Geopolitical Ecologies: Tracing the Shift From Citizen to User at Tempelhof and the Presidio

by

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Abstract

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Professor Jennifer Wolch, Co-Chair
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This project examines the post-Cold War development of two new public parks at Tempelhof Airfield in Berlin, Germany, and the Presidio Army Base, in San Francisco, California. It situates these two cases against a larger literature on the revival of the public park during the same period, providing an alternative theoretical understanding of public parks linked to technology and geopolitics. This takes form by examining each case across three chapters, the first establishes the development of each site and its role in nation-state formation and urban development in its respective location. The second examines the emergence of post-war urban environmentalism, and the new concepts of nature and citizenship that manifested in the management of the urban environment by organizations like Grün Berlin GmbH, the Golden Gate Parks Conservancy, and the Presidio Trust. Finally, the third chapter examines the impact of these organizations on the production of public park spaces at the Presidio and Tempelhof. Comparing the genealogical development of these spaces sheds light on the political and social processes at work in the contemporary production of public park spaces, as well as the broader reconfiguration of concepts of citizenship and nature.

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English Abbreviations

ABAG – Association of Bay Area Governments

BOR – Bureau of Outdoor Recreation

GGNRA – Golden Gate National Recreation Area

GMP – General Management Plan

GMPA – General Management Plan Amendment

JCFO – James Corner Field Operations

NPS – National Park Service

ORRRC – Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission

PFGGNRA – People for the Golden Gate National Recreation Area

PTMP – Presidio Trust Management Plan

RFP/RFQ – Request for Proposals/Qualifications

SPUR – San Francisco Planning and Urban Renewal Association

UC – University of California

German Abbreviations

AL – *Alternative Liste für Demokratie und Umweltschutz* (Alternative Ballot for Democracy and Environmental Protection)

AfD – *Alternative für Deutschland* (Alternative for Germany)

BRD – *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Federal Republic of Germany)

BBU – *Bundesverband Bürgerinitiativen Umweltschutz* (Federal Union of Environmental Citizens Initiatives)

BI – *Bürgerinitiative* (Citizen's Initiative)

BIW – *Bürgerinitiative Westtangente* (Citizen's Initiative West Tangent)

BUGA - *Bundesgartenschau* (Federal Garden Show – biannual)

CDU – *Christlich Demokratische Union* (Christian Democratic Union)

DDR – *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* (Democratic Republic of Germany)

FPD – *Freie Demokratische Partei* (Free Democrat Party)

HPP – Hentrich-Petschnigg & Partners

IBA – *Internationale Bauausstellung* (International Building Exhibition)

ICAT – *Interessengemeinschaft City-Airport Tempelhof e.V.* (City-Airport Tempelhof Interest Group)

IGA – Internationale Gartenaustellung (International Garden Show – every ten years)

ISR – *Institut für Stadt- und Regionalplanung* (Institute for City and Regional Planning)

MBuP – Marcel Braun und Partner

NSDAP – *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (National Socialist German Worker's Party)

NDP – *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (National Democratic Party of Germany)

PDS – *Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus* (Party of Democratic Socialism) SED before 1989, *Die Linke* after 2007

SED – *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) PDS after 1989, *Die Linke* after 2007

SenStadtUm – *Senatverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt* (Senate Administration for Urban Development and Environment)

SPD – *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (Social Democratic Party of Germany).

THF – Airport designation code for Tempelhof.

THF 100% – *Demokratische initiative 100% Tempelhofer Feld e.V.* (Democratic Initiative 100% Tempelhof Field)

TU – *Technisches Universität* (Technical University)

Chapter 1: Introduction

Towards a New Kind of Park? Nature and Citizenship in the 21st Century City

As a specific subset of public space, parks are nonetheless the principal production of landscape architects, forming what James Corner calls "the consolidation of a public's sense of collective identity and outdoor life" (Corner 2007). While Holston argues that urban architecture constitutes an inscription of political order, and Goodsell looks at civic spaces, which act as "official statements" of political identity (Goodsell 1988), parks specifically reflect the cultivation of nature in the urban realm, keeping "on hold" values threatened by urbanization (Cranz 1982). As "places for imagination to extend new relationships and sets of possibility," and in contrast to other kinds of public spaces that aim for a seamlessness with the extended panorama of the city, parks must differentiate themselves from the space of the city to make visible and enact this recuperative agenda (Cranz 1982).

However, the history of the park in relationship to the urban has not always been straightforward. Between the 1970s and the 1990s, the public park was on the brink of obsolescence. Writing in the early 1980s, JB Jackson bemoaned that the public park, once a "public work of art," after little more than a century, had "fallen on evil days" (J. B. Jackson 1984). The public park seemed to be a casualty of a broader urban decline over the 20th century articulated by a range of urbanists (Warner Jr 1993; Warner 1995; Jane Jacobs 1992; Mumford 1961; Siedler 1964). However, as Jackson reminisced about vernacular *terrain-vague* that throughout human history have served as informal sites of leisure, pleasure, and recreation, a resurgence of thinking about parks began. Galen Cranz' 1982 *Politics of Park Design* resurrected the urban typology as object of study, if only to declare it more or less dead due to the steady rise of social service agencies in the mid-century. Except, Cranz notes with regard to the issue of social integration, to which she would soon add second function of the late 20th century park: ecology (Cranz 1989; Cranz and Boland 2004; C. W. Thompson 2002; Mozingo 1997). This dissertation introduces a new theoretical framework for understanding the revival of the park concept using a case study of the planning and schematic design of two landscapes as urban parks: Berlin's Tempelhof and San Francisco's Presidio. It also proposes that the social and ecological functions for which the public park has been resurrected can be conceptually linked and traced to larger geo-political shifts catalyzed by information-communication technology and a rupturing of the paradigm of linear perspective that defined the concept of landscape.

Case Study Method

This dissertation deploys a case study methodology, described by Robert Yin as a means to describe, evaluate, explain, or predict theory related to a practice or phenomena, while retaining holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life situations (Yin 2017). As Mark Francis points out, the case study method has a well-established history in landscape architecture, in education, research, and practice, as a means to make concrete otherwise anecdotal information about projects and processes. For Francis, a case study in landscape architecture is a "well-documented and systematic examination of the process, decision-making, and outcomes of a project, which is undertaken for the purpose of informing future practice, policy, theory, and/or education" (Francis 2001). Following Francis, this landscape architecture case study combined site visits, site analysis, interviews with designers, park managers, public officials, and archival material searches that include project files, newspaper articles, public records, bibliographic and internet searches.

Archival research was primarily conducted in Berlin at the Stadtbibliothek Berliner Zentrum für Berlin-Studien, the Landesarchiv-Berlin, the Amerika Gedankbibliothek, the Tempelhof-Schöneberg Museum Archive, and the Technisches Universität-Berlin Institut für Stadt-und Regionalplanung Archive. In San Francisco, archival research was conducted at the Park Archives and Record Center in the Presidio, the San Francisco History Center at the San Francisco Public Library, The Bancroft Library and College of Environmental Design Archives at UC Berkeley, and the Stanford University Archives. Additionally, documents were supplied electronically from the National Park Service Denver Service Center, the United States National Archives, and the Technisches Universität-Berlin Architecture Collection. Planning documents found in these archives, both official and community initiated, were supplemented by observation of board meetings, public planning workshops, and communication with the public by park agencies through both local journalistic and social media in both Berlin and San Francisco between 2010 and 2018. Additionally, informal interviews were conducted with park officials and partners.

Comparative Analysis

Comparison between different cities has been fundamental to generating more general theoretical conclusions in urban studies as it emerged in the late 19th century and became formalized in the first decades of the 20th century. According to Charles Tilly (1984), there are four distinct strategies for comparison, reflecting particular relationships between observation and theory (Tilly 1984). These are:

- Individualizing comparisons that aim to contrast specific instances of a given phenomenon as a means of grasping peculiarities of each case.
-
- Universalizing comparisons that aim to establish that every instance of a phenomenon follows the same essential rule.
- Encompassing comparisons that take different instances at various locations within the same system, as a way of explaining their characteristics as a function of their varying relations to the system as a whole.
- Variation-finding comparisons that establish a principle of variation in the character and intensity of a phenomenon by examining systematic differences among instances.

This dissertation primarily oscillates between individualizing comparisons that seek to contrast the differences between the development of Presidio and Temeplhof as post-Cold War public spaces, and encompassing comparisons, which use the landscapes as reflective of broader transformations in the production of urban open spaces at the beginning of the 21st century.

The Presidio and Tempelhof were selected as studies because of their numerous shared characteristics. Of roughly similar size, both spaces were formalized over the 19th century as military sites at strategic locations at the ragged edge of the industrializing city. In both cases, the strategic value of the location stems from its status as the threshold to the city. Because of the state's need to regulate flows through this threshold, by the early 20th century each came to serve as an important site of intensification of, and experimentation with, military technology. In the 1930s, both landscapes were subject to the construction of monumental infrastructures that irrevocably

transformed the sites. Following WWII and until the mid-1990s, both sites served as important administrative centers for the U.S. Military. Though political circumstances resulted in different outcomes, both cities underwent a massive restructuring that included large scale demilitarization and urban reconstruction. In the case of Berlin, this concerned the fall of the Berlin Wall and the unification of the city, while in San Francisco, reconstruction stemmed from the Loma Prieta Earthquake and the ensuing "Dot Com boom" that transformed the region over the 1990s. In both cases, the production of each park space transcended the $500 million "mega-project" threshold set by Flyvbjerg, and were part of other major infrastructure projects and the construction of new urban cores at the Potsdamer Platz and the Transbay District (Flyvbjerg, Bruzelius, and Rothengatter 2003). As former military sites, both landscapes today must deal with ecological and cultural issues related to brownfield development and remediation (Ashley and Touchton 2016; Bagaeen and Clark 2016).

Of course, in addition to the differing urban political contexts of rebuilding Berlin and San Francisco after 1989, there are several formal differences that shape their production as park spaces. Namely, Temeplhof consists of a large open field with only a few trees at the periphery and around a rubble mound in the middle of the field. In contrast, the Presidio lacks a central space or building, generally organized around three sprawling campuses that are linked by winding roads lined by small barracks and officers' quarters. However, this research is less focused on the technical matters of converting military sites to public spaces than with the theoretical questions that emerge from the new kinds of landscapes and public parks produced at each site. In this regard, many of the dynamics uncovered in this dissertation should relate to other high-profile public parks, such as the High-Line and Fresh Kills in New York, Park de La Villette in Paris, the Landschaftspark in Duisburg-Nord, Downsview Park in Toronto, and the Orange County Great Park in Irvine, to name a few.

Secondary Literature

While the Lake Meade National Recreation Area (Foster 2016), and the Mission 66 Program (Carr 2007), have received due amount of scholarly examination, no comprehensive analysis of the BOR or National Recreation Area System exists. Moreover, histories of the GGNRA tend to focus on citizen's initiatives in soliciting federal funds rather than the development of the plans at the federal level for the National Recreation System. In this regard, with few exceptions (Walker 2009; Rothman 2004), essentially all the histories of the Presidio and the broader Golden Gate National Recreation Area were written by individuals working on behalf of some agency or organization involved in the development and management of the park (Benton-Short 1998; Meyer and Delehanty 2006; Hart 1979; Wayburn 2004; E. N. Thompson 1997). In this sense, they may also be considered primary source documents to which this dissertation adds much needed critical analysis of the park's development as well as more recent developments including the Presidio Tunnel Tops Project. A number of books deal with the urban transformation of San Francisco during the time frame examined here, but without directly addressing the Presidio (Isenberg 2017; Hartman 2002; Rubin 2016; Castells 1983; Frick 2016).

In regard to Berlin, the "greening" of the city, represented by the evolution of Grün Berlin from the Bürgerinitiativen West-Tangente and the Alternative Liste, is best addressed by Lachmund (2013), which builds on Sonja Pobloth's 2008 dissertation *Die Entwicklung der Landschaftsplanung in Berlin,* though neither addresses the development of Tempelhof. As one of the world's iconic airports, numerous monographs concern Ernst Sagabiel's building, the best of which are Elke Dittrich (Dittrich 2005a, 2005b, 2013) as well as studies developed as part of the International Conference on Aviation Architecture in 2005 (Drieschner 2005). Heisig (2014) provides the best

overview of American operations at Tempelhof, while Meuser (2000) and Best (2014) provide the most detailed overview of plans for converting Temeplhof into a park space, though this is limited by its scope, covering only the first decade or so while the site was still active as an airport. *Tempelhofer Freiheit*, the temporary use phase of the development of Tempelhofer Feld, has been used as case study in temporary urbanism and participatory planning, though with the exception of Hildrebrant (2016) and Roskamm (2014), these are mostly limited to the community gardening elements (Rosol 2010a; Kumnig, Rosol, and Exner 2017; Rosol 2012; Schalk 2014).

In addition to these studies of Tempelhof, a much more extensive body of literature on the reconstruction of Berlin after 1989 exists than for San Francisco (Strom 2001; Krätke 2004a; Krätke and Borst 2013; Swyngedouw, Moulaert, and Rodriguez 2002; Rada 1997), leading to a new "Berlin School" of urban studies focused on contemporary topics such as gentrification (Bernt, Grell, and Holm 2013).

Towards A Genealogy of the Park, or the Problem with Periodization

Among the most well-known attempts to periodize the development of the public park is Galen Cranz' 1982 *Politics of Park Design,* with Clare Cooper Marcus noting that most parks display elements of each of Cranz's four periods (Marcus and Francis 1998). The first of these is the "pleasure ground" that developed in reaction to the social-spatial transformations wrought by industrialization of the 19th century, usually located on the outskirts of the city and modeled on the aristocratic manor of the Romantic period in the English landscape garden style. A second phase is identified as the "reform park" that emerges around the turn of the 20th century as a result of the "urban park movement," associated with progressive and urban social work movements. These parks were more specifically focused on improving the lives and well-being of working people, and parks were more often directly inserted into neighborhood contexts rather than the outskirts of cities.

Aesthetically, reform parks are characterized by a move away from the romantic aesthetics of the pleasure ground in favor of a more modernist functionalism, with Terrance Young using this distinction in his study on San Francisco's parks up to 1930, divided into two distinct eras, a largely 19th century "romantic era" and a later "rationalistic era" by which time parks ceased to promote a moral order (Young 2004). Similarly, German scholars identify a split from the *Volksgärten* predominant in the 19th century, to a more functionalist *Volkspark* period in the early 20th century (Maas 1981; Geiger and Hennecke 2015). However, given numerous exceptions to this aesthetic periodization, it may be more accurate to describe this transition as one of integration of the pleasure park into the governmental apparatus through the establishment of park and planning departments, corresponding to attempts at scientific, comprehensive city plans, and the professionalization of landscape architecture.

The fate of the park concept in the post-war period is more complicated. Cranz identifies as "the recreation facility," spanning 1930 to 1965, marking the "end of ideology in park planning" as parks were incorporated into the planning bureaucracy, losing both their idealism and prestige. Bundled into larger urban renewal projects, such as those pursued by Robert Moses, these parks are characterized by standardized facilities such as swing sets, sports fields, blacktop, and chain-link fences. (Low, Taplin, and Scheld 2009). Close parallels exist in Germany, with a post-war revival of regional "land care," or *Landespflege*, cleansed of its Nazi associations with an emphasis on individual health and well-being over racial hygiene and cultural landscapes, or *Heimatschutz* (Chaney 2008). Cranz points to the 1965 New York Mayoral campaign of John Lindsay as a turning point towards a new phase of "open space," in which the often vacant and miscellaneous spaces produced at the end of the Fordist area could be reprogrammed for recreational purposes. As Low notes, Lindsay began

to petition for the derelict military lands and municipal parks around New York Harbor to be transferred to the National Park Service as the city faced extreme budget pressure in the 1970s. In Germany, Hennecke has documented a similar trend of open spaces as venues for programming, cultural activation, and individual expression rather than nationalist representation, also described as a transition from the *Volkspark* to the *Benutzerpark*, or "User Park" (Hennecke 2013). In this regard, the open space concept is perhaps most associated with claims by landscape architects to expand the scope of their influence beyond the confines of traditional parks to the everyday landscape of the city, corresponding to a revaluing of urban nature and foreshadowing the "disneyfication" of the inner city that would become more apparent by the end of the 1980s (Sorkin 1996).

However, such a periodization overlooks the continuity between the Garden City and City Beautiful Movements that defined the reform era and the recreational or open space of 20th century modernism. These continuities are evident in the impact of Camillo Sitte on Martin Wagner's 1915 dissertation, *Das sanitäre Grün der Städte : ein Beitrag zur Freiflächentheorie* (Jackisch 2014), and the work of landscape architects and planners such as Leberecht Migge (Haney 2010), and Werner Hegemann (Collins 2005), which, as Jane Jacobs notes, led le Corbusier to famously declare "the entire city a park" with the Radiant City model (Jane Jacobs 1992). Jane Jacob's critique of modernist "open space" in the early 1960s may, in fact, mark the beginning of the revival of the park concept rather than the beginning of the open space concept.

This dissertation attempts an alternate theorization of the evolution of the park form, more closely linked to theorizations of the city as a whole. This follows Tate, who attempts to situate Cranz' periodization of the park form in relation to Ed Soja's concept of the "Post Metropolis" (Tate 2015). According to Tate the first of these are the era of the industrial city, which includes sub-categories of the romantic pleasure grounds for passive recreation and the functional rationalistic city parks for active recreation that dominated until WWII. Tate identifies a second era spanning the end of WWII until to 1980 that would seem to combine aspects of Cranz' recreational and open space typologies, defined by rapid suburbanization and "white flight," in "edge" or "node" cities that produced what Melvin Webber called a "non-place urban realm"(Webber 1964). Corresponding to the concept of the "post-metropolis," a third phase concerns the present era and begins around 1980, when white flight is reversed and lower income groups begin to be pushed to the outskirts (Soja 2000). At this stage, the revival of the public park concept signals the broader revival of "the city" at the end of the twentieth century.

In this regard, this study draws on and aims to contribute to questions of contemporary urban theory by illustrating how dynamics in the production of space have transformed and revived the park typology, thereby embodying new ideals of citizenship and nature. By taking examining the transformation of Berlin and San Francisco in the 1990s and 2000s, this study builds on an array of theorists who have analyzed local spatial phenomena in relationship to multi-scalar dynamics, such as efforts to understand "global cities" or "world city formation," (Friedmann 1986; Sassen 1991; McNeill 2017), or on the global dynamics themselves, as "world systems theory" (Wallerstein 1988) or as a the dynamics of "planetary urbanization," (Brenner and Schmid 2011) or "assemblage urbanism" (McFarlane 2011) that in turn reconfigure ideas of nature (T. W. Luke 2003; Moore 2003). Looking specifically at the scale of the park, this dissertation extends previous ethnographic examinations of how these global dynamics reconfigure notions of citizenship and social inclusion in late-modern versions of city-states with global profiles, often bypassing any sense of national identity, instead characterized by the contemporaneous presence of local/global elites and a low-paid migrant service class (Alsayyad and Roy 2006; Holston 2008). Finally, this study aims to methodologically bridge these studies of urban theory with visual discipline of landscape, by examining various ways in which landscape images are produced and circulated, and how new media

technologies and aesthetic regimes relate to the global dynamics of urbanization (Fuller and Malina 2005; Bratton 2016b).

Historical-Theoretical Approach: Geopolitics and Genealogy

An analysis of the development and circulation of new military technologies and new techniques of representation is essential in considering the genealogy of the public park concept in relationship to the production of urban space, generating in turn new forms of publics, and new concepts of nature. Rather than attempting discrete periodizations or classifications, which can often obscure this dynamic evolution, the genealogical method sees the idea of landscape and the park concept as produced through a set of changing relationships that can be described over time. As an entry point, we can identify the end of the Cold War, a crucial moment of geopolitical realignment, that is also a major turning point in the development of the sites in question.

When Gorbachev toured California in 1990, in part to survey the Presidio as a site for his global environmental NGO, he declared at Stanford University that the Cold War was over, and that Germany and Japan won (Hatcher 1994). This was at once a sly evasion of conceding to the United States, as well as an aspiration to move towards what Martin Shaw would term a "post-military society" (Shaw 1991). In the context of the *perestroika*, it may have also entailed the simple recognition that these two former axis powers had prospered by embracing a high-tech global economy, while the United States' and especially the Soviet Union's Cold War military apparatuses had become unwieldy and irrelevant. In this regard, he was recognizing the geopolitical transformation wrought by information communication technologies—but also, perhaps unwittingly, to a reversion to a pre-war geopolitical alignment.

Situating these dynamics in the context of the revival of the public park are comments by celebrity designer Adriann Geuze, made at a 1992 symposium on "The Park" held by the Dutch Panorama Foundation in Rotterdam. Geuze echoed Cranz's 1982 claims, that "there is absolutely no need for parks anymore, because they have solved all the 19th century problems and a new type of city has been created" (Geuze 1993). Projecting an early 1990s optimism for a post-political globalization, Geuze argues for a new kind of urban park for "city-nomads" seeking "a continuous escape" from one attraction to another by means of surfboard, hand-glider, or Japanese hand-held digital device. Reflecting the emerging dynamics of the "creative city" (Landry's *Creative City* was published two years later, Richard Florida's *The Rise of the Creative Class* still ten years away) Geuze, says that a new park form must cater to these city nomads exploring the "multi-cultural rainforest" of the global city, landscapes characterized by a proliferation of liberal democracy, luxury goods, and flexible employment.

Geuze's provocation nonetheless reflects scholarly discourse on the revival of urban parks, charachterized by the reconfiguration of the urban landscape as a public stage as a result of new mediated experiences of landscape, as well as a formal segmentation of diverse uses reflecting the social pluralism and the emergence of "parallel societies" (Geiger and Hennecke 2015). Geuze's characterization of the city as a "multi-cultural rainforest," merging the dual focuses of ecological health and social-integration into a single metaphor, is also a noticeable characteristic of the park revival and the post-fordist urban landscape, (Termeer 2016). For example, the anthropologist Setha Low deploys a similar ecological metaphor in her critique of public spaces, arguing that designers should employ "rapid" ethnographers such as herself to survey and maintain "a natural balance in cultural ecosystems" and the "preservation of social relations…that reinforce cultural systems" make the city an attractive and competitive environment (Lowe et al. 2007:5). While this metaphor might reflect a broader post-modern tendency to collapse the nature-culture binary (Haraway 2013), it is

also reflective of the key roles of the park as identified by proponents such as Alexander Garvin: improving personal health and well-being, incubating a civil society, sustaining a livable environment, and providing a framework for development (Garvin and Brands 2011). However, what are the political stakes of these roles of the revived public park within contemporary processes of urbanization?

Thirty-five years after Cranz ended her 1982 study on the politics of park design with a call for "those with an interest in the character of urban life" to "seize on parks as one of the vehicles for the realization of their particular visions," it is clear that this has happened with the revival of the public park well established. However, beyond the scope of Cranz' study, remains the broader problematic of urbanization as a spatial fix of excess capital defining who holds the greatest "interest" in the character of urban life. In this regard, Piketty's landmark study following the 2008 financial crisis showed how, despite enduring critiques by feminists and post-modern cultural theorists over the course of the 1990s, Harvey's analysis of post-modern urbanization was essentially correct—capital irrevocably leads to a series of crises, with each subsequent crisis reinforcing the uneven consolidation of wealth, a process which can only be overcome by collective action by the state, not fragmented special interest identity groups beholden to private philanthropists (Piketty 2017). Nevertheless, as this dissertation shows, post-modern cultural critiques coalesced in tandem with global capital's ascendance by the end of the 1980s, underpinned by developments in information communication technology that augmented tendencies of fragmentation and individualization, epitomized by the smartphone and the user-generated media of the Web 2.0. This dissertation specifically examines the legacy of these developments in the production of public parks, traced back to the cultural Cold War and the emphasis on modes of subjectification, self-expression and self-actualization congruent with the expansion of global capital. In doing so, it shows how landscape and the public sphere in the 21st century are thus at once enacted at a global or planetary scale, yet also experienced as increasingly fragmented and individualized (Calhoun 1998; Putnam 2001; Bratton 2016a).

Particularly after the end of the Cold War, many have struggled with how to reconcile the effective consensus of a pluralistic society with the coordination required for collective action. Some argued for a model of Habermasian rational debate and consensus, while others, such as Chantal Mouffe, acknowledged irresolvable conflict to be an inevitable part of politics and attempted to salvage the friend/enemy model of Carl Schmitt as an "agonistic" model of the public sphere (Mouffe 1999). For Schmitt, it is this fundamental distinction between friend and enemy that is necessary for a Hobbesian social contract to keep the brutality of the state of nature at bay, providing for subjective freedom expressed in commerce and scientific-technological development of civil society. Schmitt therefore critiques of liberalism's tendency to turn to technology to avoid the essential political question of defining friend and enemy, a tendency that can be clearly seen in the post-political "end of history" (Fukuyama 2006), the ideology of Silicon Valley (Barbrook and Cameron 1996), and embodied in contemporary political slogans like "love trumps hate," as milquetoast and meaningless as it is ubiquitous in wealthy and elite enclaves across the United States (McCormick 1997). To be sure, many of the signs that these scholars identified in the 1990s, prompting their study of Schmitt's analysis of Weimar have only become clearer in both the United States and Germany as well as countries around the world; populist responses to waning sovereignty, elite-defined identity groups pitted against one another for control of power apparatuses, and paramilitary groups challenging the state's monopoly on violence.

Following Mouffe and McCormick's call to take Carl Schmitt's challenge to technocratic liberalism seriously, this study seeks to set the evolution of the park concept in relation to broader changes in the state apparatus that define ideas of nature and citizenship. While the relationship between technological change, warfare and urban form has a long been the subject of study from a

variety of disciplinary perspectives, from Machiavelli, to Leroi-Gourhan, to Mumford to Deleuze, relatively less attention has been paid to the ways these technological changes variously shape the idea of landscape and the concept of the public park. This is surprising, given the sustained criticism of the public park as an ideological expression of citizenship and nature. The question this theoretical approach seeks to answer is how the ideological expression of the park is differently constructed under various circumstances that emerge from social-technical change and the processes of urbanization. This approach follows the idea of genealogy outlined by Foucault in his reading of Nietzsche, where a "cultivation of details and accidents that accompany every beginning" (*Herkunft* and *Entstehung*) is opposed to the historical search for origins (*Ursprung).* In other words, rather than the assumption of teleological meaning, the genealogical method "seeks to reestablish the various systems of subjection: not the anticipatory power of meaning, but the hazardous play of domination" (Foucault 1978).

A clear link between the idea of landscape and geopolitics is expressed by Schmitt in the idea of the "nomos of the earth," or "the immediate form in which the political and social order of a people becomes visible, [a] structure-determining convergence of order and orientation in the cohabitation of peoples on this now scientifically surveyed planet." Schmitt identifies the emergence of "global linear thinking" that can be seen in mathematical extension of *rayas* to divide the New World between Portugal and Spain. Within this cartographic partitioning, we can identify a subsequent spatial logic articulated in Alberti's interpretations of Vitruvius specifying the construction of cities and towns that provided the spatial framework for New Spain and California's systems of Missions, Presidios, Pueblos and Plazas amid a wilderness landscape (Crouch, Garr, and Mundigo 1982). Alberti's procedure for mechanically reproducing visual space with linear perspective is fundamental to the concept of landscape, with its bifurcation of the figure from the ground-plane. Additionally, this technique corresponds to a broader transformation from oral to visual culture by media theorists such as MacLuhan (Carpo 2001), and is linked to the proliferation of humanist culture and values that provides the basis for the bourgeois democratic ideal (Cosgrove 1998), as well as the basis for the scientific rationality of the Cartesian "god-eye" capable of objective representation of nature (Jay 1988; Haraway 2013). In this regard, linear perspective provides both the technical as well as philosophical frameworks for the public park concept.

Linear perspective, and it's evolution into "database" as symbolic form, also informs this dissertation's theoretical and empirical focus on geopolitics and the transformation of urban military sites. Scholars of landscape also note how the precision of linear perspective, paired with the mobility of renaissance oil paintings to rupture the muralistic attachment of painting to architecture, permitted an objective representation of the landscape that could be bought and sold, just as the emergent bourgeoisie aspired to do with the land itself (Cosgrove 1998; W. J. T. Mitchell and Hansen 2010). For media theorists, Alberti's mathematical perspectival method for representing visual space onto drawing paper was a corollary to Gutenberg's printing press as "frames," or "right angled grids" that assign data to place values, making "virtual space" (Friedberg 2006; Kittler 2001). This corresponds to Lefebvre's concept of "abstract space" that forms the basis for the process of urbanization (Brenner and Elden 2009; Lefebvre 1991). For Lefebvre, the projective nature of abstract space rooted in perspectival vision is inherently geographically expansive, ultimately demanding a departure from classical architectural forms and providing a framework for incorporating economic, bureaucratic and military strategic intervention on a planetary scale (Escolar 1997).

The concept of landscape and the abstraction of space into a figure/ground relationship is implicit in the logic of the Westphalian nation state and the development of a socio-technical apparatus necessary for the administration and transformation of a kingdom into a rationally designed territory (Picon 2007; Elden 2005). Drawing on Max Weber's assertion that the state as a

sovereign entity with a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence over a given territory, both Giddens and Lefebvre seem to agree that it is war (and preparations for war) that provide the "energizing stimulus" for the development of the state apparatus (Giddens 1985). For example, the use of gunpowder rendered the fortresses of patchwork dynasties indefensible, and the Peace of Westphalia formalized the principle of territorial state sovereignty.[1] Environmental historian Robert Blackbourn describes an ensuing regime of landscape transformation as meandering rivers or shapeshifting marshes could be tamed to correspond to their static representation on treaty documents, a military project that also aimed to increase productivity of the land through emerging techno-scientific methods, what Marie Louise Pratt termed an "internal colonization" (Blackbourn 2007)(Pratt 2007). France, under Louis XIV, is widely understood as exemplifying some of the most intensively developed techniques for exercising state power through techno-scientific rationality. A particular example is the earthworks of Vauban, who surveyed and systematically solidified the state's borders at strategically defensible locations rather than to maximum extent. Vauban's new techniques for constructing moats and revetments also found their way into in the canals, terraces, and retaining walls of Louise XVI's gardens, where Le Notre broke with classical tradition to develop Vauban-esque geometries mobilizing the aesthetic category of the beautiful to represent the power of the sovereign (I. Thompson 2006; Mariage and Nôtre 1999; Mukerji 1997). In this way, the formal and ideological qualities of landscape architecture reflect practices of territorialization brought into being through military technology.

