 Eisenach in Guidebooks

| Guide Book | Listed attractions | Remarks |
|---|--|--------------------|
| 1) Kunst-Reiseführer DDR, 1977, Gerd Baier, Elmar Faber, Eckhard Hollmann | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Sonnabendsmarkt (heute Platz der Deutsch-Sowjetischen Freundschaft) · Nikolaikirche · Nikolaitor · Georgenkirche · StadtSchloß · Thüringer Museum · Prediger Kirche · Luther history in Eisenach · Lutherhaus · Johan Sebastian Bach story · Bachhaus · Reutherhaus | |
| 2) Reiseführer, 1978, VEB Tourist Verlag, Berlin-Leipzig, DDR | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Wartburg · Rathaus · Pfarrkirche St. Georg · Lutherhaus · Reuterhaus · Richard Wagner Sammlung · Gedenkstätte –Eisenacher Parteitag 1869- im ehemaligen Hotel -Goldner Löwe · Drachenschlucht | VEB Tourist Verlag |
| 3) Reise Atlas, 1985, VEB Tourist | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Wartburg · ehemaliges Schloß am Markt · Rathaus · St. Georgen Kirche · Predigerkirche | VEB Tourist |

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| <p>Verlag, Berlin/ Leipzig</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Burschenschaftsdenkmal (1902) auf der Göpelskuppe zur Erinnerung an das Wartburgfest 1817 · Gedenkstätte der Arbeiterbewegung "Eisenacher Parteitag 1869 (ehem. Gasthaus – Goldener Löwen" · Bachhaus · Lutherhaus · Reuterhaus mit Richard Wagner Sammlung | <p>Verlag</p> |
| <p>4) Reisebuch DDR, 1982, VEB Tourist Verlag, Berlin/ Leipzig</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Altstadt · Markt · Stadtschloß · Thüringer Museum Pfarrkirche St. Georg · Marktbrunnen · Lutherhaus · Predigerkirche · Kreuzkirche · Hospitalkirche St. Annen · Hellgrevenhof · Bachhaus · Gedenkstätte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung –Eisenacher Parteitag 1869-(ehem. Gasthaus -Zum Löwen- · Nikolaikirche · Lutherdenkmal · Fritz Reuter und Richard Wagner Museum · Automobil Ausstellungspavillon · Wartburg | <p>VEB Tourist Verlag</p> |

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| <p>5) Baedekers Allianz Reiseführer DDR, 1990, VEB Tourist Verlag, Berlin/ Leipzig</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Markt · Schloß · Rathaus · Pfarrkirche St. Georg · Marktbrunnen · Residenzhaus · Lutherhaus · Predigerkirche · Hellgrevenhof · Bachhaus · Bach-Denkmal · Nikolaikirche · <i>Gedenkstätte der Arbeiterbewegung</i> · Fritz Reuter und Richard Wagner Museum · Carl Alexander Denkmal · Automobil Ausstellungspavillon · Burschenschaftsdenkmal · Wartburg | <p>VEB Tourist Verlag</p> |
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Each guidebook carries a bit of different context next to its list of sightseeing attractions and information. The title introduction to the city Eisenach usually comes with the motto of Wartburgstadt Eisenach (Wartburg city Eisenach). Additionally, each book carries short ads on to the city attractions as follows.

1. *Kunst-Reiseführer* DDR, 1977, Gerd Baier, Elmar Faber, Eckhard Hollmann

This book includes a short explanation of the Arbeitsbewegung (labour movement) of Eisenach on the top of the city introduction. Introducing the Gasthaus Zum Goldenen Löwen in the first place, it stresses the importance of this occasion as a prior

city of the labour movement. Also, it describes that yearly 300,000 tourists visit the castle from all over the world. The history of Wartburg is introduced over a page length.

2. *Reiseführer*, 1978, VEB Tourist Verlag, Berlin-Leipzig, DDR

In this book, Eisenach is covered with minimal information as, 'one of the westend cities of our republic, known to be an industrial, tourism and congress city'.

Wartburgstadt Eisenach, eine der westlichsten Kreisstädte unserer Republik, bekannte Industrie-, Fremdenverkehrs- und Kongreßstadt.

3. *Reise Atlas*, 1985, VEB Tourist Verlag, Berlin/ Leipzig

This book defines the fame of Eisenach based on the congress of the labour move in 1869 and the castle of Wartburg.

The county seat of the GDR, which is located at the westernmost point, is well-known for its Wartburg Castle, the Eisenach Congress in 1869 (foundation of the Social Democratic Workers' Party, the Eisenacher, the first mass revolutionary party of the German working class organised on a national scale) and the Wartburg from the traditional automobile factories.

Die in landschaftlich reizvoller Umgebung am westlichsten gelegene Kreisstadt der DDR ist bekannt durch die Wartburg, den Eisenacher Kongreß 1869 (Gründung der Sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei, der "Eisenacher", der ersten im nationalem Rahmen organisierten revolutionären Massenpartei der deutschen Arbeiterklasse) und den Wartburg aus den traditionreichen Automobilwerken.

4. *Reisebuch DDR*, 1982, VEB Tourist Verlag, Berlin/ Leipzig

As the one before, this book also starts explaining the greatness of the labour movement. A change here is that it also adds a short but outstanding paragraph about the automobile industry of Eisenach.

The former Thuringian ducal city and today's Wartburg city, Eisenach. The founding of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Germany opened a new, epoch-making Chapter in the history of the German and international workers' movement. In the middle of the last century, after connecting to the Thuringian railway network, the town began to become a visitor magnet. Since 1886, Eisenach has also been an automobile city (third oldest vehicle production in Germany), and automobile construction still determines the economic profile of the city today.

Die einstige thüringische Landgrafenresidenz und heutige Wartburgstadt Eisenach. Die Gründung der Sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands eröffnete ein neuens, epochemachendes Kapitel in der Geschichte der deutschen und Internationalen Arbeiter Bewegung.

Eisenacher Kongress (7-9.8.1869), Arbeitsbewegung

Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts begann sich der Ort nach Anschluß an das thüringische Eisenbahnnetz zu einem Besuchermagnet zu entwickeln. Seit 1886 ist Eisenach auch Automobilstadt (drittälteste Produktionsstätte für Kfz in Deutschland), und der Automobilbau bestimmt auch heute noch das wirtschaftliche Profil der Stadt.

As the text shows, it minimises the ducal culture of Eisenach, whereas the history of labour move and automobile industry are described with current importance.

5. *Baedekers Allianz Reiseführer DDR*, 1990, VEB Tourist Verlag, Berlin/Leipzig

Slightly different from the earlier four books, this book stresses solely its automobile industry and its greatness. The importance for the city to have this factory for its economic value and as well as for the fame are clearly the main message.

The Wartburg city Eisenach

In the middle of the 19th century, the town was connected to the Thuringian railway network. Automobiles have been manufactured in Eisenach since 1898 (for example, BMW, Dixi), and even today automobile production still determines the economic profile of the city; In the VEB Automobile Factory Eisenach, the middle class car "Wartburg" is now also being built with VW engine.

Die Wartburgstadt Eisenach

Mitte des 19. Jh.s wurde der Ort an das thüringische Eisenbahnnetz angeschlossen. Seit 1898 werden in Eisenach Automobile hergestellt (z.B. BMW, ,Dixi), und auch heute bestimmt der Kraftfahrzeugbau noch immer das wirtschaftliche Profil der Stadt; so wird im VEB Automobilwerk Eisenach der Mittelklassenwagen, Wartburg neuerdings auch mit VW Motor gebaut.

As evidently shown in the guidebooks, Eisenach was represented by the important name of Wartburg. However, a significant amount of promotion was dedicated to the fame as the founding city of the first working labour party in German history. The word of Wartburg is more explained for the car manufacture industry. Also, it was often introduced as an industrial and congress city rather than a historic city with the medieval heritage.

4.3.2.4 Attraction Micro-Level Analysis

4.3.2.4.1 Lutherhaus

Luther is undoubtedly the most representative historical figure of Eisenach. During the time of research, it added its internal/ external promotion even more on Luther as the Reformationsjubiläum-Luther 2017- (Reformation anniversary) was approaching.

Martin Luther (born in 1483 in Eisleben) first came to Eisenach when he was 15 years old to learn Latin in the Latin school. His mother, Magarete, was from Eisenach, and her relatives would take care of him. After a while, Luther was brought to the present Lutherhaus (Luther house), which was owned by the influential resident family of Eisenach, Cotta (from 1498 to 1501). After about three years of residence and Latin education, he enrolled in Eisenach for the university. He often quoted the school time and the city with nostalgic attachment “In meiner lieben Stadt (in my beloved town)”. Then he returns to Eisenach once again for the revolutionary job of the reformation in 1521. After refusing to recant his writings, he fled from Worms, Wittenberg and to Thuringian Forest. He was then kept in a small tower room in the Wartburg castle,

where he studied and manually translated the entire New Testament from Greek to German (in old Saxon chancellery) in eleven weeks. His stay in Wartburg was from March 1521 to May 1522. As he spent his critical religious career in this city, both the Lutherhaus and Wartburg are most relevant for the Luther history, and also its celebration.

Starting from 2013, as the field research began, the Lutherhaus was under construction. Lutherhaus Stiftung (Lutherhaus foundation), which owns the property and marketing planning, kept the minimal functional reception and a small souvenir shop only during the reconstruction of Lutherhaus. On the 25th of September 2015, there was the great re-opening of Lutherhaus together with the Lutherhaus museum. The grand celebration was accompanied by the speeches of regional politicians before the ‘door opening’, and food, drinks and music made a huge fest in the open air space in front of the Lutherhaus.

Mrs Husemeyer⁹³, the marketing manager of Lutherhaus Stiftung, was very proud of the great success of the event. The confirmed visitors of the ceremony in the Lutherhaus were 2,000 and including all the visits in the area and shops, it will probably add up to 3,000.⁹⁴ Considering that the visitors’ number of Lutherhaus in the last 10 years was around 30,000, it is a significant number for its standard.

⁹³ Mrs Alexandra Husemeyer (marketing manager of Eisenach Lutherhaus Stiftung)

⁹⁴ Local newspaper, *Thüringer Allgemeiner* (2013 March 5): “Neue Ausstellung im Lutherhaus wird maßgeschneidert”, Retrived from <https://eisenach.thueringer-allgemeine.de/web/eisenach/startseite/detail/-/specific/Neue-Ausstellung-im-Lutherhaus-wird-massgeschneidert-1458723936>.

Regarding the content of the new exhibition, Mrs Husemeyer explains the internal and external changes with lots of excitement. Since the museum was founded in 1956, it held a few long-term exhibitions, and each of them was presented for about ten years. The last one, before the current one which opened in 2015, was the one from 1996 to 2013, “Eine Zeitreise durch die Geschichte des evangelischen Pfarrhauses (A time travel through the history of protestant rectory)”. According to Mrs Husemeyer, the most significant change of the internal change is that the exhibition now reflects more of the significance of Luther’s achievements in various layers. Whereas the latest one was delivering the historical facts of his work as the greatness of itself, the current one also covers the dark side of it as well as the societal significance of his achievements. Especially the part of Luther’s negative opinion on Jewish people was never spoken publicly, as it shows the exclusive and obstinate attitude of Luther’s belief, which actually reverses the main value of Christianity, which is love. In the current exhibition, as the first time in the Luther exhibitions, this story and also other acts of Luther were introduced with the cross-societal implications of them. Plus, physical changes of the building in- and outside features consider much more now to embrace visitors outside of the religion and culture. The new building has rather modern design by adding a lot of new materials and cover glass to the existing Lutherhaus structure.

As Mrs Husemeyer mentions, the open-air reopening event of Lutherhaus attracted a big local and external (mostly Thuringian) crowd. In the festive and celebratory atmosphere, requesting interviews was relatively easy, and a few of them naturally led to extended talks in the following days. Actually, a few people who I asked questions during the celebration event invited me over to their places after the event. This shows exactly the great interests and pride of the heritage from the locals and what they want to share with an external visitor.

Regarding the opening ceremony itself, everyone I approached was fully excited and satisfied with the such big crowd and how important the event seemed. Most of the times, the interviewees wanted to share further perspectives of Lutherhaus

and Luther history in Eisenach, what I should know and visit as a foreign tourist. Eisenach was once again doubtless a Luther city, where people first think Luther when it comes to what to introduce to external tourist. How Luther's history was internally communicated in physically and intellectually is assessed by the individual in-depth interviews.

From the local interviewees, Mrs Schreibner⁹⁵, Mrs Pracht and Mr/ Mrs Kämmer were not religious, Mrs Metzner⁹⁶ and Mr/ Mrs Elsässer were devoted Christian by birth. Regardless being religious or not, the interviewees did not answer any differently when they were asked for 'most important to see' in Eisenach. They would count Wartburg and Lutherhaus in the first places. Then it is followed by Bachhaus and Automobilwerk museum (AWE museum: Automobile manufacture museum). However, when I asked about the Lutherhaus' regional significance, I could get notable different insights from the Christian interviewee groups. They commented that the Lutherhaus in the GDR was rather smaller, and the exhibition was not updated for decades. In addition to the size and quality, they mentioned that the focus of the Luther's main achievement tended to present differently than the current one.

Christianity Culture during the GDR

Mr Elsässer⁹⁷ served as Protestant church Pastor until 2007 and he is now re-

⁹⁵ Mrs Schreibner (75 years old, lives in Eisenach)

⁹⁶ Mrs Metzner (78 years old, lives in Eisenach since 1964)

⁹⁷ Mr and Mrs Elsässer (86 years old, from Eisenach)

tired. Living as a Christian in the GDR hindered his family from various social services and education. The children of Mr and Mrs Elsässer, for example, could not get higher education. Especially in the last ten years of the GDR, it was severe exclusion from the school system. According to Mr and Mrs Elsässer, although the church culture itself was not externally celebrated, inside the church, it was more sincere and close to the original message of the Bible. The church community had a stronger relation to the God and a strong bond within the people despite the hardships against the belief in the socialist state. The church community tried to help each other in case of any difficulties, but also, they planned the initiatives to help the whole town in case of any sorrow and needs of help.⁹⁸ Their remembrance of Luther in the GDR was, however, more complex than just the belief itself. According to Mr Pracht and Mr/ Mrs Elsässer, the church was in a cooperational relationship with politics from the top level, when it was needed. For example, during the Luther reformation anniversary ceremony in 1983, the church could not speak up on its own for the religious sake. The anniversary ceremony was also in the GDR a big cultural event, even the politicians from West Germany visited. The day was set to be a special holiday and the event was broadcasted all across the country. Mrs Elsässer recalls about it:

There was marketing in the GDR times as well, marketing or promotion. What happened in the GDR is interesting to really look into, for example, about Luther. Yes, Luther was big and it was in a way promoted, but, a few factors of his profile and history were exaggerated or more promoted, such as the bible translation. His job of the translation into German language was emphasised very much, and it was described with focus on the German language, German as the folk language. It almost felt like he was a great linguist who contributed to spread the standard folk language. Luther's

⁹⁸ Mrs Pracht (66 years old, lives in Eisenach, used work for a hotel during the GDR)

language work led people to read and uplifted the language education in general. Similar story goes to the Bauernkrieg story. One way we are happy that Luther is promoted, but on the other hand, we are sad that those specific parts were particularly promoted.

I want to say the people who were very engaged in the church were quite critical about that Luther and Bach were used for cultural promotion of GDR. Because it is one side of the coin. Selective Identity!! (Stück Identität) For the majority of people, it was more or less okay that they could still go to church events and so on.

Mr and Mrs Elsässer from the interviews in 2015



Figure 4-53 Lutherhaus and Lutherhaus museum (Sung, September 2015)



Figure 4-54 Lutherhaus Re-opening (Sung, September 2015)

Similar critiques about the Christianity and political engagement in the GDR are found in the current homepage of Luther reformation, in the interview reportage of the Thuringian Bishop Werner Leich⁹⁹:

Q. The church historian Peter Maser has recently reported that the year of Luther in the GDR in 1983 led to troubles with Ms Margot in the home of SED chief Erich Honecker because of his “Luther games”. At that time, as the chair of the church Lutheran com-

⁹⁹ Currently works for Evangelical Press Service, 87 years old. He claims that the GDR leadership did not want to “strengthen the churches” with the Luther year 1983. According to him, they played the “Luther Game” for the positive picture of GDR regime.

mittee, did you feel such disagreements?

Werner Leich: At the reopening of the extensively renovated Wartburg in April 1983, Honecker was very relaxed. He told me how he met his mother when baking Christmas cookies after returning to his parents' home in Saarland. That gave me the impression that something like Christian memory was there somewhere. However, he was not very enthusiastic about honouring Luther as a man of the church. He raised the anniversary with a tear to enhance his international reputation.

Q. Why did the GDR raise the 500th birthday of Martin Luther at that time? After all, the reformer until then was considered a princely servant and enemy of the peasants...

Werner Leich: The SED state was always about a positive image of the GDR in the world. From historical events such as the 500th Luther birthday, the comrades promised worldwide attention. For this, they also accepted the revision of their previous picture of history. When it comes to Luther, even Marxist scientists were allowed to ask about the Christian self-image of the Reformer and his fellow combatants...¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Luther Reformation Anniversary official homepage:

<https://www.luther2017.de/wiki/jubilaem/altbischof-leich-honecker-feierte-das-lutherjahr-1983-mit-einer-traene-im-knopfloch/>



Figure 4-55 Lutherhaus in the GDR 1987¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Postcard series from the GDR, Bild und Heimat



Figure 4-56 Lutherhaus (Sung, 2016)

4.3.2.4.2 Bachhaus

The Bachhaus (Bach House) is a house and museum where Johann Sebastian Bach was born and spent his childhood. The Bach family was traditionally professional musicians and the family originates throughout Thuringia. Johann Sebastian Bach was born on 21 March 1685 in Eisenach in the Bachhaus. Bach was baptised in St. George's church, which is near the house, and he spent his first ten years of his life

in the house. This house was first opened in 1907 as Bach Museum, and it was under the care of the Bach Organisation, New Bach Society.¹⁰² In 1973, the house went through a complete restoration with financial aid from the GDR, and it included the neighbouring building which is left to the original house. After the reunification, from 2005 to 2007, the Bachhaus went again through a complete restoration, and the exhibition building was replaced by a new modern style building. This act was financed by the state of Thuringia, the Federal Republic of Germany and the European Union who jointly subsidised the 4,3 Mio. Euros (Hansen 2007, p. 101-112).



Figure 4-57 Bachhaus in 1953, GDR Postcard series

¹⁰² Neue Bachgesellschaft. The Bach organization founded in 1900 as the successor to the Bach Gesellschaft which between 1850 and 1900 produced his pieces for the first time.



Figure 4-58 Bachhaus 2015 (Sung, 2015)



Figure 4-59 Bachhaus and Bachhaus Museum (Sung, 2015)



Figure 4-60 Modern Bachhaus at night¹⁰³

The very modern new Bachhaus museum after the last restoration has been a complex topic in Eisenach. All interviewees shook their head when we touched the topic of Bachhaus. Supposedly, the reconstruction of the heritage did not fulfill the expectation of the dwellers.¹⁰⁴ Its modern architectural style symbolised a new period of Bachhuas, at the same another political decision where the citizens felt left out. Despite their emotional disapproval of the architecture, all the interviewees certainly recommended me to visit, as it is an important heritage of Bach. The impression I got

¹⁰³ Retrieved from: <http://www.stedtfeld.de/Tourismus/bachhaus-eisenach/>.

¹⁰⁴ Interviews with Mr/ Mrs Kämmer, Mrs Metzner, Mr/ Mrs Elsässer, Mrs Pracht and Mrs Schreibner.

during the interviews was a complex picture, which explains the strong connection of the citizens towards the Christinanity background route of the city. That relates to the emotional attachment to the local architectural heritage such as Lutherhaus and Bachhaus. Parallel to it, there are mixed feelings towards the newly added architecture which is presumably losing connection to the locals but targeting tourists. Anyhow, there is the common point throughout the conversation that Bachhaus is a definite important heritage of the city.

From the interview with Mrs Pracht¹⁰⁵:

Q. Have you been to the renovated Bachhaus?

A. Yes, there was much negative voice from the citizens. It just looked too different from the old building we knew. It was just a completely new one. However, but, .. people get used to it. At some point, we are okay with how it looks, again. "Man gewöhnt sich."

It was the same with the Tannhäuser. The problem of these two was that they did not just change, but the new version of them really did not fit the neighbouring buildings and look too outstanding. Not harmonic. We still remember how it looked was earlier and how it felt like right after the renovation. Where the Tannhäuser got demolished, the first new shop a coffee shop, Tschibo. It was just a completely new picture for us. Now.. we are all used to it.

¹⁰⁵ All the interview details and scripts can be found in in Appendix.

From the interview with Mr/ Mrs Kämmer¹⁰⁶:

Mr Kämmer: So, we have been to Lutherhaus reopening, it was nice to see it again. Out of the same interest, we also went to the Bachhaus when it reopened. For all Eisenacher we all want to see all these because they are vital to us.

From the interview with Mrs Metzner:

Q. I am curious about how the tourist attractions looked like before.

A. St. George's church is renewed. Lutherhaus and Bachhaus are renewed as well.

Bachhaus, the remodeling of Bachhaus, none of the citizens understood. I have to say, from Eisenacher's perspective, it was not acceptable at all. It is too new. It is completely different, and the old one was just good. Beautiful.

Hm... They can do more things with the new Bachhaus though. It was small, the old one. You can do more things for tourism and so on. It is the same as many other buildings in the old town as well. I can remember another thing, which is Tannhäuser. It was so

¹⁰⁶ Mr and Mrs Kämmer (in their 70s, live in Eisenach)

beautiful in the old times as well.

From the interview with Mrs Schreibner:

Bachhaus.... The local people had the hardest time accepting it. More than 70% of people in the city found it terrible when it was done. It was a very very sweet loveable house. Now it has completely lost its original charm. The houses next to it have also all changed to very modern architecture.

4.4 Summary: Reflections

Looking at the brochures and publications in the GDR times provides not only the material facts how objects were displayed and introduced in certain ways, but it also gives an idea how the information is processed and conveyed which messages in the directed society. It is an indirect way of education without physically forcing ideas, but with the materials which are under a complete plan. As we could observe in the brochures, the images and texts were collected and put in a way that it gives a certain way of thinking. Moreover, to live in these material surroundings on a daily basis, it does form people's value which equals the current meaning of heritage. Regarding the fact that these were mainly consumed within the GDR state, the printed materials targeted solely at the citizens. Giving an impression that the city has been and is always the ideal world of socialist ideology, and one should be proud of it, is a straightforward way of telling it.

On the other hand, starting from 1990, the cities have another strong wave

promoting the heritage. In Gotha, ‘The old Gotha’ era returned to the promotion surface. The beautiful and classic past got re-polished and promoted as if it had always been in the past decades as well. The discussion, if it is an exaggerated idealisation of the past, is not easy to conclude in a way that all can agree. At the end of the day, there is no single correct way of remembering the past.

Concerning the idealisation process of East Germany, specifically about Eisenach, James (2012) writes;

Heritage is nearly always nostalgic. It involves a selective and idealised view of the past. However, the terms selectivity and idealisation do not quite capture the specific implications of segregating a cultural legacy from other kinds of national past. In Germany the desire to isolate a redemptive cultural legacy from other, tainted pasts, is exceptionally strong and pervasive. (James 2012 p. 95–96)

It is one way of viewing what has been happening in the East of Germany that it is an exaggerated recall of the classical past to redeem the shared identity. Alternatively, it can also be a way of living the history, considering the current values and requirements.

As the definition of heritage stands for objects or services which carries historical values, it is already underlined that we view the past through the eyes of current society. The selective and idealised view of the past is perhaps an unavoidable phenomenon of modern society, especially when it is about a period where things were covered behind the fence. To re-continue today’s perspective, the redemption, attention, storytelling and education of history should readjust as they were missed out or interpreted differently in the closed GDR. What is original, what should be chosen to be remembered, therefore, remains as the task of the towns. The double identities of the architectural heritage, one from how the citizens perceive, and the other one how the

new marketing concept wants to present exist parallel in the examples of Gotha and Eisenach. Simultaneously, there is an urge that some stories have to be revived in order to recover the unity and recover the shared identity.

The re-building identity is not an easy task as there was the disturbance of division, and the gap cannot possibly be removed and make up a 'normal' integrated past as the rest of the nation. Therefore, it comes back to the question of how to preserve and promote the cultural heritage in East Germany. Perhaps it is not just Germany being especially strong and pervasive about the lost time and desire for the ultimate beautiful classic as James (2012) claims, but it is the natural human approach craving for the loss. In this case, it is again the natural human nature to appreciate the past in the current periodical point. At the end of the day, heritage is the appreciation of the art and worship of the unseen time.

Studies of architectural history, memory, heritage preservation, cultural marketing and touristification have been booming in the recent years, and although it indicates the investigation in such vulnerable regions, few of them actually offer detailed stories of local practices and conflicts in East Germany (James 2012). Especially deeper narratives on locales and broader implications of space preservation debates have not been much explored, foremost at a communal level. Looking at tourism marketing development on a site level and communal level help understand the subtle significance changes of the heritage in the citizen's perception.

Both Gotha and Eisenach do not represent the whole Eastern part of Germany. They do not signify how a post-reunification former GDR German city transforms. However, these two cities can explain the widespread sentiments of the former GDR citizens, the confusions and appreciations towards the happening on their urban changes. As it relates to not only their urban structure, but also their tradition, cultural background and daily routinely stories, it is not about just the respective object and its reflection, but a discussion on heritage and generating memories.

5. Qualitative Analysis of Data Collection: Cultural Heritage and People

The primary data source of this chapter is qualitative interviews which are divided into different categories depending on the use and purpose of the interview. Mainly, the interview types are divided into two groups, the experts and the citizens. Among citizen's interviews, there are ones with people who have expertise in their own city history and the related memories. The experts, in this case, refer to the people that are in charge of tourism development and management.

Using interview methods with different audiences and formats is to enable the comprehensiveness of the personal connections from the citizens to the urban environment. Likewise, flexible interview formats and simultaneous adjustments of the interview context following the given information from the interviewee was to maximise the interview output based on the personal experiences and understanding of the topic.

Listening to the Stories: Using Narrative and Developing a Discourse

According to Eckardt (2013), the narrative is the adequate method to communicate with the city. He claims that the urban has always been developing as an organism that the urban studies as well as urban planning are a harmony of nearly everything. What allows the city 'to be communicative' is a complementary approach done by perspectives. Collecting the subjective understandings, experiences, ideas and memories can eventually form a distinctive characteristic of the space. According to Mitchell (1981), narratives are based on implications on the perception, representation, and creation of knowledge. The significance of urban heritage is a version of digestion in each period. As modern urban sociology is heading more and more to-

wards the 'communicative' city, how a city speaks to an individual became more relevant at least in European urban studies. Using narrative as a qualitative method has existed as a part of the analysis although defining narrative has still an open platform to discuss. Evident supports to name it as an independent approach can be found by tracing it back to the need for qualitative research. Treating a problem as a unique universe which needs its perspectives to be connected to the pre-existing academic world, it needs a whole redesign of the research method. An important factor while conducting the research is to regard also the researcher as a subject. Bourdieu (2017) writes that the researcher is not out of the study but at the core of his own method. His great work in this field, Habitus analysis (Bourdieu 2017), is based on the ritual and practical logic. Citing Wolcott (2002), Bourdieu argues that the life history is a social construction, an artefact that is a consequence of our insistence on, and the pursuit of order. The life history organizes and reports on the events of someone's life as internally consistent, reciprocally meaningful units. They are presented as functional parts of a larger whole because it is in the interest of both the narrator and the listener, or author and reader, that the story assumes a logical and clearly-cut pattern (Wolcott 2002, p. 142).

Quoting Bourdieu, Wolcott (2002) argues that by collecting the pieces of people's lives, we can analyse the consequences and then it finally becomes a significant incident. In this way, we can also say that there are the narrator and the listener who can make the stories 'communicative'. Analysing a common symptom is a way of reconstructing an actor's habitus, and therefore qualitative research is a combination of cognitive dispositions. The interpretation of the situation, setting up the interviews or observations, digesting the information, formulating it into a readable way and the way of delivering, all these processes are included in the methodology and the result of the research.

While narratives have been a growing source of qualitative research lately, the concerning critiques remain unsolved. Looking at the voices at an individual level and

suggesting the conclusion in the case-specific level is an excellent set for the narrative methodology. Eckardt (2013) raises the concern of a growing crisis in today's European society and the variable connections beyond the situations (Belo Horizonte, Stuttgart, Istanbul, Alexandria, Madrid, and others). De-structuring the problems inquire observations and characterising the existing narratives.

On the other hand, the demonstrations in the given places have not reached the mature level of constructive reviews on the existing narratives. Eckardt (2013) argues that, ironically, many of these on-going issues in Western Europe can be approached by structuring them into the existing urban frames, in other words, by reducing the impact of narratives. On the same note, Hendry (2007) claims the missing truth while talking about the importance of consisting elements. She supposes that "researchers are there to construct lives and reduce them to a series of events, categories or themes and put them together again to make up a whole called narrative (Hendry 2007, p. 487-498)." Meaning that lining one story next to each other and have a full collection of voices can lead a researcher to a danger of "getting stuck". Leading the narratives to a readable frame for the rest and bring a general assessment is included in the narrative methodology. Therefore, paying attention to the stories and being alert in a communicative way is crucial. Dealing with narratives plays a significant role indeed while debating urban problems. After collecting the issues by narrators, framing them in useful patterns is up to the hands of urban planners or researchers. Bringing the less substantial sum of 'notions' into solid research and finally, leading it to a solution debate is the overall goal of this study.

This study aims to look at the city as living creature. Each interviewee was to be considered a sole source of information as a sum of life stories, experiences, ideology and other factors which influence his or her perception of the city. During the interview, it became more evident that the level of the qualitative interview depends on the person's interests and personal habits to a significant extent. Therefore, the interview context was adjusted a lot depending on how profoundly the tourism

management and urban changes issues could be covered during the interview. For instance, if the interviewee was a member of the cultural heritage conservation community of the city, it was discussed more in detail and also actively, how the changes have been. This flexibility of the interview content was always discussed in nearly every interview. It aimed at the narratives of the urban change, and for that, it is considered to be the core value of the unstructured and narrative interviews.

Interview Structure and Questions

Expert interviews were undertaken on a one to one base and in a semi-structured form. The questions were sent usually a week before the interview and depending on the position of the interviewee, the questions covered partly distinctive topics. Departing from the initially sent questions and topics, the interview extended to other smaller topics which stem from the main question. The time limitation was not necessarily mentioned, and it was aimed to be a casual and communicative atmosphere in order to get as much information as possible from each interviewee. Throughout the research, both the experts and citizens were entitled to be the major source of the data, and it was highly appreciated if the interviewee was willing to explain more about particular topics.

In the case of citizen interviews, it was less formal than the expert interviews. The most basic setup was to do the interview in a comfortable ambiance and most preferably to have pre-talks in order to get to know each other. In the middle of the talk, it was asked if the talk could be used for the research such as quotation and background information. When agreed, depending on the interviewee, the talks would be recorded from that very moment. A few interviewees who were introduced to me by my local network already had an idea of the purpose of the research. In these cases, it was much easier to approach the research topic because the interviewee was more or

less prepared about the topic. However, also, in this case, the questions or sub-topics were not delivered until the interview date. It was intended this way, in order to create more room for flexibility and causality during the interview. This central idea had developed earlier before the actual field study started. From 2012 to 2016, the researcher was living in Thüringen, more specifically in Weimar, and started collecting background information and approached the topic starting from the neighbourhood. A vast number of talks with the local people, joining neighbourhood communities, trying five narrative interviews and three focus group interviews with 3-8 people were executed before the filed research. Based on these informal and also formal interviews, the learned lessons are;

First, a formal environment makes the people become uncomfortable, and it shrinks the volume of the interview content.

Second, getting to know people before the interviews, some personal chat can develop the depth of the talks significantly.

Third, using connections can help the interviewee to be familiar with the topic and open to the researcher. However, the circle of these sources was limited and usually within a specific interest group.

Fourth, starting the talk with the author's background and occasional involvement helped the people be more open with their thoughts and memories. It was a robust finding during the pilot interviews. As a South Korean, talking about the territorial division, my grandmother's story (who originally comes from North Korea), and personal perspectives on the political situation of Korea lightened up the interview atmosphere significantly. Being a single listener, not accompanied by other German-speaking assistant or a translator, was also helpful to build trust and intimacy. The language barrier and the apparent foreign heritage of the author might have given the interviewees more freedom to express their private experiences and become the only

subject of the story.

5.1 Taking a Walk in the Past

While conducting interviews, not only the content but also the atmosphere is worth attention. Although it does not involve any shameful or dark past, talking about the changes and the traces of the old times in former East Germany is not a usual case, especially when the person you talk to is an outsider. It is not a taboo, however, the theme provides a certain level of intimacy, which is only shared by a limited population. Remembering certain habits of the old times is therefore not as ordinary, but the intimacy people share here is distinctive. In the Eastern bloc, Eastern European countries which used to belong to or were heavily influenced by the Soviet Union have a shared identity. So, it is a shared memory with a broader region over the national borders. It is a different story for East Germany, as it was within the same nation. Additionally, it was desired to be reunified in the later period of the GDR, and the absorbing reunification was undoubtedly foreseeable due to the economic and political failure of the GDR. It resulted in an overwhelming atmosphere that the East part became a defeated nation. How people identify themselves with the current Germany is difficult to measure, but when it comes to the topic of ‘West Germans’, it gets a step more evident. During the interviews, it was observed sometimes that the interviewees described the frustration and, at the same time, the delight of the time right after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

We all organised a car and went to the West. It didn't matter where exactly, with the 100DM we got, we all went to the West and tried to absorb what they had there. I was embarrassed that the people would notice that I was from the GDR, I tried to change my

accent when I was buying stuff there. It must have been obvious though since we bought nearly a trunk of grocery at the stores. When someone asked if I was from the East, I said no. Of course, I tried not to show it. Didn't we? Mrs Gutrund¹⁰⁷

Imagine, we had Kalter Hund¹⁰⁸. It was yummy back then. We enjoyed it with neighbours in every occasion. Then, suddenly, there was Schwarzwaldkirschtorte¹⁰⁹ next to it. The dried cookies with some chocolate jam layer, and next to it, a huge, nearly 15 cm tall fuzzy and moist cherry, chocolate and cream cake! Who would choose our poor Kalter Hund anymore? But you know what? We still enjoy Kalter Hund from time to time. Have you tried it already? You should! I can show you a good place which still does that. Mrs Böhme¹¹⁰

When talking about their past directly connected to the political events. It was a mixture of sighs, reticence, and again intimacy, because it was not the stuff to be spoken about. As examples, the blank feelings at the border fence area looking at the West; having to be evacuated from the family house which belonged to the family for

¹⁰⁷ From Schwerin, 65years old in 2015, retired, worked in Gotha over 40 years as Fösterin, living in Weimar.

¹⁰⁸ A typical kind of cake in the GDR. Many layers of cookies and chocolate cream between the layers. Often strong liquor was added.

¹⁰⁹ A type of cake from the Black Forest. It is known for its great size. It is a rich tasty cake from chocolate sponge based cream and cherry liquor. Here it was used as a radical comparison to the GDR cake.

¹¹⁰ From Weimar, 82 years old in 2015, retired, used to work as nurse in the GDR.

generations; being able to visit the earlier neighbourhood in 1990; organising a car trip going to West Germany for weekends right after the border opened, and finally being able to introduce churches and castles in detail now while being a tour guide more than 40 years in Gotha. These were the feelings I was honoured to capture as an outsider. Very subtle and unique memories that are hard to define as one word. Here I would like to be an outsider and give my best to deliver the notions on urban changes from the perspective of citizens, at the same time draw the micro level consequences of individual decisions which took place in broader changes.

Revealing the collectively shared past here has a taste of bitterness and defensiveness to the outside world. The notion of ‘among us only’ is a part of the shared heritage. Outside the former East Germany, the post-socialism atmosphere from a cultural anthropological approach has not been either a focal point or a constructive debate to discuss so far. Thus, the atmosphere of the talks delivered was observed, not only the content of the answers but also about ‘how’ the reaction towards the topics was.

Most of the expert interviews were organised with the help of local people. When I wanted to investigate how the tourism culture used to be in the GDR, I could easily get a telephone number of a local expert or knowledgeable residents to help me out with the question by casually talking to people on site. The contact points I got introduced to, usually worked in the tourism or hospitality industry during the GDR. The word spread quickly, and I was provided with tremendous help of the local network which was very useful and probably the only source anyway. I often was invited to private houses for coffee or tea and personally, I would say, it was exceptionally welcoming, considering the ordinary German hospitality culture. To invite a ‘tourist’ to their own place and have private chats seemed to signal their interests in the topic. When we had interviews in a café, it happened very often that it went on way beyond the time I asked for, and we had to cut it at the end of the day as it became too late. In a few cases, I was invited to their house to talk more the next day. The interviewees,

all of them, insisted on paying for the bill for what we had together. While knowing German culture of hospitality and friendship, I found it positively as a profound relation what we built during the interview. The talks went over the public policies and social reception but more about the personal feelings, experiences and memories. The desire and joy of having such intimate talks were there in every minute we shared.