Publics, Nature and the City: The Case of the *Lustgarten*

Le Notre's work shows how landscape architecture relates to the territorial concept of abstract space, however, the park concept is also bound to the conceptualization and management of populations. In this regard, Foucault argues that unique conditions in the German states following the Thirty Year's war led to an early emergence of what he calls *Staatwissenschaft* - a science of the state (J. C. Scott 1999; Foucault 1984). This specifies a field of study whose object is the state—its natural resources of a society, the living conditions of its population, and the operation of the political machine—as well as the "methods by which the state produces and accumulates the knowledge that enable it to guarantee its operation." Recalling Lefebvre's conception of abstract space as geographically expansive, Foucault notes how, in contrast to the larger states of France and England, competition within the small German "quasi-"and "pseudo-"states, stemming from their close proximity and inevitable conflicts, "obliged them to weigh and compare themselves against the others, to imitate their methods and try to replace force with other types of relations." This dynamic combined with a stagnant economy following the Thirty Year's war, preventing the bourgeoisie from independently profiting off of commerce, nascent manufacturing, and industry as they had in countries such as England, France, and the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. Foucault argues the economically inactive bourgeoisie of the German pseudo-states aligned with the sovereigns, and they contributed their expertise in the organization of the modern concept of the state with its civil servants and knowledge apparatus. For Foucault, the formation of the *Medzinschepolizei* (Medical Police) therefore precedes the development of social medicine that he analyzed in the expansion of urban structures in France later in the 18th century.

It is out of the development of *Staatswissenschaft* that the first urban plans for Berlin and eventually the precursor to the first "public park" emerge following the Thirty Years war. Frederick

[1] Brenner et al. note this inter-state system crystallized out of a complex, polymorphic medieval landscape inherited from earlier forms of state building, giving rise to divergent institutional practices for organizing, regulating, monitoring, and representing social space (Brenner et al. 2008).

William, the "great Elector" (reign 1644-1688), brought Dutch military engineer Johann von Memhardt to construct technologically advanced ramparts around the city, which allowed the conversion of the *Stadtschloss* from a defensive fortification into a Renaissance Palace. These first plans mark what Lefebvre calls the realization of "the image of the city" and the beginning of a process of urbanization in which the market gradually unshackles space inside the walls of the city from the feudal customs of the territorial lords (Lefebvre 2003). This new relationship between city, landscape, and technology are reflected in the *Lustgarten* adjacent to the *Stadtschloss,* the first botanical garden in Prussia. Tended by Johann Sigismund Elsholtz, who though classically trained, conceived of the Lustgarten as a *Catalogus Platarum* after those in Copenhagen, London, Paris, Montpelier, Padua, Pisa, and Messina. In the "Dutch Style," such as the famous botanical garden in Leyden, it featured novel items such as an orangerie and the first potatoes in Prussia. This is to say, rather than organization following the classical model documented by Alberti's interpretations of the Ancients, it was conceived as an encyclopedia, laid out like a book with pages from which every plant could be accessible to a visitor to touch, smell, sketch or otherwise inspect (Jager 2005). Moreover, the notion of a plant "catalog" or "index" was not merely a metaphorical prelude to the succession of a Linnaean natural order over the medieval Scala Naturae—the garden was accompanied by a synonymous printed book: *Hortus Berolinensis* (Elsholtz, Fischbacher, and Fink 2010). At once a botanical plant index as well as literary description and visual depiction of the royal garden, the *Lustgarten* illustrates the relationship between linear perspective, the printing press, and architectural form, corresponding to a nascent Enlightenment public sphere (Kittler 2001) (Habermas 1991) (Carpo 2001).

Reflective of Lefebvre's observation of expansive nature of abstract space, Simon Schama, John Prest, and others have shown how gardens such as the one tended by Padua-trained Elsholtz operated in tandem with mercantilist colonial expansion, functioning as encyclopedic displays of God's creation (Prest 1981). In the case of Elsholtz, the *Lustgarten* was a result of the expansion of Prussian mercantilism with fledging colonies in West Africa and the West Indies. As a political-aesthetic project, the collecting and re-assembling of specimens from far-flung tropics amid the only outdoor statue of the crown prince was a testament to the power of the sovereign (Jager 2005). This symbolic representation of power was crucial in the heterogeneous space of the city, as Huguenot refugees detached from feudal lords and replenished population lost during the Thirty Year's war. Finally, these "Edens behind walls" were technologies of *Staatswissenschaft* and constituted a way of taming nature and sites where knowledge of plants' medicinal utility could be extracted. To this end, Elsholtz was not only the tender of the garden, but also the King's chief alchemist and court doctor. In correspondence with developments at the young Royal Society in London, Elsholtz pioneered public health in Prussia, introducing the concept of "hygiene." Like Le Notre, Elsholtz' garden served as a symbolic display of Sovereign power as well as sites of proto-scientific intensification and experimentation corresponding with military imperatives. Additionally, the duality of the garden-as-book concretizes the relationship between media technology and the power of landscape explored in this dissertation.

The Park as a Technology of the National Army

As the logic of *Staatswissenschaft* built state power and a Cameralist political system reduced the fiscal management of a kingdom to scientific principles for systematic planning, Frederick William's (reign 1713-1740) obsession with military improvement resulted in "the forces of the marching orders to intervene in every sector of public life" (Virilio 2006). Advances such as the ramrod and the flintlock combined with rigorous "clockwork" discipline to exponentially increase the speed and efficiency of the Prussian military (Ross 1979). In the urban landscape, this was

reflected in the proliferation of parade grounds around the city, including at Tempelhof and parts of the Tiergarten. These military innovations began to render Memhardt's fortress ramparts obsolete; they were gradually torn down over the next century, replaced by a non-defensive customs wall to regulate the flow of goods (Bodenschatz 2010). Having merged with neighboring Cölln on the south bank of the Spree, Berlin began to grow into a modern city, increasing fivefold from 1700 to 1797 as a center for soldiers and Cameralist officials. The construction of a rectilinear "new city" outside Memhardt's old ramparts began the westward migration of the city as the *Regierungsviertle,* or government district, including the site of the Reichstag was built around edge of the Tiergarten.

The expansion of Berlin under Frederick II (reign corresponds to the reinforcing tendencies of expansion and techno-scientific improvement of Prussian territory (Blackbourn 2007; Blanning 2016; Clark 2009; Ritter 1965). This included extending its sphere of influence to Russia with the appointment of Catherine the Great (reign 1762-1796), who encouraged the spread of Enlightenment rationality with the settling of Germans in eastern Russia. This lead to expeditions to California with the Russian American Company, producing the first botanical studies of the Presidio, including the first scientific publication on California naturalism in 1826, *Descriptiones plantarum novae Californiae, adjectis florum exoticorum analysibus* by Johann Friedrich von Eschscholz (Beidleman 2006). As a result of Russian and British encroachment on the undefined borders of Alta California, the fledgling Spanish Empire was forced to establish a settlement on its northern frontier, the basis for today's San Francisco (E. N. Thompson 1997). The distillation of the California landscape into a scientific publication reflects Frederick II's brand of "enlightened absolutism" that encouraged the development of a public sphere of newspapers and literary culture.

Within Prussia, the adoption of enlightenment rationality included the piecemeal transformation of the Tiergarten from a neglected hunting ground into Le Notre-inspired embellished promenades, or *Schmuckanlage,* which served to visually reinforce the centrality of the Absolutist ruler while also providing a stage for bourgeois public life of Cameralist officials (Wendland 1993; Schoene and Ibbeken 2013). However, by the end of Frederick II's life, the society of letters he had known and promoted, of palimpsest manuscripts read aloud in the company of others, was transforming to the mass media of the printed book, read in silence, crafted by a sole authorial genius who manipulated reader's sentiments through the literary form of the novel. The dynamics of this new aesthetic sensibility are epitomized in Geothe's *Sorrows of Young Werther* and the so-called "Werther Effect," where memetic behavior ranging from mass fashion trends to copy-cat suicide spread through the public sphere. This entailed a reworking of ideas of nature, evident in Geothe's descriptions of the landscape as a source of inspiration and genius, especially the gardens at Wörlitz. Geothe's conception of nature reflected an expansion of the concept of landscape from a mathematically rendered figure-ground relationship to include aesthetic experience, corresponding to romantic challenges to mechanistic Enlightenment science and eventually the terror of the French Revolution (Rabinow 1995), (Hermand 1997). First developed and applied in England on private manors, the landscape garden style of crafting "pictures you can step into" inspired Christian Lorenz Hirschfeld in his 1785 *Theorie Der Gärtenkünst* to propose incorporating them into the Cameralist state apparatus as a "popular park" (Parshall 1993). However, it was not until the military innovations of Napoleon and the geopolitical context of the "wars of national liberation" that Hirschfeld's ideas began to be put into practice.

It was Napoleon who effectively "motorized" the disciplinary model of the clock work army developed by Frederick II, wielding a militarized society, *levéve en masse* with the nationalistic themes of the Marseilles, capable of pursuing the enemy in ways conscripted serfs or mercenaries would not, which ended the era of the war of attrition and heralded the war of annihilation (Landa 1991). In addition to harnessing the affective power of the masses, Napoleon extended Frederick's notion that a "battalion is a moving battery" with technologies, such as the semaphore, and advanced

cartographic visualization, including what some argue to be the "first flow-chart" in the development of the "artillery train" and the "supply train," prefiguring the telegraph and the locomotive (Virilio 2006) (Virilio and Bratton 2006). The result was a global geopolitical reconfiguration that included the independence of Mexico from Spain, and the gradual introduction of the capitalist mode of production to California, including the abstraction of the landscape with the first surveys by Vioget (Dreyfus 2009).

In Berlin, the idea of the army as "a laboratory for the nation" (Rabinow 1995) inspired nationalists to the north slope of the Tempelhof plateau, where Ludwig "Turnvater" Jahn developed modern gymnastics in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Taking place on what was at that time a *terrain-vague* on the outskirts of the city, Jahn's outdoor training regime was deeply rooted in an emerging German nationalist ideology, and particularly attracted urban commoners, providing substitution for the older social order of the guilds—a nation building through body culture (Krüger, 1996) (Mosse 1964). For Sigfried Giedion, Jahn's strategy of "hardening the body" through gymnastics, serving to "build manly character, awaken and stimulate the sense of order, and inculcate obedience to leadership," reveals the influence of Rousseau and a vitalist turn in the sciences. Similarly, Giedion's description of the emphasis on the body and an effort to "recapture" the primary instincts of mankind," is evident in the emergence of German Landscape painting, such as Caspar David Friedrich, where sublime landscapes overwhelm the forlorn French soldiers who transgress the natural boundaries between France and Germany (Boime and Boime 1990). While Jahn remained a political radical, the expulsion of French troops from German territory in 1816 led to demands for reforms and a move away from the agrarian feudal system. As Wise and Wise argue, one way these came to fruition was the appointment Pierre Josephe Lenne as Royal Garden Director, whose use of steam power in the construction of English style landscapes at Potsdam implied an adoption of the English ideals of individual freedom, empire, and industrialism and a rebuke of the French (Wise and Wise 2002).[2] Blending aesthetic theories by Kant, Hirschfeld, and Karl Heinrich Heyendrich as well as romantic science proposed by Geothe and Humboldt, Lenné operationalized landscape as Berlin emerged on the brink of transformation with the arrival of the railroad (Wendland 1993)(Lee 2007).[3][4]

This brief historical-theoretical introduction presents a strategy for understanding a genealogy of the public park concept as deployed in this dissertation. It involves an analysis of the development and circulation of new military technologies and new techniques of representation and considers their relationships to the production of urban space, generating in turn new forms of publics, and new concepts of nature. The benefits of this approach are that rather than attempting discrete periodizations or classifications, which can often obscure this dynamic evolution, the genealogical method sees the idea of landscape and the park concept as produced through a set of changing relationships that can be described over time. Developing this approach to the study of landscape constitutes a primary contribution of this research.

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[2] The ambiguous relationship between democracy and public space may be seen in the architecture of Berlin's first train station, under construction nearby just as the Tiergarten was undergoing renovation as a Volkspark, where the complicated estate system required waiting rooms for four classes of passengers. Nevertheless, Hirshfeld's theories of landscape served as a means to ameliorate the physical condition of the burgeoning urban masses, assessed as inferior to the uncorrupted rural population. (Hennecke 2013; Wendland 1993).

[3] As Marx wrote in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louise Bonaparte*, the problem of urban proletariat and the failed revolutions of 1848 were compensated by a dispersive tendency catalyzed by the Gold Rush in California. Facilitated by the annexation of California by the United States that year, in Schmitt's view the "open land" of the North American continent worked to maintain the European balance of power for subsequent decades.

[4] For further discussion of California during this time, see (Crouch, Garr, and Mundigo 1982)

Structure of the Dissertation

The theoretical approach outlined above is carried out over two sections, each dealing with one of the two case studies over three chapters, followed by a comparative analysis in a conclusion. The first chapters of each section (chapters 2 and 5) detail the development of each site in relationship to their respective cities and nation-states. Driven by the second industrial revolution at the end of the nineteenth century, in geopolitical terms the modernization of the Presidio and Tempelhof occurs as the Pacific emerges as a site of contestation between Germany, Japan and the United States, a fixation of geographers like Albrecht Haushofer (Wallerstein 2003; Herwig 2016). These first chapters frame landscape and environmental design as modes of reterritorializating state space prompted by new modes of representation engendered by social-technological change, such as the development of photography and the "annihilation of space" by the railroad, cinema, and the aerial view. The public park reflects not only the new urban forms resulting from reterritorializations of state space, but also manifests new conceptions of nature and citizenship. Culminating in the end of WWII and the development of nuclear weapons, a new bipolar world order characterized by supranational institutions also heralds the dissolution of the public park into the exploded post-war urban fabric.

By the end of the Vietnam War, authorial conceptions of modern design moved towards models of public engagement, embracing complexity as a critique of the mid-century logic of military and space programs which reduced planning to distinct phases (Rittel and Webber 1973; Hodson and Marvin 2016). A second set of chapters, 3 and 6, deal with reconfigurations of nature and citizenship that emerged in response to the conditions of post WWII prosperity, focusing on the evolution of the Bürgerinitiatve West-Tangente to Grün Berlin GmbH in Berlin, and the People for a Golden Gate National Recreation Area to the Golden Gate Parks Conservancy and the Presidio Trust in San Francisco from the 1960s through the 1990s. While this evolution unfolded in substantially different urban-political contexts, in both cases the collective image of the city as a designed object became subject to debate, in part catalyzed by institutional reforms in federal bureaucracies and universities that promoted urban open space for ecological and recreational purposes.

The third and final set of chapters, 4 and 7, focus on the specific development of Tempelhof and the Presidio into parks after 1989, and the rightward shift evident in the congressional battles over the creation of the Presidio Trust and the dissolution of the Alternative Liste alliance with the Social Democrats, in Berlin city government. In both cases, the parks reflect a broader reconfiguration of citizenship and nature as public controversies unfold about ecological restoration and public representation. At the same time, the context for these developments is a rapid economic restructuring resulting in a transformation of both cities. Though different outcomes emerge, the revival of the public park corresponds to a wider reconfiguration of the urban landscape and the process of territorialization. In this regard, the repositioning of the park concept in relation to discourses concerning broader processes of urbanization presents at once a more useful approach for understanding the production of parks, as well as evidence for the broader value of parks as an object of study for the generation of urban theory.

Figure 1: Upon arrival of the railroad, Lenné's plan for the embellishment of Berlin in 1840.

The modern relationship between Tempelhof and the city of Berlin was forged with the railroads and the first urban plans following the Napoleonic Wars developed by Pierre Joseph Lenné, beginning a fifty-one-year career that culminated as the General Director of the Royal Gardens of Prussia. Fashioning himself a "garden engineer" rather than the traditional title "garden artist," Lenné sought to merge the English-inspired principles of *Landschasftsverschöngung* (landscape beautification) with the infrastructural transformation emerging from post-Napoleonic reforms. As debates raged amongst cameralists trained in the physiocratic tradition who saw agriculture as the basis of national wealth, and those arguing for reforms such the German Zollverein, or tax union, which developed gradually from 1818 onward beginning with Prussia and Hohenzollern states in the southwest. Supported by the rail network, free trade within the tax union began to form the territorial basis of the modern German state, rendering Berlin's 18th century tax wall obsolete (Lee 2014). In response to these developments, Lenné's "Projectierte Schmuck- und Grenzzüge von Berlin mit nächste Umgegend," published in 1840, proposed a series of green promenades and renovations of the Tiergarten in addition to draining swamps, regularizing shanties, and specifying open spaces on both sides of the tax wall on the periphery of the city (Reinisch 1992). This included a network of canals to alleviate traffic on the Spree, which would eventually bound the Tempelhof Plateau on the north, south, and east. In addition to these infrastructural improvements, romantic nationalism underpinned the implementation of the plan, coinciding with Frederick Wilhelm IV ascension to power in 1840, an amateur architect known as the "romanticist on the throne." The

next decade would see profound social and cultural upheaval triggered by rapid industrialization, culminating in the failed liberal revolution of 1848 (Hermand 1997; Lee 2007). Lenné's public works and public spaces served both to provide state-funded construction jobs to build out infrastructure necessary for economic growth, as well as the more abstract project of nation building, mobilizing aesthetic theory and the landscape garden to counteract the effects of industrial labor on an emerging proletariat, molding a new urban society according to the liberal conventions of bourgeois citizenship (Wolschke-Bulmahn 1997).

As an investor in early railroad companies and a member of the Cameralist elite, Lenné aimed to use the opportunity of the emerging infrastructures transforming the city to "embellish" the urban landscape. However, in many cases, industrialization rapidly outpaced and conflicted with his landscape vision. One such example was the rapid expansion of the Tempelhof railyard, requiring a cut in his southern east-west promenade along the northern edge of the Tempelhof Plateau, producing an awkward tangent on a major thoroughfare to this day (fig. 2) (Günther and Harksen 1984). The transformative nature of industrialization of Berlin and Germany, particularly the impact of the railroad and the ensuing "2nd industrial revolution" of electrical and chemical technologies in the second half of the 19th century, has been the subject of vast scholarly debate, including as a primary facet of the *Sonderweg,* the historiographical term denoting Germany's special path to modernity in relation to is geopolitical location in *Mitteleuropa*. While largely beyond the scope of this dissertation, a few points concerning the development of railroads in Berlin are crucial to understand the transformation of Tempelhof and the urban restructuring at the end of the Cold War.

Railways in Prussia were proposed as early as 1833, following locomotive travel between Manchester and Liverpool in 1830, but it was not until the Prussian Railway Act of 1838, which established the basis for private companies to finance the construction of railways with provisions for state takeover in thirty years did the Berlin-Potsdam Rail Company form to build the first line. As a military concern, this first line that ran between garrisons and markets began with a connection to Potsdam, running south from what would become Potsdamer Platz along the western edge of the Tempelhof Plateau. This established an infrastructural path dependency explored in subsequent chapters of this dissertation. Additional stations soon encircled the historic core of the city, beginning with a second line in 1841 to Halle in Saxony-Anhalt, which established a direct link with the brown coal fields that would fuel Berlin's industrial transformation. With the second line, Anhalter Bahnhof just south of the Potsdamer Bahnhof, extended at a tangent to the Potsdam line creating the "Gleisdreick" or "rail triangle" on the northwestern edge of the Tempelhof Plateau, at the head of what would become the large Tempelhof railyard beginning in 1850. By 1865, the Tempelhof railyard emerged as the central inspection area for freight entering the city, superseding not only the old tax wall, demolished two years later in 1867, but also rupturing Lenné's garden boulevard as described above. In addition to these rail lines, the Spree and a network of canals served as an axis of industrial production circumscribing the Tempelhof plateau, which began with the Landwehr Canal, designed by Lenné in tandem with the construction of the Berlin-Potsdam railway line and built as a jobs project as part of reforms following the upheaval of 1848.

Figure 2: Close up of Tempelhof Field on Pharus-Plan circa 1904. Note Gleisdreieck "rail triangle" at the east edge of the field, breaking up Lenné's east-west boulevards, with Anhalter and Potsdamer train stations at top center of frame and Militair Bahnhof (dark red) at norther east corner of the field.

Tempelhof and the German Empire

Following the failed revolution of 1848, "the German question" continued to dominate geopolitics, hinging on a debate between "Grossdeutschland" positioning Austria as the center of power in a unified German state versus a "Kleindeutschland" vision led by Prussia. The debate was multifaceted; monarchist versus Republican, Habsburgs versus Hohenzollerns, Catholics versus Protestants, and complicated further by Austria's more multi-ethnic character. In the end, the question was resolved by Otto von Bismark's *Realpolitik* of achieving rapid strategic military victories to negotiate peace on favorable terms. Overwhelming Austria and then France, the German Empire was famously consolidated through "blood and iron." In terms of military technology, these wars were significant in that Prussian Field Marshal Helmuth Von Moltke incorporated the railroad and

telegraph into a model of distributed command, known as *Auftragstaktik,* as a means to cut through the friction and fog of war that increased with industrial-scale operations (Landa 1991).

As Berlin became the center of the Prussian and greater German railroad system, which was gradually nationalized between 1850 and 1880, the connection between the city's train stations became a military concern. By the 1850s an at-grade Strassenbahn served as inter-city transit between the railheads that dotted the tax wall. However, by 1870 and the Franco-Prussian war, transportation between stations in the city became a bottleneck, interfering with the military imperative of moving troops from the east to the west of the country. An elevated *Verbindungsbahn* between the main stations in turn served as the basis for an elevated Ringbahn circling the city over the course of the 1870s, creating the southern boundary that gives form to today's Tempelhof Field. The importance of the rail to the unification of Germany is also reflected in the architectural treatment of first-generation train stations, in large part with reparations secured through the Franco-Prussian war (1870-1871). At the Potsdamer and Anhalter stations, the utilitarian designs of the 1830s were replaced by baroque *Grunderzeit* styles, with the Anhalter Bahnhof firmly established as the grand ceremonial entrance to the city. Meanwhile, the triumph of the rail in Germany was historicized as the Hamburger Bahnhof, 3 kilometers to the north across the Tiergarten and the Spree and was transformed into a national rail museum—the *Königliches Bau- und Verkehrsmuseum.* This museum was a precurser to the German Museum of Technology, which would be relocated to the Gleisdreieck in the 1980s, as an important catalyst in the wider transformation of the Tempelhof railyard detailed in this dissertation.

On the Tempelhof Field itself, German unification yielded two important developments; reconfiguring Tempelhof Field as a public stage, and as a site for technological experimentation and intensification. In the first case it hosted a massive military rally as part of a victory parade after returning troops ceremonially passed through the Brandenburg Gates in a momentous occasion known as the Imperial Autumn. This public spectacle would be reenacted several times over, establishing the field as a stage for symbolic displays of military power. In the 20th century, this power was wielded by both Hitler, notably in his large 1933 rally, a spectacle contemporaneously described as "the most powerful magnetic field in the world" that shrewdly appropriated the May 1st holiday in the working class districts surrounding Tempelhof, as well as the US Military during the Cold War (Hauser 2012). Moreover, the role of the Tempelhof Field as a stage can be seen as a driving force behind the monumental architecture of airport building that began in 1933. In the second case, military engineers returning from Paris, including Otto Lillenthal and Graf Zeppelin, also brought with them glimpses of the potential of aviation, having witnessed no less than 65 balloons escaping the besieged city (Conin, 1974). Because rail expansion in the 1840s cut across the edge of the field, rail financiers were obligated to build facilities for military rail engineers (see fig.2). After the Franco-Prussian war, this division was charged with undertaking the first aviation experiments. Thus, as Lenné's and then Hobrecht's network of boulevards made the plateau more accessible to the growing city, it also functioned as an ad hoc public space, where visitors could also witness early experiments in aviation, further contributing to the notion of the field as a public stage for technological spectacle.

Concurrent with the territorial expansion of Prussia and the formation of the German empire, the city of Berlin itself also expanded, swallowing neighboring villages in 1841 and 1861 (Ewers, Goddard, and Matzerath 1986). Berlin's industrial expansion serves as a canonical case in urban history (Hall and Preston 1988; Ladd 1990; Weiher 1974) and cannot be addressed in full here. However, a few general points about this phase of urbanization and changing ideas of the environment are necessary to understand the broader transformation of Tempelhof. Key among these is the Hobrecht Plan of 1858-1862, a 100-year plan for 4 million inhabitants prepared for the police headquarters (*Polizeipräsdium*) (Geist and Kürvers 2001; Hegemann 1988). Taking into account

the Kaiser's demand for Hausman-esque viewsheds, Hobrecht succeeded in siting industrial uses on the periphery and dividing the city into public hygiene districts to address water borne disease in a partnership with Rudolf Virchow, a pioneer in biology and anthropology (Aust 2002). Virchow's ideas of nature, conceiving of the living body as a factory, were reflective of a broader resurgence in mechanistic science in the middle of the 19th century and in many ways reflect Hobrecht's approach to urban planning (Harrington 1999). Despite attempts to build on Lenne's web of boulevards in a seemingly organic fashion, Hobrecht's plan was ultimately utilitarian, leaving development open to speculators, guided only by an 1853 building code specifying a 17-foot courtyard—the turning radius of a Prussian fire wagon.[5] Hobrecht was soon criticized for producing a dense labyrinth of "hofs," or perimeter-block courtyards with each successive interior increasingly lacking light and air circulation. These *Meitskaserne* (literally: rental barracks) came to symbolize the degeneracy of the city, catching the ire of generations of urban reformers.

With urbanization and industrialization, new ideas about nature informed the practice of landscape architecture in Berlin. This time saw the spread of the allotment garden, or *Schrebergarten* after the Leipzig physician Daniel Gottlieb Moritz Schreber, who advocated for gardening as a pedagogical tool for urban youth and as means of building the body to affirmatively engage with the stresses of industrial labor (Rotenberg 1993). The *Schrebergärten* became a fixture of the German urban landscape that was incorporated into the modernist landscape plans of Leberecht Migge in the Weimar period (Haney 2010) and played an important role in the transformation of Temeplhof discussed in later chapters of this dissertation. The *Schrebergärten* initially spread as part of a broader *Lebensreform* movement that sought out alternative lifestyles to urban modernity. This included a range of cultural tendencies, from vegetarianism, to nudism, to wearing natural textiles, which Schmitt recognizes as part of a broader "Arcadian" romantic resurgence (P. J. Schmitt 1969). A tendency to view the industrial city as pathological also complemented a *völkische* cultural movement epitomized by journalist, ethnographer, and avid hiker Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl (1823-1897), who argued that nations formed organically from the landscape of a particular territory (Vicenzotti and Trepl 2009). *Völkishe* ideology saw an organic unity of land and people, creating the "roots of Germanic essence" and "the inner and deep feeling for nature" of the territory, providing an alternative model of citizenship to the enlightenment ideals associated with France, and the idea of a nation constructed through written documents and commitment to shared ideals (Brubaker 1992). The linking of landscape and nation was famously mobilized by geographer Friedrich Ratzel following the military triumph over France. Ratzel proposed a biological conception of the state itself. According to this logic, the spiritual health of its people drives the state to expand and seek habitat or *Lebensraum*, resulting in a competitive and aggressive relationship to Germany's neighbors and mounting imperial ambitions. This manifested in the "Congo Conference" of 1884-1885 in Berlin, as Germany eyed the declining Portuguese, Spanish and Ottoman Empires, and competed with the United States in various locations around the globe (Wallerstein 2003; C. Schmitt 2006).

Denkmalpflege and *Heimatschutz*

Within Germany, *völkische* views of nature and the landscape took institutional form in the creation of hiking societies and conservation groups dedicated to *Heimatschutz* (homeland protection focused on traditional landscapes) and *Denkmalpflege* (monument care) focused on waterfalls, old growth trees, unique geological formations and some rare species (Chaney 2008).[6] While these two

[5] Ladd (1990) points out that a Prussian foot was roughly equivalent to a British foot.