As mentioned earlier, the key of relevant data collection from multiple narrative interviews was to cross-check the historical events through documentation and other interviewees. As memory can be severely modified and also possibly produced by the flow of the time, objectiveness was one of the goals while treating the interviews. In truth, the background information of each interviewee, such as financial status, profession, job satisfaction before and after the reunification and family status turned out to be useful sources to have background understanding how the interviewee is situated regarding the particular topic. Nevertheless, for the nature of narrative interviews, there were limitations on addressed topics, selection of heritage sites, selection of panels, time and space restrictions. Also, the responses would have been adjusted by the personal selection of the researcher. More limitations and reflections will follow in the summary of this Chapter.

5.2 Cultural Heritage and Awarded Identity

There are different approaches looking at the cities' changes and their identities. According to Eckhardt and Cremaschi, there are two competing approaches while addressing the issue of cities' changes in the modern society (Eckhardt and Cremaschi 2011 p. 23). The first way is to consider global changes in international economics, finances and also the labour market. The other way is to read a contextual and spatial

structure, social identities and the consequences. As the first one is rather focusing on the macro level development of cities in a context of the global picture, the second one observes the different bits of each case and see the rhetoric impact of it in an individual context. This research depends more on the second perspective to pay attention to the individual narrative of cities and its development, adaptation, and evolving reactions of the citizens. Certeau (1984) wrote, “whereas place is shaped and defined by regulatory rules, space is shaped by practices (Certeau 1984 p.101)”. For Certeau, space is a practised place, in that specific construction of cultural, political, historical and local actions can be built upon. This way of looking at cities is a continuation of Lefebvre (1974; translated in 1991) and Foucault (1972) that space is a means of production at the same time control. Mainly, this perspective argues that space is where the human community shapes, acts and consumes the practices. Under the existing dimension of looking at space as the ground of interactions, this study is a trial of observing the changes in space and its related practices in the human life.

The distinctiveness about the case region is that these cities were blocked from capitalism and it had lost its sense of market value for forty years. When the border closed and it re-opened, it was a new beginning. The question ‘when the culture goes to market’ can be observed in this limited space, in an observable time frame of the last 28 years.

Urban Heritage and Residents’ Life

Mr Wenzel, the current representative of the historical preservation club in

Gotha (Gotha Altgeschichte Verein¹¹¹), is one of the first members of the club. His private collection of old Gotha's publications, postcards, pictures, books and all other kinds of materials were so extensive that it could not fit into the club office. Together with donations and other members' collection, the office was completely packed with Gotha's old documents. Considering that only a few of them are documented in the city archive, his collection was greater than any other sources in terms of the quantity and organisation. A couple of intensive talks with him helped the study draw a better picture about the internal atmosphere when it comes to local history and heritage preservations during and after the GDR.

When asked about the heritage management in the GDR times, his answer was neither pro- nor contra- to the management itself, same as how he treats the association and his memory towards the GDR. When he was asked about the foundation of the association, he answered:

It was more or less during the reunification. In 1990, when the official reunification was not yet announced, there were a few members including me willing to do something about the architectural preservation. In this old town, a big part of it was supposed to be all demolished and of course, that does not happen. We had to gather and speak up.

...

¹¹¹ Verein: German version of club. It varies the topics and sizes from interest groups for sports, arts, etc. to some institutional topics and volume. Finding a Verein was not allowed during the GDR. Gotha Altgeschichte Verein as well as a number of historical preservation associations were founded during 1989-1990 in Thuringia.

Since 1995, I am the chairperson. You know, it was not possible to found a Verein (club) during the GDR. Since we founded the club in 1990, there are many benefits we get for instance, this office, maintenance fee, salaries and other taxation reduction. It is a beautiful transition of Germany which has returned. Mr Wenzel¹¹²

Not to mention, his interests and collection in local history are older than 28 years, the history of the club. However, the club could only be realised after the reunification. The club's first project went successful, and people started getting interested in standing up for their own rights in their own city. One of the notable renovations in the year of transition is the Magarethenkirche (Magaret Church). Located in the centre of the city, the Magaret church was severely damaged during the Second World War. It was still open and visited in the GDR, however, the architectural status was terribly out of shape. When the Berlin wall came down, the topic finally came to the surface, and the church, citizens, clubs, and other charity organisations from the West came to the church rebuilding project. Collecting money was not enough to rebuild the lost years, and the Gothaer citizens volunteered to rebuild the gap of the history by participating in the construction. The church documented the moment as a great and legendary local patriotism. Mr Wenzel also remembers the moment that "regardless of the religion, it had to be done. Not only the believers, but all Gothaers were hurt when the church was completely out of shape, at the end of the GDR. Clearly, churches were out of sight in the socialist regime."¹¹³

¹¹² For more information, please see Appendix.

¹¹³ Interview with Mr Wenzel. For more information, please see Appendix.

He and his club members' work on the Magaret Church was re-discovered when I visited the church. During the interview with Mrs Gerlach¹¹⁴, she guided me through all Gotha's critical architectural heritages just as she used to lead the groups during her service as a city guide during the GDR. When we visited the Magaret Church, the church guardian was delighted to see me, the outside visitor, and exclusively introduced the foto album which the church internally kept for remembrance. From the collection of historical moments of the church, he proudly introduced us the collaborated work of citizens rebuilding the damaged church façade after the war.



Figure 5-1 Magarethenkirch after the War, Church collection

¹¹⁴ Mrs Gerlach. The interview with her went over hours while walking all over Gotha's tourist destinations. Coming from near Gotha, she served her whole life as city guide and wrote a book based on her experiences as a tour guide. *Eine Reiseleiterin erzählt von ihren Erlebnissen in Gotha, Erfurt und Weimar* (A tour guide tells stories from her experiences in Gotha, Erfurt and Weimar).



Figure 5-2 Citizens re-building the Magaret Church, Church collection



Figure 5-3 Citizens re-building the Magaret Church, Church collection

As Mr Wenzel mentioned, the war ruins looked terrifying in the pictures of before the reconstruction. Unlike other artefacts, architectural heritage has a fundamental connection to urban life as ‘the daily living space’. The longing for the old architecture, particularly in Germany is a quite common phenomenon, as the whole country was extensively damaged during the World Wars. Regardless of the causes and conse-

quences, the destruction of old architecture which people's lives were based on, caused damages in their living condition, but more severely, spiritually and psychologically. Regarding this urban longing for historic ambience is not only limited to the living environment but the sentiments such as originality, tradition and stability (Röhmild 1990, p.10). Röhmild (1990) also points out this move of longing. The old becomes the beautiful, exotic stranger that unites everything the city has estranged from its development as an economic hotspot (Röhmild 1990, p.10). It enlightens the rural areas, small villages where the previously "backwardness" was rather associated and opens new doors to them as new charming tourist destinations.¹¹⁵ As Röhmild and Halbwachs commonly point out, urban space is a cultural medium -"Räume sind ein kulturelles Medium (Röhmild 1990 p.29)"; "Sprache des Raums (Halbwachs 1985 p. 12)"-, where the narratives of local culture are carved, and the continuity if the very moment's perspective is breathing.

5.3 Individual Remarks on the Transition of Heritage Management

The source of heritage management and tourism marketing in the case cities were highly dependent on the available interviews, personal memories, and the collection of documentation. Considerable support was provided by the citizens who were willing to help the research from the humanistic empathy on me, but also because of their local attachment. Significant dedication and material support were given by the local communities such as Gotha Altgeschichte Vereien.

¹¹⁵ Bentmann (1976) p. 213; Greverus (1976); Römhild (1990).

Architectural heritage has an indispensable relation with the local patriotism. In German, the word ‘Heimatgefühl’¹¹⁶ can be placed for this specific sentiment for local attachment.

Mrs Greiner¹¹⁷ has been working as Gotha city tour guide for 40 years so far. 15 years of her career was during the GDR, and she could fully observe how the system change influenced the city landscape. Mrs Greiner remembers the changes as below,

The whole old town has turned from the old grey façade to a gorgeous colourful centre, where we are now¹¹⁸, I still have the picture of it from 1982. Look at this (She showed me a picture of the old town from 1982 from her wallet. She said she carries it with her

¹¹⁶ Heimat is hometown in a direct translation. However, Germans use in a more delicate way to describe the attachment and connection to the childhood. It is very often used while describing the ‘past’ which does not exist now. When it comes to the division issue, people in the former GDR states use it at times to refer the GDR. ‘Gefühl’ means feeling. Heimatgefühl means therefore, ‘Home-feeling’. In this study, Heimat and Heimatgefühl are occasionally used to describe the certain attachment to the past.

¹¹⁷ Mrs Greiner (75 years old, Gotha city tour guide) has been working for 40 years as tour guide at present. She was in charge of teaching other guides in the GDR. During 1989-1991, in the change of the whole tourism and city management department, she worked for Gotha city marketing department. For detailed information, please see Appendix.

¹¹⁸ The interview was done in a café in the centre of Altstadt nearby the old city hall.

all the time so she could enjoy the beauty of the city while remembering it). I remember how buildings looked like before the reunification at the very end of the GDR. The main centre of the city looked like this. A ruin. We just could not afford the renovation. No one had the private budget for the renovation. So, the houses in the city centre were empty.

As a tour guide, to show the old town was a shameful thing. It made me almost depressed and embarrassed to show the core city centre since it seemed desperate and not rescuable. We would usually start the tour from the castle, the park around the castle and we walk through to the city centre, then I could not proudly show it around anymore. So, I just turned around about here. Imagine how proud I can be now, to show my city around now. Look outside, it is colourful and beautiful!

So, the biggest change of Gotha is the architectural landscape of the city (Stadtbild). Now we promote not only the castle but also the city very much. The city is actually one of the oldest cities in Thuringia and worth a visit. In the GDR, it was just not possible. So, the portion given for the city centre during the guided tour has become bigger and bigger now.

Mrs Greiner during the interview in 2016

The sorrow watching the falling apart old buildings in their hometown must have been a deep pain. Due to the stagnant economy situation at the end of the GDR, it was not possible to maintain any of the old architecture. No matter if expert or non-expert individual interviews, the restoration of architectural heritage was one of the first things mentioned as the most valuable thing accomplished after the reunification.

In Gotha, there is a series of brochures describing how the city façade has been changing over the layers of urban renovation and new colouration process.¹¹⁹

In 2015, there was an exhibition in Eisenach celebrating the 25th reunification anniversary, called 'Grau in Grau'.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ For more interview transcriptions, please see Appendix.

¹²⁰ 'Grey in Grey' in English. A similar exhibition was held in 2009 with the same name of 'Grau in Grau'. To celebrate the 25th year of German Reunification, and also due to the high visitors number in 2009, a new version of the exhibition 'Grau in Grau – Visionen und Wirklichkeit (visions and reality)' was presented as a collaborated project of Eisenach Geschichtsvereiens e.V. (Eisenach History Club) and Thüringer Museum (Museum of Thuringia) and also Stadtarchiv Eisenach (City archive of Eisenach). The exhibition was held from 26. September 2015 to 3. January 2016.



Figure 5-4 Exhibition Grau in Grau 2016 in Eisenach

The exhibition contained images, letters, publications, and so forth, collected from different individuals and artists. On one side of the exhibition hall, there was a massive board filled with letters which were sent from city dwellers to the city hall and city authorities begging the help to maintain the old heritage of the city. The letters contain the deepest sorrow looking at the run-down buildings in their hometown;

An Herren Bürgermeister

Joachim Klapezynski

Eisenach Rathaus

Sehr geehrter Herr Bürgermeister,

Dann an der Annekirche der verlassene, dreckige von Lastern zerfahrene Platz der ja nun alleine; was soll denn eigentlich aus unserer – meiner Geburtsstadt Eisenach noch werden.

In Grunde meines Herzens bin ich sehr traurig darüber, wie ein Haus nach dem anderen abgerissen wird und daraus nur Standorte für Autos worden.

Eisenach besteht doch nicht nur aus Bachhaus, Lutherhaus, der Wartburg und den Neubaugebieten, um nur einiges Schönes zu nennen.

Es kann doch nicht sein, daß eine Stadt den Krieg und die Bombenangriffe einigermaßen überstanden hat, jetzt nach über 40 Jahren mehr und mehr kaputt geht.

...

Das schreibt Ihnen eine Bürgerin von Eisenach

Brigitte Korndörfer

In English

Dear mayor,

The abandoned run down square next to Annekirche alone;

what is actually happening in our- my- mother city of Eisenach.

At the bottom of my heart, I am very saddened at how one house after another is demolished, leaving only space for cars.

Eisenach consists not only from Bachhaus, Lutherhaus, the Wartburg and the new modern building, to name only a few beautiful things in the city.

It cannot be that a city has survived the war and the bombing raids, now after more than 40 years more and more broken.

...

This writes you a citizen of Eisenach

Brigitte Korndörfer

Sehr geehrter Bürgermeister,

...

Was mich seit Monaten und Jahren quält ist der Zustand unserer Stadt Eisenach. Ich frage mich, wie man so eine schöne Stadt, wie es Eisenach nun einmal war,

so verkommen lassen kann, daß man sich als Eisenach Bürger schämt, seine Herkunft zu verraten.

...

Ich kann mir nicht vorstellen, daß das Problem nur eine finanzielle Seite hat. Unverständlich ist auch die Tatsache, daß Abbruch Gebiete jahrelang. Ohnehin schon triste Ansehen der Stadt noch verschlechtern. Es tut einem richtig weh, wenn man zusehen muß, wie solche gut erhaltene Häuser u.a. in der Rennbahn – neben dem Außenkeller, das Eckhaus Herrnmüllenster./ Oppenheimstr. Und evtl. Auch demnächst der ehemalige "Tannhäuser" dem Erdboden gleichgemacht wird.

In English

Dear Mayor,

...

What tortures me for months and years is the condition of our city Eisenach. I wonder how can we, humankind, let a beautiful city, as Eisenach once was, completely fallen apart that one as Eisenach citizen to be ashamed of his own origin.

...

I cannot imagine that the problem is only a financial issue. It is also not understandable that the demolition takes years. Even without it, it is already hard enough to see the city is getting worse and worse. It really hurts badly if you have to watch this happen, how the good preserved old buildings such as the houses along the

train tracks and Auenkeller, the Eckhaus near Herrnmüllenster./ Oppenheimstr. and all these might soon become the next “Tannhäuser” to be razed to the ground.



Figure 5-5 Exhibition Grau in Grau

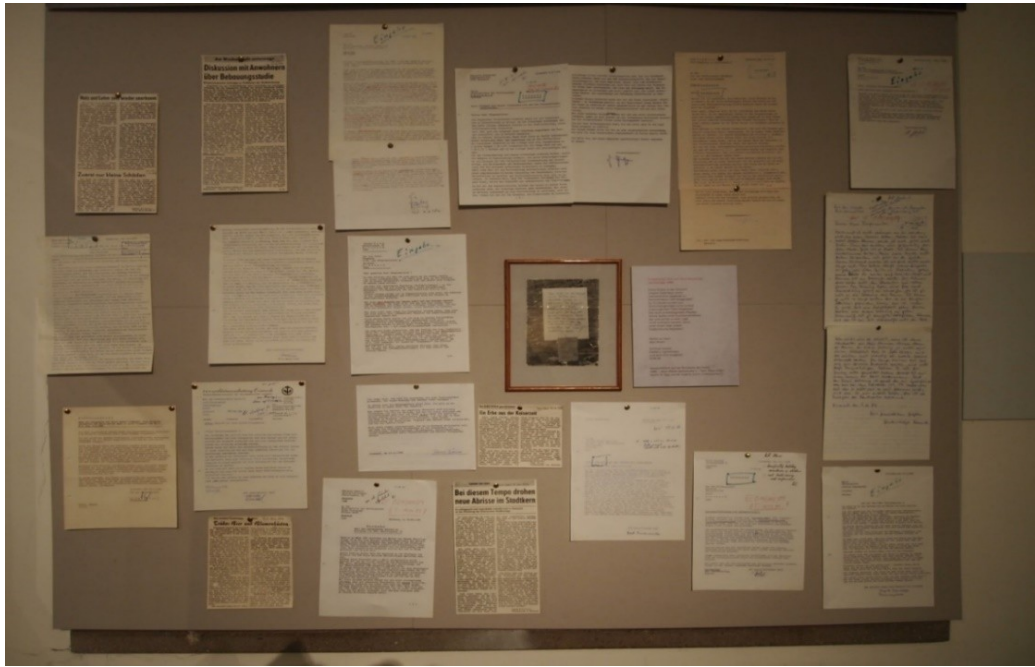


Figure 5-6 Hand written letters, Exhibition Grau in Grau 2016

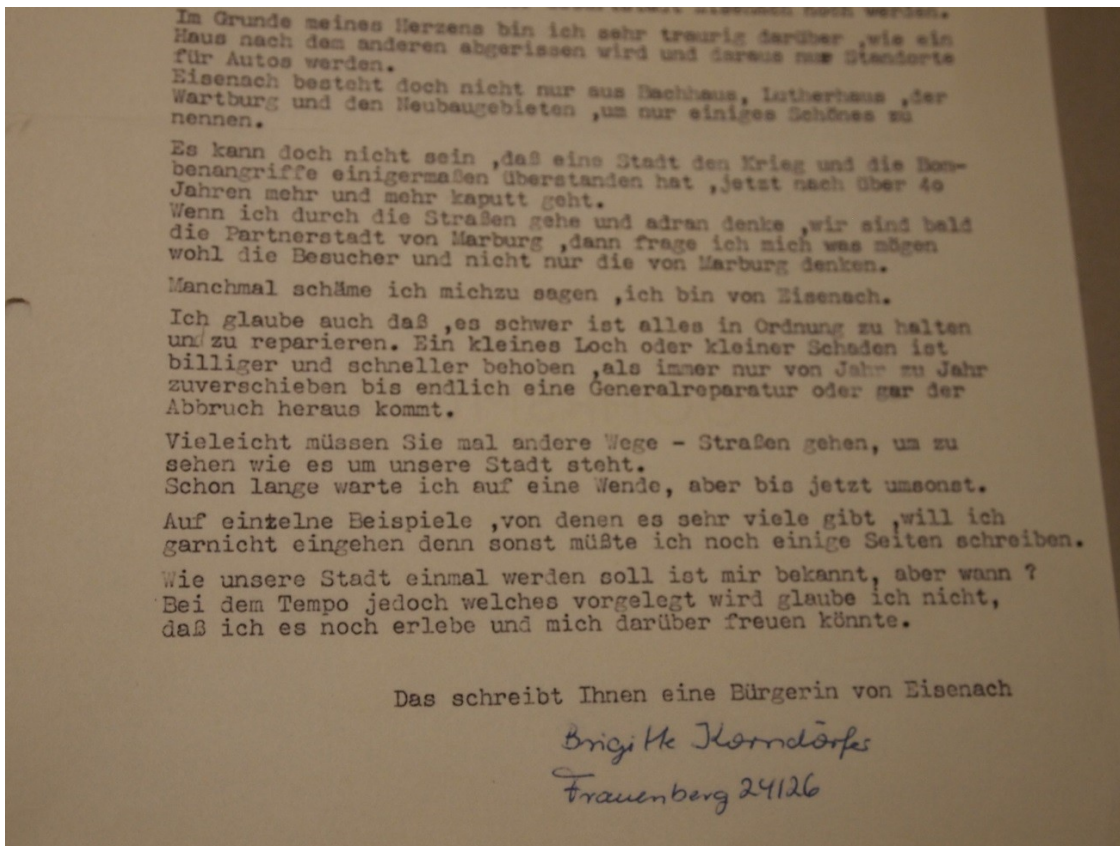


Figure 5-7 Hand written letters, Exhibition Grau in Grau 2016 in Eisenach

These desperate letters reflect how one can identify with the material environment, architectural surroundings of one's own hometown. Identification of oneself does occur in the relationship of cultural surroundings -including architectural heritage- and, apparently also its status. The sample mails here were from the end of the 80s and the beginning of the 90s as they show with a description of the fallen apart buildings and demolition of Tannhäuser building as well. The demolition signifies the destruction of their partial identity as well. The identity cancellation they exclusively feel painful about is the old architecture, which survived the war and the GDR period. The painful points here are that they could not save them even after the funding and modernisation process of the city since the reunification.

5.4 Heritage as Living Memory: Memories on Site

5.4.1 Castle Friedenstein

Remarkably, all the interviewees from Gotha agreed that the castle Friedenstein has received the most attention and promotions since the national reunification. As proven by interviews and the collected materials, the castle has always been the centre of maintenance regardless of the period. Thus, the changes are not limited to its architectural renovation, but also the local and externally promoted significance. The brand-new Gotha's public relations strategies, the recently opened ducal museum and significant changes in the castle gardens may indicate these trends. In the following pages, a few components of the castle which have been through substantial changes will be introduced, and its impressions to the citizens. Whether it is positive, negative or questionable, it is worth debates, as the castle is the central interests of the dwellers at the same time the central identity of Gotha.

Rosengarten

The Rosengarten is one of the most potent examples, where it shows how power can affect the spatial identity. In the centre of the main garden of the castle, where one can see the castle in a full picture, the monument used to set the significance of the era. As it shows that Mr Matthias, Mr Blaß and Mrs Greiner personally kept the picture of this space as their private collection, this space utterly meant some-

thing to the people. Although it is just an empty space now, the alteration of space did make a trace to each one's memory.¹²¹

Frau Greiner during the narrative interview:

In the GDR, the churches (architecture itself) and city centre were not well maintained by the city. They were rather abandoned from any form of renovation or investment.

The opposite, as an example which used to be quite crucial in the GDR and cared, but rather abandoned in the last 25 years is, the “Rosengarten”. The Rosengarten is between the main castle building and the Ducal Museum. Now it looks horrifying. It did not come to a conclusion what to make there, and it is just a ruined, empty place now.

I think it is important to note that the change reflects our society very much.

During the GDR, there used to be a memorial to the heroes who fought against Fascism.

Once in Gotha, we had a “Deutsche Rosenfest”. During this rose festival, the Rosengarten was a beautiful place full of roses. Then, the socialist regime came. In the Rosengarten, suddenly the anti-Fascism memorial appeared. After the reunification, the new government did not want to keep the statue anymore.

In the GDR, anti-fascism was the important theme. The state eradicated every bit of Na-

¹²¹ The changes and removal of statues are described in detail in Chapter 4.

zism to perfection. Basically, in West Germany, the value was the same, but it was still more tolerated than here. The appearance of the memorial in the city felt very natural. After the reunification, the new government began to function, and they figured that the statue does not fit into the system. They removed it, and now it is just an empty space. In any case, now the space looks out of control. However, the space belongs to the core part of the castle and its park. In fact, it is the spot between the two main attractions. Although not many people were giving meanings to it, I think the place had a particular value.

As this story was unknown when planning the research, it only caught my attention during the field research. I began talking to the citizens, visiting the castle, sitting on the garden bench. Once there were citizens who were taking a short break there, and we began a conversation. They told me how beautiful it used to be in that very space. This is how Rosengarten began to be an object of the study, and then I gathered information about it from different sources. Without the casual talk with the local people, I would not have known about the stories of the space, as it does not show any of the traces now. The interview with the current organisation, the Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein Gotha, was to find out the initiatives of the changes, how the place making was proceeded.

Quote from the expert interview with Mr Karthe from the Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein Gotha,

This memorial was entirely not a historical memorial. It was misused for political purposes through different regimes. First during the Royal time, then it was built and used by the national socialists, and the last one was during the GDR, for the sacrificed soldiers built. It was the central space to show the present regime and the ideology in the time. Then, 1st of May, there was action to walk around it and give the consistent mes-

sage that socialism has won.

I have to say, after the reunification, this memorial was by Gothaers already forgotten, and it also looked terrible. Then it was decided to get rid of it finally. It was not any more to be celebrated or to be worshipped there. It was a right thing to remember the soldiers, but there are other places in the city to do that. So, the statue was removed, and it was moved to the cemetery. There are discussions maybe about this place; however now the space can finally be used for some garden use of the castle than some political metal collection.¹²²

During the interview, it became clearer to me that the Rosengarten is no longer the interest of the foundation. It was more of a burden as it brings additional discussions and distracts the attention from the main attractions of the castle. As Mr Karthe mentions, this space was used depending on the political power of the period, exhibited the values of the time. Finally, this space is out of such political plays and might serve a practical purpose, as a parking spot. How this is going to be perceived by the citizens is still questionable though. It is very subtle to capture in words, however, commonly, it is a passive attitude toward the big decisions taken by the city, but the doubts for parking use and hopes for a better use were readable.¹²³ Despite the lack of media release in this specific topic, some local media still report on every stage of its

¹²² Semi-structured interview with Marco Karthe (36 years old) from Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein Gotha, please see the appendix for more details.

¹²³ Some glimpse of this topic can be found from the interviews. Please refer Appendix for details.

change in the context of its original history.¹²⁴

The case of Rosen Garten and the castle Friedenstein can be well reflected by the quotation of Lefebvre in Saunders:

The reproduction of production cannot be localized in the enterprise.” Reproduction (of the relations of production, not just the means of production) is located not simply in society as a whole, but in space as a whole. Space, occupied by neo capitalism, sectioned, re-duced to homogeneity yet fragmented, becomes the seat of power (Refebvre 1976, p.83).¹²⁵

When space is used by power to produce a certain identity, and re-produces what was produced in the past, it tends to lose its authenticity, particularly even more when the local people are alert about the ‘production’.

¹²⁴ “Gotha: Rosengarten-Denkmal verschwindet”, Thüringische Landeszeitung Gothaer Tagespost 05. May 2011: <http://gotha.tlz.de/web/gotha/startseite/detail/-/specific/Gotha-Rosengarten-Denkmal-verschwindet-2125923483>

In English: “Gotha, the Rosengarten monument disappears.”

“Gotha: Wildwuchs im Rosengarten und keine Besserung in Sicht”, Thüringische Landeszeitung, 31. Juli 2014: <http://www.tlz.de/web/zgt/suche/detail/-/specific/Gotha-Wildwuchs-im-Rosengarten-und-keine-Besserung-in-Sicht-1776682688>

In English: "Gotha: Wild bushes in Rosengarten and no signs of improvement”

¹²⁵ Lefebvre (1976, p. 83) in Saunders (2004, p. 159).

Gotha: Rosengarten-Denkmal verschwindet



Das Denkmal im Rosengarten kommt weg. Bis zum Thüringentag Anfang Juli soll es aus dem Schlossumfeld verschwinden. Das bestätigt Susanne Rott von der Thüringer Stiftung Schlösser und Gärten, der das Areal gehört und damit auch das Denkmal.

05. Mai 2011 / 06:30 Uhr



Soll bis zum Thüringentag weichen: das Denkmal im Rosengarten. Dafür ist ein neues Denkmal mit anderer Aufschrift für die Ecke Bahnhof-/Mozartstraße geplant. Foto: Wieland Fischer

Figure 5-8 Gotha Rosengarten article

Gotha: Wildwuchs im Rosengarten und keine Besserung in Sicht



Stiftung Thüringer Schlösser und Gärten sowie die Stadt Gotha wollen ein Parkforum – Die Frage ist, wann

31. Juli 2014 / 07:00 Uhr



Der Rosengarten zwischen Herzöglichem Museum und Schloss Friedenstein. Hier soll eine Veranstaltungsfläche für bis zu 10.000 Besucher entstehen, was aber noch in ferner Zukunft zu liegen scheint. Foto: Patrick Krug

Figure 5-9 Gotha Rosengarten article

님이 새로운 사진 2장을 추가했습니다.
2015년 4월 20일 · 6

Das neue Denkmal für den Antifaschistischen Widerstand auf dem Gothaer Hauptfriedhof. Trotz großen Protest wurde das vorherige Denkmal im Rosengarten vor dem Schloss abgerissen, da es nicht dorthin gehört. Die Architektin hat in das neue Denkmal ihre ganze Seele hineingelegt. Ihr Vati war Häftling im KZ Buchenwald, auch für ihn hat sie das Denkmal entworfen. Sie wurde nach langem Kampf doch noch eine würdige Lösung gefunden.



좋아요 17개 댓글 10개 공유 1개

ranzniederlegung am sowjetischen Ehrenmal zu DDR-Zeiten



2015년 4월 21일 오후 5:18 · 1

Я подумал, что это парень из "FDJ"
2015년 4월 22일 오전 1:07

Im Vordergrund ein Thälmannpionier, dahinter unsere NVA und unsere Freunde von der Sowjetarmee
2015년 4월 22일 오전 1:09 · 1

Unser Mahmal für die Opfer des Faschismus im Rosengarten durfte hier nicht bleiben. Im Hintergrund unser Naturkundemuseum, musste auch weichen für das Barocke Universum!



2015년 4월 22일 오후 3:14



Figure 5-10 People Posting on Rosengarten and discussions in Social Media, Facebook, 2015

Herzogliches Museum (Ducal Museum)

The most prominent current tourist attraction in Gotha, the current building of Herzogliches Museum (Ducal Museum) is another component of the castle Friedenstein which reflects the selective remembering process via heritage management. The building's usage changed over the time; originally started as the Ducal Museum (from 1879). After the Second World War, there were heavy losses of the collection of the ducal exhibition, and the Soviet Union took a part of it as war withdrawals. Later it was returned to the GDR, but the Museum opens in 1954 as the Biological central Museum (1954-1959). Then it changes to 10 years anniversary GDR exhibition (1959), and later to the Nature Museum (1971-2010; Naturkundemuseum). After the reunification, it re-opens as Ducal Museum (2013 until now). The exhibition of the nature museum is kept and continues to be open to the public in a different building within the castle (2010 until now: named Museum der Natur).¹²⁶

This change of the ducal exhibition to the biology exhibition is a drastic change. The Naturkundemuseum (Nature Museum) contained practical examples from the Thuringian Forest, thus, the perspective of the castle space changes from the imperial heritage to neighbourhood educational place. During the GDR, the museum was open to public, and it was an approachable place for every citizen, as it would show the living value of socialist ideology. Currently, the new ducal museum has entry fees and it has become an 'imperial' place again.

Even though the nature exhibition is still kept and re-opened (in 2010), it is not

¹²⁶ Please see in Chapter 3 for the details of museum history and content change by the time, before- during- and after the GDR.

comparable to the significance of the one during the GDR, as it does not have the dedicated building anymore, which is the quasi the main attraction of the castle. The Nature Museum in the GDR was the most visited museum in the city. Since it was one of the few places, provided entertainment and education for kids, every Gotha family was in there multiple times, according to the majority of the interviewees.¹²⁷ The exhibition about Thuringian Forest used to be the most beloved section, and there were real size animal models and real plants. The change was a radical one from a very practical exhibition to an exclusive one, but also for the move that the nature exhibition from the familiar neighbouring history would disappear. All interviewees were old enough to recall the Nature Museum as if it was from yesterday. Yet they were still too old to remember the earlier exhibition of the original Ducal Museum before the Nature Museum, although it was known to everyone. Even though it was not taught in the school, a significant number of people already knew what the building was for before the socialist regime. The conceptual return to the ducal exhibition was a popular decision. As it now costs the entry fee and thematically does not fit for simple people, not all the citizens would pay a visit. Furthermore, from the ordinary citizen interviewees (not expert, neither from tourism industry nor history interested) would still call it as Naturkundemuseum, as it used to be called earlier. Interestingly, some of the interviewees strongly recommended me to visit the Ducal Museum although they have not visited museum yet, or despite the fact that they still believe that the Nature Museum was the best part of their urban life in the earlier times. Regardless whether they have been to the exhibition or not, they would absolutely recommend it to tourists. It felt ironic that that people do have strong nostalgia towards the old Nature Museum. However, there is also strong pride that the Ducal history of the city is back, and is ready to be presented to the outside world.

¹²⁷ Mrs Teubner, Mrs Feahse, Mr Günter and the two ladies in the park at al.

Q. Have you been to the ducal museum? How was it in GDR and now?

A. I have been there. Very very different. Yes, very different. It was Naturkundemuseum, and more people used to visit. Simply, everyone went. Now the exhibition is a bit different one. However, it is good that it re-opened.

(Mr Günter, 89, Used to work in an electronic goods repairing shop in the GDR)¹²⁸

Q. Can you recommend me things to see in Gotha?

A. Schloss (the castle)! There is the Naturkundemuseum. This is fantastic. There is everything like animals and plants. This should be a unique one in the world.

(Two ladies in the Schloss park. Non-expert, 78 and 63 years old in 2015)

¹²⁸ Mr Günter was on a bench in the castle garden. I saw him a few times at the same spot. He was interested in this outsider in his hometown, and so was I about his stories. He enjoys being in the castle garden every morning. He appreciates the castle a lot and because an outsider was there, he wanted to guide me around. After a few talks, we happened to have an interview. He used to go to the Nature Museum very often as it was fun and for free. He has not been to the Ducal Museum yet -he has been until the entrance, not the exhibition-, however he is proud of that it is there.

During the GDR, although the majority of the heritage had been returned, the construction of the Nature museum went on to the end, and it stayed. The returned heritage was stored in the castle. It was not exhibited like now to show its glamour but was just stored somewhere in the castle. So, now, all the Gothaers go to the castle to see the historical highlights. It is the economic change. We could not afford such changes before. The exhibition of ex-Nature Museum is now saved in the castle. The exhibition in the Herzogliches Museum was and is an amazing collection as an individual collection of the king that time. It was collected from over for 350 years by the kings of Friedenstein, and it contained various themes. The museum was built in 1864 to store the collection.

(Mrs Greiner, 67 years old, tour guide)

Mrs Greiner and Mrs Hoffmann are both used to be in the GDR and currently working as tour guide in Gotha. Their historical knowledge and memories on heritage sites were great help to understand the chronological changes. Also, how directly the political ideology had an impact on their daily life as tour guides were valuable insights. Obviously, their insights on heritage and local history were definitely more precise and fundament than the interviews with citizens such as Mr Günther or the two lades at the park. That means as well that their appreciation and excitement on the old baroque history of Gotha is clearly higher than the usual citizens. They were the first ones who visited the Ducal Museum when it newly opened, as they were well aware of Gotha's ducal history and its meanings when the Ducal exhibition opened again. However, as it shows by the answer of the two lades in the park and Mr Günter, not all ordinary citizens are as involved as Mrs Hoffmann to visit the Ducal Museum with the high interest of the royal culture and regional history of Gotha. Although they are may have the pride of the local history toward the visitors, they do not fully know about the changes and the new exhibition. Mrs Hoffmann comments on the new exhibition as below,

In my opinion, thanks to the effort of the present city mayor, the city has become much more famous than before. He puts much effort into making the city touristic. The concept and marketing has been very active since his involvement. He also puts a great support to bring the royal families of Europe to here¹²⁹, for the city image and marketing reason. Together with the city mayor, Prof. Dr Eberle¹³⁰, is one of the leading members to form Gotha's image. The "Gotha Adelt" and all this Schloss fame has been only growing since he came.

Q. Is the marketing concept, also well communicated to the ordinary Gotha people?

A. To the ordinary people? Hm... I think many are interested. Yes... quite a few. Especially recently there were some events held here in Gotha. Many ducal related events, and also the royal family from all over Europe has appeared. The city has also newly released the new edition of Gotha Adelskalendar which is from 1763. There were also people saying 'oh, we didn't even know and what for do we make such noise now. 'and so on but at the same time, many Gothaers gathered to see what was happening. So, like everything has pro and contra, many people are interested in the new actions of the city.

¹²⁹ Gotha has been publicly promoting the royal family routes across Europe, and while doing so, the city also officially invited the European royal families. This act has been drawing international attention to Gotha, and the queen of Sweden, Queen Silvia, visited Gotha in 2004.

¹³⁰ The director of the Foundation Schloss Friedenstein Gotha.

Q. So, you mean that the local people are now through the marketing and tourism concepts, newly informed about the local history?

A. Yes, yes. Exactly.

Q. Which site of the city has changed its meaning the most?

A. The Schloss! The Schloss with its package (libraries and museums). It is also the most promoted one.

Q. Is there a site that has faded out in the last 25 years?

A. Yes, the Karl Marx Strasse which is now Friedrich Strasse. Moreover, Wilhelm-Pieck-Platz has changed its name to Coburger Platz. There are more small examples which changed their names but these two are the biggest changes for Gothaers because these sites are quite important and the change is clearly very political.