[6] Notable hiking societies included the German Alpine Society (1869), the working class *Naturfreunde* (1895) which established a presence in the Bay Area, and the *Wandervogel* (1901), a youth outdoors group established in Berlin.

institutional forms contained many overlaps and resonances, each also relates to somewhat distinct forms of landscape representation. In the case of *Denkmalpflege*, an important example was the work of Albrecht Meydenbauer, who trained at the Royal Building Institute and sought to develop an archive of German national monuments--both architectural and landscape features, such as mountains, leading to the establishment of the Koniglich Preussian Meßbildanstalt in 1885 (Meydenbauer and Grimm 1978). Through his efforts, Meydenbauer pioneered techniques in photogrammetry that formed the basis for analysis of aerial photographs. This mode of landscape vision in turn played a large role in Hitler's *Blitzkrieg* strategy, carried out by the Luft Bild Hansa at Tempelhof, and underpinned the development of landscape ecology (Dittrich 2013; Troll 1939; Troll and Fischer 1949) (Antrop 2013). These mathematical and archival visual practices emerging from the *Denkmalpflege* tradition contrast with the influence of the impressionist landscape painters such as the first generation of Worpswede artists in the *Heimatschutz* movement. Romantic countryside scenes bolstered tendencies within *Heimatschutz* to elevate peasant life as a source of national strength, often associating modernity with degeneracy, and pervaded with a sense of loss resulting from rapid technological change that manifested itself on the landscape.[7]

In the urban landscape of Berlin, these changing ideas of nature over the course of the second half of the 19th century can be traced in the work of Lenné's successors, Herman Mächtig and then Gustav Meyer. One prominent example is the Volkspark Treptow designed in 1864 by Gustav Meyer during the implementation of the Hobrecht plan and finished by Mächtig in the 1880s. Here, the inclusion of a hippodrome, sports fields, and play areas directly aimed at the district's working classes reflect the beginning of a functionalist departure from Lenné's more bourgeois pleasure garden designs for the Tiergarten (Schmidt 1981). The park later hosted the 1896 German Industrial Exhibition famously described by Georg Simmel as an example of psychological impacts of the urban sensorium (Rowe 1995; Simmel 1991). The decidedly urban character of the Volkspark Treptow contrasts with the Viktoria Park, designed later by Mächtig and completed in time for the industrial exhibition on the northwestern slope of the Tempelhof Plateau. While the Viktoria Park exhibited the latest electrical technologies, it sought to incorporate them into explicitly nationalist themes and whimsical romantic *völkische* aesthetics, including sculptures of German national poets and boulders imported from the Sudentenland. Early conservationist tendencies in Berlin also emerged concerning the Grünewald, a popular site for *Ausflügler*, or young romantic weekenders, that was made accessible by the construction of the Ringbahn (Wilson 2006).

Gross Berlin and Neu Tempelhof

In the final decades of the 19th century, incursion into open spaces at the edge of the city, most notably the Grünewald on the western edge but also the Tempelhof Field in the south, contributed to a growing environmental movement and advocacy for the expansion of the city into a "Gross Berlin" (Wilson 2006). At Tempelhof, due to the increased spatial requirements of industrial-scale maneuvers, the army decamped for Brandenberg, requiring only roughly two-thirds of the field east of the Tempelhofer Damm for aviation purposes. The army went about soliciting offers to develop the land, dubbed Neu-Temeplhof, trigging speculation and competition between the

[7] These ideas influenced Ernst Rudorf who founded the German League for Homeland Preservation (Deutscher Bund Heimatschutz) in Dresden in 1904, and later chaired by architect and art historian Paul Schultz-Naumberg. Two years later, Hugo Conwentz the director of the West Prussian Provincial Museum, inspired by the US national park system, convinced the government to establish a State Agency for the Care of Monuments of Nature as part of the Prussian Ministry of Culture in 1906 (Frohn 2007).

independent municipalities bordering Berlin, Tempelhof, and Schöneberg to claim the emerging neighborhood for 70,000 middle class residents (Collins 2005). Among the largest planned developments in the city of the time, debate over the development revealed the need for a more comprehensive regional planning, coinciding with the launching of the Greater Berlin Planning Exhibition and Competition of 1910 that would prove pivotal for the expansion of the city.[8] For planning historians, the exhibition was an important precedent for bringing questions of urban planning into the public realm, specifically regional questions. Its presentation exemplified the beginning of transformation in urban thought as a "civic science," deploying statistical analysis of circulation and segmented land uses, that involved (in various capacities) many of the prominent figures of the day including Raymond Unwin, Le Corbusier, Martin Wagner, and others (Posener 1999; Ungers et al. 2013)(Borsi 2015b; Jackisch 2014). As post-war critics of modernist planning would note, this also marked the beginning of a decline in residents of the center city, with the population shrinking from 145,000 in 1885 to 45,000 by 1930, creating a demand for transportation (Häußermann 1976).

The winning entry of the competition was produced by Hermann Jansen, who used the development of Neu-Tempelhof as an axonometric scale representation of the larger green belt system he would create for the greater metropolitan region. Clearly responding to the crowded conditions of Mietskaserne and showing the influence of the garden city movement, Jansen specified large courtyards rather than the nested tenements, and wove a curvilinear green corridor through the development to the Viktoria Park. Similarly, curvilinear streets set amongst perimeter blocks, Bruno Möhring's *Jugendstile* or organic Art Nouveau, were popular architectural styles at the time. This first stage of construction at Neu-Tempelhof created monumental corner that would become the Platz der Lufbrücke. The resulting urban form bears the influence of Jansen's mentor Camillio Sitte and his recently published *Der Städtebau*, where a hierarchy of traditional uses such as the church and school give structure to urban space.

However, both Neu-Tempelhof and the political movement for Gross Berlin were put on hold by the total mobilization undertaken for the First World War, save a first stage of construction at the corner of today's Platz der Luftbrücke, what became the counterpoint to Sagebiel's Tempelhof. After the war, Neu-Tempelhof was finished in a lower-rise garden city style, dubbed the *Fliegerviertle* or Pilot's Quarter due to its proximity to the airport being developed concurrently on the other side of the Tempelhofer Damm. By this time, WWI militarization impacted many of the open spaces on the periphery of the 19th century city, including the south side of Tempelhof Field over the Ringbahn (Nadja Westphal 2002). With the war over, and the Spartacist uprising of 1919 quelled, the Gross Berlin Act of 1920 expanded the city 13-fold, swallowing adjacent towns and villages as it increased its population from 1.9 million to nearly 4 million, and was administered through 20 boroughs or *Bezirke* that form the basic municipal structure used today.

[8] A key antagonist for the Groß Berlin project was Werner Hegemann, organizer of the 1910 Great Berlin Exhibition and a fierce critic of the politics and financing of the Army's sale of Tempelhof in his book *Steinerne Berlin* (Hegemann 1988) . Hegemann, who traveled extensively in the US—including producing a master plan for Berkeley and Oakland- cited Frederick Law Olmsted and Daniel Burnham as precedents to the Berlin regional plan, while also tracing the influence of Goethe in the emergence of garden city regional planning (Collins 2005).

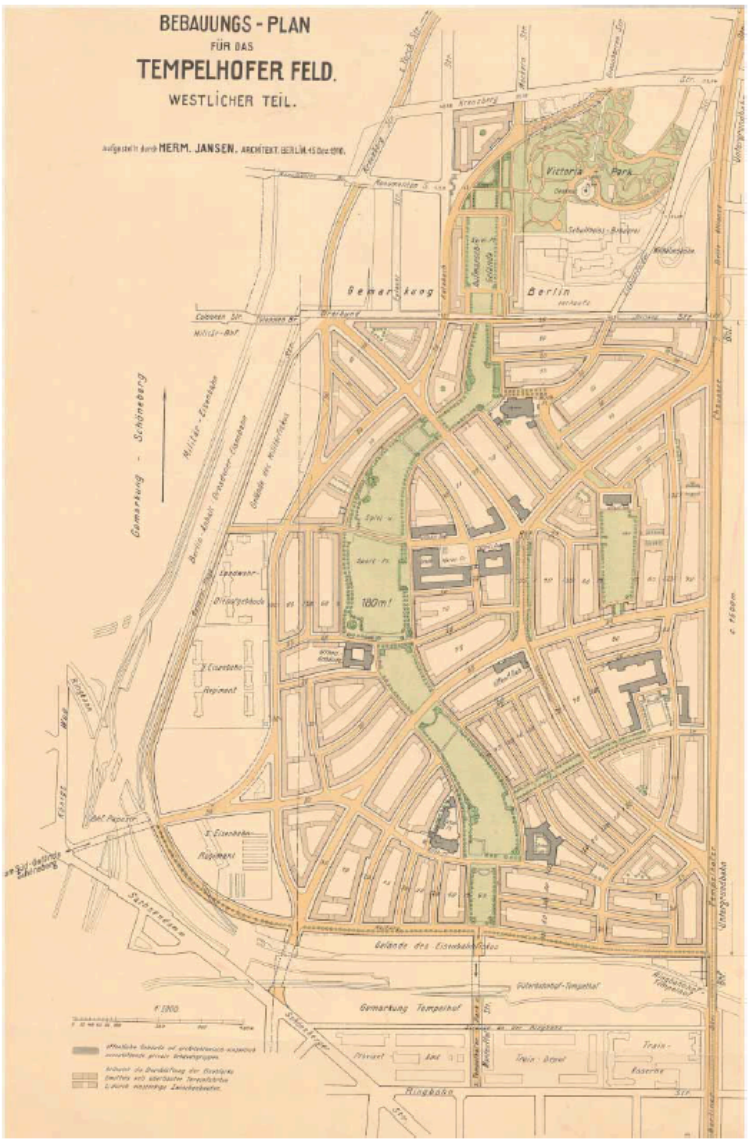


Figure 3: Jansen used Neu-Tempelhof as an example of his wider regional green space plan. (source: Architekturmuseum TU Berlin).

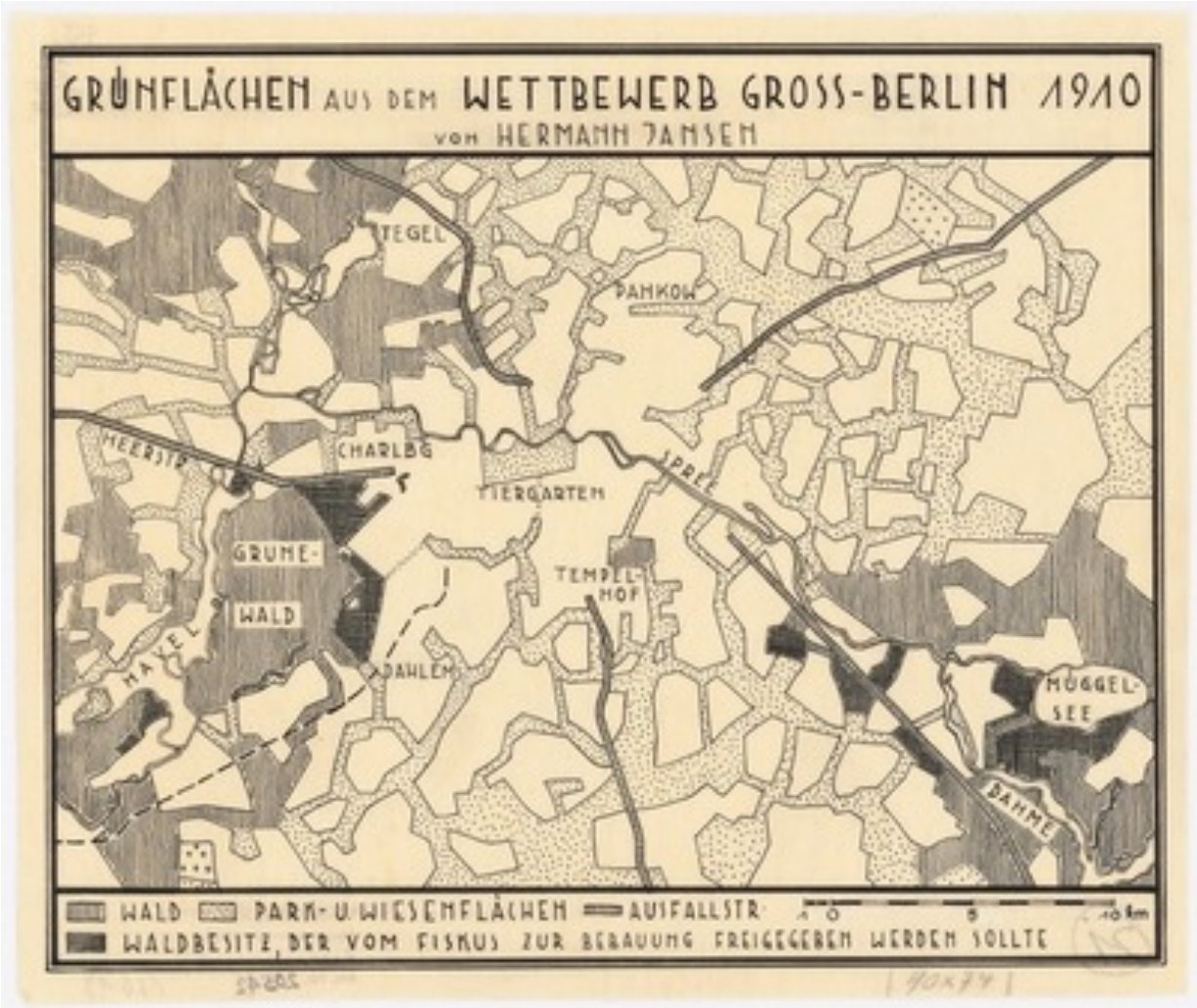


Figure 4: Hermann Jansen's 1910 Green Space Proposal (source, Architekturmuseum TU Berlin).

Organizing Berlin's Airports and Centering Tempelhof in Germany's Air Travel Network

Part of the administrative centralization of the *Groß Berlin Gesetz* included the establishment of the *Berliner Flughafen Gesellschaft*, founded by Leonhard Adler, AEG engineer and Centrist Party Municipal Transportation Chief, in 1923 to organize public and private interests in the development

of a central airport for Berlin.[9] As mentioned previously, Tempelhof had been the site of military aviation experiments since the 1870s with the establishment of the Air Ship Battalion off the Anhalter rail line. While the military efforts were initially primarily focused on reconnaissance and surveillance, by 1871 the Deutsche Verein zur Förderung der Luftschiftfahrt was founded to support the development of navigable air travel, and in 1886 the Meterologische Institute in Berlin was founded, adding a scientific aspect to technological explorations of air travel. (Morat et al., 2016). By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, aviation technology moved beyond its experimental phase with endeavors of Graf Zeppelin and Major Von Parseval, and Siemens-Schuckert. The budding industry was centered at Tempelhof, near the garrisons in Potsdam and Staaken, and near Zeppelin's ancestral home in Friedrichshafen on Lake Constance at the German-Swiss-Lichtenstein border, forming the first nodes in the first regular air-travel network, which are still centers of military-aviation research and development today. In addition to these indigenous developments, Tempelhof was the site of a momentous technology transfer in 1909 when Orville Wright maintained flight for over an hour before a large public crowd that included the Kaiser. The spectacular feat proved to be a shrewd business maneuver for the Wright Brothers, resulting in the sale of 50 aircraft to the German Military for $500,000. Following Wright's flight, the Deutsche Flugplatz GmbH was founded, utilizing a 150-man squadron from the Schoneberg Rail Engineers (called Pioneers) to begin working on the first airstrip in Germany following models in France, England and northern Italy. This included clearing, leveling, and fencing the land but also installing infrastructure such as streets and telephone lines as well as grandstands and ticket offices to deal with the public crowds that gathered as Johannisthal became a venue to watch the early experiments in heavier-than-air flight.

By 1910 entrepreneurs were offering private and commercial trips over Berlin with Parseval semi-rigged airships, and Graf Zeppelin lobbied heavily for a state supported central research facility, which he achieved in 1912 with the *Deutschen Versuchanstalt fur Luftfahrt* (DVL) that complemented private experiments at Johannisthal. This early relationship between the DVL and private industry proved useful following the Treaty of Versailles, when the all aircraft, previously commandeered by the military for the war effort, had to be relinquished to the allies or reconfigured for civilian use (Fischer 2003). One of the first tasks of the DVL was a competition for the best German aviation engine, and it would later oversee the development of V2 rockets and fund the first computer built and designed by Conrad Zuse before eventually reorganizing into today's *Deutsches Zentrum für Luft- und Raumfahrt*, the German Aerospace Agency (DLR). Located at Johannisthal, in what became East Berlin following WWII, agency buildings housed thousands of researchers as the primary site of the East German Academy of Sciences, as well as East German State Television, and the Ministry of State Security. The history of the DVL is significant for the purposes of this dissertation, since post-1989 privatization schemes for these East German state research facilities at Johannisthal-Adlershof formed the public-private urban redevelopment apparatus, *Wissenschafts- und Wirtschafts- standort Berlin-Adlershof* (Science and Business Park Berlin-Adlershof, or WISTA) that took charge of Temeplhof real estate after 2006.

The geopolitical context of the Treaty of Versailles, combined with the expansion of Berlin and developments in aviation technology, bolstered Leonhard Adler's vision for a consolidated central airport for Berlin at Tempelhof Field. This entailed novel architectural programming,

[9] The Imperial Postal Ministry and Imperial Transportation Ministry eyed the airfield for their operations, as well as city authorities-private industry such as Aero Llyod, Junkers and Luft Hansa. Additionally, the Reichsfinanzministeriums (zoll), Prussian state police, as well as the Prussia Minssterium für Wissenschaft, und Volksbildung, Minsterium für Landwirschaft, Domänen und Forsten (Wetterdienst), the Reichsbahngesellschaft and Nachrichtendienst (Telegraph and Telephone) (Adler 1929).

integrating air traffic control, news and weather communications, police and customs facilities, rail access, along with customer service and baggage processing. In part, this architectural form was derived from the grand central train stations, conceived as a "Flugbahnhof," including a barbershop, hotel, and restaurant that could serve as a "show window" for arrivals to the city. The first buildings opened in October of 1924, designed by Paul Mahlberg and Heinrich Kosina. Paul und Klaus Engler won a competition to design the rest of the buildings in modernist *Neue Sachlichkeit* style, constructed between 1925 and 1929. Already the center of the German air network, the new airport at Tempelhof reflected the expansion of this network—including the establishment of the first airline in the Americas, hosting 81,000 passengers the year Adolf Hitler was appointed chancellor by President Paul von Hindenburg in January 1933, surpassing Paris-Bourget as the largest airport in Europe.

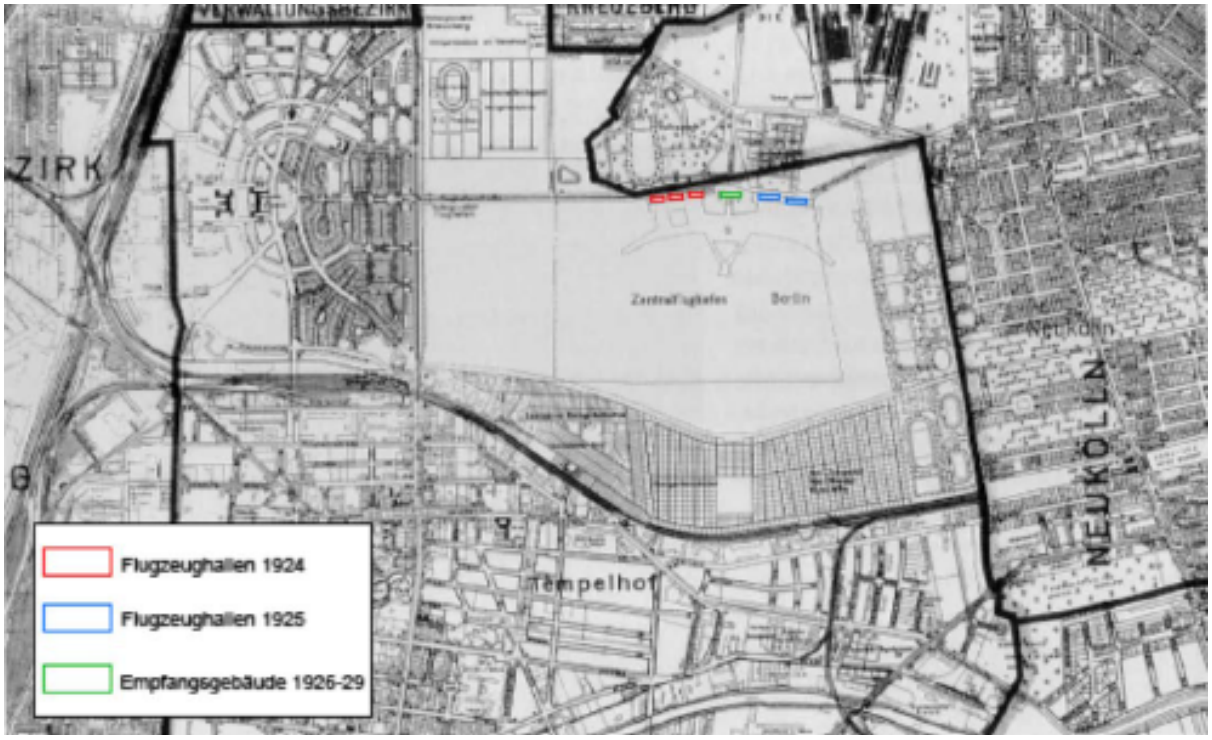
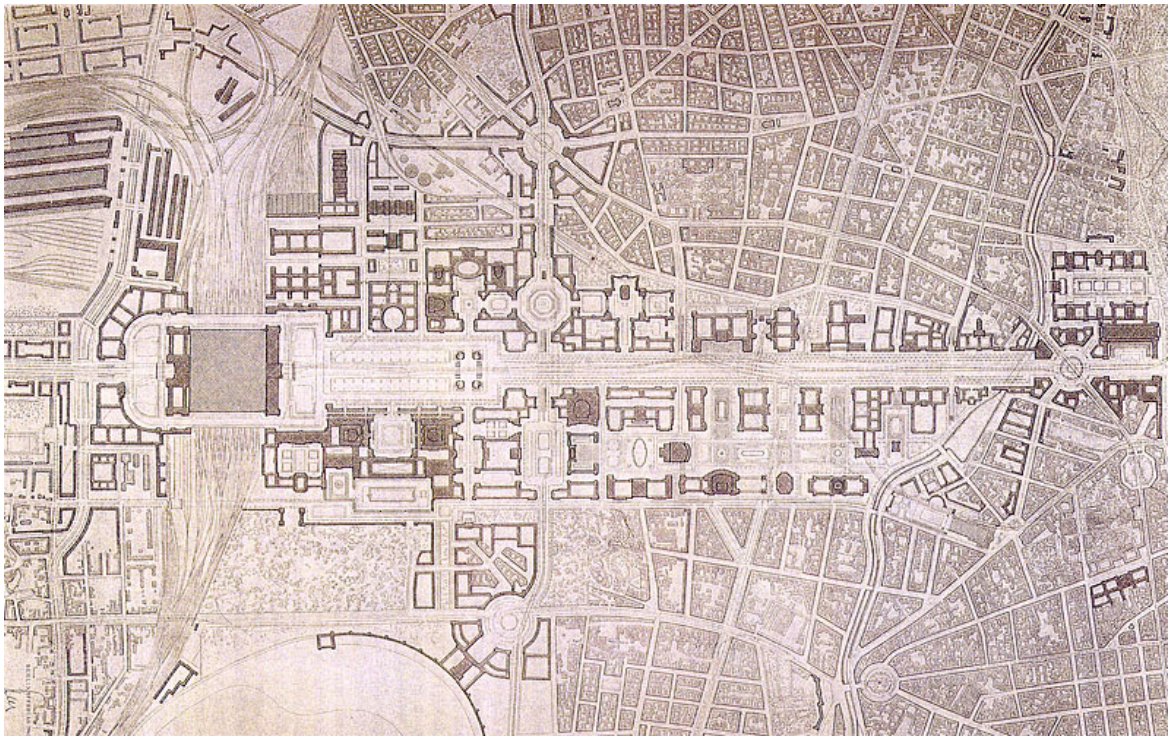


Figure 5: Tempelhof in 1928 city plan showing the site of Weimar airport buildings. Note sports fields along eastern edge and in northwestern corner at the present site of Sagabiel's Airport. Neu-Tempelhof on the western edge of the field is still under construction. (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung 2009)

Technology, Environment and Design in the Third Reich

Hitler's affinity for architecture and the significance of architecture and landscape in the Third Reich are well documented. In providing a brief overview of some key aspects, this section frames the construction of Tempelhof Intercontinental Airport by Ernst Sagabiel between 1933 and 1937 as reflective of the transformational capacity of aviation on ideas of nature and the environment that accelerated in the Third Reich. In the broadest geo-political terms, the pre-existing political support for territorial expansion mobilized by Hitler in the wake of the Treaty of Versailles relied on ideas that extended Ratzel's biogeographical concept of *Lebensraum* and spatially determined relations between states into Nazi ideology and policy (Herwig 2016). Nevertheless, substantial debate on Nazi geography, aesthetics, and environmentalism shows that rather than



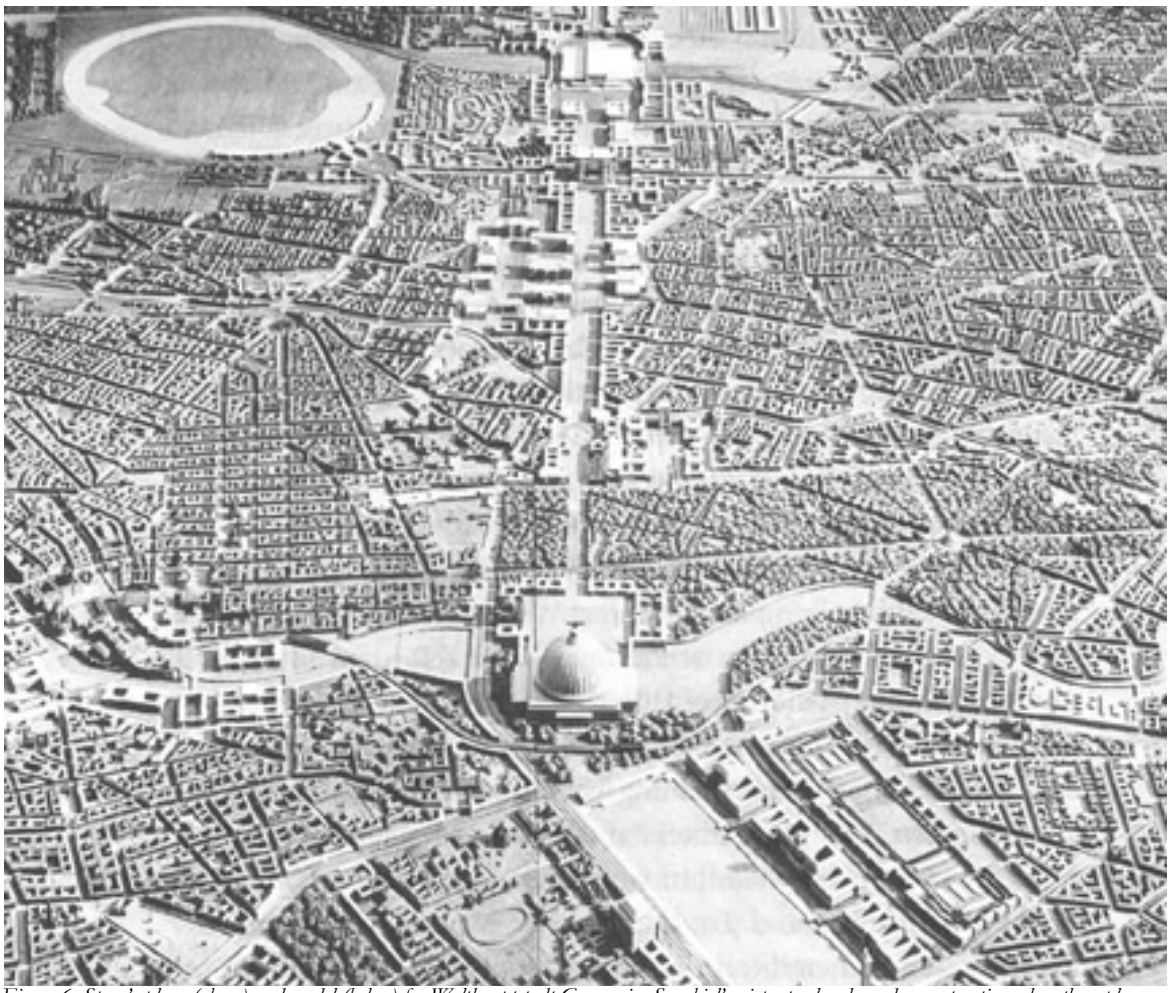


Figure 6: Speer's plans (above) and model (below) for Welthauptstadt Germania. Sagabiel's airport, already under construction when these plans were released in 1936, fits neatly into the scehma, despite Speer's stated preference for an airport further outside the city. Note how ceremonial promenade overtakes the Gleisdreieck rail yard, with new central rail station on south (righthand) side of upper image.

clearly articulated ideological positions, Nazi art and science emerged out of a grab bag of philosophical positions, resulting, at least in the early years, in a diversity of ideas about geopolitics, landscape, and architecture. (Brüggemeier, Cioc, and Zeller 2005; Chaney 2008; Harrington 1999; Lane 1985; Mosse 1964; Troll and Fischer 1949). However, it is possible to take Nazi propaganda at face value, and examine the claims made about landscape design, environment and aesthetics as articulated in projects such as the construction of Tempelhof.

In terms of the broader environmental design professions, many landscape architects and planners previously engaged in private or provincial institutions dedicated to *Heimatschutz*, who were generally already conservatively-leaning, embraced the opportunity to further their agendas in the Third Reich. This included the institutionalization of *Landespflege,* or land care, retooled towards the racial aims of restoring the primordial *Urheimat* through which the Germanic race was brought into being and from which it drew its strength (Lekan and Lekan 2009). Environmental objectives were operationalized in the Reichsnaturschutzgesetz (RNG or Imperial Nature Conservation Law) of 1935, expanding heretofore regional conservation initiatives to the national scale. Both the practice of *Landespflege* and the legal framework of the RNG established the conservation apparatus in post-war West Germany, a continuity, like the broader efficacy of Allied denazification, that was subject to substantial debate from the late 1960s onwards (Uekötter 2006)(Trepl 2014).

Landscape architects and planners played prominent roles, practicing *Landespflege* for both the Reich Agency for Spatial Planning, responsible for the "old Reich," as well as the Reich Commissariat for the Strengthening of Germandom (RKFDV) responsible for ethnic cleansing and resettling ethnic Germans in annexed territories as part of the "General Plat Ost." Conceptually, these administrative divisions worked in tandem, with the resettling of populations in improved Germanized landscapes in the east relieving ecological pressures and facilitating conservation in the old Reich. In practice, much of this work occurred through the Todt Organization, headed by engineer Fritz Todt, which managed the highway construction projects that were a signature feature of Hitler's unemployment program, eventually turning to conscripted and forced labor by the end of the 1930s. In this sense, practitioners of *Landespflege* working for the Reich differed from the provincial conservation commissioners in their active engagement in infrastructure projects, reflective of the conservation versus preservation debate in the United States (Chaney 2008; Koshar 2005; Zeller 2007).