(Mrs Hoffmann, Tour guide, 70 years old)

Out of nine expert interviews, three individual non-expert interviews, and two non-expert focus group interviews, all the interviewees were very fascinated by the new tourist marketing strategies of Gotha, the ducal and royal marketing campaigns.

As shown from the interview quotes, if the interviewee was expert in Gotha tourism industry, he (or she) would show more profound insights of the local history and tended to have a very cheerful attitude towards the ducal campaigns. Same goes for highly educated interviewees such as history teacher, professor and writers. For the non-experts and as well as relatively lower educated citizens, the whole new move is overwhelmingly positive. They support the change of museum content, but they are also very expressive about the former Nature museum, and not many of them have been inside the newly opened ducal exhibition. As the royal culture and history have not been necessarily taught and treated as something to be proud of, the ducal culture is -despite its originality and historical value- partially an unknown culture to the native locals. During the GDR, the gap of royal heritage pride was rather filled by the strength of being an industrial city, and also the Thuringian Forest's magnificent nature.

5.4.2 Tannhäuser

'The Tannhäuser hotel' is one of the few urban heritages, which I got to discover only during the interviews with the local elderly people. It is not easy to find relevant information of the building in the official sources. So, the unique reference of this architectural heritage was the interviews with the local people. Also, photographs were found in the city archive database, which were only available upon an appointment, and via a direct search on the archive computer.

The Tannhäuser is situated in the middle of the old town, facing the main square of Karlsplatz. The original Tannhäuser building was a flourishing, classic building in Baroque architecture style, which served for a long time as a restaurant and hotel. Frankly, every single Eisenacher mentioned this heritage when the narrative

interview went to the topic of the urban façade, and cityscape (Stadtbild) change. Also, it was often mentioned in the appeal letters exhibited in the exhibition of ‘Grau und Grau’. Most of all, the building was very central where the core traffic happens, and the restaurant on the ground floor was supposedly very welcoming, and every citizen was flattered to go there for special occasions.

The building façade of the Tannhäuser hotel got worse and worse over the time in the GDR, and at the end of the 80s, it was not as beautiful as earlier, but it was still as the most traditional old building of the old town. When it was decided to be demolished in 1989, people got furious, and the majority of the population (all the interviewees were in the flow of demonstration) was on the street to stop the move. After the building was torn down, there was an empty gap for a quite long time, and it was called as Tannhäuserlücke (Tannhäuser gap). This quite drastic image of a big hole in the middle of the city continued until 2006, when there was a first move of a new construction on this spot.¹³¹ About the long history from the demolishing to re-filling the gap, citizens still remember as the most painful experience of the urban scape. The new Tannhäuser building is a regular office building, the first business after it was built was a Sparkasse¹³². I was brought to the place during a few interviews, as the interviewees wanted to share their sentiments with me. One of the interviewees asked to meet up for the interview right in front of the old Tannhäuser spot, even be-

¹³¹ Spatenetisch für “Tannhäuserlücke (Ground breaking ceremony for tannhäuserlücke”, Eisenach Online article:

<https://www.eisenachonline.de/kommunales/spatenstich-fuer-tannhaeuserluecke-13488>

¹³² German bank franchise

fore any talk began.



Figure 5-11 Tannhäuser (1960), Eisenach Stadtarchiv



Figure 5-12 Demonstration against Demolition of Tannhäuser (1989), Eisenach Stadtarchiv



Figure 5-13 Former Tannhäuser building spot with the new building (Sung, September 2015)



Figure 5-14 Former Tannhäuser building spot view from main road in old town (Sung, 2015)

Narrative Interviews about Tannhäuser

Mr Kämmer: In 1977, the tram is removed in the city. You can see the tram line still, where Karlsplatz is, where Tannhäuser 'was'.

So, Tannhäuser. It is a tragedy. It was demolished, and there was an over modern Sparkasse.

What bothers us is that there are always new plans. Boom, then this is gone, and Boom that happens, and again Boom, Boom... so it is hectic. We have to get used to a new concept every time. Every new leader and initiative have new ideas. Everything is too new. We would love to see some trace of the past. The same happened to Karlsplatz. Same goes to the Tannhäuser. The citizens, us, we noticed it when it happened. So, suddenly something is gone. Our city picture in mind, from the past, is lost.

(“Wenn es passiert, plötzlich, im Stadtbild ist etwas verschwunden.”)

...

Mrs Kämmer: Tannhäuser was something. It was a real gem. It was so beautiful, everyone appreciated it for the classic and esthetical charm it gave in the city.

I was there personally quite often enjoying looking at it, and I also brought my kids and went inside to eat, in earlier times. It was a beautiful historic building with a restaurant on the ground floor.

Mr Kämmer: It was so pretty, I don't know what kind of style was. But it was so pretty. But it was in bad shape at the end of the GDR. Nothing could be possibly done before the reunification.

(Mrs and Mr Kämmer; in their 70s)

It was so sad that it made us furious. We were furious, but it happened.

Not only Tannhäuser but many other beautiful buildings which were heritage were torn down. The same story happened to my hotel, which I worked for my whole (30 years) life as well. The hotel closed in 1996, but afterwards, it was empty for a long time. Fürstenhof, you can find it on the internet for sure.

(Mrs Pracht, 66 years old, used to work as a Hotel employee in the GDR)

5.4.3 Undoing: VEB AWE

AWE (Automobilwerk Eisenach: Eisenach Automobile Plant) has a longer history than the GDR. It was founded in 1896 by Heinrich Ehrhardt, and initially, it produced bicycles and guns. In two years, he started producing a motor car and named after the castle Wartburg. The company grew, and it became the third biggest automobile plants in Germany after Daimler (Daimler Motoren Gesellschaft) and Benz (Benz & Cie). In 1903, the car's name Wartburg was changed to Dixi, and in November 1928, BMW took over the plant. Under the new name of BMW-Factory Eisenach, it started mass production of various BMW models.

After the war, in 1952, the Soviet owners handed the company over to the GDR state, and it became a state-owned company. As the BMW Munich plant kept the BMW name and logo, the Eisenach plant renamed it, and it became VEB AWE (VEB: Volkseigner Betrieb: Publicly Owned Operation). In 1956, the first model Wartburg was launched, and the production of different Wartburg models followed the start of a beloved car brand by the GDR citizens. In 1990 October, just about the German reuni-

fication, the AWE came to an end, as it could not compete against other modern car manufacturing brands. In 1991 April, the Treuhand¹³³ closed the factory. Less than the half of the employees from the AWE found work in the new automobile plant of Opel, which opened in 1992. About 4,500 former AWE employees lost their job.

As the plant was the biggest employer of the city, the size of the factory was massive, and it was located relatively central, close to the city centre. The number of employees, and also its infrastructure in the middle of the city, played a significant role in the society. It had a youth centre, social club, and also a nightclub which was open for the Eisenach citizens. Working for the AWE was a success story in the city, as it provided a good working environment and employee benefits. What happened to the building after it closed is, therefore, a tragic story for all locals, not only for the former employees. Its falling apart look is so far not really cleaned up, so there is a big abandoned fenced area with the factory ruins in the middle of the city. The citizens who used to live close to the plant almost all moved out of the district. Looking at the forgotten heritage, especially knowing how it once was -full of life-, must be difficult.

¹³³ In English, Trust hand; it was an agency established by the GDR in order to privatize East German enterprises from the VEBs.



Figure 5-15 Automobile Wartburg factory in Eisenach during the GDR (1980s), Eisenach Stadtarchiv



Figure 5-16 VEB AWE (1960s), Eisenach Stadtarchiv



Figure 5-17 Former AWE building (Sung, 2015)



Figure 5-18 Eisenach Central Station (Sung, 2016)

Narrative Interviews about the VEB AWE:

Mrs Kämmer: What we both agree is that it is unbelievable how the decision is made or not made regarding a specific heritage. We, as citizens, we just do not get it. There are buildings which used to be the hub of the city, which were always busy and lively, and located in the central part of Eisenach. They are now just standing there with broken glasses in a run down status, like ghost houses.

We have seen the changes in the whole AWE factory area by time. Every phase of it was a big move for us. Now there are two buildings which are actually functional and in decent shape, which are first the AWE museum and the second building was supposed to be a furniture shop, but due to some reasons, the shop has not opened yet. Besides these two, they are all run down and hard to look at or they are already demolished.

(Mrs and Mr Kämmer, house wife and former school teacher, in their 70s)

Q. How was the significance of the car factory for the society?

It was enormous, as for the physical existence and for the life of Eisenachers. It was a good employer. As an employee, you could be very proud of yourself, as Eisenach is the car city. It still is with Opel. What happened is, during the GDR, people did not have the fear to lose their job. Today they can let you go when they do not need you anymore.

I used to live next to AWE. When people leave work, it was a massive march. It was nice to see the proud people.

Almost half of Eisenach city population worked for AWE. We always knew someone who worked there. It was big, and there was always something going on. There was life. It became smaller and smaller. After OPEL moved outside the city, its existence is kind of minimised. (Mrs Metzner, 75 years old)

It was a bright part of Eisenach history. We were proud to be the Wartburgstadt. Some people still worked for Opel afterwards. Many people had to leave the work after the reunification. “in den Vorruhestand gehen¹³⁴” was a way to let people go. With 55 years old you could retire. The thing is, people did not know that it could happen, just letting people go. We were not used to it and due to the socialist system concept, firing or letting go did not happen. It must have been a big frustration for them.

(Mrs Pracht, 66 years old)

It was a huge centre not only for the factories but also for life. Opel should be lucky to have this city as its production plant. It was the biggest employer of the city, 60, 000 people. There were also a few car supplier companies which are now Bosch, or some American companies. It was sad. It was the hardest time of the reunification story. Wartburg was the car we waited for at least 12 years. And not only in Germany, but people in the whole Eastern bloc loved the car, Wartburg. The workers there earned the honour, benefits and good money they earned there.

¹³⁴ To retire early than usual and get a compensation package

*Nowadays people are coming here to see the car museum. It is adding now to tourism.
The museum did not exist before. It is new and adding some tourist charm.*

*Eisenach was also a significant industry city earlier, and the Car factory was real not
just a museum...*

*(Mrs Schreibner, currently running a bookstore, used to be city guide in the GDR, 75
years old)*

5.5 Individual Remarks on the Transition on Tourism Marketing

Dr. Aschenbrenner¹³⁵ from Gotha remembers the past 28 years full of changes and challenges in both externally and internally. Tourism marketing was a completely new field when she first took the job as marketing responsible for Thuringian Forest. She had a different academic background and experiences in the GDR. She remembers the drastic drop of visitors right after the reunification. The top destination, Thuringian Forest was no longer a recognised destination. Marketing had to start from scratches. Going to fairs to see how other Western regions do, such as Bavaria as this region is

¹³⁵ Dr. Bettina Aschenbrenner (57 years old) works for marketing and PR for Thuringian Forest (Tourismusverband Thüringer Wald/ Gothaer Land e.V.). She is from the region Gotha and has been working for the tourism marketing in Gotha area since 1991.

also a cultural and natural tourist destination and trying to organise the materials in a similar way was how it started. Her private collection of brochures over the time and photo albums show how personally attached she is to her profession. She proudly introduces her hometown still as a competitive relaxation destination, which deserves more attention from the West Germans who have not been here yet.

Q. How was the tourist's number right after the reunification?

A. Absolutely under the earth. It went down but like totally.

Q. As Gothaer, how do you feel about the marketing strategy now, the ducal culture?

A. The slogan, Gotha Adelt...

hm.. My personal opinion on this is, I think that we Gothaers do not find ourselves in the concept so much. It is selected and promoted by the Stiftung of the castle and the city mayor. Good. It sounds nice. However, I put it like this. You go out now and stop the ordinary people on the street and ask, what they think about... puff....

*I think people are not that engaged so far.
It is not like Weimar or even like Eisenach. The classical value is there. However, it has not been so much integrated deeply into the average life.*

The history is there, for sure, however, it is not a fully-grown idea yet. (She used the word, keine gewachsene Identität). So it sounds like, the identity is not fully achieved yet.

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She often repeated, “NOT YET.” That sounds like the marketing would with the flow of time get closer to the people and educate them to be familiar with their own history and historical assets.

Out of fifteen in-depth narrative interviews in Gotha, there were three interviewees who provided most in-depth input regarding city tourism policy in Gotha. Mrs Hoffmann, Mrs Greiner and Mrs Grauel are former and current city tour guides of Gotha. These three interviewees share average 15 years in the GDR and in total over 25 years of experience as a tour guide in Gotha by the time of interviews in 2015. Their personal experience and memory of Gotha tourism provided profound impressions of detailed changes on the functional level, at the same time the administrative changes.

Sharing strong local patriotism, rich local background knowledge and being very informed about the tourism were factors which were shared by the three interviewees, and it was an essential factor to consider while analysing the information. This made them have a few particular perspectives on the tourism development of Gotha. First, the glorification of classic culture. Second, an in-depth knowledge of local history and strong pride in Gotha’s historical values. Considering these two fac-

¹³⁶ For more of the interview details please see Appendix.

tors, it is more understandable that the answers regarding heritage are more profound and accurate, at the same time they are indeed not representative for an average citizen.

Q. How vital is the tourism industry now in Gotha?

A. hm... from economy such as the employment of the shops, hotels and restaurants to culture and free time activities organisations are all involved. However, they are not the sector where most profit comes. I mean, it is difficult to measure also, and they are all tiny individual owners. Metal industry or logistics can be the more prominent income creators. But, I want to stress that it plays a critical role in the cultural aspect of the city, the vital atmosphere of the city and the city image.

Q. You mean, it could also affect the quality of life and city image itself for the people who live here?

A. Exactly! Everything which has been done for tourists and the aim of tourism development, every event and program is very beloved by the Gothaers. The museums and exhibitions are regarded as free time activities. The citizens take many benefits, and that creates its value to the city. Additionally, the business people take their business partners or visitors to the city attractions, we provided special offers. That is also very much popular.

Q. Esthetic changes?

A. "Die Stadt." The city. The whole old town turned from a run down old grey façade to a gorgeous colourful centre. Where we are now, I still have the picture from 1982. Look at this. I remember how buildings looked like before the reunification at the very end of

the GDR. The main centre of the city looked like this. A ruin. We just could not afford the renovation. No one from their own budget could pay for the renovation. So, the houses in the city centre were empty.

(Mrs Grauel, 60years old, Gotha tour guide)

She showed me a picture of the old town from 1982 from her wallet. She said she carries it with her all the time so she could enjoy the beauty of the city while remembering it.

Our city was not attractive. It was not something to come and see. 20,000 people lived outside the city. It is twenty minutes from the centre. There is the newly built residential area. Newly built means the GDR socialist style block apartments (Neubauviertel). It was perfect back then. 1m² costed not even 1DM and it had everything inside and it was even very new.

As a tour guide, showing the old town was a shameful thing. It made me almost depressed and embarrassed to show the core centre since it seemed desperate and not rescuable. So, we start the tour from the castle, wall around the castle, the park and then through to the city centre. There, I could not proudly show it around anymore. So, I just turned around about here. Imagine how proud I can be now, to present my city now. Look outside, it is colourful and beautiful!

So, the most significant change of the Gotha is the architectural landscape of the city (Stadtbild). Now we promote not only the castle but also the city very much. The city is actually one of the oldest cities in Thuringia and worth a visit. In the GDR, it was just not possible. So, the portion for the city has become bigger and bigger.

(Mrs Greiner, Tour guide, 67 years old)

Q. How was the industrial change of Gotha during or after the GDR?

*A. Oh yes, we were both an industrial also a school city. We are now neither of those. Well, there are factories and steel industry, however, way smaller than how it used to be. The editor's house, school products, food, shoe production and so on, now we do not have any of them. Earlier, when Eisenach was still producing cars, we delivered the parts. Now, Schmitz Cargo bus is the biggest employer. So you see, with this industrial situation, tourism is getting more and more important as **an economy booster**.*

(Mrs Hoffmann, Tour guide, 70 years old)

5.6 Cultural Tourism and its Influence on the Community

The demographic situation of the state Thuringia is introduced in Chapter 4. After the reunification, as the industrial status of the Eastern states was not competent in reunited Germany, the local economy of the Eastern states has gone down drastically. Moreover, it was followed by consequences such as decreasing population, increasing unemployment rate and high rate of aged population. As it shows in Figure 5-19, the population of the state Thuringia is decreasing while the overall population of the Republic of Germany is increasing. This trend is especially significant after 1990.

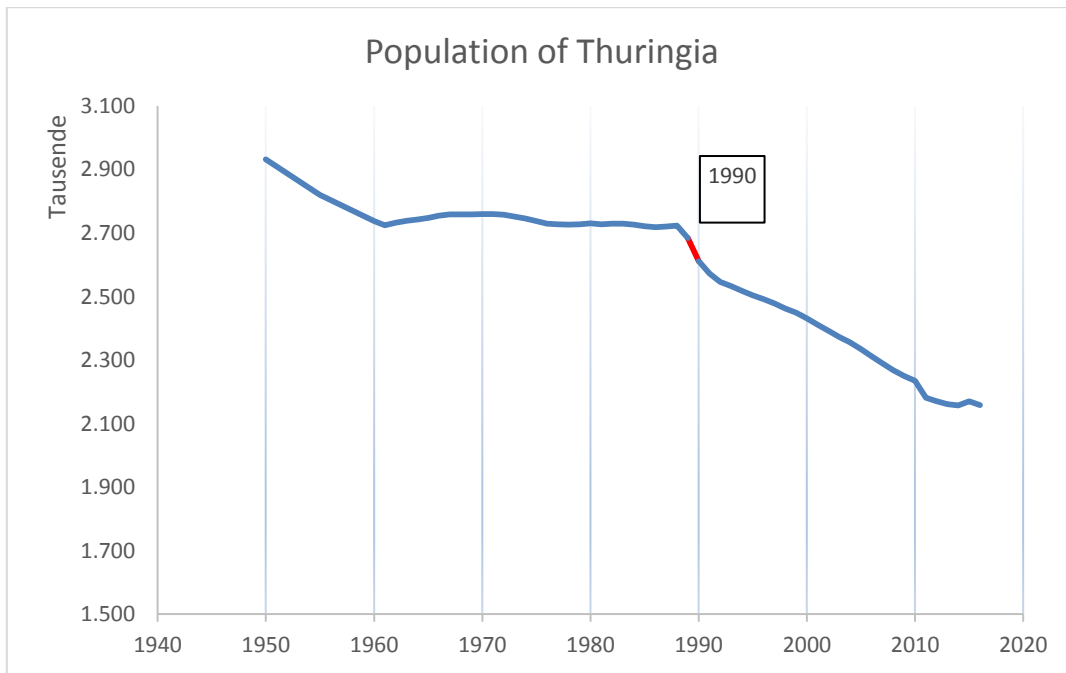


Figure 5-19 Population Decrease of Thuringia (1950-2017), Thüringer Landesamt für Statistik

Perhaps tourism in this region was partly an alternative industry, which filled the economic depression and at the same time the stagnation of urban scape. Especially, beautiful historical towns, such as the case cities Gotha and Eisenach, have been developing their historical charm and actively engaging in tourism campaigns. As both city municipalities proudly referred during the interviews, the total tourist numbers of both towns have been increasing. In the case of Gotha, with the new Ducal Museum which opened in 2013, it has been a visibly positive development.