Aesthetics and environmental design became an important ideological tool for the Nazis, who saw themselves as Goethean artistic geniuses, sculpting a "well-wrought *Volk"* out of the raw material of the masses. Architecture and design were important tools in this process of sculpting, with Hitler writing that "the greater the demands that today's state makes of its citizens, the more powerful must the state appear to these citizens" (Hitler in Frisby 2012), with Speer attributing the "total revision of the thoughts and emotions of a nation," to the autobahn network, part of broader transformation of German society often understood in architectural terms. Tempelhof provided a stage for Speer's breakout moment when he represented Nazi power in his decorations for the 1933 May 1st night time rally. Speer's decorations led to a position with the Todt Organization as the Reich Minister for Armaments and Ammunition. In a similar vein, Hitler and Goebbels supported the groundbreaking work of Leni Riefenstahl, whose cinematic visions drove the architectural design of the Nuremberg Parade Ground, and the Olympic Stadium, the first live broadcast event (Zielinski 1999). Among other techniques, Riefenstahl pioneered aerial cinema, reflecting the transformational role of aviation in landscape representation that developed during the Third Reich.

The work of Leni Riefenstahl, the emphasis on technologies such as aviation and automobiles, and an early embrace of Mies Van der Rohe's modernism reflected in the 1934 German Pavilion at the World's Fair in Brussells, illustrate the complex and contradictory relationship between technology and aesthetics in the Third Reich, especially prior to the 1937

Degenerate Art Exhibition (Lane 1985). By this time, the Nazi embrace of neoclassicism was seen as a direct rebuke to the "clinical" international style, "fit only for a robot" (Schmitz 1940). Hitler directly assailed the "New Objectivity" style of Engler's 1926 Tempelhof Airport, indicting it as "the creative poverty of a liberal bourgeois era…representing the interests of bourgeois capitalists and interest groups: industrial structures, banks, stock exchanges, department stores, hotels, and so on" (Hitler 1937). The Nazi penchant for traditionalist and neo-classical architecture can also be traced to Hitler's artistic pursuits, including sketches made in Landsberg Fortress while writing *Mein Kampf* in 1924. These preliminary sketches depicted the gigantic domed Volkshalle and the Triumphal Arch and formed the basis for Speer's plans for Berlin as the Reich World Capital commissioned in 1938 (Balfour 1990).

Hitler and Speer turned to neoclassical forms to address Berlin's "provincial" architecture, which they viewed as "nothing more than an unregulated accumulation of buildings" (Speer 1971). Neoclassism provided a more "timeless" aesthetic appropriate for the capital of a global empire, derived from the Roman empire as a model, as well as images of its ruins produced in the 18th century and the urban designs of Hausman and Sitte in Paris and Vienna. This multi-faceted background to neoclassical aesthetics was reflected in Hitler and Speer's famous "ruin theory," in which materials such as granite and marble were used to evoke "the eternal and magical power of the cathedrals of the past" through which future generations could "create order out of chaos" (Hitler 1937). Speer's ruin theory is perhaps most widely associated with his 1937 plan for expanding Berlin to an imperial capital of 10 million residents. As the "legitimate heir to Haussman," Speer's plan also entailed the destruction of some 50,000 apartments (Krier 1985). Defined by the Volkshalle and Triumphal Arch anchoring a 7-kilometer ceremonial thoroughfare, the plan was structured by a larger 38.5 kilometer cross-axis extending across a new autobahn ring. Work on the East-West Axis began immediately, resulting in the expansion of streets in the Tiergarten and a relocation of the Siegessäule from the Reichstag. The North-South Axis, containing the ceremonial approach to the Volkshalle, would be built over top of the Tempelhof Railyard as inter-city stations were consolidated at north and south stations along the Ringbahn. Because this portion required substantial demolition (Speer hailed the allied bombings of the Tiergarten district and central rail lines as preparing the city for his plans), the North-South Axis remained unbuilt. While previous proposals for an auto-oriented *Hauptstrasse* system emerged as early as 1927 (Stimmann 1982), the official adoption of the grand axis by the city in 1933 after Hitler's rise to power and further publicization as part of Speer's grand plan in 1937 cemented an association with the Nazi regime. This would haunt post-war planners who sought to construct a highway along the same corridor, dubbed the West-Tangent, spurring an environmentalist backlash detailed in the next chapter.

Sagabiel's Plans for Tempelhof Airport

The work of Ernst Sagebiel and the design and construction of a new airport at Tempelhof in the early 1930s reflects both the ambiguous relationship between ideology and architectural aesthetics as well as the increasing importance of aviation in the 20th century. The architecture critic Hugh Pearman identified a precedent for Temeplhof's designs in a speculative design by Eric Mendelsohn from 1914 (Pearman 2004). Sagabeil worked as a project manager and senior partner for Mendelsohn between 1929 and 1932, until the economic downturn forced him to find work as a foreman. In 1933, Mendelsohn, a Jew, fled Germany while Sagebiel joined the Stürmabteilung (SA) and NDSAP. Sagebiel participated in a paramilitary civilian aviation club that facilitated military training outside the purview of the Treaty of VersaillesVersailles, and advanced his architectural career with commissions on airplane hangars and barracks (Dittrich 2005b). With Hermann Göring appointed as Air Traffic Minister in 1933, his duties included executing the four-year economic

development plan, which included rearmament, reflecting the crucial role of aviation in the Third Reich (eventually, Göring ascended to war minister after the ouster of the military establishment from Wehrmacht). Among Göring's first acts as minister was commissioning Sagebiel to design a *Reichs-Luftfahrt Ministerium* (1934-1936), the Third Reich's first large-scale project in Berlin. Concurrent with Mies Van Der Rohe's World's Fair Pavilion and several years prior to the Degenerate Art Exhibition and Speer's New Reichschancellory and Berlin Masterplan, the Air Ministry strikes a middle ground between the ascendant neo-classicism and modernist forms. Described as *Luftwaffe Moderne*, the building aimed to present not only the military preparedness of the Reich but "its cultural volition."[10] (Hoffman 1936 in Boyd and Frisby 2012).[11]

With construction of the Air Ministry underway, Göring commissioned Sagebiel to design a new airport at Tempelhof, which had been slated for expansion since 1930 and was an early priority within Hitler's broader infrastructure development agenda. Aiming to construct "the largest and most beautiful civilian airport in the world," construction began in 1935, well before Speer's Reich Chancellery and masterplan for Berlin. Rather than piecemeal additions, Sagebiel sought a unified concept on a scale that anticipated the future growth of aviation as the largest airport in the world at the time. By moving the airport to the northwest corner of the field, Sagebeil tripled the landing area, which also had the effect of more directly engaging with the city, crafting a "distinctive and prominent feature of the cityscape of the Reichshaupstadt" (Anonymous, 1938 in Boyd and Frisby 2012). Forming a "civic presence as urbanistically strong as the Brandenburg Gate" (Pearman 2006), Sagabeil's design endured beyond the Third Reich, as this dissertation attests.

After just 18 months of construction, an opening ceremony was held in December of 1938 with passenger service beginning in early 1939. As the "Staatsflughafen" (Federal Airport) or Weltflughafen (Continental Airport), its urban orientation aligned well with Speer's North-South ceremonial axis. The landside of the airport included a substantial amount of office space for both the Reichsluftministererium, the General Building Inspector of the Reichshauptstadt, the Berliner Flughafen Gesellschaft airport administration, weather service, an aviation medical research institute, as well as private companies such as Luft Hansa (though operations were commandeered by the Luftwaffe after 1939) (Fischer 2003). As the *Luftkreuz Europa* or the central hub of European air travel, the airport opened in the brief window of time between the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia and the invasion of Poland, prompting a close association of Sagebiel's Tempelhof with the expansionist euphoria that characterizes Speer's masterplans. The building itself was conceived as a *Luftstadion*, seemingly in reference to the Olympic Stadium under construction between 1934 and 1936. The roofs of the airport doubled as grandstands for eighty thousand spectators, in addition to the hundreds of thousands who could gather at the perimeter of the field and a restaurant accommodating two thousand. The sweeping 1.2-kilometer wings served as spaces for aircraft production, which included underground facilities where forced laborers produced aircraft after 1940.[12]

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[10] Formerly the headquarters of the *Luftwaffe* the *Regierungsviertle* building just north of the Anhalter and Potsdamer Train stations now houses the German Finance Ministry

[11] Gröring's commissions also included new assembly plants at the DVL in Adlershof, described as among the most radically modern buildings constructed in the Third Reich (Lane 1985).

[12] The *Reichsluftsministerieum* contracted private companies including *Weser Flugzeugbau* GmbH as well as Lufthansa to build military aircraft, munitions and radar equipment in collaboration with electronics industries.

American Tempelhof

Following Berlin's liberation by the Soviets and Allies, Temeplhof soon became the headquarters for the American occupation, which initially followed the 1944 Morgenthau plan for the "pastoralization" of Germany. This included a Soviet-Allied production exchange that transferred industrial equipment east, as well as a ban on all fraternization with Germans, including separate toilets in facilities. However, the avowed anti-communist Governor of Occupied Germany, U.S. Army General Lucius Clay, soon departed from the rigorous denazification program and the US Joint-Chiefs of Staff repealed the Morgenthau guidelines in 1947 (R. G. Miller 2000). The Americans quickly employed some 1200 Germans to repair the airport, the number of which soon swelled to above 2000 following the air lift. Workers established the first paved east-west runway by the end of the summer as US administrators created a transportation network known as "EATS" or (European Air Transport Service). American Overseas Airlines, what would become Pan Am, began regular service to Frankfurt the next spring. German labor at Tempelhof played an important role as the airport emerged as the primary gateway to the west. Good pay and adequate meals contributed to a fraternal relationship that contrasted with the Soviets.

As discussed in the introduction, once the war turned in favor of the Allies in 1943, the question of rehabilitating the "neurotic mental state" of the German people became an object of scientific inquiry, leading to the Psychological Warfare Division of the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (Taylor 2011; F. Turner 2013). While the US military had experience in administering Civil Affairs from previous military governments in Mexico, the Confederacy, the Caribbean, and most extensively in the Philippines, the occupation of Germany prompted a more serious effort at controlling public information and re-education (Tent, 1984). Informal fraternizing such as handing out candy to children mingling by the fence in the densely populated neighborhoods adjacent to Tempelhof Airbase soon became institutionalized as part of a policy to win the hearts and minds of the population. The German Youth Activities (GYA) program was initiated at Tempelhof, which aimed to promote democratic re-education, fair play, and the value of the individual in team work through activities like baseball, U.S. Air Force open house days, and German-American Friendship festivals, which continued throughout the Cold War and still to this day.

This change in occupation policy occurred in tandem with disputes over the introduction of western currency that began in June of 1948, prompting the Soviets to shut down canals, electrical power rails, and highways. A major turning point in what is remembered by some as the "blockade of Berlin," Tempelhof emerged as a key gateway between the east and west. With just three air corridors established, 20 miles wide at altitudes between 1,000 and 10,000 feet—an extremely low altitude for turbo-prop planes, and with flights announced an hour in advance, the Berlin Airlift was a historic logistical operation, resulting in state-of-the-art air-traffic control, radar technology, and a new runway lighting system for Tempelhof. By September 4,000 tons of goods were arriving daily to Tempelhof and the British airfield in Gatow, and by 1949 nearly 1,000 air movements surpassed its peak civilian traffic volume of 1971. Of the 2.1 million tons of goods transported during the airlift 70 percent, was coal. As urban historian Brian Ladd argues, the Berlin airlift, immediately commemorated shortly after the fact in 1951 with the Plaza of the Airlift, attended by more than 100,000 people, permitted all anti-communist Berliners, including former Nazis, to move into the community of western nations (Ladd 2008).

Following the last airlift flights in the fall of 1949, personnel were reduced, and the base became subordinate to USAF headquarters in Europe at Wiesbaden. Tempelhof became a center for military security and intelligence and played a crucial node in Cold War scenario planning and

training. Events such as the 1950 German Socialist Youth Conference in East Berlin triggered the establishment of a special planning staff in Berlin, code-named "Live Oak," in 1958. While embracing complex theory as strategy, it shifted from "massive retaliation" to "flexible response" in 1967, emphasizing the tactical use of helicopters to enclaves such as Steinstücken that were cut-off when the Berlin wall was constructed in 1961.

Additionally, as early as 1946, aerial reconnaissance cameras and other electronic equipment were covertly installed on cargo planes flying in allied air corridors to survey Soviet operations in East Germany. This developed into a systematic effort code-named "Big Safari" following the Soviet development of nuclear weapons in 1949. Flights typically departed out of the Wiesbaden and Rhine-Main airbases, then landing at Tempelhof for lunch, a practice that continued through 1990. These routine air-corridor flights continued because they permitted the gathering of data on Soviet fire-control radar even after the CIA began operating a high-altitude reconnaissance program using Lockheed U-2 aircraft in 1955/56 and satellite reconnaissance that became available in 1960.

The US Air Force Security Service, stationed at Tempelhof, was established in 1951 as an electronic reconnaissance unit and by 1972 it constituted the majority of the personnel at Temeplhof. Staff included Russian, Polish and German linguists that monitored Soviet communications of both voice and data, as well as West German civilian telephone communications. Listening equipment was concealed under geodesic domes around the airport and networked with similar stations at Marienfeld and Teufelsberg, two rubble mountains on the periphery of the West Berlin. Other intelligence and surveillance operations included the USAF Office of Special Investigations and a secret unit called the Communications Intelligence Service that specifically monitored West Berlin dissidents. Additionally, the Airways and Air Communications Service operated the radar facilities at THF, conducted research and development on radar jamming and radio monitoring tactics and technologies, and also built a 71m radar tower and dome that remains and continues to be operated by the Bundeswehr. With some 1,200 officers and enlisted personnel living in THF by 1946, Sagabiel's building was retrofitted to include a post exchange, night club, gym, bowling alley, theater, and other facilities that characterized a Cold War US military "city with in a city" such as those found at the Presidio during this period. When the draft was eliminated in 1972 and the military was professionalized, a kindergarten was established on the premises. The US Military departedfinally departed in 1993.

Civilian Tempelhof

With the West German Federal Republic established on May 23, 1949 and the East German Democratic Republic on October 7, Ernst Reuter, West Berlin's first mayor, pushed for the Berliner Flughafen Gessellschaft to resume operations for civilian use. By 1950, Pan Am, Air France, and British Airways established routes from THF as West Berlin's only civilian airport. A heavy flow of refugees from the east soon began, mounting to over 300,000 in 1953. However, Tempelhof was inadequate for the jet age, and Air France was the first to shift traffic to the newer Tegel Airport in 1959 even as reconstruction of the Tempelhof passenger hall had finally been finished. Frankfurt similarly succeeded THF as the busiest airport in West Germany. Civilian air traffic moved completely to Tegel in 1975 and daily traffic reduced from 200 to less than 40 to the benefit of neighbors. This period saw the resurgence of demands to open THF for recreational purposes, discussed in the next chapter.

By the late 1980s, consultants such as the Aspen Institute where attempting to address the question of Berlin's air and rail transit, conceived as a "Gordian knot" between state and local governments in the east and west, as well as the competing interests among and between their respective allied occupiers (Hildebrandt 1989). Only months after the fall of the wall, in April of

1990, the Aspen Institute in Berlin organized a conference, "The Future of Berlin: Civil Aviation," with the support of Lufthansa AG, which sought to outline the expansion of Western airlines into eastern markets, facilitate east German flights to the west, and develop a plan for a central international airport in Berlin including a new airport (Anderson 1990). Far from settled and in the new political atmosphere of east-west relations, "noise pollution and environmental problems connected with heavy use of the city's airports were no longer acceptable" (Anderson 1990).

Moreover, there was a clear sense that Berlin would again become an *Eisenbahnkontenpunkt* or primary rail node in Europe. This was especially in light of recent high speed trains such as the TGV and ICE, which some saw as extending to Warsaw and Moscow and decreasing the need for continental air travel, which was depressed with the outbreak of the first Iraq war (Berliner Flughafen-Gesellschaft GmbH 1991). In this regard, the conceptualization of air travel in the Berlin region was closely tied with the question of designing an effective high-speed rail transit, a question which was bound up in the previously abandoned Tempelhof railyard and Speer's erstwhile North-South Axis that would run through a reconstructed Potsdamer Platz. The possibility of rebuilding Berlin as a "global city" tantalized city boosters who aimed to relocate the capitol from Bonn and double the size of city to 5-6 million inhabitants.

Chapter 3: Landscape and Environment in Post-War Berlin

This chapter presents the changing politics of nature reflected in urban planning and design practice in Berlin during the Cold War, leading to the formation of Grün Berlin GmbH and setting the stage for the transformation of Tempelhof. This begins with an overview of urban reconstruction following the surrender to the Allies and the tensions between denazification and anti-communism. These proposals illustrate the tensions between designing a definitive break from the past outlined by CIAM modernism superimposed on the blank slate of the nearly ruined city, and the selective recuperation of ideals of Heimat, nature conservation, and national memorialization despite associations with National Socialism. It discusses the Interbau exhibition, where the Haupstadt Plan was presented, and the ways it imported an American model of media, modern architecture, and urbanism as part of the cultural and economic strategy, conceptualized as a "Los Angeles solution" for Berlin transportation, during the Cold War. In particular, the north-south axis through the Tempelhof railyard and along the Berlin Wall would, by the 1970s, serve as a focus point for urban environmental activism.

This introduction to "Marshal Plan urbanism" is contrasted with an overview of social and cultural changes in West Germany that produce a second-wave of environmentalism, reflecting a new politics of nature informed by nuclear weapons and ecology. It discusses how traditional conservationists drew upon a new class of professionals informed by ecological science, positioning environmentalism as part of oppositional "new social movements" emerging in the end of the 1960s (Simonson and Vogel 2017; Karapin 2007; Mayer 1999; Davis 2008). The impact of this new environmentalist coalition on the politics of landscape design in Berlin is evidenced in a suite of counter proposals generated by activist groups, showing how ecology served to critique the existing development regime, later manifesting in new institutions, namely the state owned company Grün Berlin GmbH, which would manage the production of new park spaces in the 1990s and early 2000s discussed in the following chapter.

Nature in the Zero Hour

The reconstruction of Berlin presented a unique opportunity for modernist architects and planners to demonstrate the capacity for design to make a radical break from the past and catalyze new, better ways of living. Beyond the realm of architecture and urban planning, the concept of *Stunde Null* or Zero Hour describes the necessary rebuilding of Germany on both a spatial and social level.[13] In practical terms, while some rubble was reused in reconstruction, dealing with excess rubble was a major task for landscape planners, and large *Trummerberg* or "rubble mountains" accumulated in Berlin and other German cities during this period, typically covered with plantings and integrated into the park and recreational plan. Planting trees and vegetation—reflected in the governments "Green Emergency Program" *(Grünesnot Programm)* —became symbolically important, including the replanting of the first trees in the deforested Tiergarten, but also an important practical aspect of rebuilding, as a means to mitigate dust generated by demolition and reconstruction. During this time, the Bundesgartenschau (hereafter BUGA) was established by various landscape

[13] The landscape architect Hans Reichow also used the term *Trümmerpsychosen* to describe the necessary psychological rebuilding after Zero Hour (Lachmund 2013). Similarly, as the process of sorting through the rubble and rebuilding fell upon women, *Trümmerfrauen* emerged as protagonists in reconstruction efforts.

professional societies with the support of the federal government, which sought to use urban garden design, drawing on past traditions of garden exhibitions, to generate tourism and act as a mechanism for post-war urban redevelopment.[14]

Ideologically, the Third Reich's complicated relationship with modernism and nature resulted in conflicting visions of how Germany should be rebuilt, and continued to resonate in reconstruction debates (Diefendorf 1993; Mingus 2017). In the beginning, JCS directive 1067 stated that the principle Allied objective was to prevent Germany from ever again becoming a threat to world peace, entailing "the elimination of Nazism and militarism in all their forms through the removal of former Nazis from public office and from positions of importance in quasi-public and private enterprise." As discussed in the previous chapter, the Morgenthau doctrine stipulated not only a strict policy of non-fraternization and denazification in hiring policies, but that Germany was to be "pastoralized," with industry transferred to France and eastern Europe.

In this context, the concept of *Stadtlandschaft* (Urban Landscape) was developed by Hans Bernhard Reichow, one of a number of architects working on rebuilding Germany's cities. Reichow's concept of "Urban Landscape" called for a pattern of urbanization in the form of the landscape, a radical, structural break from the pre-war *Großstadt* agglomeration whose crowded tenements, pollution, and crime made it a perennial object of concern amongst planners. As articulated in the 1948 text *Organische Stadtbaukunst: Von der Großstadt zur Stadtlandschaft* (*Organic Urbanism: From the Metropolis to the Urban Landscape*), the concept of *Stadtlandschaft* went beyond CIAM's functionalist separation of uses, seeking a more expressionist approach that drew on biology to conceive of a mode of urbanism modeled on living organisms (Reichow 1948). Composed of basic elements that could scale from the size of a small village to a capital city, *Stadtlandschaft* aimed to forge a unity between the human community and land (Heimat) that was juxtaposed against Speer's neoclassicism (Sohn 2008). Sohn describes *Stadtlandschaft* as a reconceiving of the city as a landscape park—it's decentralized, flowing infrastructural form is evocative of the Russian disurbanists. Other influences include early organicists and garden city plans such as Wright's *Broadacre City* and Martin Wagner's emphasis on the biological function of urban green space. Finally, *Stadtlandschaft* bears the distinct influence of aerial analysis techniques borrowed from landscape ecology that developed as part of reconnaissance protocols discussed in the previous chapter.

A *Stadtlandschaft* approach to reconstructing Berlin laid out a new urban form along the glacial contours of the Spree known as the *Urstromtal* and served as the leitmotif for the 1945 *Kollektiv Plan*, commissioned by the Soviet Military Occupation Authorities and led by architect Hans Scharoun. Leaving only a few historic monuments such as the Unter den Linden, the Brandenburg Gate, and the museum island, the functions of the city were segregated along parallel bands spread across the topography. What came to be called a central *Cityband* swallowed these central monuments, adding cultural and administrative uses that extend to the east and west. Housing was vacated to the north and south, followed by industrial production, which was moved from its previous location along the Spree and the network of inner city canals to bands further to the north and south. The separation of uses and consistent housing typology would act against speculation. Key elements included residential cells, or *Wohnzelle,* which took the form of towers interspersed among green cells that included space for recreation and subsistence gardening. In this way, the plan combined modernist demands for recreational open space with living conditions organized around an almost medieval formalism in terms of its relationship to agriculture (Sohn, idb). Density was to

[14] The first BUGA took place in Hannover in 1951, and iterations of the event for Berlin in 1985 and 1995 are important turning points in the narrative presented here. Along the same lines, the Internationale Bau Austellung, (International Building Exhibition, hereafter IBA) would take place in Berlin in 1956 and 1987 and provides an important body of work reflecting developments in post-war modernist and post-modernist architecture and urbanism. In the case of the 1987 IBA, the process of planning the exhibition coincided with a 1983 law institutionalizing citizen participation in the planning process (Schalk 2014).

be reduced to 250 people per *Hektar*, with settlements consisting of about 5,000 residents, with 8 to 16 settlements creating a *Stadtbezirk* of about 80,000 residents that would be served with clinics, schools, recreational facilities, etc. References to the middle ages were not only with respect to agriculture, but with regard to the ways a formal order evoking a unity with nature could replace the church as a socialist antidote to the materialism of industrial society. In this sense, the *Stadtlandschaft* was invested in a *Gestaltprincple* of design in which the clear order of its elements immediately communicated the entirety of the design in unity with nature. In this way, Scharoun was attempting to bring break the romantic-mythological connotations of Heimat and ground it in a material-ecological relationship to the regional landscape.

In terms of transportation network, the *Kollektiv Plan* identified a hierarchy of streets, while not specifying "*Schnellstrasse*" or "*autobahn*," they indicated limited access, efficiency oriented high-speed thoroughfares. The separation between major thoroughfares and the landscape was based on safety, anticipating the demands of *Kraftverkehr* for a new type of street. The street grid overlaid across a larger region, with central arteries running along the Spree, encircling and bi-secting the central *Cityband*. These arteries constituted a key aspect of the plan not only for efficiency, but to facilitate a landscape gestalt by moving along them at high speed that communicated the geological formations. The *Kollektiv Plan* anticipated a drastic transformation of the city fabric underpinned by this grid, which ultimately included the destruction of the *Tiergarten* and *Volkspark Rehberge*. For this reason, it is identified by 1980s post-modern theorists of "careful urban renewal" as the origin of the "*stadt autobahnen*" (Stiman and Nagel). However, as Stimman and Nagel point out, the *Kollektiv Plan* did not specify these arteries as urban highways as they were eventually constructed in many parts of the city. In fact, goods were transported on canals and rail with many pedestrian walkways connecting the residential cells. In this regard, the Kollektiv plan represented the last attempt to develop a totalizing social-political development strategy that was integrated into a street typology and network structure.

Presented to the public in an exhibition entitled "Berlin Plant" (Berlin Plans) as a new democratic reorganization of the city, much of the original Stadtlandschaft concept was abandoned as the political tensions between occupying forces escalated. With the immediate work of rebuilding left to the Trümmerfrauen, plans were carried out without regard to the grand visions of the planners (moreover, while the city appeared destroyed, much of the infrastructure remained intact, prompting a return to the previous urban form). Scharoun lost his elected position in late 1946 to Karl Bonatz, the last Berlin Baurat prior to division. Nevertheless, a few key concepts - namely the road network and emphasis on a central core, remained in subsequent general plans.

Interbau and Welthauptstadt Berlin: From Denazification to Anticommunism

As discussed in the previous chapter, following the introduction of the Deutsche Mark to West Berlin and the subsequent airlift, the allied reconstruction agenda shifted from de-nazification to anti-communism. However, historians point to a lack of critical debate and re-examination of the Nazi past in West Germany in the 1940s and 50s as it would re-emerge as a flashpoint for student movements in the 1960s (Thomas 2003). Nevertheless, the US provided a prototype for political and economic organization as well as a cultural model for West Germany. Marshal Plan advocates argued that a prosperous economy would facilitate the rehabilitation of the German psyche and it's pathological need for submission to authority, and media theorists have examined the development of the concept of multi-media as part of a broader "cultural Cold War" (F. Turner 2013)(Saunders 2013). From the perspective of the West German elite, association with the United States promoted by the Adenauer government provided a means to forge a new national identity cleansed of aspects of the recent shameful past. Hollywood flooded the German market with US films, which lacked

quotas enacted in other countries. The West German economy grew between 7 and 8 percent in the 1950s as refugees from the East provided a constant source of cheap labor as the economic miracle, or "*Wirtschaftswunder,"* became the basis of a new West German identity, arguably before economic growth trickled down to the material conditions of most West Germans everyday lives (Pugh 2014).

In 1949, the Wet Berlin Parlament passed the City Planning Law of Greater Berlin (*Gesetz über die städtebauliche Planung für Groß-Berlin)*, then adopting a modern but more modest proposal known as the Zehlendorf Plan developed by Walter Moest as land use plan in 1950 (Borsi 2015a; Aust 2002). Nevertheless, the plan assumed Berlin would remain unified as the capital of Germany but with a stable population of only 3-3.5 million residents. Rather than radically reconstructing the city-as-landscape, the 1950 plan sought to maintain the existing urban fabric and merely overlay a grid of limited access, high speed thoroughfares with a key interchange at the entrance to the *Tiergarten*. It continued the centuries-old western migration of the city center, constructing University Quarter and the Kurfustendam shopping district as extensions of the city center. Unlike the thoroughfares of the *Kollektiv Plan* that merely gestured at segregation of the high-speed auto traffic from the urban fabric, planning documents from this period clearly specify the construction of urban freeways with features such as grade separation, sound walls, limited access cloverleafs, and so forth. Financed by the federal government (45 million DM) and 2.5 million from West Berlin, construction began in 1955 in affluent western neighborhoods. Perhaps indicative of broader optimism for the reconstruction efforts, opposition appears to be muted despite the demolition required for the initial stretch around the *Hallensee* at the western edge of the Kurfustendam. Nevertheless, an example of early criticism can be found in Karl Krings, Oberbaurat from Dahlem, who criticized the cost, the destruction urban highways had wrought in the US, as well as the broader problems of auto-oriented urban development such as parking and traffic.

As the first leg of the *Stadtautobahn* was nearing completion in the west, the 1957/8 "Idea Competition for the Design of Capital City Berlin" (Hereafter *Hauptstadt Competition*) was launched by the *Bundesminster für Wohungsbau* and the *Senator für Bau- und Wohnungswesen* (Federal Housing Minister for Housing Construction and City Council for Construction and Housing). The goal of the competition was the reconstruction of central Berlin that was destroyed by the war with a design, in the context of the Cold War, that expressed Berlin as a unified capital city (Geisert et al. 1990a). Compared to the contemporaneous construction of Brasilia (Bauwelt 29 21 Juli 1958) and managed by Hans Scharoun, the competition reflected a return to the big "conceptual thinking" of the *Kollectiv Plan* 12 years prior. The objectives of the 1957/8 competition echoed many of the modernist aims of the 1946 *Kollektiv Plan*, but with an anti-communist slant rather than the purposeful de-nazification of *Stunde Null*. These included a "humanization of the city," that aimed to synthesize individual freedom with a higher connectivity (*übergeordneter Bindung*), achieved through a clear structural unity anchored by a government center within *gruner Mitte*, whose open and regular organization expressed a visible democratic spirit (Geisert et al. 1990b). Like the Kollektiv plan, the competition sought to segregate uses, vacating housing from a center city district and reducing residential occupation from only 350,000 of 4.8 million (Stimmann 1982). Similarly, it sought to "loosen up" the "over built" Friedrichstrasse area, which would complement an emerging commercial center in the west around the Kurfustendamm. This time, rather than reimagining the fabric of the city as a unified new German capital, it took the decidedly different lens of Marshal Plan boosterism associated with the IBA of 1957 (hereafter Interbau), where the results of the competition were presented.

Much has been written on the Interbau exhibition, which presented the latest architectural designs by the leading modernists including Alvar Aalto, Oscar Niemeyer, and Le Corbusier (Castillo 2010; W. Miller 1993; Pugh 2014; Weitz and Friedenberg 1957). For the purposes of this dissertation, a particular focus is in the ways it represented a change in notions of public space and

the public sphere. It followed a CIAM-inspired figure-ground plan of towers situated in large amounts of open green space with little regard for the historic fabric in the Hansaviertle neighborhood northwest of the Tiergarten. In general, a liberal embrace of modernism as part of the "cultural Cold War" through use of international style—which had fallen out with the Soviet Union with Stalin—simultaneously constituted a rebuke to the Nazi's denigration of cosmopolitanism and other perceived negative aspects of modernity and urban life (Pugh 2014).[15]

Like the baseball fields at Tempelhof, the Interbau spectacle transformed domestic design into a Cold War weapon for the "hearts and minds" of post-war Germans. Key to this effort was the US Information Agency, established by Eisenhower in 1952 as news-reels gave way to television programming. By 1949 Ernst Reuter declared that the city must "become a showcase for freedom—and also a showcase of economic prosperity" (Pugh 2014). USIA programming depicted the Kurfestendam as a sort of "5th Avenue of Berlin," with automobile clogged streets as signs of prosperity that contrasted to the slow rebuilding occurring in the East.[16] Along these lines, the US, as the largest contributor to Interbau, built the Berlin Congress Hall as well as the *America Builds* exhibit presented at the Radio Tower Exhibition grounds, linking US political values with the CIAM-modernism and the West German economic miracle. According to Pugh, while construction was the focus of propaganda efforts in both the east and the west, Interbau presented modern construction as a spectacle to be consumed visually rather than the through the collective labor teams organized in the east. Interbau featured an array of "staging" devices, such as trams and cranes, through which modernism was showcased, which was subtly framed in press releases of Interbau designs in terms of "humanism" and "freedom" rather than explicitly as "capitalist" or "democratic" (Osgood 2006; Pugh 2014). Architecture historians have focused on the emphasis of freedom and humanism of the west, often manifested in domesticity while corresponding to transformations in the public sphere underpinned by broadcast media, home television sets, and automobile ownership (Castillo 2010). Similarly, following CIAM principles, the modernist figure-ground plan negated the need for traditional parks, squares and public spaces (Holston 1989). In contrast to the classless society of the radical Stadtlandschaft and the collective labor teams of the East German reconstruction, the Hauptstadt plan and Interbau still projected an image of American perpetual upward mobility where one could go from refugee to an automobile-owning bourgeois in less than a decade.

However, most West Berliner's were not consuming luxury products in 1956, and many of the design furnishings featured in showcase exhibitions like *Interbau* were not even available in West Germany (Pugh, idb). Moreover, despite the high visibility of the Interbau and Kurfestendam reconstructed areas, much of the West Berlin landscape--particularly in working class areas--were of comparable condition to East Berlin. Despite passing similarities in their modernist figure-ground form, the Hauptstadt and Kollektiv Plans reflected profound ideological shifts, from denazification to anti-communism, materialized in efforts to re-construct Berlin as a "show-window" of the west.

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[15] Though the figure ground form of the modernist plan suggested an absorbsion of the Tiergarden into the Tower-in-the-Garden *Stadtlandschaft*, the restoration of the Tiergarden was an early task, though this could be considered more in-line with the Green-Emergency afforestation program rather than an ideological resurgence of the park form.

[16] see also Scott L. Althus, "The Forgotten Role of the Global Newsreel Industry in the Long Transition from Text to Television" (Althaus 2010).

Figure 7: The Kollektiv Plan (1946).

Figure 8: The Zehlendorf Plan (1947), the basis for 1950 Masterplan.

Figure 9: Scharoun's proposal for 1957 Hauptstadt Berlin. Note how Tiergarten is essentially dissolved as the urban fabric takes the form of a park, also note freeway adjacent to Gleisdreieck, what would become the Westtangente (bottom center).

A corollary to the introduction of the American *Wirtschaftswunder* to West Germany included a new guest worker policy, particularly after 1961 when refugees from the DDR reduced in number. While guest worker treaties were first signed with Southern European countries in the late 1950s, such as Italy, Spain and Greece, the most notable demographic shift occurred following the Berlin wall and the closure of the border with East Germany in 1961 as treaties were signed with several Arab countries, Yugoslavia, and most notably Turkey. These workers and their descendants remade the working-class tenements around Tempelhof into centers of Turkish and Arab life in Germany. However, these controversial programs precipitated profound social cultural and political change, including social fragmentation not only between the native born and the new "sub-proletariat," but also within German society and the native working class in particular, as seen in the emergence of the far-right German National Party (NDP) (Herbert 1990). At first, Turkish guest workers were initially contracted for only two years and were almost entirely men between the ages of 18 and 45, from rural areas, and housed in dormitories adjacent to factories and construction sites where they were often instructed in Turkish. By 1971, every fifth child born in West Berlin had foreign parents and by 1983 almost a quarter of the city was foreign born, with about half of this immigrant population made of Turkish workers. By this time, while the guest worker programs had ended, German-Turkish identity came to be concretized by intellectuals and artists who began to explicitly engage with policy makers, government, and the broader German public sphere (Chin 2007).

The Kulturforum and Westtangent

Among the actionable criteria inherited from the *Kollektiv Plan* was the beginning of the *Kulturforum*—part of the *CityBand* that would extend from east to west, blurring into the *Tiergarten*, over the ruins of Potsdamer Platz, and to the emerging shopping and educational district by the Kurfustendamm. A comprehensive regional highway scheme would provide access to a central *KulturForum*, extending under or through the *Tiergarten* (Stimmann 1982). This included the north-south corridor sought after by Speer—what came to be called the "*Westtangent*." The urban highway was a key architectonic element of the *Kulturforum* site; Sharoun's *Staatsbibliothek* sloped to orient around the anticipated highway. However, the eight lanes and four massive cloverleaves in the city center never moved beyond schematic design. The concepts were scaled down for integration into the 1960 master plan, and eventually were put on hold following the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961.

However, beyond the highway scheme, the *Kulturforum* is relevant to this dissertation in its appropriation of Modernist forms in the reconstitution of Prussian identity, one of the broader implications of rebuilding according to "the Los Angeles Solution." As "the most important building in West Berlin in the two decades following the end of the war" (James-Chakraborty 2002) Sharoun's expressionist modernism in the Berlin Philharmonie and later the larger *Kulturforum* has been examined in depth by architectural historians. In the context of the "cultural Cold War," like the *Haupstadt Plan* and the IBA, it took a free and open form to connote aspirations of an accessible democracy for a "mass public," an amelioration of the country's historical social divisions and a reprimand to the east. This expressionist formalism, following the *Kollektiv Plan*, eschewed the rectilinear axis proscribed by Albert Speer. Rather than oriented around a central *Platz,* the buildings at the *Kulturforum* float on the plan as an implicit contrast to the symmetry of Albert Speer's *Germania*.

Beyond the formalism of the *Kulturforum*, the project itself reflected important reconfigurations of the notion of *Heimat* leading up to the "Berlin Crisis" of 1961 and the construction of the Berlin Wall. Namely, the *Kulturforum* was a project of the "Foundation for Prussian Cultural Heritage," or *Stiftung Preußicher Kulturbesitz,* hereafter SPK, formed in order to restore the Charlottenberg Palace in 1955. Berlin served as a lightning rod for anti-Prussian sentiment, closely associated with militarism and therefore the destruction wrought by the war. Consequently, symbolically significant Prussian cultural sites in Potsdam were specifically targeted by allied bombing raids and Prussia was dissolved as part of de-nazification in 1947 (Clark, 2009, Mingus 2017). The SPK was therefore part of the "cultural mission" taken up by West Berlin to remain "the spiritual *Heimat* of all the spiritual people of our Fatherland" (Pugh 2014). Practically, the consolidation of Prussian cultural artifacts at the *Kulturforum*'s institutions functioned as a political gambit to cement a connection between West Berlin and former areas of Prussia still in West Germany that may have been ambivalent towards the city. Hans Sharoun's expressionist modernism and social-democratic credentials made him the ideal candidate for the task of re-constituting a cosmopolitan Prussian *Heimat*. The ways the SDK consolidated Prussian cultural artifacts, removing them from their local context in the remains of former Prussia and placing them in a modern building for objective scholarly contemplation, could be considered a way of breaking with the past in line with the aspirations of *Stadtlandschaft*.

Conservationist and preservationist sentiment also remerged in popular culture as the SPK sought to disassociate Prussian identity away from militarism and towards liberal arts education and the appreciation of culture associated with von Humboldt, Schinkel and Lenné. This included the recuperation of Lenné through the emphasis on greening his canals by landscape planners during this period, as well as the decision to restore the *Tiergarten* in the *Gemischter-Stile* landscape park tradition, a formal rebuke to the *Urbanlandschaft* concept's radical break with history and the nostalgia of a self-contained public park. In the mid-1950s citizens' outcry over the demolition of landmarks

prompted the preservation of facades and ruins such as the Kaiser Wilhelm Church and the Anhalter Bahnhof, which was taken out of service in 1956 and slated for demolition in 1959 (Warnke 2009). Similarly, the 1964 book *Gemordete Stadt* (Murdered City), like Jane Jacobs', *The Life and Death of The American City,* reflects a condemnation of the process by which the public spaces of the medieval, Baroque, and Gründerzeit periods were destroyed or allowed to decay through the annihilation of the city ground plan and it's differentiated sequence of streets and squares that shaped the city's memory.

Post-War Conservation: From Heimat to Umwelt

Following the war, traditional nature conservation organizations--most of whom were conservative leaning and, in some way, tied to the Nazi party--entered into crisis. The territorial losses of Germany--especially pertinent given East Prussia's reputation for natural features and wildlife--were compounded by food shortages demanding the intensification of agriculture. The founding of the FAO in 1945, and a trend towards neo-malthusianism, sustained Nazi-era fears of a "China-ization" of the German landscape due to urbanization and population growth of the *Wirtschaftswunder* (Chaney: 48). Adenauer's 1957 "Prosperity for All" campaign belied a faith in unimpeded economic growth that could benefit all of society, and by 1965 unemployment was at .5 percent with disposable household incomes quadrupling between 1950 and 1970. The work week shortened from 49 to 46 hours, and Chaney reports automobile ownership climbing from 500,000 in 1955 to 4 million by 1960. Increasing economic growth corresponded to increasing pollution, while conservatives and doctors argued for large nature parks as an antidote to "civilization diseases" and American consumerism.

Conservation elites tended to endure through denazification, and many held onto ideological views of nature, nation, and *Heimat* mobilized in the Third Reich. These led to anti-urban biases and an idealization of a primordial creative strength in the landscape that should be harnessed as part of Germany's organic renewal. This vitalist perspective was fused with developments in ecology that identified a "biotic potential" of a landscape determined by hydrology, soil, climate, and an assessment of plant and animal communities. However, as Chaney notes, this approach shared similarities with Aldo Leopold's land ethic, developed around the same time period, which defined a biologically healthy landscape as one that combined economic function with aesthetic beauty of a biotic community. Despite its *volkische* ideological underpinnings, ecological science permitted a dialog with experts concerned with public health and economics, and therefore social problems, in ways that were less explicitly anti-urban than traditional conservation. This led to the Nature and Economy theme of the 1955 annual ABN conference in which conservationists sought to engage with the health of landscapes where West Germans "worked, lived and relaxed." In this context businessman, philanthropist, ex-Freikorps member, and founder of the European Coal and Steele Community, Alfred Toepfler established the Nature Park program, resulting in 26 parks encompassing over 15,000 acres between 1957 and 1963 in West Germany. Many of these were what now may be called "working landscapes" in which agricultural activity continued alongside modest conservation measures, and were largely administered by private bodies, hence the name nature park rather than national park.

In addition to this focus on recreational areas in rural areas prompted by urbanization and economic growth, concern over atomic energy and the mechanization of agriculture influenced the Green Charter of Mainau in 1961, an attempt by elites to provide development principles for a "green conscience of the nation." One signatory of the Green Charter of Mainau was Konrad Buchwald, director of Institute for Landcare and Conservation at the TU-Hannover. Buchwald used the concept of *Landespflege* (Land Care) to modernize state-sponsored conservation in the 1960s by

linking it to spatial planning professions. For Buchwald, the discipline of Land Care was predicated on the ordering of space on the basis of ecological insights in order to maintain a balance between nature and society. This was understood through the lenses of landscape care (*Landschaftspflege*), nature conservation (*Naturschutz*), and green or open space planning (*Grünordnung*). While urban green spaces had traditionally been the domain of horticulturalists and conservation the domain of semi-professional philanthropists, the new *Landespflege* oriented itself more to the planning disciplines (Lachmund: 132).

Eventually, the word "*Umwelt*," describing the reciprocal relationship between animals, plants, and their surroundings began to supplant *Naturschutz* in specifically referring to the quality of life issues that effected human beings and was influenced by US Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission report of 1962. Under the influence of Buchwald, professional programs and policy research institutes were founded at a number of universities in the 1950s and 1960s. This expansion was in part due to reconstruction efforts and federal codes instituted in 1960 and 1965 that required landscape plans in the new developments where a 1965 Federal Spatial Planning Act imposed guidelines for protecting air, water, noise regulations and recreation spaces, and public engagement procedures. As a result, the number of academic professorships in west German universities expanded from 11 chairs in 1966 to 32 in 1976, with the TU-Berlin becoming the largest center of education in landscape planning in West Germany (Lachmund idib.)

The Social-Political Context of Umweltschutz: the APO and New Social Movements in Berlin

Karapin characterizes West German citizens in the 1950s as "passive, obedient, and dutiful," with unconventional forms of political participation such as marches, boycotts, and unauthorized strikes that were relatively uncommon compared to the United States during the late 1940s and 50s. However, widespread opposition known as the APO, or extra-parliamentary opposition, mobilized when Adenauer announced an intention to acquire tactical nuclear weapons in 1957 following signals from the United States that nuclear weapons could substitute for the presence of ground troops. This announcement, followed by the revelations that the Soviet Union had successfully developed intercontinental ballistic missiles (in addition to launching Sputnik) triggered a widespread condemnation from German nuclear scientists known as the Gottingen 18, as well as the worldwide radio broadcast on the dangers of nuclear radiation by Albert Schweitzer (Thomas idb). Historians identify SPD leader Erich Ollenhauer's 1958 *Kampf den Atomtod* (Struggle against Atomic death) as crucial to launching the first "extra-parliamentary movement." The *Kampf den Atomtod* led to a number of protests, among the most notable was a march in 1958 massing 300,000 people, before being abandoned by the Social Democratic Party and union leadership following a federal crackdown.

However, debate about rearmament and nuclear war eventually dovetailed with international criticism of the US involvement in Vietnam. Over the course of the 1960s, the student and youth wings of the Social Democratic Party broke with the mother party (Hockenos 2008) . Under the banner of "Vietnam is Auschwitz," the presence of former Nazis in the educational system foregrounded the place of the university within political debates of this era (Thomas idb.) This was particularly pointed in West Berlin, which attracted students to a university system that expanded in the 1950s and 1960s as a way of developing the city as a center of science and culture. For a post-war generation, West Berlin became a way to escape the provincialism of life in West Germany, and for young men it served as a deferment from compulsory military service. In light of emerging critiques of the shortcomings of denazification, rock music, drugs, and living in alternative communities, most famously the Kommune 1, became part of a political project described as "new social movements." Many scholars have emphasized the influence of the Situationists International

on vanguardist artist-activist groups such as *SPUR Gruppe* and *Subversive Aktion*, which took everyday life or *habitus* as the focus of a disruptive and experimental mode of critique (Vasudevan 2015). In the situationist' tradition of *détournment*, SPUR Gruppe member and Kommune 1 founder Dieter Kunzelmann identified the space of the city as the best site for activism, and used spectacle to draw attention to issues characterized by Cohen-Bendit as a "broadening of the public sphere" (Davis 2008).

These groups participated in violent confrontation with police during protests of the state visit of Moishe Tshombe, the Belgian-supported anti-communist prime minister of the Congo, who briefly replaced the CIA-assassinated Patrice Lumumba in 1964, which was a key turning point in the emergence of the German student movement. The Free University of Berlin, established by Americans as a counter to Soviet Ideology, was forced to defend its commitment to liberalism during the Kuby affair of 1965, inspired by the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, as students reacted to overcrowding, centralized authority, and lack of student participation in administration. In April of 1967, Kunzelmann and members of Kommune 1 were arrested for planning a "political happening" during US Vice President Hubert Humphrey's visit to Berlin. Two months later in June, police opened fire on a crowd protesting the Shah of Iran's visit, a watershed moment in post-war West German history. That summer, the Socialist German Student League (hereafter SDS) members, including some who would go on to join the Red Army Faction, protested at the annual Tempelhof Airport open house held by the US Air Force.

While the student movement was prevalent in many cities across the west, in Berlin housing and urban policy became a powerful movement of critique and profoundly shaped the built environment of West Berlin. As decolonial struggles came to replace Berlin as the focus of the Cold War, the exceptional basis for constructing a "showcase to the west" also diminished. Capital flight began as companies steadily relocated headquarters out of the city over the course of the 1960s (Merritt 1973). After 1961, construction in West Berlin was subsidized by a system of credit, tax breaks and guarantees to private developers as emphasis shifted from large satellite developments such as Gropiusstadt and the Märkisches Viertel to inner city urban demolition and renewal following the American model (Vasudevan 2015). With public funds covering a high percentage of construction costs, a handful of large firms came to dominate reconstruction projects and developed close relationships with government officials. Moreover, because most materials had to be imported from the Federal Republic, construction costs averaged 15 percent higher than the rest of West Germany (Pugh idb.). In 1966 the West Berlin Senate passed a measure permitting private redevelopment corporations to evict tenants and demolish buildings. Older buildings were demolished faster than the new projects could be constructed such that by 1974 only 14,500 of the 56,000 units specified in the 1963 renewal program had been constructed (Karapin 2007) . For these reasons, by the late 1960s the allure of the American way of life reflected in Interbau was waning. Housing policy was increasingly viewed as a social and political failure, with projects often exacerbating the housing shortage as costly and newly constructed buildings often had fewer units that the older buildings they replaced.

In working class districts such as Kruezberg, Wedding, and Scheoneberg, where blocks of buildings were slated for demolition in urban renewal and urban highway projects, experiments in communal living developed into politicized squats towards the end of the 1960s. Beyond targeting housing and redevelopment policy, the struggle for control over urban space became symbolically linked with a broader social critique. In this way, the architectural doctrines of CIAM modernism that proposed an inverted figure ground relationship, separation of uses, and limited access freeways were linked not only to the consumer lifestyle of the *Wirtschaftswunder* but also complicit with the Vietnam war. In theorizing these "new social movements" Margit Mayer identifies a shift towards "the reproductive sector" as the site of conflict. In following, many of these squats drew upon the

situationist precepts of "living critique" in which personal choices become political acts, viewing political engagement not merely as a duty but as an opportunity for self-development and social reform (Vasudevan 2015). An estimated 80,000 activists established alternative grocery stores, cafes, theaters, and newspapers to support lifestyle changes in the 1970s and 1980s (Chaney 201). These alternative spaces provided a "radical infrastructure," forming the basis for social support as well as crucial distribution nodes in an alternative communications network for the sorts of publications analyzed in this dissertation (Vasudevan 2015). As the elderly population passed out of working age and began to die off, Berlin's population consisted disproportionately of guest workers and students. Berlin became a symbol not only of divides between East and West, but like San Francisco, a symbol of divides *within* the West (Pugh, idb.).

Willy Brandt and New Environmental Institutions of the 1970s

Former West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt opened up the Social Democratic Party following his election in 1969 to Chancellor, allowing amnesty to APO members arrested on minor charges, and by 1971 the Young Socialists adopted a "double strategy" of working within institutions in addition to protesting outside. Many young socialists moderated their positions and advanced through the SPD hierarchy (Hockenos 2008; Karapin 2007). To mark the 1970 European Conservation Year, Brandt's coalition party announced "Action Program on the Environment," which historians argue constituted a watershed moment in conceiving the environment (Umwelt rather than *Natur* or *Heimat*) as a "tangible and legitimate sphere for political activity." Like Buchwald's promotion of *Landespflege* and the Green Charter of Mainau in the 1960s, *Umwelt* bridged public health and regional planning, reflecting a changing environmental consciousness born out of the nuclear movement and further elevated by media coverage of oil spills in England, Santa Barbara, and a chemical spill and fish kill in the Rhine in the late 1960s. Moreover, Umwelt, and its association with ecology provided a quasi-scientific basis for cultural criticism and an apocalyptic vision of the future driven by the Club of Rome. As an oppositional concept, it attracted a younger generation from the political left as well as traditional conservative support.

A key social institution that emerged during this period was the *Bürgerinitiative* or Citizen's Initiative (hereafter BI). Functionally "local" APOs, BI were a mix of pragmatic middle class-based interest groups seeking solutions for neighborhood problems stemming from the expansion of industry, housing, and transportation, as well as left-wing activists who connected these issues to part of a broader struggle against a capitalist development regime. Moreover, BI members conceived of involvement as contributing to a model of public involvement that should complement established procedures representative of democratic and citizen participation (Lachmund idb). The BI tended to be formed in spontaneous alliances, averaging between thirty people, where by the 1970s there were estimated to be between 15,000 to 20,000 in the country (Hockenos 2008), with some 3,000 and 4,000 BI, ultimately involving somewhere between 60,000 and 120,000 individuals focused specifically on environmental issues (Chaney idb). Scholars identify the formation of early BIs organizing against aircraft noise as early as 1965. In Berlin, anti-highway *Bürgerinitiativen* formed in different parts of the city when the SPD/FDP-Senat commissioned a new *Stadtentwicklungsplan* in 1970 (Markham 2005).

A nationwide network of environmental BI, the *Bundesverband Bürgerinitativen Umweltschutz* (BBU), dominated by FDP members, was founded in in 1972 and constituted an important link between the informal citizen's groups and the governing coalition. The BBU would have a symbiotic relationship with Brandt's Interior Ministry, dominated by liberal party members that in some ways resembled the dynamics between the People for the Golden Gate National Recreation Area and the National Parks Service detailed in the next section. However, the BBU projected an anti-

establishment grassroots image, demanding ecology be given a central position following the reelection of the Brandt government in 1972. By 1978 the BBU and the *Burger Initiative West-Tangent* (hereafter BIW), the main BI discussed here, formed the Transportation Working Group that served as a network for transportation initiatives around West Germany. Also that year, many of the BI participants and *Alternative Szene* would find political representation under the *Alternative Liste für Demokratie und Umweltschutz* (Alternative Ballot for Democracy and Environmental Protection, hereafter AL) Representing a broad set of protest movements, the AL was initially dominated by the so-called communist or "k-groups" that sought to develop a parliamentary coalition with feminists, housing squatters, lesbian and gay activists, and environmentalists and others disillusioned with the SPD. However, for the k-groups, the price of this parliamentary coalition was relinquishing a monopoly on truth claims, and then a recognition of the state's monopoly on violence following protests over visits by Ronald Reagan, and finally, in 1989, a recognition that most of the AL's platform was largely possible within the framework of industrial capitalism (K. Alexander 2016; Mayer and Ely 1998). A forerunner to the Green Party, these compromises eventually did lead to parliamentary power in 1989 and a policy of "ecological urban renewal" largely developed in the exchanges and counter proposals of the environmental BI discussed here. Markahm suggests the Green party and Green Peace Germany (established in 1980) competed with the non-partisan BBU (despite their association with FDP) while more moderate members and traditional conservationists gravitated towards traditional conservation groups. With the CDU-led coalition in 1982, the BBU waned in influence as it faced accusations of supporting illegal demonstrations (Markham 2005) .

The Berlin School of Urban Ecology and the West-Tangent

Ostpolitik, or normalization of relations with East Germany, closely related to the issue of nuclear proliferation that spurred a new environmentalism, was a key aspect of Willy Brandt's 1969 campaign. These broader geo-political events intersected with urban politics when the four powers agreement was signed in 1971, in which the DDR and BRD formally recognized one another. The pragmatic four power agreement brought the crisis triggered by the construction of the Berlin wall to a stasis point, facilitating the negotiation of land swaps and allowing infrastructure and planning projects to move forward as officials began working on a new master plan to reflect the seemingly settled political status of West Berlin (Merritt 1973). As construction completed on the first stretches of the urban highways, a number of neighbor initiatives sprung up to oppose construction in the various neighborhoods. However, it was the West-Tangent opposition that would go on to become the central anti-highway citizens group in Berlin if not the entire *Bundesrepublik* (Engelke 2011). While other urban highways were still obstructed by the wall, the West Tangent relied only on land swaps in the Tempelhof railyard, then running along the wall by the Kulturforum to create an inner belt-way circling the commercial center of the "new west." By early 1974, 17 kilometers of the city-wide urban highway scheme had been completed and 14 kilometers were under construction, including a southern stretch of the West-Tangent. As construction progressed on inner portions of the highway, through densely populated working class Schöneberg, it became a flashpoint for urban environmental activism, the battle for open space, and community participation. Within this context, young socialists began organizing neighborhoods in the Schöneberg district, with early actions reflecting the Situationist influence of the Berlin counter culture, including nudity, bicycle protests, and occupying space slated to be cleared for highway construction to the mobilization of spectacle.

The professionalization and ecological orientation of conservation groups along with the restructuring of the university system played a crucial role in bringing about these urban movements (Leydesdorff and Ward 2005). Ecological observation areas in the city were established in the mid-1950s, and ecologists from the Technical University, such as Sukopp, began to place emphasis on

plant communities as urban biotopes rather than individual plants. This new approach led Sukopp and Kohler to criticize the destruction of unique communities of successive vegetation as early as 1964, as well as restriction on recreation access to the Havel in 1969 (Lachmund idb). Sukopp explicitly articulated a view of the city as an object of ecological research with cross-sections showing "modifications of the biosphere in the metropolis" in 1968. Initially, this research was undertaken in the agriculture department of the Technical University of Berlin. However, reflecting Buchwald's influence, in 1970 the department was dissolved and replaced by one specifically oriented towards landscape and environmental planning. The pedagogical approach included multidisciplinary skills, such as economic and social analysis, that engaged in new teaching formats, such as problem-oriented projects closer to the design studio tradition, in addition to traditional seminars and lectures. An ecological *Großpraktikum* led by Herbet Sukopp required fieldwork in Berlin, providing an entry point for students to mobilize local ecological knowledge into the urban politics of the BI.

In 1973 the Institute of Ecology was created at the TU-Berlin, becoming what Latour calls a "center of calculation" in which observational circuits of fieldwork from various institutions and departments were integrated and coordinated. The institute was itself part of the *Fachbereich Landschaftsentwicklung* (Department of Landscape Development), and many of Sukopp's students were from planning rather than ecological fields. In addition to the Institute of Ecology, the Institute for City and Regional Planning, established in 1974, provided an array of technical expertise for an expanding public sector focused on urban environmental issues during the 1970s. This included Berlin's first State Commissioner for Nature Conservation and Landscape Management in 1975 (*Berliner Landesbeauftragten für Naturschutz und Landschaftspflege*). These institutions played important roles in planning another International Bau Austellung - 1987, which began in 1979 and is discussed in more detail below. That year also saw the beginning of the SDP and FDP coalition beginning preparation for the city-wide Landscape Program, underpinned by the 1979 Berlin Nature Conservation Act, which created 39 administrative positions in the city government largely drawn from the ranks of the TU. In 1981 landscape planners were moved from the Department for Construction and Housing to the new Department for Urban Development and Environmental Protection (hereafter SenStadtUm), the main agency that would administer public space development following unification and into the 21st century. The SenStadtUm was complemented by the Berlin Stiftung Naturschutz (Berlin Nature Protection Institute), which it founded in 1981 to promote awareness of environmental problems, including a monthly journal *Grunstift* for nature conservation and environmental policy focused on Berlin (Lachmund idb).

While the landscape programs expanded in the late 1960s and early 1970s in relation to projected demand driven by reconstruction efforts, expansion began to slow by the middle of the decade. Continual capital flight, along with the 1973 Oil Crisis, devastated the West German economy and inflation reached record high levels in 1974, by which time the 1950s era subsidies came to make up half the city's budget (Pugh idb.). Even though city policy shifted to a modernization program of renovating existing housing stock rather than the demolition-heavy urban renewal of the late sixties, the arrangement between large firms and the government continued. Moreover, the new policy did little to ameliorate housing prices as renovation of the inner-city *Mietskaserne* often entailed demolishing the inner portions of the housing blocks and retaining only the street-facing perimeter, adding to housing scarcity. The cozy relationship between private developers and the state came to a head with particularly notorious scandals, such as the Garski Affair and the Steglitzer Kreisel, in which architect-developers of large scale commercial projects defaulted on loans of hundreds of millions of Deutsch Marks. As the number of unoccupied buildings rose, so did unemployment follow the 1973 economic crisis. By 1982 there were nearly 10,000 vacant housing units and 70,000 housing applications with the housing authority, and the

"Berlin line" enacted by newly elected CDU Mayor Hans-Jochen Vogel permitted the forcible eviction of squatters if done within 24 hours of occupation, increasing the number of clashes with police.