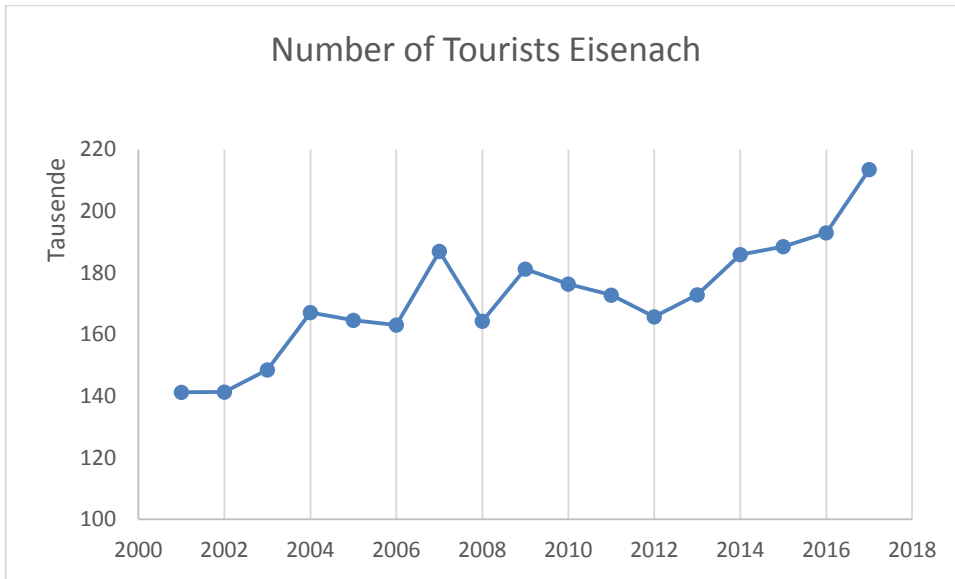


Figure 5-20 Number of Tourists Eisenach (2001-2017), Thüringer Landesamt für Statistik

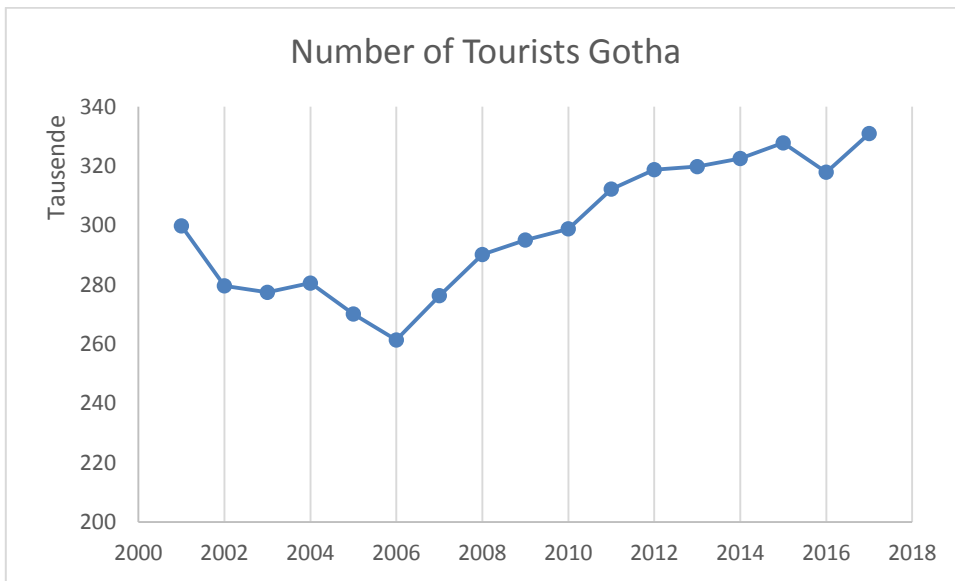


Figure 5-21 Number of Tourists Gotha (2001-2017), Source: Thüringer Landesamt für Statistik

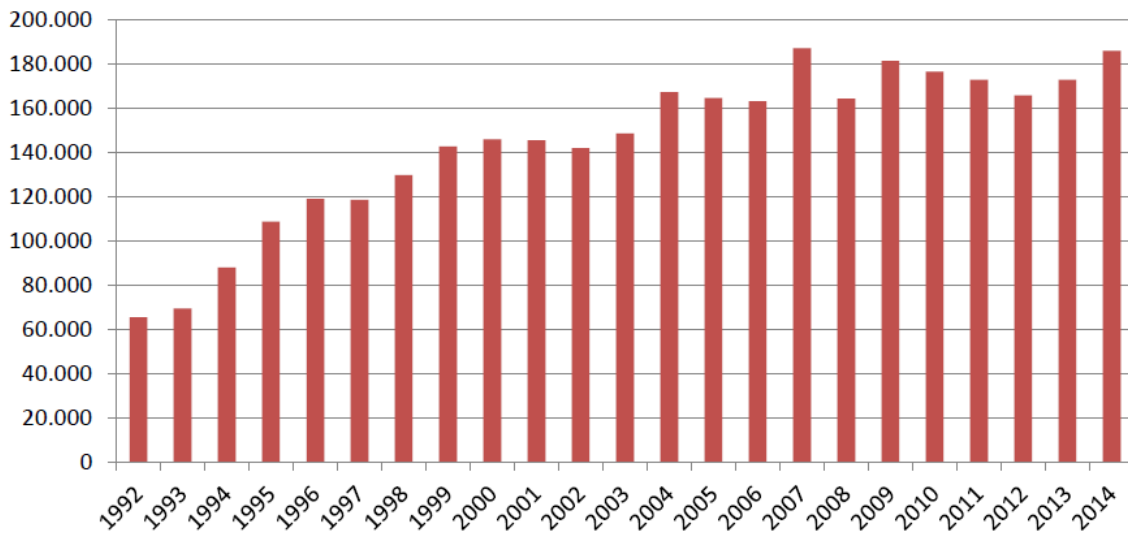


Figure 5-22 Number of Tourists, Eisenach-Wartburgregion Touristik GmbH (1992-2014)

In 2016, the Castle Friedenstein was selected for the best tourism marketing campaign in the international tourism conference (IBT: Internationalen Tourismusbörse).¹³⁷ The theme Barockes Universum has been successful in making Gotha a tourist city, as the tourist's number development shows as well.

The renewal of old town façades, re-generating the values of cultural heritage, and promoting the old history and historical significance of the hometown may not be the most lucrative business, but it has provided a function of smoothing the radical changes and recovering local identities. Different parameters can measure its numeric value.

¹³⁷ IBT best marketing award:

<http://www.stiftungfriedenstein.de/aktuell/marketingaward-2016-geht-die-stiftung-schloss-friedenstein-gotha>.

However, it is limited to measure the overall picture of the urban status and especially, cannot explain the urban ambience. Individual stories and qualitative analysis can only observe its psychological impacts on the local population.

Regarding the economic revival aspect of tourism in small towns, it is already repeatedly emphasised at political levels and studies (Becker 1979, p.37; Greverus 1978 and Römhild 1990). From the regional perspective, the promotion of tourism is an alternative to the actual industrial development, and it is as essential as a significant product. A tourism development can be lucrative, yet still helping the region to be attractive and at the same time less destructive than traditional industrial development. Furthermore, it creates additional jobs in different fields, attracts foreign traffic and reduces structural weakness (Becker 1979, p. 33).

On the other hand, according to Becker (1979) and Römhild (1990), the current redemption of the old and original charm tends to establish tourist monocultures, which directs the exclusive charms only in the direction of the development goals. That is a threat to these destinations as it might lead the cities to inevitable dependency on the general development of tourism sectors such as infrastructure, entertainment, shopping district and so forth.

Parallel to the economic side of cultural tourism, another dominant side of this phenomenon can be addressed as a stabilising factor of local and regional identity (Römhild 1990; Hoffmann-Hempler 1984). Claimed by Hoffmann, tourism is a stabilising factor for liking the own regional identity. In her study 'Fremdenverkehr in einem Abwanderungsgebiet (Tourism in a migration area, 1984)' she addresses the two concepts, "positive- and negative spirals". By "negative spiral", she means the reductions of communal autonomy and socio-cultural diversity associated with the marginalisation of rural areas. She addresses how tourism can constructively act upon this, which primarily originated by the people emigrating to bigger cities. 'The objectified traditions' by festivals and customs, she explains the consequences of growing

‘stabilisation of regional culture’, which equals the “positive spiral” (Hoffmann-Hempler 1984). While promoting the heritage culture, in the course of tourism development, the traditions revive, which are no longer practised. The phenomenon that the cultural proposal is feeding nostalgia in modern life is proven in the tourism industry to a certain degree.

| Themen und Zielgruppen im Tourismusmarketing deutscher Städte | | | |
|---|----|------------------------------|----|
| Sehr hohe/hohe heutige Bedeutung | | Künftig stärkere Vermarktung | |
| | % | | % |
| 1. Tagestourismus | 84 | 1. Tagungen/Kongresse | 47 |
| 2. Kunst-/Kulturtourismus | 79 | 2. Internationaler Tourismus | 35 |
| 3. Senioren/50+ | 73 | 2. Radtourismus | 35 |
| 4. Historie/Geschichte | 68 | 4. Kunst-/Kulturtourismus | 33 |
| 5. Allg. Geschäftstourismus | 62 | 5. Tagestourismus | 29 |
| 6. Eventtourismus | 61 | 5. Senioren/50+ | 29 |
| 7. Tagungen/Kongresse | 60 | 7. Shoppingtourismus | 25 |
| 8. Radtourismus | 55 | 8. Eventtourismus | 23 |
| 9. Internationaler Tourismus | 54 | 8. Gesundheit/Wellness | 23 |
| 10. Verwandten-/ Bekanntbesucher | 46 | 10. Wassertourismus | 22 |
| | | 10. Incentives | 22 |

1 – 10 = Rangfolge
Quelle: TMO-Befragung *dwif* 2005, n = 163

Figure 5-23 Tourism themes and targets in Germany¹³⁸

¹³⁸ It shows the high popularity on culture and history rank number 2 Culture/ Cultural tourism (Kunst-/Kulturtourismus) and 4 History (Historie/Geschichte).

As a living example of the ‘revival of practised culture’, Gotha shows the exactly fitting practices. The municipality of Gotha, together with the foundation of castle Friedenstein, have been developing cultural events in the city with the thematic approach to “the great Baroque”. Under the overall concept of tourism marketing series, “Gotha Adelt”, both the annual Gothardusfest and Barockfest, and also smaller events in the castle Orangerie are all adoring -rather idolising- the antique medieval culture of Gotha. Considering the near past of GDR, where the words ducal, royal, imperial and all other the upper crust were systematically and also socially impermissible, this is a fascinating change. The festivals are highly participatory. It is celebrated among the Gothaers, the participants who dress up as the duke, royal family, riding the horse carriage are mainly the Gotha citizens, and the atmosphere of the festivals is a communal party where they celebrate their own historicity.

27.08.12

Gotha adelt: Barockfest auf Schloss Friedenstein



Gotha, 26.08.12: Das mittlerweile 12. Barockfest versetzte das Areal um das Gothaer Wahrzeichen Schloss Friedenstein um etwa 250 Jahre in der Zeit zurück. Von Freitagabend bis heute Nachmittag konnten Besucher in das bunte Treiben eintauchen.



Figure 5-24 Barockfest Gotha (Thüringer Allgemeine August 27, 2012)

Porter (2008) defines heritage in two modes, intentional and extentional phenomenon. As an intentional phenomenon, he claims that heritage is about a sense of the self in the past where the subjective component of ‘the self’ is described in the temporal links between the subject and the past, based on perceived genealogical, biological, or community connections. The other face of heritage, the extentional component, where these subjective meanings are externalized in language, practice, and objects in the concrete and publicly accessible way. By combining these two modes of heritage, heritage plays a vital role in crafting personal, local, national, and cosmopolitan identities (Porter 2008). In the case of the case cities, the intentional phenomenon, the perspective of what is chosen by the citizens seems to be determined: the periodical orientation to the 18th century, the royal identity. By the extensional component, it is practised and lived by the community. Tourism is as one of the extensionalised forms, the medium which enables the practices to be lived and publicly presented and accessible from the outside.

The celebrated heritage such festivals, events, and marketing activities bring the positive spiral internally by linking the communities together and stabilizing the regional identity. At the same time, the external guests from outside the community also affect the positive spiral and intangible connection to the communal identity by visiting and playing a role in the planned events.

Q. Do you found it positive when you see tourists in the city?

A. Ja, aber sicher. (YES, but absolutely!)

I like to see all different looking people, I mean it literally. I am happy that we have different people here in my town, Gotha. Also, I am happy to see the West Germans. They should come here and see the history of it a bit.

Q. Do you think Gotha can benefit from tourism?

A. Ja, sicher! (Yes, absolutely!).

Everything will be directly and indirectly good for Gotha economy.

And yes, it makes everything more lively, more dynamic.

(Herr Günter, 86 years old)

During the interviews, while talking about the local cultural heritage, it was indeed remarkable that the interviewees were excited to talk about it and had hopes for finally unfolding its value. Unlike from bigger cities -the classic tourist destinations-, the relatively “new” and small city Gotha is so far welcoming the changes which are caused by tourism and its consequences. As it is a locally spread vibe, it does strengthen the shared identity. Lowenthal (1985) refers to this as collective beliefs which play a fundamental role in securing a sense of togetherness and cultural solidarity. Moreover, the sense of togetherness and solidarity are vital in the formation and legitimation of any national identity (Lowenthal 1985, p. 44). Following this, the sense of collective awareness and beliefs has also been argued by Graham (2008) that it is endorsed through common historical experience. Further, he notes that the unofficial memory is often seen as a binary which is ambiguous and dangerous, yet it is the power to form the communal identity (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 41).

5.7 Parallel Running Identities

Q. Can you recommend me things to see in Gotha?

A. Schloss (the castle)!

There is the Naturkundemuseum, this is fantastic. There is everything like animals and plants, this should be only one in the world.

(Two ladies in the Schloss park. 78 and 63 years old)

While celebrating the shared memory and history, there are some parts that remain ambiguous and obscure. As the decisions neither always request the citizens' opinion, nor it is even realistic to do so during such massive changes, the significant changes and the urban life tend to remain foreign to a certain degree. In these specific locales, either the decision was welcomed with a delight (the case of Gotha Ducal Museum) or had struggles for dwellers to live along (for instance, Eisenach's Bachhaus re-opening case). It does not fully embrace the native identity. To which degree is heritage management acceptable is a subtle question. In the case of East Germany, it provides relatively 'newly created' impressions more evidently, due to the time gap when the specific period was lived in a different manner.

Different level of knowledge on newly promoted heritage was shown often by the residents during the interviews. In addition, it happened repeatedly that the non-expert citizens recommend me to visit some heritage which were now actively being

promoted anymore or even were transformed drastically and the ones who recommended me were not even aware of the changes yet. In the case of Gotha, except for the experts and tourism industry related people, not many people were well informed about the details of the castle changes. Instead, they would recommend me to go there to explore and fall in love with the city, as it is a great one. National cohesion was there when they promoted their own city, as it was going back to the old history where Gotha meant more significance for entire Germany. It barely existed that the interviewees would focus on the GDR memorials and get emotional about it. Thus, this part of the near past felt obscure, and difficult to uncover. Unlike Gotha's castle case, Eisenach had its own high cultural heritage stories with a few gems during the GDR. As it was already a known and proud cultural city, the reunification did not necessarily add to its historical significance. Opposite to that, they have a 'loss' feeling towards some heritage which was removed during the end of the GDR and at the beginning of the modernisation. In addition, the pride of being 'the car city, the important city of the state' during the GDR was taken away, and it was felt as a failure. Nevertheless, the belief that this is the way how the modern cities should go, and external tourists would appreciate the local heritage, they come to the agreement that it is now at least more 'presentable'.

Overall, doubtlessly, tourism was a popular topic to be shared with the locals, and it gave a subtle delight for them to see that the city is moving forward. External people visiting their hometown, changing city façade, marketing materials and event programs were one of the exciting parts of the city life. These co-existing sensations are to be questioned whether it is filling the gap of the loss or is a simple joy seeing the community change. Graham (2008) notes that even within a single society, pasts, heritages and identities should be considered as plural, as not only heritage has many uses, but they also have multiple producers (Graham and Howard 2008, p. 1-15). In the case of East German cities one can see the compressed version of multiple players and the urban life in the spectrum of interplays; identity, cultural heritage, urban revitalization and nostalgia.

Q. Has Gotha been always a tourist city?

A. NO, Actually no. Actually, since the reunification.

Q. Why so?

A. Naja... there were specific cities which were rather exhibited. Gotha was not on the list. Despite the royal stuff we have.

Q. But there were all the castle and heritage still. And still it was not so famous? Why would that be?

A. Eh.. it was somewhat, somehow unprioritized.

Q. You mean the history?

A. Yes, Yes yes.

Then after the reunification, you see it everywhere. In the newspaper, in different commercials, things are promoted. And also, they are actually renewed, such as streets and the whole infrastructure and so on.

So, there was funding. One could not stand it anymore. Also the new mayor is doing a lot. I mean again, my personal opinion, okay? Nothing political.

Q. What can I see in Gotha? What should I see in Gotha as tourist? What can you recommend?

A. You have seen the most important thing. The museums and so on. These are the most important.

Ah, now I remember one another important thing. Have you seen Tivoli? It is like a museum of a party. You know, it used to be a restaurant.

Q. Have you been inside already?

A. Ja ja jajaja. I have been there many times. This year also, I think it was in March.

Q. So, it is a museum? Worth going to see?

A. Um.. not so.. It is just important, it is the history. Some important things are framed on the wall and so on. The SPD was founded there.