As graduates began to exceed the number of jobs available during the 1970s, a population of unemployed professionals who could turn their energies toward neighborhood politics in the *Alternative Szene* expanded. The following two sections examine the ways this coalition of ecological, urban researchers, and *Bürgerinitativen* produced a series of counter-proposals that would form the basis for 21st century public spaces in Berlin. These proposals and counter-proposals were generated in the rubric of larger projects. The first counter proposal concerns the 1985 *Bundesgartenschau*, which was announced in 1979, and was produced by a TU-working group rather than the BIW, it was featured prominently in their signature publication, *Blackbook of Transportation.* The second examines this book and other design documents produced by the *Bürgerinitiative West-Tangente,* tracing the evolution of counterproposals first to the highway itself, and then for plans for the *Zentraler Bereich* (Central Area) that surrounded the *Kulturforum*, produced in tandem with the 1985-87 *International Bau Austellung* (IBA-1987).

The *Bürgerinitiative Westtangente* and *Grün Tangente für Berlin*

The origins of proposals for nature parks in the Tempelhof Railyard, at Süd Gelände and Gleisdreieck, can be traced to alternative design proposals generated within BIW publications. Among the first manifestations of the influence of urban ecology and the new environmentalist *Bürgerbewegung* spirit among landscape practitioners was the 1974 Lenné Prize for landscape architecture students, in which members of the newly founded BIW won 1st and 2nd place. The competition briefly stipulated the design of a clover leaf for the *West Tangente*, which, in some sense, already reflected an evolution in itself as the prize moved away from briefs for gardens for mass housing landscapes in the 1960s. First place in the 1974 clover leaf design went to BIW member Michael Kretschmer; who identified Schoneberg as the political center of West-Berlin as well as the existing fabric of the historical working-class neighborhood. However, perhaps the most important publication for the BIW was the 1976 *Schwarzbuch zur Verkehrsplanung* (*Black Book of Transportation Planning,* hereafter *Black Book*) selling a total of 6,000 copies, with a first run of 2,000 that sold out in two weeks (BIW). The *Black Book's* nation-wide and even international reach contributed to making the BIW the foremost transportation BI in West Germany, putting it in a position to form the nation-wide Transportation Working group with the BBU, the umbrella group with close ties to the FDP-led Interior Ministry discussed earlier.

Collectively written by 40 members of the group, mostly in evenings and during free-time as a voluntary communal activity, *Black Book* presents itself as essentially a "100 something page brochure." The book has a DIY "zine quality," contrasting sharply with the official public communications documents produced by the city to present the highway to the public during this time. Nevertheless, the BIW zine aesthetic uses a data-driven critique of automobile-centered urban development. Sociological and environmental analysis, combined with cultural criticisms communicated through agit-prop illustrations and photographs, show the impact of a mass-automobile market on the urban fabric. Seeking to catalyze broader social change, they attempt to enlarge the scope and influence beyond their neighborhood, insisting "transportation planning, city planning, and environmental protection cannot be separated and should be treated as a unity." Rather than move the autobahn elsewhere, they are clear that the "autobahn is a symptom of the fundamental problem of the urban and transportation planning that we want to change… we do not have the alternative, but we propose a bundle of measures, which together can be an alternative. We

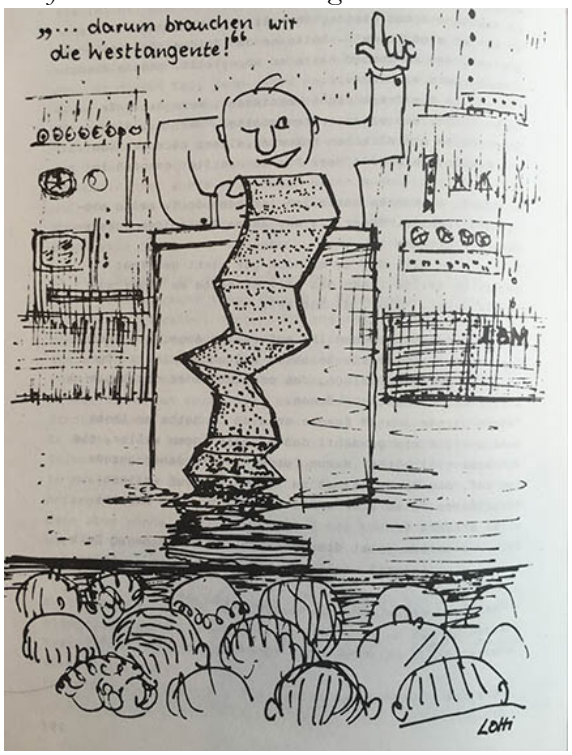
also do not want and cannot take away the planning of alternatives from the administration" (Westtangente 1976)

Black Book mobilizes sociological and ecological research to bolster its counter-claims by including air and noise pollution statistics as well as the discrepancies between affluent areas in the southwest and inner areas slated for highway construction, specifically noting the playgrounds, schools, and hospitals adjacent to the planned route. Building on the criticism of demolition-driven development practices, it reveals disparities between housing relocation costs provided by the city and actual housing costs, and provides arguments for the preservation of pre-war structures on historical grounds, which reference the 1975 European Denkmalschutz Jahr. They indicate that the street plan was developed in the post war period for the entire city with a population of 5 million, ignoring the political reality of a divided city with less than half the population. Showing the influence of Sukopp's ecological analysis of the urban fabric, diagrams visually communicate the relationship between urban canopy and the urban heat island effect, showing air circulation between greenspaces and the dense urban fabric of the Mietskaserne. These depictions of Berlin's urban ecology are accompanied by anti-automobile arguments, pointing to the disproportionate allocation of space for automobiles in relation to non-drivers, statistics on auto-causalities, as well as criticism of automobile material lifecycles (tires, junkyards, etc) and roadkill (300,000 animals killed a year in West Germany).

Figure 10: Landscape as Sub-Culture, a cartoon from BIW's Blackbook

Figure 11: "Stop the West Tangente" note broken-down tank in background.

Figure 12:" Bicyclists of All Types, Unite" Car sports anti-nuclear and pro-marijuana messages. (above) "….and therefore we need the West Tangent!"



The BIW criticizes politicians from both SPD and CDU for the lack of public information and outreach to impacted areas undertaken by implementing the 1960 land-use plans as well as through subsequent modifications. Moreover, in light of recent scandals involving political party

members and developers, the BIW identifies the construction and auto industries as having undue influence on urban policy. A framework for an alternative city planning procedure put forth by the Urban Quality Working Group, inspired by Horst Rittel's "*Zukunforienteierte Raumordnung*," (future oriented spatial planning) posits that the city is developing into a crisis requiring "holistic and concentrated structural changes to avoid catastrophe." As part of these structural changes, the BI suggests the transportation sector shift towards the expansion of public transit, fare-free access, and more bike lanes. In terms of spatial planning, they demand more green space, zeroing on a practical project at nearby Cherusker Park, with its 30-year-old emergent vegetation providing habitat within a 20-minute walking distance of 10,000 people. The demands were concluded by announcing an open call for the designs for Cherusker Park for all citizens, accompanied by a citizen survey to inform design decisions.

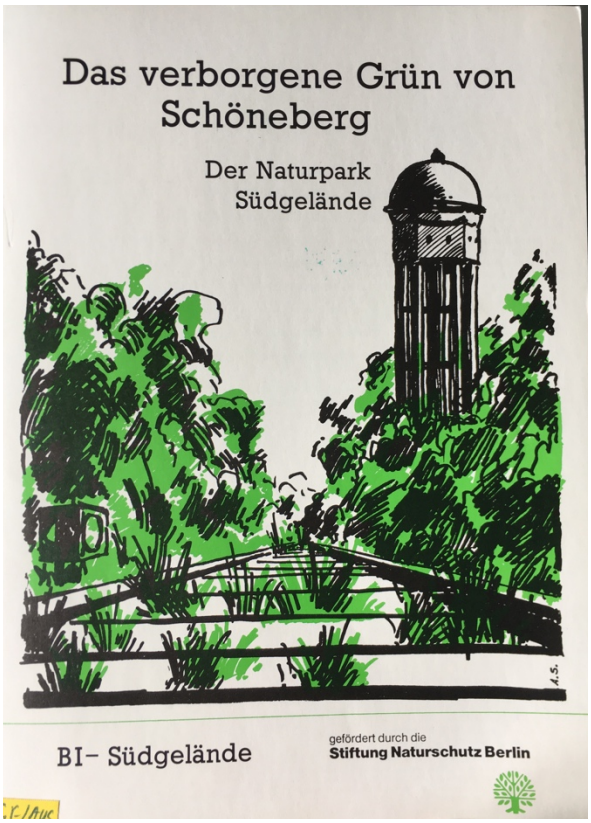
Perhaps the most important design proposal resulting from *Black Book* is only made obliquely, as part of the atlas-like overview of the proposed highway project. Here, plans and sections of key portions of the highway are presented, beginning in the south at Schoneberg, moving through the Tiergarten and into the Wedding district where it would connect to the northwest section of the ring road. This overview features alternative proposals; showing how overgrown sides of the train tracks in Schoneberg are not currently "usable green areas" but could be transformed into "multi-use infrastructure" by adding access points along with walking and bike paths. This proposal for the Schoneberg train tracks would become the "grun-tangente" concept of greenways running throughout Berlin that would in turn become a defining rallying point for the group over the next decades. In the Tiergarten, the book presents concerns about tunneling, citing the hazards of the low ground water level, as well as the destruction of monuments and goldfish ponds caused by construction, which would come to play a major role in the battle over the redevelopment of Potsdamer Platz in the 1990s.

The *Grün Tangent* concept becomes more fully developed in a 1982 booklet, *Grün Tangent Für Berlin*. Conceptually, this book draws on Haußerman's historical-technological understanding of Berlin in relation to rail infrastructure featured in *Black Book* by mobilizing the symbolic potency of Germany's railways to frame the question of urban reconstruction as a political-moral issue. The goal is the design of new living conditions, unhindered assembly, and movement in anxiety free-space in healthy and livable surroundings. Towards these ends, the *Grün Tangent* concept is articulated through the use of science fiction comics, showing monkeys and "other lifeforms" in the Tiergarten in the year 1994 where the Kulturforum and *Staatsbibliothek* is surrounded by jungle-like wilderness. The green ways would run through central Berlin roughly along the path of the West Tangent and what would have been freeway access for Sharoun's Kulturforum according to the 1956 plans.

By the early 1980s, the AL bolstered by unification with the Green party, achieved a 5 percent standing and managed to force the FDP to abandone its support for the autobahn. While the state level SPD continued to support the autobahn, the issue split the party in terms of potential coalition partners with FDP (anti) - CDU (pro). The 1980 election resulted in an anti-*autobahn* SPD/FDP coalition under Mayor J. Vogel, shifting emphasis for alternative transportation, though an outer portion would continue as planned through the Tegel forest northwest of the ring. While the highway had fallen out of favor with the ruling coalition, the re-activation of the rail yard began to move more rapidly in the 1980s after a decade of negotiations between the east and west national rail authorities. The BIW shifted priorities as the urban freeway was effectively scrapped and a reactivation of rail traffic became immanent. On one front, members battled for protection for specific greenspaces, forming place-specific Bürgerinitativen along the Green Tangent route. On a broader scale, the BIW and the nation-wide transportation working group advocated for broader changes in infrastructure planning, arguing for an alternative rail network structure. While campaigns

increasingly occurred under the silos of different organizations, they were closely linked, since the fate of the specific park spaces would rest on the regional realignment and modernization of the region's rail and air travel network.

On the local level, activists founded the BI *Naturpark Schöneberger Sud-Gelände* in October of 1980 in reaction to the declaration by *Bausenator* Ristock of plans to clear the area and reactivate it as a rail corridor. Actions included a 1981 photo exhibit on the "Hidden Green of Schöneberg," and the "sensational results" of a TU survey, as part of preparations for the city's Landscape Program, revealed the area to contain amongst the highest biodiversity in Berlin was spread in the newspapers. A second study the following year focused on the areas contributions to climate and air quality, helping to galvanize wider actions, bike protests, street parties, and further photo exhibits. A wider image of urban wilderness, both aesthetic and scientific, bolstered a case for the conservation of the railyard as an urban nature park in the 1985 booklet, "The Hidden Green of Schöneberg." However, by this time many former opponents of the highway participating in the public urban discourse of the IBA came to favor an urbanistic development of the land, conceiving it as the *Zenteraler Bereich* or central zone.



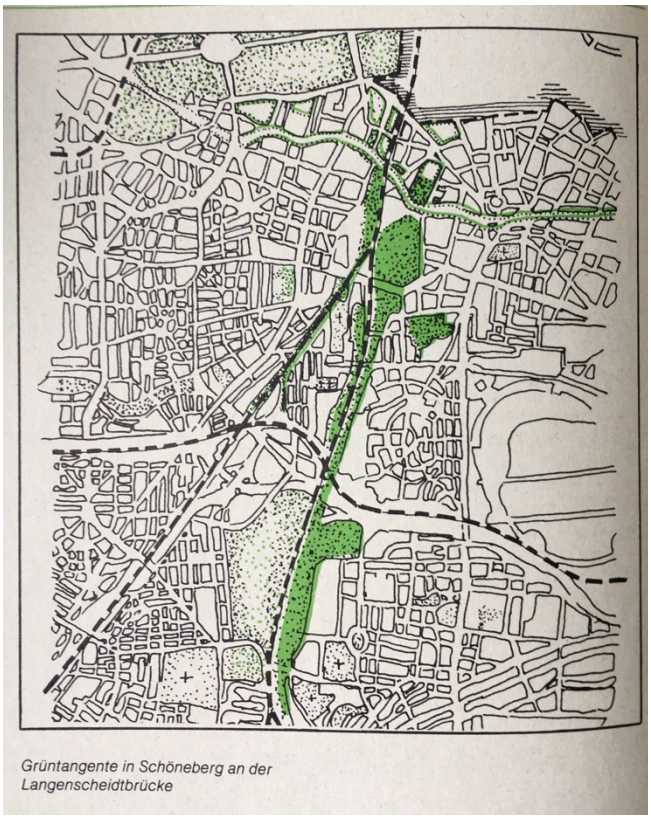


Figure 13: Images from"The Hidden Green of Schöneberg," showing southern leg of the grün Tangent. Note Tempelhof on right side of plan.

A New Political Landscape, a New Landscape Politics: the IBA-1987 and the Historikersstreit

The conflicting visions of the urbanistic *Zenteraler Bereich* and the ecological *Grün Mitte* from erstwhile anti-highway allies reflects broader social and political changes underway in the 1980s. Namely, Helmut Kohl was elected as Chancellor in 1982, seeking to assert the "normality of bourgeois life" over Berlin's unruly *Alternative* Szene, reinforcing the election of the first post-war CDU Mayor of West Berlin in 1981. This conservative political turn was accompanied by a broader public intellectual debate known as the *Historikersstreit* (historian's quarrel), a post-modern right wing backlash against the perceived institutionalization of a "*68er"* political correctness including perpetual German guilt, the view of the Federal Republic as essentially a continuation of the Nazi regime, and an acceptance of the partition of Germany (Habermas 2018). It aimed to "demystify Nazism" through a comparative historical understanding relative to other atrocities, including the suffering of Germans during and after WWII (Eley 1988; Evans 1987; Puhle 1987). Moreover, in reclaiming German identity, it rebuked post-war Americanization and the corroding effects of multi-culturalism, arguing for a return to geopolitical maneuvering with Germany exerting power over a *Mitteleuropa Großraum*, which could counter Anglo-Saxon hegemony and Slavic incursion (Heilbrunn 1996; Mingus 2017).

While these ideas initially existed in a "grey zone" between mainstream CDU politics and the more extremist far right, it foreshadowed the rise of the Alternative für Deutschland three decades later (with many of the same actors) and had a clear impact on the Kohl administration. Among the most well-known examples of this approach is the arranging of Ronald Reagan's visit to the graves of SS soldiers in Bitburg. Kohl's policy of *Vergangenheitsbewaltigung,* or *working-through of the past,* involved a dual approach of decoupling the Nazi past and the BRD through renewed efforts at memorializing victims of the Third Reich, while also associating the idea of "authoritarianism," and therefore Fascism, with the East German regime. The landscape of the city played an important role in this strategy as history, nature, and citizenship were reconstituted at memorializations, such as the Topography of Terror, which served to distance the BRD from the Nazi regime while also implicitly casting the DDR as insufficiently culpable (Ladd 2008; Pugh 2014).[17]

In this context of renewed historical debate, plans developed for Berlin's 750th anniversary Jubilee and a 1987 IBA. Like the 1956 IBA-Interbau before it, the 1987 IBA constituted a watershed moment in the history of architecture and urban planning (Kleihues et al. 1986). This time, it reflected both a conservative political turn as well as the institutionalization of urban design and the mobilization of social, cultural, and psychological aspects into the production of urban space or *Stadtbild* (literally: image of the city). The reassertion of German identity took form in urban space through the post-modern concepts for the IBA, developed from mid-1970s critiques by architects, such as Kleihues and Siedler, who argued for "Berlin-typical forms" as a response to the identity crisis brought on by the scandals and botched urban renewal schemes (Pugh 2014). Rather than the administrative and cultural "*CityBand*" of the *Haupstadt Plan* inherited from the radical post-war Kollektiv plan, the IBA sought to reconceive of the inner city as a place for living, taking "*Innenstadt als Wohnort*" (Inner City as Place of Residency) as an organizing theme. In this way, the idea of an urbanistic *Zentral Bereich* emerged in opposition to the ecological-oriented vision of the *Grün Tangente* (Lachmund 2013). Finally, this revival of traditional urban form, or *Urban Baukunst*, occurred with the debuting of Europe's first local access network BERKOM, which installed a system of consoles around the city as virtual tour guides, BERLIN-INFO. This novel method of rendering urban space over a computer network correspond not only with the post-modern aesthetics of the urbanist revival, but also the underlying geopolitical dynamics of the Jubilee, which aimed to circumvent the

[17] The Topography of Terror is an outdoor exhibition and museum at the site of Gestapo and SS Headquarters near Potsdamer Platz.

East German state and forge connections directly with East Berliners through informal channels (Lemke, 1991, Pugh idb.).

Just as Kohl was able to mobilize critiques of Nazi Germany, accepting culpability as a means of advancing a conservative cultural turn, the IBA's turn towards the existing fabric of the inner city included the appropriation of alternative communities as evidence of West Berlin's democratic nature. The normalization of squats pitted different factions of the squatting movement against one another while "rehab squatting" in the large vacant Mietskaserne reinforced an image of Berlin's "traditional" role as a center for "openness and tolerance…a curiosity and willingness to accommodate, its ability to assimilate and integrate the new without robbing it of its uniqueness" (Vasudevan 2015). Through the IBA, the cinemas and cafes of the Alternative Szene were presented as a depoliticized "Kreuzberg Mix," advancing a post-modern notion of "critical reconstruction" that paralleled the development of New Urbanism in the US, which would later emerge as the dominant framework for the post-unification reconstruction.

However, despite an emerging split between the urbanist and ecological advocates over visions for the reconstruction of the central city, urban ecology did establish important footholds during this period. For example, as part of the "careful urban renewal," the *Altbau* section of the IBA primarily focused on architectural renovations of the Kreuzberg tenements and urban greening initiatives focused on the dreaded courtyard spaces of the *Mietskaserne*. This took the form of public engagement, workshops, and media campaigns presenting the collective environmental benefits of courtyard greening and encouraging tenement renters to support and participate. Documentation of these efforts, published as *Grün Gegen Grau,* (Green against Gray) is part guidebook and part quasi-ethnography (Heinze et al. 1987). This included analysis of *Mietskaserne* building structure, along with a suite of interventions based on typologies and typical characteristics rather than a standard form. The alternative documents studied here also included the first instances of cultural difference as design criteria, with images of Turkish residents drying sheep wool, play space for children, urban chickens, and general images of community building in Kreuzberg.

Aspects of this approach to urban ecology as public engagement were also evident at the 1985 Garden Exhibition, which included an "emergent vegetation" section. Attempting to build what Gandy calls a "scientifically-enriched public culture" through the design of public space, a "Nature in the City" exhibit sought to instill in visitors the value of the biodiversity that existed in liminal spaces around the city, such as along the 19th century waterways, train tracks, and rubble-strewn vacant lots (Gandy 2013). This took the form of swaths of land cleared at five and two year intervals prior, accompanied by promotional literature encouraging the cultivation of spontaneous vegetation beyond the confines of the park rather than manicured lawns. (Sukopp and Launhardt 1985). Like the IBA campaign to mobilize residents of tenements to maintain gardens, this strategy intentionally contrasted with the heroic modernism that characterized the 1956 IBA and foreshadows the theme of volunteerism that would re-emerge as a central feature of the conversion of Tempelhof to a public park space in the 21st century.

From Grüne Mitte to Grün Berlin

Like the IBA, the 750th Anniversary Jubilee worked to respond to critiques for urban protest movements while reviving historical aspects of the urban landscape to combat images of Berlin as an inhospitable modern city, furnishing an image of Berlin as a *Kulturmetropol* attractive to international tourism and investment (Pugh, idb, (Thijs 2008). Like Kohl's strategy *Vergangenheitsbewaltigung*, this entailed the production of historical narratives about Berlin as the "spiritual-cultural home of the German nation," including a history of technological innovation, reconstituting sites like Tempelhof and the surrounding declining industrial landscapes as sites of potential investment. Indeed, these

narratives presented in *Der Traum von Fliegen,* an exhibition and book by the Tempelhof District authorities for the Jubilee, would be used following unification. Not only would they be used by proponents arguing for Tempelhof's conservation on cultural-historical grounds, but also by local authorities as part of efforts to solicit investment following the lifting of bans on defense industry research and manufacturing in the city. A particularly salient convergence in this reconstitution of history and German identity, urban entrepreneurialism, and landscape ecology is evidenced in plans for the German Museum of Technology, foreshadowing the reconstruction of the city that would begin a few years later.

A transportation museum had long existed in the last remaining "first generation" train station, the Hamburger Bahnhof, instituted in 1878 following the unification of the German Empire and several expansions and modernizations of the rail system and Berlin's train stations. Leading up to the 1987 festivities, the Transportation Museum was reconceived as the German Museum of Technology, part of the *Vergangenheitsbewaltigung* strategy that produced a slate of new museums in West Berlin and Bonn. Situated at the Gleisdreieck in the abandoned freight station at the northern end of the Temeplhof railyard, the landscape of overgrown spontaneous vegetation played an important role as an "exciting venue for the debate between nature and technology" (Berlin 1983) illustrating the relationship between nature and technology in a dialectic of natural accidents and civilizational necessity (Milchert 1988). The impetus to preserve this landscape of ruderal vegetation and technical artifacts comes from evaluations undertaken by TU researchers (Kowarik 1995). The decaying prewar technical objects overgrown with "thirty years of undisturbed vegetation" were institutionalized as a *Museumspark* through a series of minimal interventions, such as fencing, pathways, and didactic signage explaining the technological ruins and ecological processes.

In this regard, the Technical Museum served both as a general template for a vision of urban development that fused urban history, ecology, and technological innovation, as well as a concrete step towards the long neglected development of the ruined landscape extending along the rail corridor (Sukopp and others 1982). Leading up to the IBA, studies of the rail corridor by TU researchers, from both the Ecology and Urban Planning institutes, drew on historical research seeking precedents in the intentions of Lenné, Hobrecht, and Speer in order to petition for protected status for the urban wilderness *Stadtlandschaft* - a notable turn in the meaning of the word from the post-war concept associated with a revolutionary break from the past.[18] However, as mentioned previously, the outcomes of the TU reports diverge on key aspects of their vision for the *Zentralen Bereich*. Namely, the ISR researchers, led by Hans Stimman, envisioned the *Zentralen Bereich* as a means to repair the damaged urban fabric, evoking the image of the flaneur, with the West Tangent reconceived as a parkway or Stadt-Boulevard that could connect the Technology Museum with the existing Kulturforum.

In contrast, the Institute for Ecology recommended a *Grün Mitte* concept for the *Zentraler Bereich*, an ecologically-focused plan evocative of the BIW's *Grün Tangente* proposal. The *Grün Mitte* concept encouraged plantings in certain zones, recreational programming in others, and nature conservation measures in areas with a particularly valuable species composition, specifically areas around Gleisdreieck. Evocative of visions for the Sud-Gelände and the emergent vegetation section of the BUGA-1985, proponents of the *Grüne Mitte* plan envisioned the Gleisdreick as a "new garden type" made up of unordered, "self-caring plants." Like the 1985 garden show, this new type of garden demanded understanding from citizens developed through a variety of media including

[18] In addition to the cultural analysis, Sukopp's report surveys a few of the small businesses in the area, some of which are identified as "squatter type." These added to the *Stadtlandschaft* ambiance, although little appeared to be done in the way of preventing their relocation to the *Sudkreuz* station.

environmental graphics, media, and pedagogy[19]. However, more so than the BIW proposal for *Grün Tangente*, early versions of the *Grüne Mitte* concept do emphasize an urban design perspective reflective of a turn towards traditional urban forms, seeking to combine aspects of wilderness with urbanity, along with the metaphor of building a new life out of the ruins of a previous civilization. In addition to the ecologically determined partitions, plans called for leaving space for residents to build a "natural adventure playground" in the Gleisdreieck (Milchert 1988), which would become an important design feature of these spaces in the 21st century.

Despite a subtly different ideological framing and a different name, the *Grüne Mitte* concept was enthusiastically supported by the BIW. The *Alternativ Liste* hosted an exhibition on the plans in the Schoneberg Rathaus in the Spring of 1986, and when the AL swept into power in 1989 with the "Red-Green" coalition, *Grüne Mitte* became adopted as official policy for the Zentraler Bereich. The new urban wilderness landscape plan would be enacted as part of a 1995 garden exhibition, which was kicked off by the planning team with a design competition and public forum for the design of a nature park at the Gleisdreieck, entitled, *Gleisdreick Morgen: Sechs Ideens Für einen Park* (Göhler 1991). In the meantime, activists made headway petitioning for a nature park at the Süd-Gelände in collaboration with existing *Bürgerinitaitven*, and AL began developing a regional greenbelt masterplan that would interface with the urban network. In all, 23 million DM would be spent on the *Grün Mitte* BUGA until it was canceled in August 1991 following the opening of the border. Disputes between the AL and the SPD as social democrats moved to unilaterally clear squatters from newly vacated buildings in inner-city of East Berlin, leading to an urban-growth coalition headed by the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). Planning for the BUGA was soon scrapped for more ambitious attempts to solicit the summer Olympics and to rebuild the center city area where the Berlin Wall had once run with corporate headquarters and as the new German capital (Strom 2001; Krätke and Borst 2013). The ecological planning apparatus established by the AI to develop this area for the 1995 IGA was remade as Grün Berlin GmbH, a state-funded non-profit that would manage the development and maintenance of open spaces (and eventually new bike lanes and tourist wayfinding signage) in the newly unified city.

Landscape architects and planners working for Grün Berlin GmbH in the early 1990s were forced to advocate for their profession and ecological green spaces by providing better, faster, and with more effective engagement with the public than traditional state mechanisms (Liebold and Liebold 1991). A niche emerged as administrative boundaries in Berlin and Brandenburg were reconceived, and demands for increased public engagement on large scale projects exceeded the capacities of the *Bezerk* or district-level authorities that typically handled parks, public space, and urban landscape projects. Framing urban greening as a key part of economic integration for the new eastern states, Grün Berlin planners tapped into a tendency within the urban-environmental movement that saw technological development as an instrument of environmental politics, with the landscape itself a key part of an ecologically-oriented market economy (Franzky 1989). Among the first major convergences of ecological aesthetics and technological innovation-driven urban development manifested in the redevelopment of the former East German Academy of Sciences and German Broadcasting Station at Adlershof-Johanisthall Airfield as the Adlershof Science and Business Park, the dynamics of which have been detailed extensively (Swyngedouw, Moulaert, and Rodriguez 2002; Dümpelmann 2014; Salet 2008; Krätke 2012; Häußermann and Simons 2003). However, the basis for this strategy can be traced back at least to the mid 1980s and the AL political platform itself. For example, the Aspen Institute in Berlin recommended a host of measures to

[19] Quote from: Edvard Jahn "Konzepte zur räumlichen Ordnung" Die Räumliche Ordnung des Zentralen Bereichs: Entwicklungsgrundlagen und Konzepte (SenStadtUm 1985)

increase Berlin's economic competitiveness, including ending state-subsidies for industry, and leveraging the cosmopolitan character of the city, of which the *Alternativ Szene* contributed as well as the substantial urban green spaces, as a means of attracting high skilled workers and entrepreneurs and building an "ecologically oriented market economy" (Report from Aspen Institute Berlin 1984).

Chapter 4: Making Tempelhof a Park

The symbolically loaded landscapes of Berlin have long served as case studies for examining the relationship between politics and design (Ladd 2008). The succession of proposals for Tempelhof Airfield, "perhaps the single most important airport in the history of aviation"(Pearman 2004) constitutes a unique case. This chapter examines competing political claims made in primary source design documents as well as their analysis in secondary source literatures, revealing the shifting role of design in urban politics at the turn of the 21st century. This begins with the first post-war designs for a public park on the field, counter-proposals made as part of a broader urban environmental citizen's movement that developed in the 1970s and wielded design as a form of social critique. It then discusses post-Cold War redevelopment plans in the 1990s as a Christian-Democratic Union (CDU) government attempted to remake the unified Berlin into a "global city," where design was mobilized to present an image of liberal democracy appropriate to 21st century Germany. A final phase begins at the end of the 2000s, when the planning process itself becomes subject to design, conceived as the *Tempelhofer Freiheit* (Tempelhof Freedom) brand or trademark that corresponds to a shift towards "creative cities" urban development strategies. The paper then reflects on the high-profile referendum of 2014, which annulled over two decades of planning and schematic design, presenting the ensuing public engagement process for a crowd-sourced designed airfield before considering the current use of the site as an impromptu public park and refugee processing center.