After nominating the castle as the most important thing to visit in Gotha, he soon remembered the Tivoli museum. He mentions that he has been to the place many times, also the inside. So, I asked then if he has been to the new castle museum which he counted as the most important one. Then his answer was no. Mr Günter continues

explaining about the castle and the whole complex, which is great gem of the city, but again, he has not been there yet.

Q. Does every Gothaer know about the changes and about the castle museum?

A. Probably not everyone. But it is my interest. I go there nearly every day.

You know, I am also very keen on nature. I also did many times the Rennsteig walk, have you heard of it? It is very popular hiking way.

Now I can walk and see the castle whenever I want to, since I am retired.

Q. Since when are you retired?

A. Since 20 ago, I am not sure. But you know, my business is still running. My kids inherited it and made it more successful. It is big now and more commercialized. You might even know, it is called XXL. It is almost 1000m and they also have another branch in the suburb around here.

(Herr Günter, 86 years old).¹³⁹

¹³⁹ Mr Günter (worked as a mechanic in the GDR, 86 years old)

5.8 Summary: Remarks on the Transition and the Result

The interviews reflect the parallel identities of the current living generations in this region. The vulnerable boundaries between what is remembered and what is forgotten became utterly comprehensible by asking the locals directly. In the case of Gotha, the change of city was more drastic, as the city changed its overall focus from industrial to culture. However, today's cultural promotion is not an absolute new 'production' of city identity, as the city was 'produced' in the time of GDR as an industrial region. Going back to the culture, feels instinctively unnatural though, as no string can be bonded by the 'people' and their memory.

In the case of Eisenach, the recognition of cultural heritage has been always there as their central urban identity. The different focal points were put by two different political ideologies, for instance, precisely which aspect of the heritage is to be promoted while celebrating the historicity. On another note, Eisenach citizens have suffered from the unbalanced modernisation of city façade. The Bachhaus and Lutherhaus have been through overall restoration after the reunification. Regarding the way how the restoration is done, the Bachhaus struggles with the negative reaction of the residents due to futuristic design of the new museum. The heart of the old city scene, the old architecture, Tannhäuser, got demolished after the reunification, and it remained as a big hole in the old town until 2006. Like the example of Tannhäuser and Bachhaus, the urban changes which involve the regional identity but somewhat indiscreetly done still remain as part of the disturbance of the division history. At the same time, the old manufacturing plant of AWE, which used to be the core pride of the city during the GDR is still standing like a ghost nearby the city centre. Without having approached the residents in person and capturing the narratives in person, these stories would never come to the public attention.

Ethnographic fieldwork requires serious ethical considerations. The value, at the same time, the risk of the empirical field work was the originality of the outcome from interviewees based on trust. After a couple of first talks, it felt clear and rationale to me that I am rather a listener than an interviewer. In this way, it helped the atmosphere be more open and genuine than going through formal questionnaires. Also, the personal background often helped much understanding of the background of the stories. Asking personal questions and adding comments, I was an active player in this entire storytelling. The characteristics of myself and my background created certain conditions for the talks to be based on. Additionally, a few factors which promoted the conversation to be more live are:

First, the background and my story; the nature of the setup, such as me as a listener, coming by myself and asking for local insights provided them with a comfortable situation to talk about their own stories without worries or less worries about the potential judgments and political justification perhaps with another third party in the room. Naturally, it also made differences when it was one to one conversation or with a group of people as a focus group interview.

Second, my active involvement in the talk; I tried to get as much information as possible, which naturally involved me in a particular direction that is agreeing on their viewpoint while explaining the political situation and personal experiences. As the memories involve high level of intimacy, some personal experiences were quite dramatic, and it resulted in my empathetic reactions. With my actions and responses, I as researcher also became part of the setup. Naturally, in this way, people were more open to me. Acknowledging the stories and requesting detailed information made the talks more productive and at the same time, it may have led to an exaggeration as well.

Nevertheless, besides the personal stories, gaining more substantial insights and objective views on the historical events were attempted in various ways. Public conflicts over preservation and urban planning were observable via media and docu-

ments collection. Attending regional urban planning symposia, local community meetings, interest groups monthly meetings, sessions of municipal committees and lectures of community centres were also a part of it. Lectures in community centres, walking tours and excursions sponsored by different clubs were highly informative, and it provided back up information to what were spoken during the narrative interviews. Although the narrative interviews were mostly done in a very private and relaxing setup, the data that are provided on historical events and regional issues were surprisingly matching the historical facts, such as the dates and content of the acts. After interviews, I ritually checked the historic facts to prove the given situations the interviewees mentioned, and I would further investigate through my collection of books and interview transcriptions. In this way, the study developed further in parallel to the field work.

Mrs Greiner summarizes the last 40 years for her,

*Well, we hear about the 'Stiftung' and other systems to manage the important decisions. The interesting thing here is that we **all knew what used to exist, and then, we had to readjust as if there is not such a thing.** And now we are back to the earlier system after the decades of time.*

Someone like me, for example, I was born and grew up still in the capitalist society. I do remember how it was before. And I grew up in the capitalist system. I went to capitalist schools. I was 23 years old when everything was entirely changed into the socialist system in 1961. I was born in 1938. In 1961, the wall between East and West was built, and the real extreme socialist paradigm started. Before 1961, one could just cross the border and go to the West if they wanted to. Afterwards, it was a total socialist system and also the control got much stronger. My parents had to go through from the standard market system to a socialist system all of a sudden. I do remember 'before' and how the whole change happened.

When it ended, for me, it was as if going back to the former times. So, I experienced then how my parents must have felt, again. My own belief about the economy system what is right what is wrong was then finally proven.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ More interview notes can be found in Appendix.

6. Findings and Applications

This chapter is designated to conclude the observations, analysis and describe the reflections on the provided discussions. The questions which were addressed in Chapter 1 will be answered in the findings, and the theories from Chapter 2 will be resumed to summarise the cases. While answering the questions, the exemplary empirical cases from Chapter 4 and 5 will be referenced.

As a two-part research, the thesis first addressed the status of current studies of heritage management, cultural tourism, and urban resilience. It introduced the case of East German cities, where the urban planning and city marketing altered radically after the change of the political system in 1989/ 1990. In the case region Thuringia, it was observed and analysed how the local cultural heritage was marketed before and after the reunification. In the second part of the thesis, it explores the case studies and attempts to connect the theory with the case cities. The research uses chronological observation on overall city marketing materials and micro observation on specific heritage site level. It helped documenting and providing the evidence of the direct and indirect actions on place, which heavily influence the significance of the architectural heritage. Simultaneously, interviews with citizens and regional tourism organisations specified the experience of the changes and its consequences in people's lives. While doing so, the research questions the significance of cultural heritage in the present society and discusses its impact in urban ecology.

The achievement of the study lies in the examination of the theories which have not been explored at community level. The interplay of remembering and forgetting are shown in the heritage management. Its influence on urban life and local identity are observed in the case region. Finally, the debates raised during the field research and the documentation of heritage management in East German tourism

development are the contributions to the existing studies.

In the following chapter of Findings, it will cover the research questions and the answers with both the theoretical background and field study.

6.1 Findings

This study departed with three objectives as follows.

1. to fill the gap in the discourse of heritage management after the fall of the Berlin Wall in East Germany,
2. to analyse the consequences of the political actions (policies, promotions, management details) and
3. to reflect the residents' perception and attitude toward the transitions.

To fulfill the objective 1, the following research questions are;

1.1 Were there new internal/external initiatives in historical quarters after the national unification? If so, what are they?

1.2 What is the role of historic urban quarters in the revitalisation of East German towns?

1.3 The research has proven that there were numerous initiatives to influence the historical quarters of East Germany after the reunification.

1.1) Initiatives in Historical Quarters after the German Reunification

There were various internal and external initiatives on historical restoration already starting from 1989, and it began more officially in 1990 by different stakeholders. Internally, within the cities, there were a number of clubs which started to form after 1990. As forming a club was not allowed during the GDR, the community groups who were interested in conserving local history and architectural heritage could only officially begin their activities after the reunification. The funding of each project involved various sources. However, the most outstanding source here is the citizens' charity. In the case of Gotha, for the Gotha Altgeschichte-Verein, there was a voluntary funding from Gotha citizens which has been the primary source of their activities ever since the reunification. Their main projects after the reunification were focused on saving the run-down old churches, statues, and the symbols that are carved in the old city façade. From the city administration, there were also significant actions supported by funding and new materials after the reunification. Most of these actions involved state investment and it continues until today. The castle and the city façade were the first to be fixed right after the reunification in Gotha. Similarly, in Eisenach, the old town was first to be modernised (partially restoration, cleaning and re-colourisation), and while doing so, some of the old buildings in the old town were demolished by the decision of the state as well.

The importance of maintaining old city quarters was one of the priorities as the buildings were out of shape, and no more maintenance was done at the end of the GDR governing. As the situation directly after the reunification was chaotic and there was not a designated municipal department to take care of the city landscape, each city had a different approach with multiple actions in parallel. The lack of discussion during this period on how to proceed with the maintenance of the specific urban heritage is noticeable as the abrupt changes show on significant heritage buildings such as the case of Bachhaus and Tannhäuser. Despite the overall positive upgrade on urban picture, they remained as regretful urban changes to the Eisenach citizens.

As the objective level observation showed in the case cities, throughout the choice of promoted heritage sites, the way of remodelling heritage and the manner of marketing raise sociological questions. During the process of capitalisation, much of the debate concept was missing. The meaning of monuments from the socialist government was significantly different from the current monuments, and the trace of the change and management of those were wholly lost after the reunification. It is not to give significance to the political architecture; however, it might be a valuable source of information to help understand the population and the values that prevailed during the period. Without it, the memorialization process of the population remains incomplete, and it causes more questions about how to redeem 'the older' past.

1.2) The role of historic urban quarters in the revitalisation of East German towns

The cultural heritage which has been through modernisation plays a substantial role in the current society. It shows especially in the cities, where the domestic industry used to flourish during the GDR, and this role is taken away after the reunification. These cities tend to promote village charm and traditionally shared history. It is not only to redeem the glorious past that gives meaning to the history of the town, but also to fight against its existential crisis. Their existential crisis can consist of financial and identity loss. Both Eisenach and Gotha are good examples of re-deeming a specific period of past or certain heritage sites.

According to Smith (2006), it is especially more difficult for former industrial cities to sell themselves, due to the urban landscape which has been blighted by the industry. The concern of becoming "placeless" pushed many cities to rush into "touristify" the city, however, there is a need to take into consideration local connections and meanings (Smith 2006, p. 4). The heritage redemption, in other words, a sense of

collective awareness and strengthening local identity, can develop positive urban vibe.

However, there is always the danger of over-writing the history (Smith 2006 p. 4), as the contemporary emphasis on culture exploits the uniqueness of fixed capital, and the competition of differentiation can cause a wrongly located emphasis or over-idolised identity. This is why the local people need to be involved in the process of interpretation and representation of the local icons to national and global icons.¹⁴¹

2) Observation of the process and consequences of the transition

Regarding objective 2, the research question to analyse the consequences of the actions was,

- How did the transition process affect cultural heritage management in the case towns specifically: involved authority levels, agreements, marketing and ‘remembering’ selections along the layered system changes?

As we have seen in the case of Gotha and Eisenach, it is difficult to consider that there was a standard process of heritage management in the Eastern towns after the reunification. The heritage list and the specification was immediately dropped when the political change happened. The organisation of tourism offices and city marketing started from scratch. While the authority level tends to transform as a whole new concept, the people at operational level were similar as before, the local resources were used for different purposes. Also, in both case cities, the foundations (Stiftung)

¹⁴¹ Smith (2006, p. 4); Zukin (1995, p. 12); Robert (2008, p. 77).

play a significant role for the most representative urban heritage (the case of castle Friedenstein, Bachhaus, and Lutherhaus) in maintaining and marketing of the heritage. After the privatisation process, the state and cities tend to hire specialized marketing agencies for city marketing planning. Often the management level employees are hired from more experienced ones from the West. However, the city municipality employees from the GDR period continuously do the operational jobs such as tour guiding and tourist information centre operation. The city marketing concepts have entirely re-developed. This is seen in Gotha, where the city is mainly promoting the ducal history which was rather undiscovered during the GDR. In Eisenach, the main attractions, Lutherhaus, Bachhaus and the castle Wartburg have been through architectural modernisation projects, and the city is actively targeting at the Luther and the Christian history of all the three monuments into one composite Luther theme. During the re-writing process of city marketing, it is nearly impossible to find traces of how citizens were involved in the changes. However, it is proven by all the positive reactions of the people that they are currently delighted to see the changes and that the city's great history is the focal point and brings people to the city. They are proud to see the older culture brought back to the city promotion and to see themselves in relation to the great history.

The apparent gap between remembering and forgetting is a cause for concern, as the 'being forgotten' part is still a big piece of the identity for the existing population. The acceptance level of 'being selective' on memory is never defined, and alteration of management does happen all the time. However, when there is an urban heritage which used to be practised and appreciated in a certain way for decades, and all that is suddenly stopped due to a political change, it is a drastic move regardless of which political regime is in power. The disturbance of memory affects the people, and it is also observable in the celebration of new heritage. As the local people have not much practiced the 'new' heritage, the current concept of tourism marketing seems to be partly surreal. Overall, the selective remembering and forgetting of urban heritage in East Germany is still an ongoing issue. Un-doing what certain heritage means,

passive forgetting, and simultaneously, gladly celebrating the newly regenerated heritage is part of active remembering.

3) The residents' voice in decision making and in life afterwards

Finally, the research objective 3, to reflect the residents' perception and attitude toward the transitions were executed with the research question of

- How has heritage management been agreed with the residents?

The agreement or publicly open process of heritage selection has not been observed. Indeed, there was no consideration of citizens' opinion while changing the urban scape in the case of German Reunification. Supposedly, given the situation of the abrupt and intense reunification, it was practically not feasible to consider the interests of different parties.

- Were there considerations for the peoples' lives regarding the transition and capitalisation of the heritage?

The initial question here intended to check on the systematic care for the citizens who went through dramatic changes in their own hometown and how it was perceived individually. Unfortunately, every interviewee seems to have traumatic memories of the radical changes, and there was not much room to discuss about it. Whereas the reunification was celebrated for the sake of re-united national territory, the re-adjustments in private life were in the hands of each person. The unofficial way of dealing with the confusion was to share the stories within the neighbourhood.

- How is the new urban identity recognised or co-ordinated by residents? How do the residents perceive the manner and the process of managing the shared memory?

The focus on the old heritage and the tendency of focusing on the great national history with city marketing seem to be welcomed by the citizens. People are delighted to share the greatness of the city in the wider context of history than the recent past of GDR. In addition, heritage tourism is boosting their local pride which must have been much damaged while going through the run-down economy situation at the end of GDR. In the end, colourising of the old history in these states has revived not only the urban-scape but also the urban identity. By cultural events and promotions there are attempts to remind people of the spots which were in danger of being forgotten. This can be considered as selective glorification of the old past. The major sentiments observed in case cities is the delight of having the old history back and repossessing the old with the people who share the common sentiments, rather than confronting the issue of how new and foreign the old past is.

The selective memorialisation process in the Eastern states occurred in a relatively short period with limited funds. The fall of the socialist regime is remembered with grey cityscapes as the darkest moment of urban history. The heritage maintenance in the GDR was affected by the ideological orientation. The elimination of Christianity from church heritage and the abolition of royal heritage were spread all over in the city, and dedicated socialist monuments were built in the central points of the city. Practical examples are also the names of streets, squares, newly built statues and memorial ceremonies in certain places, and all of these became an urban ritual. By the time of reunification, similar drastic actions but the reverse way were taken, in order to take back the forgotten history. This shows very well how a place is practised by the concurrent power of the state.

This study started with a broad explorative question; what, how, and by whom to remember the heritage in the case of East Germany.

By definition, this study supports the fluid concept of heritage, that is, heritage means what matters most for the majority of people in the contemporary society. As

perceived by the interviewees and observed by the material collection data analysis, the focus of heritage marketing is constantly in flux. While exploring the case of Thuringia, and with a close look at the case cities of Gotha and Eisenach, there was a visible flow of heritage focus affected by the ideological change.

In the case of Gotha, the ducal heritage is under exclusive care and promotion since the reunification. In the GDR, the focus was rather bottom-up to make even the castle more accessible to the citizens, such as the example of the Nature Museum in the current Ducal Museum. There are more examples in the newly developing tourist city destination Gotha. While developing as a tourist destination, the citizens are benefiting from the lively atmosphere of the city, as well as the developing infrastructure and cultural activities.

In the case of Eisenach, as the city used to be one of the most cultural and historic cities in Germany, the story is quite different from Gotha. During the GDR, besides the cultural aspect, Eisenach had its golden time as an industrial city as well, where the car model Wartburg was produced. During this time, Bach and Luther, unquestionably the most celebrated figures in Germany history regarding Christianity, were rather celebrated as a musician and linguist. The citizens who are in church still remember the subtle changes in heritage description and celebration. Lately, Eisenach has been putting much effort to bring the Luther history back to the right track and prepared the big event of Luther reformation in 2017. Those changes were all executed from the administrative level, by the state. As top-down policies, not much was discussed with the citizens or the church authorities. Therefore, the decision makers of heritage were political authorities, the origin of political power.

To criticise the execution of selective remembering, it might need the reverse voice from different parties, such as the citizens. However, the joy of the people appreciating the heritage which went through a dark period previously, is clear from this research. In this case, it seems to be rather ‘gladly back to the old national cohesion’.

As Shepherd (2008 p. 16) notes, the really real story is never fully achievable. This research therefore provides greater depth to the simplified stories and limited work done on the heritage story of East Germany. In addition, the mode of celebrating the old heritage, such as the architectural renewal of Bachhaus gave the citizens a definite question about what the modernisation of heritage is. When it exceeds the publicly agreed expectation, it should be revised. Ideally, the shaping of space should be contested, and the story should carry a natural common history. In that way, the tourism and its urban marketing would not draw a parallel line to existing urban identity.

Heritage Tourism and Urban Resilience

Despite the debates of ‘heritagisation’, one remarkable point is that the heritage tourism in this region is adding local colour and resilience. According to the resilience studies, the difference from sustainability should be found in the ability of ‘absorbing changes’. This study finds the resilience of cities from individual partial systems, problem areas, and particular institutions to absorb and react upon the continuous changes.

Stability, which represents the ability of a system to return to an equilibrium state after a temporary disturbance, and resilience, that is a measure of the persistence of systems and of their ability to absorb change and disturbance and still maintain the same relationships between populations or state variables.