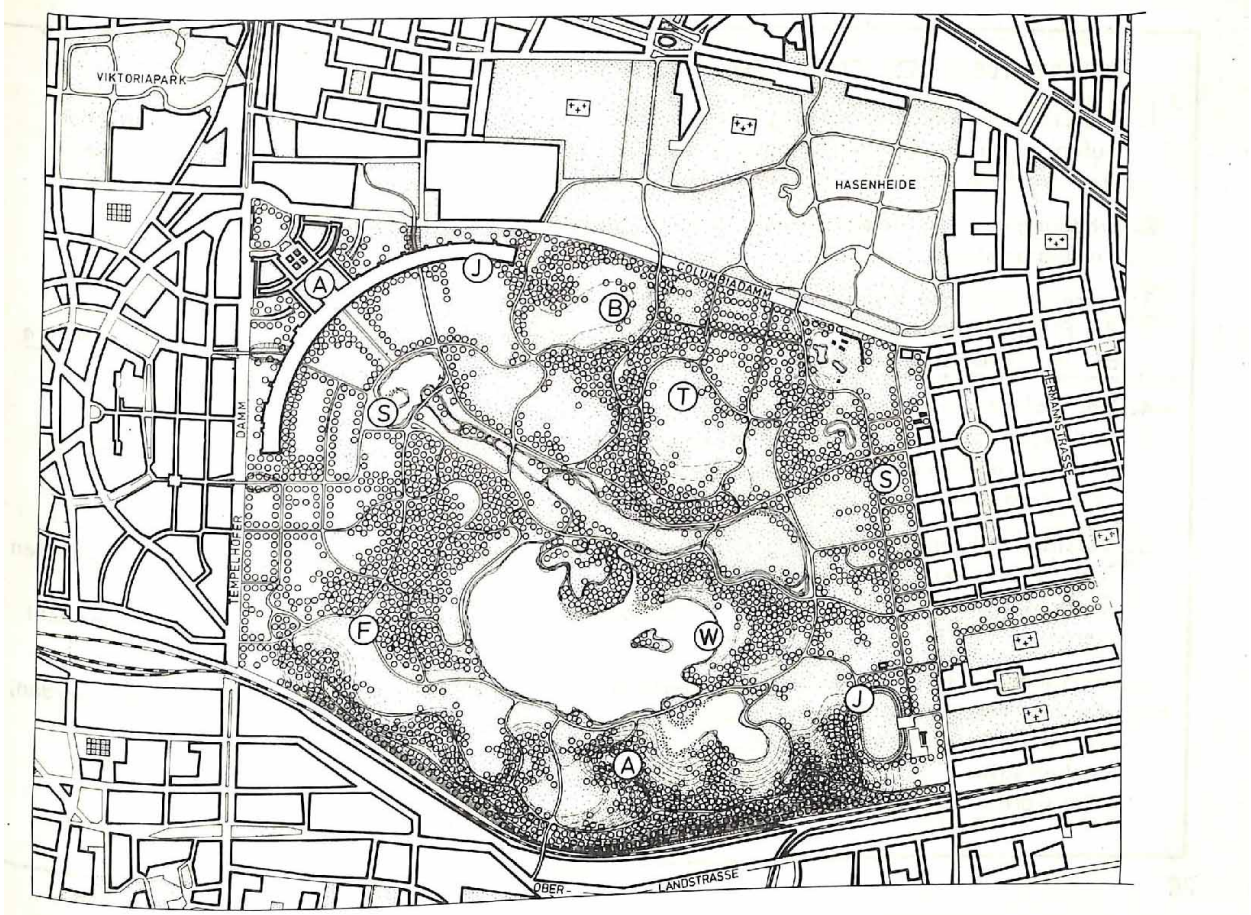


Figure 14: Proposal for THF as park space presented in "We Need Central Park Tempelhof" (1975) by the Projekt Tempelhof at TU Berlin.

While the first post-war plans for establishing a park space at Tempelhof had little formal impact on the evolution of designs in the 1990s and 2000s, they nevertheless reveal an evolving relationship between design and politics that would set the stage for the later transformation of the park. As discussed in the previous chapter, they resulted from institutional restructuring at universities with the rise of Buchwald's *Landespflege*, where a "science shop" arrangement turned attention to urban politics (Leydesdorff and Ward 2005). What became known as the Berlin School of Urban Ecology advocated for nature conservation of human impacted ecosystems in West Berlin's urban environments (Lachmund 2013). Accordingly, these first plans were produced by the *Projekt Tempelhof* research group from the Technical University of Berlin; a critique of the city's plan for a park at the southern edge of Neukölln in anticipation of the 1985 Bundesgartenschau (BUGA), which would serve as a vehicle for development that would also provide a permanent recreation area. Reflecting the increased importance of recreation planning developed in the late 1950s and 1960s described in previous chapters, the city's proposal shows how the southeast region, home to nearly a third of West Berliners with a population of around 600,000, had drastically lower levels of forest, park, and water areas in addition to being the most isolated part of West Berlin from traditional recreation areas such as the Havel, Wannsee, Grunewald, and the Tiergarten. The pamphlet identified a location for a new park in the southeast region at a location on the periphery of the city on Massiner Weg, an area then being used as a garden colony and for agriculture. As in

the tradition of the post-war Bundesgartenschau, the exhibition would provide the basis for the development of the site into a permanent recreation area. In an attempt to solicit citizen input in preparation for the design competition for the space, the last page of the pamphlet includes a postcard in which readers are instructed to select their favorite four items from a list of twenty options of preferred recreational and leisure time activities, ranging from finding relief from the summer heat, observing vegetation and landscape, to encountering conversation partners and reading a book.

The TU Berlin group published the plans in their own pamphlet, "We Need Central Park Tempelhof," though the plans likely received more attention from the 1976 *Blackbook of Transportation Planning* published by the Bürgerinitiative West-Tangente (BIW). In this respect, these early plans for Tempelhof reflect the cross-over between the university and an emerging Bürgerinitiative or Citizen's movements. *Projekt Tempelhof* critiqued the limited participation options as well as the location identified by unnamed experts and through unnamed methods. The university team countered with more in depth statistics about the distribution of park space and emotive photos of dreary landscapes of the tenements, which was closer to the pathological 19th century image than the gentrified ideal of the 1987 IBA. The counter proposal is also notable for its early acknowledgement of demographic change underway in the area. After the economic downturn in the early 1970s, the government canceled guest worker treaties, but the Turkish population actually increased after 1973. Many guest workers rejected repatriation payments, instead preferring to stay in Germany and arranged to bring family members from Turkey and move permanently into ethnic enclaves across the country, with Neukölln with among the most prominent examples (Herbert 1990). These areas have come to be intense sites of political contestation in German society, lightning rods for broader national debates about identity and integration. However, in contrast to the influence of these debates on subsequent park proposals and designs, the Central Park Tempelhof study merely identified these areas as containing twice as many foreigners as in the rest of city. Most notably, the plan ignored the historic Sehitlik Mosque and graveyard, enveloping it in the forest that spreads across the rest of the field. Rather than as a metric for culturally-specific design criteria (in fact no specific ethnicities were mentioned), foreign nationality was simply another metric of social marginalization, along with higher rates of high school dropout and the disproportionate distribution of green spaces

The design also features a noticeable lack of ecological analysis likely because Tempelhof was still an active military base. Due to this lack of analysis, it was prevented from being constructed construed? as nature as it came to be in the 21st century and in proposals for urban nature parks in the Gleisdreieck and Naturpark Sud Gelande that emerged later in the 1970s and 80s. However, reflecting the unique condition of West Berlin as a "walled city," the proposed design features would recreate the experience of being in the idealized landscapes of the Brandenburg countryside: a pastiche of meadows, hills, and a lake. Additional amenities presented in the proposal included more structured pedagogical, athletic, and cultural programs occurring around a central lake "for swimming, fishing, sitting and people-watching." Like more contemporary design proposals, these descriptions of traditional outdoor activities were presented with paintings by Hans Baluschek, the turn of the century Berlin Secession movement artist who documented working class life in the area, including images of Tempelhofer field as an informal park and recreational space. In sum, *We Need the Central Park Tempelhof* uses a counter-proposal to the BUGA 1985 as an opportunity to present a larger political critique. "*Lebenswerter Umweltbedinungen*" (livable environmental conditions) were identified as one of the most essential duties of urban politics, and the State Senate was criticized for controversial "mammoth construction projects" such as the Kongresszentrum, Polizeipradidium, and the Osttangente highway. Ending with specific criticism of developer-architects, such as Kressman-Zschachs and Moschs as the few beneficiaries of new urban development, the pamphlet

concluded with a call to action for citizens in the workplace, bars, sports clubs, parties, and unions to work together for better living conditions: "use every opportunity to use every democratic means!"

From Flughafenstadt to Park der Luftbrücke: Developing Tempelhof's Schematic Design and Land-Use Masterplan under the Christian Democratic Union 1990-2001

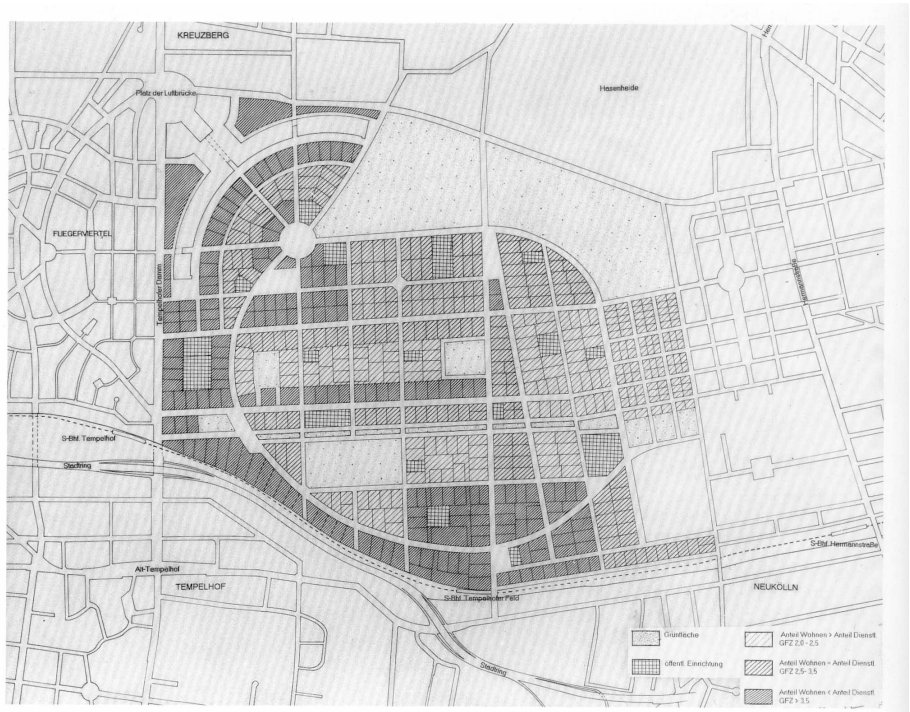


Figure 15 Hoffman-Axthelm and Strecker 1991 Plan for housing 40,000 at Flughafenstadt

Following unification in 1990, debates raged over the future form of the city as massive swaths of the city, including large housing estates, were privatized. Key interrelated issues were the reconstruction of the center city or *Zentraler Bereich*, including the Potsdamer Platz business district and the Government District, the location of a central train station and configuration of the unified rail network, and the new Berlin-Brandenburg Airport. These "mega-projects," paired with the frenzy of development, eventually necessitated a new planning apparatus with Hans Stimman of the 1987 IBA appointed to oversee the development of the city from the new Building Director position. Perceived as heavy handed and stylistically conservative, some allowed that he serve as a moderating force against the worst excesses of speculation through his *Planwerk Innenstadt*, a roughly central city area (Tzortzis 2006; Strom 2001).

The first proposal for Tempelhof was developed in the frenzied years before this new planning apparatus. Senator for Building and Housing, Hanno Klein, also responsible for overseeing the integration of East German housing into the market, commissioned a preliminary concept design study of Tempelhof produced by consultants Hoffman-Axthelm and Bernhard Strecker, who formed the Plannungsgruppe Urbane Baukunst. Anticipating the population increasing to 5 million by 2010, the Hoffman-Axthelm and Strecker proposal included 40,000 housing units for 120,000 residents for the "necessary growth" of the city, which would be served by a new S-Bahn station on

the southside field (Meuser 2000). Before the report was complete, Klein was assassinated. Barely two months earlier, the Federal *Treuhand* administer charged with privatizing East German state property, Detlev Rohwedder was also assissinated, one of the last actions of the Red Army Faction before dissolving via fax. In this regard, like the 1978 park proposal, Tempelhof as *Flughafenstadt* reflects a "dead-end" in the design genealogy but is still worth considering as a means of expanding the frame of possibilities for the site.

Showing the influence of *Urbane Baukunst* inherited from the 1987 IBA, the logic of the scheme hinged on bridging the urban void through an extension and amplification of existing urban patterns. However, in contrast to other major "urban repair" surveys undertaken during this time, such as Potsdamer Platz and Alexander Platz, Tempelhof Field had always been an open space with no historical urban form to return to. Instead, the primary design cues were taken from surrounding urban fabric, the airport building form, and the air-strip taxi-ways. Primary arteries and urban fabric from the Schillerkiez on the eastern Neukölln side extended across the field, while an arc produced by the wings of the airport hangers were offset over the tarmac as perimeter blocks, embedding the airport building into a dense urban grid. These concentric arcs met a ring road that roughly followed the former taxi ways, with part of the southern landing strip also converted to a boulevard. The Volkspark Hasenheide extended 50 hectares into the north portion of the field, framed as an "urban central park" in the *Urban Baukunst* style. However, following Klein's mysterious assassination, CDU Mayor Diepgen appointed Hans Stimman to his role as building director, reining more ambitious redevelopment aspirations such as those reflected in the Hoffman-Axthelm/Strecker plan. Instead, Stimman became famous for his heavy-handed enforcement of a historically inspired modest designs, known as "Critical Reconstruction," articulated through white papers prepared by like-minded experts.

In 1993, the airport building achieved historic preservation status, further complicating the *Flughafentstadt* concept and likely preventing an aggressive urban-adaptive re-use strategy of the Axthelm/Strecker plan with its buildings directly on the tarmac, abutting the historic hangars. Beyond the political change ushered in by Klein's assassination and Stimman's appointment, protests from the Neuköln Bezerik, as well as tempered growth projections for the city resulted in significant departures from the objective behind the Axthelm/Strecker plan. Planners scaled back density in a city-wide land use plan released in 1994, decreasing density from 120,000 to 17,000 residents and offices for 17,000 employees. Buildings were to be massed around a central green space of 170 hektar as well as two "sportparks." As a preliminary plan, the exact form of the building and landscape would be further developed in public competitions over the next ten years with the park and final buildings aiming for completion in 2009—fifteen years' time. Formal studies for this programming were produced by architects Hentrich Petschnigg und Partner (hereafter HPP), with landscape architects Seebauer, Weferes und Partner, between November 1993 and September 1994.

Reflective of the conceptual departure from the Hoffman-Axthelm/Strecker total build-out of the site, public presentation of the plans embraced the history and ecological features of the site. It also acknowledged Sagabeil's utopian vision in which "technological possibility and political ideology go hand in hand," and the use of Columbia House on the airport grounds as a concentration camp. Nevertheless, the pamphlet emphasized that the significance of the airport was not bound by its national socialist designs, but also embodied a meaning that sprung from its post-war use in the Berlin Airlift and as a symbol of the "Free West." In a nod to the citizen's initiatives in Neuköln organizing for the closure of the airfield, the pamphlet noted the unsuitability of Tempelhof to further expansion given spatial restrictions and the over one hundred thousand people subject to airplane noise at this location. Commercial air traffic had actually been expanding at Tempelhof with industry liberalization and the departure of the US Military in 1993. It became

particularly popular among a politically powerful block of business interests who were predisposed to value an inner-city airport, and this constituency would become increasingly vocal about the airports closure over the course of the 1990s.

In addition to the historical importance of the airfield as well as the case for closure, the public presentation of the plans communicated the expert design logic. In this way, this first framing of redevelopment plans for the public corresponded to the reduction of public participation to formal gestures by Stimman, a well-documented criticism (Swyngedouw, Moulaert, and Rodriguez 2002; Caygill 1997; Strom 2001). In this case, it entailed three simple massing diagrams. The first, "*Punktueller Stadtkörper*," massed buildings in four clusters around the cardinal vertices of the circular airfield that each abut distinct neighborhoods. The second, "Linear Urban Fabric" presented a linear mass of buildings roughly within the landing and take-off strips running east-west between Neukölln and Tempelhof districts, concentrating office and community facilities in the western portion as in other schemes. These two massing concepts were largely presented in contrast to the elliptical concept, which followed the arc of the airport's massive wings leaving the field open and placing new buildings on the periphery of the ellipse. This scheme extended existing fabric from two to six blocks onto the field, with circulation reprogrammed via three concentric boulevards and promenades that extended from the wings of the airport. The western edge along Tempelhofer Damm featured a high-density mix of commercial, office, and residential uses, while the south mirrored the light industry found along the ring infrastructure along with the "necessary" housing. In the east, the plan extended the fabric of the *Gründerzeit* Schiller Promenade onto the field and added two sports parks. In the north, large housing blocks along the Columbia Damm would have merged with the southern edge of Kreuzberg. The development would be accessed via a new S-Bahn station on the ring rail, as well as a tram running down the middle boulevard that would connect to the U-Bahn at Bodinstrasse in Neukölln and the older Tempelhof S+U Bahn Stations to the west. In addition to satisfying ambitions to functionally integrate the field into the surrounding urban fabric, the oval concept also preserved the unique character of the open field and historic building.

The uniqueness preserved by the ellipse concept can be understood in both ecological-climactic and aesthetic terms. In the case of the latter, an urban heat map showed the underlining positive effects of the huge open space terrain on climate, which embraced the more recent star-shaped regional plan developed by the *Alternative Liste* that show the airfield's relationship with other inner-city parks and peripheral greenways. It also referenced *We Need the Central Park Tempelhof* and the continuing disproportionate scarcity of open spaces and recreation areas, particularly in the surrounding districts of Kreuzberg, Neukölln and Tempelhof. In aesthetic terms, the rare open space in the middle of the city and the unobstructed view (freie Blick) over a long distance necessitated a careful consideration of further development. Maintaining the character and recognition of the unique open space drove the formal ellipse concept, striking the balance of underscoring a phenomenological uniqueness of the place while still satisfying the desired density

Figure 17 Massing Diagrams by HPP featured in Berlin Wird...(1994)

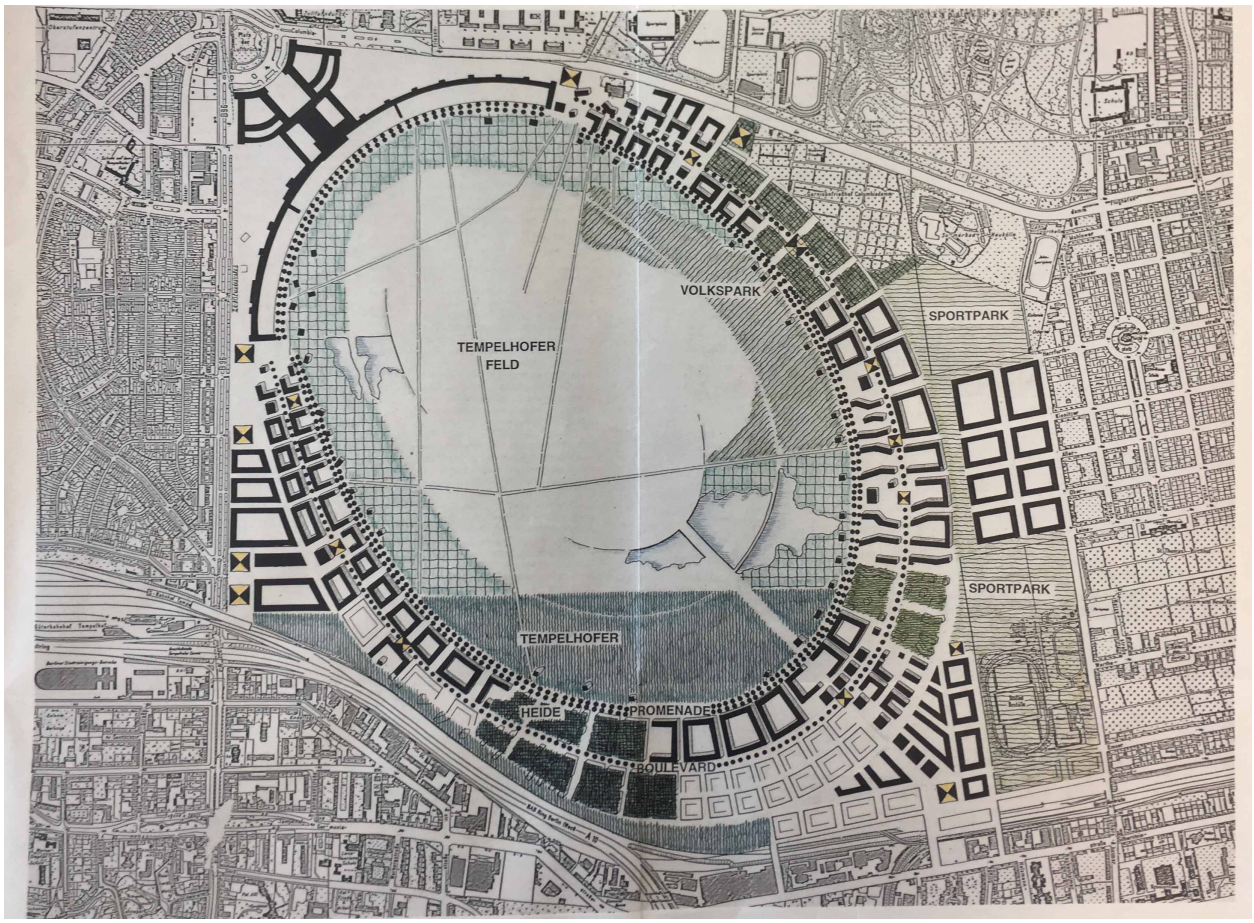


Figure 16: Elliptical Concept by HPP featured in Berlin Wird... (1994)

Figure 19: Counter concepts to the HPP ellipse generated in expert workshop (1995)

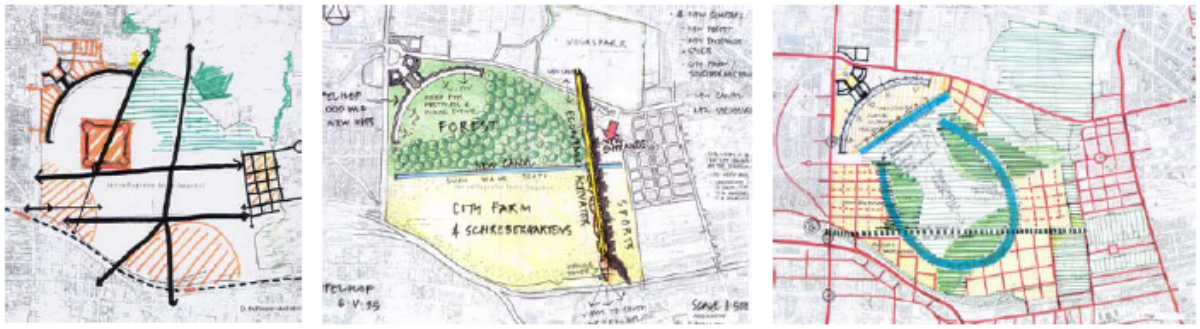


Figure 18 Keinast/Voigt Schematic Design (1998), basis for masterplan.

for the "inner growth" of the urban region. Following the image of New York City's central park, the density against the edge of the field was also presented as a way to form an "attractive contrast between the city and nature." In this scheme, the airport building, despite being constructed in an "ominous" time, was nonetheless a defining feature of the area.

The Weight of History Crushes the Void

Despite its design features, the ellipse concept's embellishment of THF's wings, extending Sagabiel architectural form around the airfield, proved to be too strong an aesthetic gesture. A subsequent expert panel convened in the next year, 1995, found the form to be "incompatible with democratic principles"[20](Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung 2009). The panel trained its focus on the "Nazi" character of the building, which critics sought to "civilize" by breaking up the elliptical extension of the monumental figure in a series of massing experiments (fig. 5) (Meuser 2000). In doing so, the expert panel simultaneously reconfirmed the status of Tempelhof as an icon, and the crucial role it played in the perception of the city as whole. To this end, the development was reconceived as "Parks der Luftbrüke" (Park of the Airlift), a nod to the Berlin Airlift and the reconstruction of the airport as a symbol of anti-communism and freedom, the appropriate character for the location as a 21st century "place" in a unified liberal democratic Germany.

A subsequent expert workshop in 1998, "Future Workshop Tempelhof," concretized this new form in designs by Kienast/Voigt Partner and Bernd Albers, which were adopted into the city's master plan. Essentially a return to the *Punktueller Stadtkörper* massing concept developed by HPP, the Kienast/Voigt plans attempted to reconcile the demands of preserving the perception of openness at the site, aesthetically diminishing references to Nazism, and unify adjacent neighborhoods by integrating the airport landscape into the urban fabric. Like the HPP plan, it included a ring boulevard that clearly established an inner park zone, however it also alluded to existing aspects of airport landscape, with the landing strips informing the central organizing principle of the open space. The southern landing strip divided the open space between a *Himmelsgarten* (Sky Garten) and a "meadow sea" of overgrown grasses. These areas were each punctuated by oval follies including an existing rubble pile from the previous airport reconceived as a 50-meter earthen mound overlook dubbed the "Fliegerberg." The airport building itself, along with areas adjacent to the ring infrastructure in the south and the Tempelhofer Damm in the west, would house offices focused on technology development and knowledge transfer including a "flight theme park." (Rechenberg 2013).

Enacting Historic Landscapes and the Politics of Memory at Tempelhof

Outside of the development plans themselves, several efforts to re-configure Tempelhof as a historic site took form during this period, which in turn impacted the planning and design process in different ways. Despite disparate outcomes, many of these stemmed from the re-configuration of German national identity through the Berlin landscape that occurred in the 1980s under Helmut Kohl, particularly leading up to the Jubiliaum of 1987 during which time the Tempelhof Bezirksamt produced a number of historical commemorations related to Tempelhofer Feld. This included the book and exhibition, *Der Traum vom Fliegen*, and the German Museum of Technology's *Hundret Jahre Deutsche Luftfahrt* in 1991, the bulk of which was dedicated to Tempelhof and Adlershof-Johanisthal

[20] The roster for this workshop included landscape architects and planners Alsop & Störmer, Maria Auböck, Harald Bodenschatz, Tilman Buddensieg, Dieter HoffmannAxthelm, Peter Latz, Josep Lluis Mateo, Hans Christian Müller, Jürgen von Reuß, Bernhard Schneider, Otto Steidle, Bernhard Strecker, and Inge Voigt.

airfield in the former East Berlin, and was also the subject of an International Conference on Historic European Airport Architecture held in 2000 (Hawkins, Lechner, and Smith 2005). As discussed in the previous chapter, in addition to establishing a "place-identity" for both Adlershof, and in the planning concepts for Tempelhof, the mobilization of this history was used to market the region as a crucible of industry and technological innovation with the end to the cold-war-era ban on defense contracting in the region and privatizations of state-run and subsidized industries.[21]

Coinciding with a wider historicization of first generation airports like those in Liverpool and Paris (Westphal 2002)(P. Smith, Bowdler, and Toulier 2000), this trend was bolstered by the memorialization of the 50th anniversary of the Berlin Airlift on May 14th 1998, when US President Clinton dubbed the airport a "symbol of freedom" during a state visit for the occasion. The Air Lift served to re-brand Tempelhof as a "symbol of freedom" rather than Nazi Germany, a narrative already popular amongst the conservative leaning business travelers who patronized it when short haul flights were resumed (Best 2014). This constituency of business travelers, and the short-haul operators who wished to maintain Tempelhof as an active airport, politically mobilized in 1995 as the Interssegemeinschaft City-Airport Tempelhof (ICAT) following the withdrawal of US forces. Sensing opportunity, a number of business ventures were proposed to utilize the airport for upscale boutique purposes (Alberts, JR, and Cidell 2009). By 2006, even as construction was underway for the Berlin-Brandenberg International (BBI) airport, the movement to maintain passenger service at Tempelhof culminated in a successful petition for a city-wide referendum. The result split along East/West lines with the majority in the West voting to keep the airport open, but the convenience of an inner-city business traveler's airport and the nostalgia for the Berlin Airlift ultimately failed to garner a sufficient level of support in the east to pass.

As reflected in formal debates in the transition from "Flughafenstadt" to "Park der Luftbrücke," Tempelhof could not so easily shed its ties to National Socialism despite appeals to the nostalgia of the Berlin Airlift. In one sense, this mirrored debates about German identity, a kind of *Historikersstreit* for the architectural profession known as *Architektsstreit* or "the Architect's Quarrel," primarily concerning the alleged "teutonic" aesthetics of Berlin Building Director Hans Stimman's Critical Reconstruction (Strom 2001). Indeed, Tempelhof was not merely a Nazi office building. As Dolff-Bonekämper points out in her study of early twentieth century airports, the Third Reich specifically sought to conquer the world through a mastery of the skies, and it is this ambition that drove the intention behind Tempelhof's architectural form. However, Dolff-Bonekämper also argues for the building's preservation, as architecture is not necessarily bound to the intention of the design, and architectural form has no essential a moral character (Westphal idb.).