Holling 1973 in Resilience and stability of ecological systems, p.15

The concept of urban resilience is used to describe characteristics and potentials of cities and urban societies to react to disturbances and processes of changes as flexibly and

Two main keywords leading to social resilience can be defined as community and local culture. These are both self-reflective and futuristic. A resilient city should be able to bounce back from the external vulnerability and capable of remaining stable and reactive. The local festivals and celebrations are the uplifting experience for regional heritage. It is in a way healing process for the citizens to share the local intimacy and develop their own city towards external factors. Sharing common practices and memories towards the urban space strengthens its brand-new identity in a compressed timeframe. As Hoffmann writes, by the development of tourism, a city can develop its communal anatomy and social-cultural diversity (Hoffmann-Hempler 1984). As the cities used to be hidden for so long, opening to the tourists with their classic history raises these factors together with the increase in positive pride. As social resilience is in the initial stage of discussion in respect to cultural tourism, there is a whole new perspective to explore, but the signs are given by these case cities. Additionally, to complete the proper picture of heritage conservation the mode of celebrating it, the whole thread of heritage history which also covers the period of the GDR should be still considered.

6.2 Central Attempts and Limitations

Research Planning

This research was a series of trials and exploration at every stage. Under the main objective, to analyse the alteration of heritage management and its role in East

German cities, it attempts to grasp precise case stories to support the theories of memory building, forgetting, place-making and urban identity. As these theories serve the abstract definitions of memory, remembering and forgetting, identity, and also the medium to look at those concepts through history, culture and heritage are fluid concepts per se, the central struggle in the theory part was to render the topic more tangible and apply it with the field research. Selecting the theories and connecting them with adequate examples made the research more complete. The lack of verbal examples in this field supported the research despite the uncertainty.

Case Study

The East German cities are fascinating yet difficult cases. The only state which has gone through a couple of world-historic events in a century, the GDR is worthy of investigation for this reason alone. The cities experienced severe war (WWII) damage when the division was initiated. Therefore, the memory of before the socialist regime is also fading out by the living generation. Even if the interviewees are old enough to recall the 'before war' era, the memories would be heavily personalised. In addition, the states do not share the national identity as a whole, as the German history is based on long federal state histories. That is also why the research chose to limit itself within Thuringia, so that the regional identity is shared at least among the case cities. The Bezirk division during the GDR made another border history within Thuringian states, but the cases were not affected as they were located in the central part of the state.

One can argue that shrinking small cities and aging populations, and marginalisation of former industrial regions are global issues. This study does not intend to prove that this is an exceptional case of such trends or argues that all small cities should be saved from their existential crisis. Neither did it try to criticise the process how the post-reunification policies are executed. It focuses on this unique

opportunity that East German states have the layered urban history in the limited territory within one country. The regional cohesion, within the national cohesion, was what the research was focused on. Given the fact that Germany is a wealthy developed country in Europe, the tourism infrastructure was already applicable. It could also provide potential scenarios for shrinking cities.

Resilience

Social resilience is the chosen theory to conceptualise the phenomena in the case cities. While conducting the research, there was the universal trend which was felt and captured by the interviews in these regions, and I began to search for the word or a concept which can embrace this. The current definition of social resilience applies fairly close to what is observed in this area. It certainly differs from other existing keywords such as sustainability or revitalisation. The initial goal of exploring the role of cultural heritage in these regions started questioning if this can be the signal for social resilience. Communal identity and cultural diversity as its driving force, a city (or a community) can bounce back from external (social, historical, economical, etc.) vulnerability.

Moreover, it becomes its own organic immune system which proactively reacts to changes. The academic discussion on resilience in social science is still vague and it is still arguable if this can be applicable. However, an exploratory study should confront and challenge, and this research aims to provide a stepping stone for this discussion.

People (Heimat)

This research attempted to collect data mainly from the people. As memory is

not a single version, it needs to be treated with a particular understanding of the individual. During the interviews, it was important to know the educational level of the interviewee, the former and current jobs, and also the political viewpoint, so that I could draw a full picture of the individual experience. It was challenging to have a full picture of every interviewee, and it required lots of cases to build the overall picture of the hometown identity -the Heimat-.

6.3 Significance to Another Divided Country: Korea

Looking into the case of East German cities naturally brings up curiosity on other regions with political divisions. As urban space reflects the interplay of power, ideology, reflection and the life of the citizens, to read a city, it would be most preferred to go and observe the changes over the time. In spaces with a complex identity, the discourse of heritage management can tell much about the territorial conflicts. As heritage can deliver the contemporary power and value, or guide to remember a certain period of the history, it is often used as a political medium to implant specific values. Thus, heritage studies in border areas, after war-traumatised regions, colonial cities, post-industrial areas, and also multi-cultural environments are the beloved topics, and the architectural heritage can represent the vulnerable identities in the space. Analysing East German cities inevitably reminded me of the situation of the divided Korea. As the last existing physically divided nation, Korea is the only place where democracy and socialism have existed in parity since 1945. The case of North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) cannot be evenly compared to the earlier East Germany (German Democratic Republic). Not only their difference in political orientation, but geographical features and its physical block from the rest of the world are immensely distinctive. However, the parallel identities in a shared territory are still

the standard issue. If there is one example that Korea can refer to as the precedent of historic suffering, it would still be Germany. The lessons can be learned when there are proper documentations and media.

Unlike from the GDR, tourism is not officially permitted except for very regulated tour packages for non-Koreans in the DPRK. Exploring the heritage management in North Korea is highly limited; the internally produced data from the state is almost never available, and even if it were, the credibility would be unconvincing. However, there is accessible data which has been documented by South Korean historians in order to enhance the understanding of shared history. The data collection was mainly from the centralised governmental organisation.

This would not provide an overall understanding of how the heritage management status is in current North Korea. However, it would still be a chance to ‘raise’ the question of how to continue the stories in two separately existing worlds with the shared past, which perhaps is a valuable step to practice.

6.3.1 The Discourse of Cultural Heritage Policies in the Divided Korea

Under the Ministry of Unification (통일부), there is one and only one academic exchange platform for South and North Korea, the Information Center of North Korea. This centre was founded in 1989 following the statement of the South Korean government 7th July 1987, and it is to increase understanding of the discourse between two nations and promote a peaceful reunification. Most of the documentation is stored in the open library located in Seoul, the Republic of Korea, and partially there are e-books available online. Regarding the content, it includes a variety of media which are

published in both the states, from news articles, academic papers to books, and the total number of available pieces is 60,270. The amount of data is not so large, but having this source means a big progress to Korea. This information exchange is definitely a very positive step in overall communication between the states. Yet, a significant number out of all the data is a collection of widespread data of North Korean heritage by South Korean scholars. The flaw is that it only has the collection from South Korea about North Korean cultural heritage and its status is limited to one side communication.

There are two documentations which give a good overview of the cultural heritage management system in North Korea. From the registration, authority, alteration over time and given values are well described. The initial document, 'the status of North Korean cultural heritage', goes back to December 1985. The document contains three sub-parts, the purpose of this documentation, the methods of data collection, and the administrative structure of cultural heritage management in North Korea. As for the South Korean reports over North Korean authority system, it surprisingly contains many details. It comments on the primary purpose of the documentation, which is to promote the cultural exchange and cooperation in socio-cultural fields between two systems. Still, the observation is relatively political. It adds hard criticisms on what has been happening under the communist regime and how it should have been treated differently. Not only the acknowledgement part but also throughout the document, it adds political comments on each stage of heritage management which makes the document not just the heritage management analysis but more of a political report. According to this report, the North Korean cultural heritage management has developed in 5 Stages since communism took over in 1945.

Stage 1 (1945-1950): Promotion of traditional culture and development

Starting from 1946, the initial North Korean government starts intensive acts on seeking traditions and promoting them. The respective laws are set, and cultural

heritage from physical artefacts to traditional art practitioners are selected and recognised with a high value. It is to fight back from the severed cultural identities during the Second World War, where Japan physically and culturally invaded Korean territory.

Stage 2 (1950-1959): Focus on archaeological excavation

While transiting to full-scale communism, it pursues the legitimacy of the cultural heritage and its significance in Korean culture. A number of research centres for cultural studies and archaeology have been founded.

Stage 3 (the 1960s): Stabilization of cultural system

Conservation and preservation projects were actively initiated. Each city and province set up its own project offices executed the project spread in the state.

Stage 4 (the 1970s): Reversing the idealisation of the past and ‘moving forward.’

In 1972, the new cultural heritage law under communist and totalitarian ideology. Selection of the heritage is re-evaluated, and a whole new series of memorials such as the great Kim statues, memorial squares, museums and lots of other ideological architectural heritage are built all over the state simultaneously. By 1975, 3,200 pieces of architectural heritage and 119,000 artefacts are re-evaluated, and new heritage lists and preservation lists are complete.

Stage 5 (after 1980): Cultural policies by Kim Jong Il

The new political lead, Kim Jong Il, inherited the political power, and his first authority actions started from the cultural policies. Under his command, new projects

on national history redemption newly began.

In this document¹⁴², unexpectedly, the details of the laws and heritage management policies were described, and every act of the communist state was commented by political statement from South Korea. It is on the one hand very informative to understand how chronologically the North Korean cultural heritage policies have adapted the evolving political system, but also the vigilant watch of South Korean state is highly impressive. This political tension in reports get significantly less over time, and the latest reports on North Korean heritage lists are mainly fact driven and do not enclose any political statements.

Another document found in the data bank of the Information Center on North Korea, *North Korean Cultural Heritage Policies and North-and South-Korea Cultural Cooperation* (2016), provides detailed examples of architectural heritage and the current heritage conservation system. Here, it is mentioned that cultural cooperation between South and North Korea started a new era of cooperation from 1985 when the very first official reunion of dispersed families happened. Each of the governments organised a cultural session as part of the event. The unique combination of the pop music and modern dances from South Korea, and the classical dancers and singing band from North Korea raised public criticisms on the imbalanced organisation and too different understanding of cultural exchange. However, the meeting stimulated the discussion on how to continue the cultural cooperation between the two states. As a result of it, academics from both parties (scholars from archaeology, history, art history, folk culture and politics) formed a committee, and had four meetings in four years

¹⁴² The status of North Korean cultural heritage (1985).

starting from 2001.¹⁴³ The heritage list and status information were exchanged, and from the ideas which are developed during the meeting. An exhibition on North Korean cultural heritage was first held in 2004 in Seoul, and different exhibitions were held under the name of ‘cooperative exhibition of North and South Korea’ in 2005, 2008, and 2015 (in 2015, it was held in both Seoul and Kaesong in North Korea). Also, this academic collaboration on researching and redeeming the shared history expands externally as well, and there were collaborate statements for summons for Korean history and plundered heritages during the Wars against Japan and China, and the partial return of Buddhist heritage was successfully completed after 100 years of Japanese possession (in 2005).

Besides the exhibitions, there are also other collaborative projects on cultural heritage such as archaeological heritage restorations and deep-dive history research projects on specific period. A limitation to these acts is that it is intimately connected to the political situation of the two states. During the sensitive period of any disturbances, all the related actions would immediately stop. Thus, it shows the direct consequence of the cultural acts caused or limited by the harmonious relationship. Nevertheless, the intent of increasing the cultural understanding of the two states and raising the consciousness of shared identity is highly desirable as long as there is a longing for the re-unified country one day. On the other hand, as the population which shares the national identity from before the division is decreasing, the desire for a

¹⁴³ North Korean Cultural Heritage Policies and North-and South-Korea Cultural Cooperation (2016).

reunified Korea is not promising anymore.¹⁴⁴

6.3.2 Suggestions

As learned from the case of Korea as well as in former Germany, heritage does play a significant role in national cohesion. In both Germany and Korea, right after the territorial (ideological-) division, there were immediate actions on re-organisation of heritage authorities. With a direct application following, the systems re-wrote the definition of cultural heritage and education to the people. It is indirectly proven that it is one of the following actions of changing the current perception of the history, values and perspectives simultaneously to the ruling power. It concerns the actual impact on people's daily life, especially when it needs to be again re-defined in another new political era in the same territory, with the same people. However, the situation after the German reunification demonstrates not only the difficulties to unify the parallel intents but also interesting learnings.

In the re-unified Germany, the new government's re-education happened in a less planned and more abrupt way. Supposedly, de-systemising the former socialist

¹⁴⁴ According to the recent survey on reunification preference from 3,763 adult Koreans, 40% agreed, 33% disagreed and 27% did not either agree or disagree on the reunification. Also, the pro-reunification population is proportional to age. (Korea Joongang Daily, 12, February 2018). <http://news.joins.com/article/22364007>.

regime was less imperative as the longing for the change of the people was already there. It required the hands of a market economy so that the lucrative tourism industry jumps in to indicate the market rules. Targeting the tourism industry in the territory which was blocked to outsiders for over 40 years is perhaps a natural development. As mentioned earlier, the political system and the level of closeness in terms of physical division is not comparable in Korea and Germany, therefore, the case of Germany cannot offer strict guidelines for Korea. The current status of Korea is already very distinct from how Germany used to be 30 years ago, and so far, there has been no information exchange on the life in urban society, the ownership, the political memorials and the internal education about the broader history in North Korea.

Nevertheless, a few applicable lessons from the cases are:

- to set up the re-education sessions for urban heritage
- to notify and document the changes for citizens to communicate the urban memory
- to open the decision-making process
- to create an open source for heritage discourses
- to integrate more of the temporary urban identity to the cultural tourism marketing

The primary objective of the suggestions is to promote a communication channel for people to remember and document the locally shared urban memory. As the written materials were minimal from the transitional period, the whole study was very dependent on people's memory. While talking to the people, it was felt that a systematic help is still needed to process the drastic changes in a healthier way for the single

individuals. It will smoothen the private struggles of values and ideology, which were systematically coded at the beginning of the different political systems. In addition, during the transitional period where the urbanscape is full of dissonances, it would be recommendable to take a short time for urban heritage for its recognition and communication. The urban heritage which kept decades of time lived by the citizens, whether it is an old hotel in the centre of the city, or a memorial for sacrificed soldiers, or even an old factory, they might need good communication when applying new acts. As urban heritage carries a part of people's lives, this should be carried out at a speed which respects the length of time it served as an urban environment. All these somewhat delicate moves are to proceed the political system with respect towards time and memory, and it should gradually improve the more profound source of urban identity and feeling of belonging in their own hometown.

6.4 Closing

Coming from South Korea, the national division is a particularly compelling topic to me in urban sociology. Having the opportunity to live in West Germany initially made me question how the contemporary history is understood in the other half of Germany, where the national history was interpreted in a very different way for decades before the country was united again. Appreciation of old architecture and classic culture is a visible characteristic of German cities, and the pride of keeping them in shape is remarkably strong even in small cities in Germany. Being a tourist in the historical East German cities made me interested in the stories of urban heritage in the Eastern side of Germany. How the history is understood, educated, promoted, shown and internally appreciated differ region by region, also from nation to nation,

and this is how regional unity and national cohesion develop.

Plural identities in the same territory is not an uncommon phenomenon across the world, due to multiple reasons such as religion, tribes, languages and separate history, but it is a fascinating topic to observe a nation with a shared past followed by over 40 years of separation and finally reunification.

Although diving deep into this issue might bring neither an enormous economic value nor a sensational discovery for social science history, it is a significant work as it accompanies the past at the same time the future. Memory building is inseparable from our daily life, and also while posturing the future. Only when we consciously reflect on today's consequences, will the future remain on track. The wish is to give a chance to people who read the study to think a while about the neighbouring environment as a place where our heritage is actively cultivated. Furthermore, it will be much appreciated if this study could contribute to the discussion on how to embrace public memory when planning tourism development.

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Druckgenehmigung: 16. 2. 1956. Mdl. der DDR Nr. 2417

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Griebens Reiseführer Series 1909-1910

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Kunst-Reiseführer DDR, 1977, Gerd Baier, Elmar Faber, Eckhard Hollmann

Rechts und Links der Eisenbahn Series

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Thüringen 1937

Thüringen, das grüne Herz Deutschlands 1932

Wartburg, Eisenach, Thüringerwald 1936

Appendix 1

Interview Questions Sample

Gespräch mit Herr Blaß 07.09.2015

Gothaer Interview

-Name, Alter

-Tätigkeit

-Heimat

-Seit wann sind Sie aus Gotha weggezogen?

-Wie oft sind Sie in Gotha?

1. Ist Gotha eine touristische Stadt?
 - Wenn Ja, ist es immer so gewesen?
 - Oder, hat es sich geändert?
2. Was kann man in Gotha sehen? Was empfehlen Sie?
3. Was muss man unbedingt in Gotha kennenlernen? Das wichtigste?
4. Freuen Sie sich Touristen in der Stadt zu sehen?
 - Wenn Ja, warum?
 - Was glauben Sie, wie kann Gotha von Touristen profitieren?
5. Haben sich die Stadt und Ihre Umgebung nach der Wende stark verändert?
 - Was ist die größte Veränderung?
6. Hat sich die wichtige Sehenswürdigkeiten (z.B. ein Museum, Ort oder Denkmal) in den letzten Jahren verändert?
7. Was für ein Ort oder Sehenswürdigkeit hat sich am meisten verändert (: Ästhetik und Ruf)?
8. Was glauben Sie wurde in den letzten 25 Jahren als Sehenswürdigkeit am meisten vermarktet?
9. Materialien von Tourismusbüro
Tourismus Vermarktung
 - Wie finden Sie die Materialien?
 - Was glauben Sie wurde in den letzten 25 Jahren als Sehenswürdigkeit am meisten vermarktet?
 - Finden Sie das richtig?
 - Was für ein Denkmal oder ein Ort wurde in dieser Zeit vielleicht vernachlässigt?
10. Fallen Ihnen sonst noch Orte in und um Gotha ein, die für Touristen interessant sein könnten?

Appendix 2

Interview Notes List

1. Gotha

- Experts
 - Tourismusverband Thüringer Wald Gothaer Land e.V.
 - Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein Gotha
 - Kultourstadt GmbH
 - Frau Frauel
 - Frau Greiner
 - Frau Hoffmann
 - Frau Schedel
 - Herr Blaß
 - Herr Wenzel

- Citizens
 - Herr Schütze
 - Two Ladies in the Schloss park

2. Eisenach

- Experts
 - Eisenach Tourismusinformation
 - Lutherhaus Marketing

- Citizens
 - Ehepaar Elsässer
 - Ehepaar Kämmer
 - Frau Metzner
 - Frau Pracht
 - Frau Schrebner

3. Others

- Pilot interview
 - Frau Holzhäuser about holidays culture in the GDR

Appendix 3

Transcriptions of the interviews on CD