Nevertheless, as discussed in the last chapter, the reconfiguration of place-memory under the Helmut Kohl's administration leading up to the Jubiliam had wide impacts on public space design after 1989, particularly in regard to the interpretation of Nazi landscapes. Specifically in regards to Tempelhof, leading up to the Jubiliam, the district of Tempelhof initiated a research project focused on the victims of National Socialism in the district (Schilde and Tuchel 1990). This resulted in an exhibition and book on the Columbia Haus, a late 19th century military jail on the grounds of the airfield used by the Nazis for interrogation and torture of political prisoners. The next summer, district authorities led by future Mayor Klaus Wowereit reached an agreement to erect a monument on the site, launching a call for proposals that fall, just prior to the fall of the wall (Oct 31. 1989). In 1994, the first monument to the victims of the Third Reich at Tempelhof was erected, an industrial sculpture by Georg Siebert, coinciding with when the retreat from the circular form for *Flughafenstadt* began. These politics of place-memory continued to influence contestations over the future designs,

[21] Publications such as *Berlin-Brandenburg Aerospace: The Preferred Region for Air and Space Technology* (2002) prepared by economic ministries of Berlin and Brandenburg featuring projects such as the Adlershof Science Park.

with an archeological dig breaking ground on the site in 2008 (Starzmann 2014; Pollock and Bernbeck 2015), becoming an integral feature of the field after 2014.

The Rise and Fall of Klaus Wowereit and "Poor but Sexy" as Urban Governance Strategy

The politics of urban development in post-wall Berlin entered a new phase with the election of Klaus Wowereit as mayor and leader of the SPD. Berlin's first openly gay mayor, Wowereit came into office with elections in 2001 when the CDU lost their coalition majority in the wake of the so-called "Berlin bank scandal" (Krätke 2004b). The SPD entered into a "Red-Red" coalition with the PDS, a socialist party that emerged out of the East German SED and later re-organized as Die Linke. Despite this leftward shift, many of the key questions regarding the reconstruction of the city were already underway, such as the Potsdamer Platz, the reconstruction of the Stadtschloss, and the interrelated decisions on the location of the central train station, new Berlin-Brandenburg International Airport, and the future of Tempelhof. In this respect, the Wowereit regime reflected a cultural turn away from the conservatism that characterized the CDU, but in many ways remained path-dependent in regards to the previous urban development regime's agenda.[22]

For Wowereit the most politically crucial development stemmed from assuming responsibility from the previous administration's decisions to locate Berlin Brandenberg International (BBI) Airport on the southeastern edge of the city, ultimately overwhelming design plans for Tempelhof and leading to his political demise (Hoffmann 2012). In addition to developments surrounding BBI, urban restructuring overseen by Wowereit transformed the Kreuzberg and Neukölln districts around Tempelhof into the "new frontiers" of gentrification (Bernt, Grell, and Holm 2014). Previously, the former eastern inner-city areas, such as Prenzlauer Berg and Mitte, were primary sites of gentrification conflict. Vacated by East Berliners following unification, the eviction of squatters by SPD officials in these districts led to the dissolution of the Alternative Liste's Red-Green coalition in 1990 (Rada 1997). By the early 2000s, working class immigrant West Berlin neighborhoods of Kreuzberg and Neukölln were site to a number of other urban conflicts and scandals that ran parallel to the development of Tempelhof and helped shape the urban political climate. This included the privatization of social housing, an especially poignant issue in Kreuzberg around Kottbusser Tor, as well as the MediaSpree project (Scharenberg and Bader 2009). Urban geographers studying Berlin describe an urban schema transitioning "from division to polarization" in the decades after unification (Mayer 2003).

In addition to the privatization of social housing, national-scale dynamics underpinning this process included the selling off of GDR industrial enterprises, combined with a discontinuation of subsidies to West German industry. Despite efforts by the Wowereit regime to emphasize other sectors of the economy, total service and creative industries jobs only partially replaced lost manufacturing jobs (Krätke 2004b). Thus, despite the fact that Germany is among the wealthiest countries in Europe, Berlin was nevertheless the poorest capital city in the EU by many measures, with the areas around Tempelhof identified as an "action zone" (Holm in (Deboosere and Raeve 2016). Compounding this dynamic, following the financial crisis of 2008, from which Germany emerged relatively unscathed compared to other countries, Berlin real-estate, particularly inner-city

[22] In terms of place-making and the urban landscape, symbolic change ushered in by Wowereit's "Red-Red" coalition may be epitomized by the re-introduction of the "Ampelmann." German for "traffic light man," the disappearance of the beloved East German pedestrian cross walk icon during the development mania of the 1990s soon came to rival the destruction of *Volkspalast* and the removal of socialist monuments as a symbol for the erasure and cleansing of East Berlin identity. By 2005, the Ampelmann was successfully marketed as an international icon of Berlin (by a West German graphic designer) and the city began re-installing them not only in the former East but also in West Berlin. The re-introduction and marketing of the Ampelmann reflects the intensification of "location Berlin" that characterized Wowereit's urban development strategy.

residential buildings, appeared as a safe investment for foreign capital. In this way, economic development focused on attracting capital, creative workers, and "lifestyle tourists" from outside the city and abroad as the stage of urban conflict shifted from the inner eastern neighborhoods left vacant following unification to the densely populated western districts surrounding Tempelhof, as well as the center of Berlin's immigrant communities (Bernt, Grell, and Holm 2014). This reached a peak with the financial crisis, when between 2007 and 2009 the number of people moving in exceeded the number moving out for the first time since the mania of 1990s Berlin *Welthauptstadt*.[23]

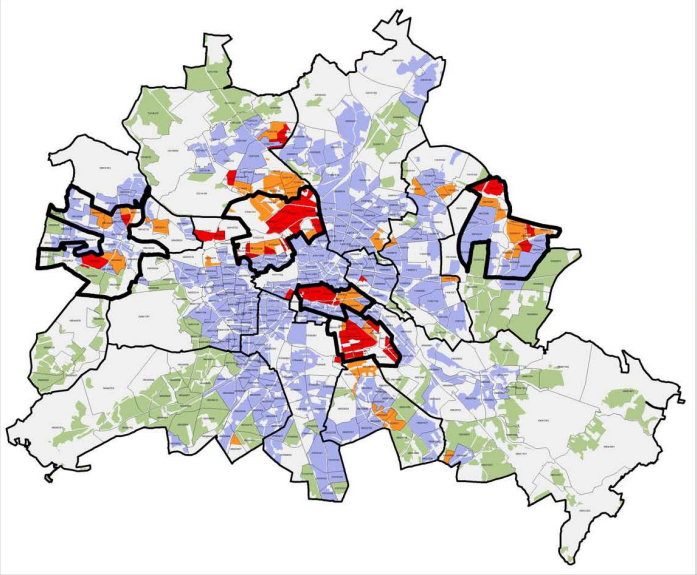


Figure 20: 2010 Social Monitoring Study by City Officials Showing "Action Zones" in bold, Tempelhof, in bold, lies just south east of the city center. The same shape is featured in figure 8, showing rising rents to the east of the airfield.

[23] The neighborhoods surrounding Tempelhof were already among the most vulnerable to these economic shifts. For example, northwest of the field in Neukölln, some 75 percent of the families depend on social welfare, with a high concentration of migrant families in 19th century housing stock of poor condition. Berlin gentrification scholar Andrej Holm, notes that Neukölln is unique in that, unlike development driven schemes in inner-city neighborhoods of the former East in the 1990s such as Mitte, Prenzlauer Berg and Freidricshain boroughs, elevated rents in Neukölln correspond to international migration of highly educated individuals from wealthy countries in Western Europe and North America. Holm describes this phenomenon, which often is not accompanied by new development, as "rental gentrification" (Holm, idb). This phenomenon contrasts with neighborhoods south and east of the airfield in the Tempelhof District, where the urban fabric consists largely of high-rises constructed between the 1920s and 1960s as more functionalist working-class housing rather than 19th century tenements in Neuköln. The ethnic German working class social structure in these areas has largely remained intact, though it is also not a wealthy area, with education levels only slightly higher than Neukölln. A primary difference is that Tempelhof has not attracted the influx of creative industries as in Neukölln, likely in part due to its building stock that often lacks storefronts that can be refashioned as galleries, studios, and boutiques, and also its more remote location on the far side of ring road.

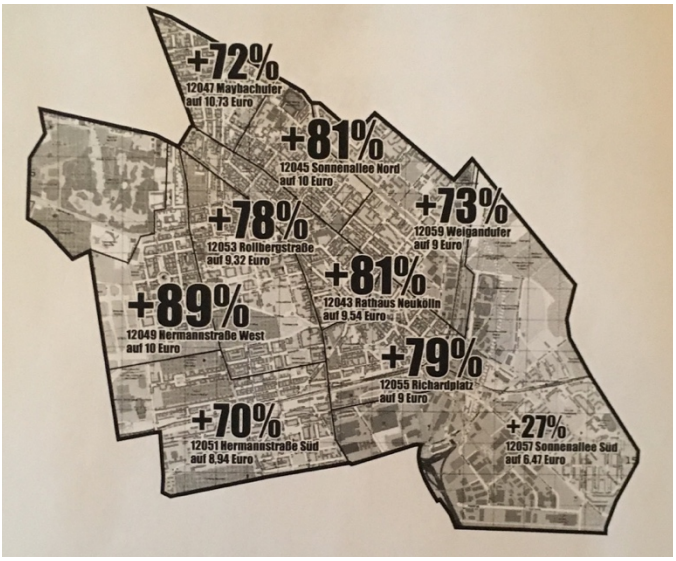


Figure 21: Figure 8 Graphic showing rent increases in northern Neukölln between 2009 and 2014, posted around the Schillerkiez.

Wowereit's urban development policy became symbolized in his proclamation shortly after taking office in 2003, that Berlin was "poor, but sexy," corresponds to an emphasis on the creative industries and the model of "creative city" urban development made famous by Richard Florida and Charles Landry in the early 2000s (Colomb idib.). Rather than simply the promotion of the city as a site of consumption, as with previous regime's renovations of Museum Island and the Sony Center shopping mall at Potsdamer Platz, Wowereit and the Red-Red coalition moved to stage the city as a site of cultural production. Wowereit became known for promoting large cultural events such as the 2 million euro "Based in Berlin" exhibition show-casing Berlin's local scene of international artists, as well as the "Bread and Butter" fashion show in Tempelhof's hangers starting in 2009 (Deboosere and Raeve 2016; Colomb 2013). In terms of urban redevelopment, the Media Spree waterfront redevelopment project was the forefront of this approach, anchored by the European Headquarters of Universal Music and MTV Germany. Wowereit's efforts built off the cultural capital of the pre-existing milieu of the *Alernativ Szene*, propelling Germany to an "Alpha Media City" on par with London, New York, or Los Angeles, cutting a contrast with its lowly status in terms of other indices of Global Influence (Kräfte idb.).

However, in the case of Mediaspree, and later Tempelhof, the existing milieu of the *Alternativ Szene* was often at odds with creative cities-led development schemes. Discontent among the pre-existing nightlife, artistic scene along the river bank took form as the "Sink Media Spree" campaign that mobilized in 2006. Foreshadowing Tempelhof, their efforts culminated in a 2008 referendum winning 87 percent of the vote, putting an end to an ambitious development proposal advertised as creating 40,000 jobs, and forcing the city to negotiate compensation for private developers (Dohnke 2013). Even before the opposition campaign officially began, the architect Klaus Overmeyer of Studio Urban Catalyst hosted a Stadtforum in 2005 on the subject of "Raumpioneere in Berlin" (Space Pioneers in Berlin) (Overmeyer and Renker 2005). The presentation included an analysis of existing informal cultural uses along the Spree river bank, suggesting ways these activities could be better integrated into further development across the city. Overmeyer's model of development was oriented around these urban pioneers rather than against them. This formed an attractive model for Tempelhof and other mega-projects, and he was later tapped to lead a workshop on deploying a temporary use framework for the design development

phase of Tempelhof beginning in earnest. Combined with Wowereit's approach to development, Stimman's retirement in 2006 reinvigorated the planning apparatus, opening it to a new approach.

Signaling a turn away from the early 1990s euphoria about finally being able to "finish building Berlin" in the aftermath of the economic crisis precipitated by the Berlin Bank Scandal, Wowereit's new building director, Regula Lüscher, along with the Senator for Urban Development, Ingebord Junge-Reyer, claimed to develop a more realistic assessment of Berlin's urban economy. (Junge-Reyer 2007). This included commissioning a survey of temporary uses in Berlin's voids, resulting in the 2007 book *Urban Pioneers*. Identifying some 500 hectares across the city and consisting of former industrial sites, abandoned infrastructure sites, and other military sites as well as large swaths of the Spree riverbank, *Urban Pioneers* formed the conceptual basis for the subsequent development plan for Tempelhof.[24] Building on an existing tradition of appropriating vacant spaces by *Alternativ Szene* in the 1970s and 80s (Davis 2008), *Urban Pioneers* proclaimed the city as a "laboratory for the business of temporary use," opening with an appeal to the sensibilities of those seeking to escape a "world ruled by the profit maxim" and actualize their vision for the future, especially important in an era of flexible employment and diminishing lifelong work relationships. Vacant, complicated sites were reframed not as a constraint but a prerequisite of urban restructuring that could serve as training grounds and experimental zones for the future.

However, this idealistic proclamation was also followed by an acknowledgment that it is also ultimately a chance for property owners to shed light on their "undiscovered district, the dead end on the urban landscape." In this way, the flexible social relations of the creative city also corresponded to an urban design strategy popularized during this time that focused on "everyday urbanism" and embraced the "differences and contrasts" that make up the "richness of everyday experience" (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung (Berlin, Germany) 2007). The prospect that some temporary uses may successfully transition into sanctioned elements of the development plan also appeared to be a key aspect of marketing the strategy to the cultural producers themselves (Lanz 2013).

[24] In addition to Overmeyer's presentation at the Stadtforum on the Spree river bank, Philipp Oswalt, then director of the Bauhaus Dessau and later collaborator with Overmeyer of Studio Urban Catalyst on the *Tempelhofer Freheit* design team, examined temporary uses of vacant spaces in the former East Germany as a typology for spatial policy in his Shrinking Cities Project, beginning in 2000. Other important moves towards institutionalization on temporary use in the region included the 2010 IBA focused on Saxony-Anhalt, as well as Urban Catalyst' public engagement programming for the Volkspalast in 2004 (Oswalt in On THF).

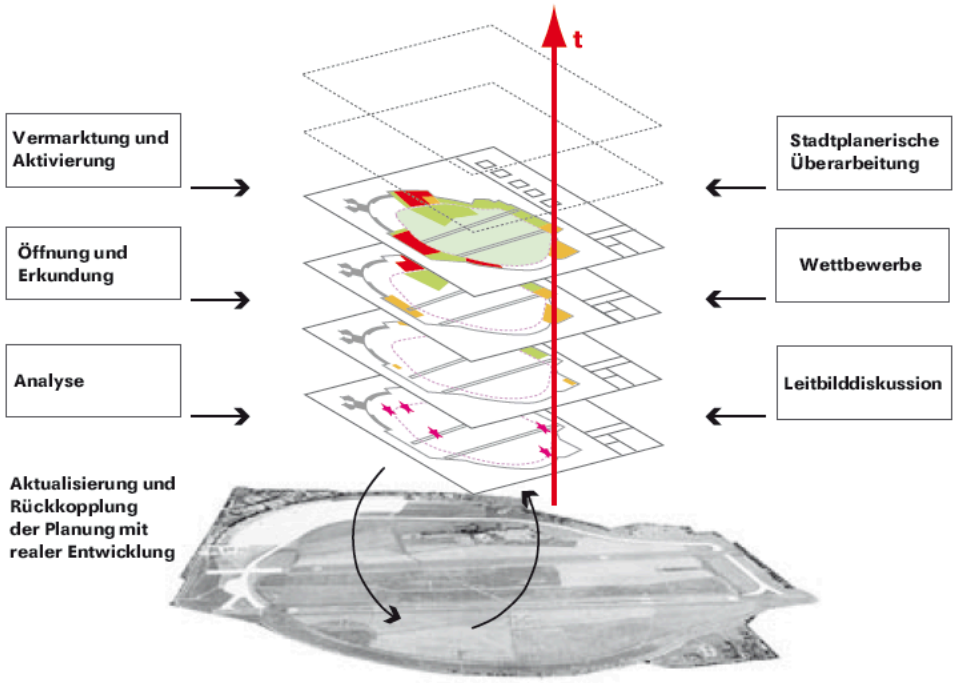


Figure 22: The "Integrated Masterplan" that would incorporate feedback over a long-term process was the center of the Tempelhofer Freiheit concept

Tempelhofer Freiheit, Place as Brand and Idea Generator

Indicative of the Wowereit administration's entrepreneurial approach, the urban pioneers' concept was operationalized at Tempelhof as *Tempelhofer Freiheit*. Framed as a "brand" or "trademark" rather than a traditional planning strategy, *Tempelhofer Freiheit* reflected the transposition of design efforts from the formal arrangement of discrete objects in urban space to the urban design and development *process* itself (Wettbewerbsdoukmentation pg 32). According to building director Regula Lüscher, "the development of this large area is an ongoing process, and one in which people can actively participate. We must embark on a journey in order that through this field, as a result of this field and ourselves, through citizens' ideas and inspirations as well as of experts, a new vision for this place might continually arise" (thf-berlin.de).

Official plans for *Tempelhofer Freiheit* began with an expert conference in November of 2004 to strategize further planning and development priorities. It reflected on previous plans and the consensus of a perimeter construction and central park area, along with the need for extensive rehabilitation of buildings on-site, resulting in the consensus that the development of the airfield and buildings should be separately managed. Following the decisive defeat of the ICAT referendum in 2006, the city administration tapped Marcel Braun und Partner (MBuP) to organize an invitation-only workshop, which included *Urban Pioneers* contributors Urban Catalyst and Raum Labor. Between 2007 and 2009, MBuP, Raum Labor, and the SenStadtUm developed an extensive study on the possibilities at THF, out of which emerged the "process design" for *Tempelhofer Freiheit* revolving

around three components. The first two consisted of an "open dialog" involving events, forums, and publications, and an "idea workshop" that served to generate ideas about temporary uses and design competitions for designated development zones. These two components functioned within a circular feedback mechanism by a third component—"Process Control"—where city officials and the design team could adjust the long-term plan and structure of the process accordingly. This programming was conceived as a "dynamic masterplan," coupling activation strategies with traditional urban landscape planning. Feedback horizons in 2009, 2010, 2017 and 2030 allowed a review of a variety of factors, such as competition results, housing stock analysis and other economic criteria.

The urban pioneer phase of Tempehlofer Freheit began to be put into motion in December of 2007 following the publication of *Urban Pioneers,* when a feasibility study showed that very little action would be necessary to open the field to the public for preliminary recreational uses. According to Markus Bader of Raum Labor, a culturally oriented exploration phase immediately commencing with the closure of the airport was particularly important to counter the feeling of loss that came with the closure of the airport expressed in the ICAT referendum. With the Kienast/Voigt and Albers plan as a basis, planners posed the open question "how should Berlin handle the planned airport closing? What new opportunities did the airport lands offer the city as they took on a new role?" (Planning History Flughafen Tempelhof). A series of workshops, public events, bus tours, exhibits, and lectures explored the historic status of the buildings and potential for market development, opening to the public for the first time for a tour on June 10, 2007, little more than a year before air traffic ceased. Additionally, the reality of the impending closure of THF triggered the new administration to organize for both another IBA and another IGA at Tempelhof. These would serve as engines for development of the site, but also, in the tradition of the 1987 Altbau IBA, showcase the experimental *Tempelhofer Freiheit* public engagement process. Reflective of the efforts of the new administration's aspirations to break with the Stimman development strategy, an exploratory board formed by building director Regula Luscher was advertised as more diverse and interdisciplinary, including a social scientist, a gender consultant, a human geographer, a curator, a philosopher, and a climate change researcher. It was also younger, and more gender balanced than traditional boards. However, it also failed to include activists or engage with citizen's initiatives, a fact that opponents would seize upon later in the process (Schalk 2014).

The Tempelhof Ideas Workshop also included a two-month online forum in May and June of 2007, in which users were prompted with the question, "What does Berlin need at this location?," a further departure from Hans Stimman's model of public engagement. Despite a sentiment that an ever-growing list of possible uses was "seemingly endless," officials received a clear signal that the airfield should remain an open green space, with the "Central Park" concept frequently cited, along with variations such as "green space, playing field or open space, public park, urban park, recreational park, nature park, landscape park, nature conservation area, recreational area, agricultural land."[25] However, many argued the input process mostly served to reconfirm the 1999 Voigt concept, inherited from the 1994 land use plan (Hilbrandt 2016). Nevertheless, the Online Dialog Tempelhof Airport 2007 served as an important precedent for the city's use of online engagement in the urban planning and development process (Vorwerk and Riedel 2008; Robinson 2011). In one sense, online engagement opened the floodgates, reflected in the emergence of one

[25] Officials counted 32,000 visitors, 1,000 registered users contributing about 900 ideas, with a large park the primary outcome, and maintaining commercial service in second place. This was followed by a moderated discussion of the various proposals in which visitors could comment on, elaborate, or rate previous suggestions. City officials tallied over 68,000 visitors to the Online Dialog Tempelhof Airport 2007, with some 2,500 contributing ideas to the Senate Department for Urban Development (Ausschreibung, 2009). In addition to this online outreach, officials circulated a survey in surrounding areas to 6,200 respondents, roughly 5 percent of neighboring population, yielding 1,500 responses about the kind of park they would like to see. (Schalke idb fn1).

symbolically renegade idea—the democratic allocation of spatial and financial resources to each of the 3,400,000 Berliners. This meant one square meter per person, as well as 20 Euro of the 65 million allocated for design development. Indicative of the social relations of "the web 2.0," in order to create a soccer field, such a proposal would require 7,500 individuals to agree to dedicate their allotment to such a cause (Roskamm 2014). This sort of demand, made possible by social media technology, foreshadowed the ascendency of the Pirate Party both within Berlin politics with the elections of 2014, as well as within the Tempelhof Planning procedure.

By 2009, with the real estate market cooled considerably since the heady days of the early 1990s, and the pioneer concept seemed especially attractive as "generators and initiators of urban development activities." Markus Bader of Raum Labor envisioned the pioneer concept simply extending the time frame of existing temporary use of typical park activities; BBQ cooking, dog walking, etc. For Bader, the urban pioneer reconfigured the temporality of the space as a collective design endeavor of building community, or even as "a new form of governance in the public sphere." This was supposed to contrast with participation in contemporaneous projects, such as the Gleisdreieck, where input was integrated into the design by way of certain features, but the general schema was decided by the landscape architects and developers. At Tempelhof, the park was found and made repeatedly over time. In the call for entries in the landscape planning competition, project manager Ines Ulrike Rudolph wrote that integrated urban development means "intelligent growth," incremental densification of programs, and networks that gradually manifest in terms of buildings, rather than waves of building measures resulting in a "structured accumulation of masses of buildings." However, "activation of the site through pioneer usages and cultural initiatives" was linked with long-term urban development plans" (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung (Berlin, Germany) 2007). To this end, in June of 2009, the SenStadtUm commissioned the development corporation managing the former Joannisthall Airfield as East German Aerospace research facilities to develop a set of guiding economic principles for the development of Tempelhof based on their experience (Swyngedouw, Moulaert, and Rodriguez 2002). The subsidiary company, Tempelhof Projekt GmbH, was founded to manage the development of the airport building and the temporary use components in conjunction with Grün Berlin GmbH, beginning with a call for proposals in 2010 and the first projects taking to the field the following spring.

Figure 23: Tempelhof Freiheit divided the Airport into five zones; four new thematic neighborhoods and a park landscape (2009).

Design Development: International Competitions for a Global Icon

In the spring of 2008, with the public engagement process underway, the city presented the *Tempelhofer Freiheit* development plan to the public. This including five sub-zones, each with their own respective process, permitting a stage-by-stage development: a central landscape park, two mixed use districts in the south and west, and two residential districts in the east and north. Design competitions for these sub-zones began with the area along Columbia-Quartier to the north of the airfield, launched when the airport was taken out of operation in October of 2008. That fall, the city's proposal to host the International Garten Ausstellung (IGA) on north end of the field in 2017 was successful, which like the IBA, would serve as an engine of development aiming for "high-profile projects" that would form a reference for "internationally significant forward-looking city development," anticipating 3.5 million visitors (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung 2009). The IBA and IGA, along with the high-profile international competition beginning with the Colombia Quarter and the central landscape park sub-zone, thrust the field into the international media and soon began to compete with the local temporary uses being developed at the same time.

Winners for the landscape competition were announced in 2011, with six semifinalists, ultimately won by Gross.Max and Sutherland Hussey Architects. Described as "in size and prestige the biggest project" in their office to that date (Hooftman 2013), Gross.Max specifically emphasized the revival of the public park with its "Volkspark for the 21st Century" concept. Elco Hoooftman, partner at Gross.Max, acknowledged the "loaded layers of history" at the site, and claimed the firm benefited from their foreign identity, as has been argued about the renovation of the Reichstag by Foster,

Figure 24: Gross.Maxx winning entry for the park landscape portion of the design (2012).

Liebskind's Jewish Museum, and Eisenman's Monument to the Murdered Jews of Europe (James-Chakraborty 2011; Chametzky 2009; Ledanff 2003). Hooftman claimed his foreign identity permitted him to embrace the form of Sagabiel's building, comparing it to Versailles or Bath in the way that the wings act as barriers between the city and the void. While less drastic than earlier elliptical plans, Gross.Maxx used circular paths mirroring the wings of the airport building to express the void of the airfield. Hooftman claims Gross.Max was the only competition entry to make such gestures, gleefully reporting that some accused the designers of "daring to celebrate Fascism."

Figure 25: A signature feature of the Gross.Maxx plan referenced the film "Wings of Desire," as well as a viral entry to the competition, as a monument to Wilhelm (or Alexander) von Humboldt.

Much of Gross.Max's competition material strikes a nostalgic tone in emphasizing themes from the history of aviation. An animation for the project shows the elliptical form appearing in the wake of a puttering World War I-era aircraft, whose slow arc across the sky appears to emphasize a procedural development of the site on an ecological time scale. Framed as a "city meadow" mirroring the "city forest" at the Tiergarten, the design takes a "neo-romantic," post-industrial aesthetic (Dümpelmann 2014). This aesthetic complements biodiversity-oriented features, such as bird watching pavilions, succession-growth areas, and large zones off-limits to humans with a focus on jay larks and other migratory birds. Expounding on this "neo-romantic" ecological aesthetic, a monument to Wilhelm von Humboldt sits atop the earthwork folly, whimsically derived from the angels depicted in Wim Wenders' film "Wings of Desire." This aesthetic bears an unmistakable pop-cultural likeness to the nearby Viktoria Park, the romantic-style park constructed at the turn of the century, with rock features from the Sudentenland and sculpture depicting nationalist poets.

Despite its whimsical nature, Gross.Max fulfilled the objectives of the project set out for them. They brought an international cache, at once respecting the various exigencies of the community, such as nature conservation, recreational facilities, while nodding to the pioneer concept in its procedural, ecological approach (Wettbewebsdokumentation pg19). However, while, successional processes based on existing conditions seemed to gesture towards the feedback loops, the Gross.Maxx plan did not specify a mechanism through which design outcomes would be altered as per the "integrated" plan. With temporary uses already underway by the time Gross.Maxx finalized their schematic designs, a disjuncture soon emerged between the long-term planning and temporary use, which was amplified by the IBA and IGA plans. This was evident in Hooftman's presentation of the project at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis in the Spring of 2013, where he expressed frustration with the political situation by showing an image of Adolf Hitler looming over an architectural model side by side with Klaus Wowereit in a similar pose, proclaiming, "[N]othing has changed, projects like this are all about politics." Hooftman described Berlin politics, and the overwhelming tenor of the public consultations, as a "snake pit." "People ask 'why do we need your park'" he recounted, "how can you have an answer?" (Hooftman 2013).

Tempelhof Pioneers to Tempelhof 100%

The political landscape of Berlin had changed rapidly once Gross.Maxx became involved in Tempelhof. In the following summer of June, 2009, just a few weeks after Tempelhof Projekt GmbH was founded and still a year before the field was open to the public, protesters from the adjacent Schillerkiez neighborhood in Neukölln occupied the site, demanding public access. Occurring in tandem with public manifestations of opposition to the MediaSpree redevelopment project on the other side of Kreuzberg, this wave of urban protest coincided with the development of user-generated media platforms, such as tempelhof.blogport.de, and under the banner of Squat Tempelhof! and Tempelhof für Alle. The actions required roughly 1 million EUR in spending on defensive measures, expenditures that helped tip debates among city officials in favor of opening the airport early with minimal infrastructural improvements the following spring while the city decided on a development plan (Bader idb.). The landscape design competition for the central park component of the development plan therefore coincided with opening of the field in 2010 to thousands of daily visitors and 1.6 million visitors in 2011 alone (Schalke idb.).

The masterplan released later that year depicted 4,700 units of high-density residential and commercial developments on 50 acres of the airfield fringe centered around a 240 hectares park. This also included a new central library and the potential for preservation of pioneer uses that "had

proven their value" (Colomb 2012). It also showed pioneer projects occupying the same space slated for future development.[26] This exacerbated the already strained political situation following the financial crisis of 2008 as other urban conflicts in Kreuzberg intensified, including the Occupy movement of 2011, and most crucially, the scandalous failure to open Berlin-Brandenburg International Airport on time in 2012. In this context, the THF 100% citizen's initiative formed to demand a total rollback of the urban plan some 20 years in the making. Opposition politicians in the Green Party and Die Linke joined in, providing established political backing that expanded the initiative beyond the Neukölln leftist scene that led the occupation the previous summer (Colomb idb). THF 100% built a large constituency out of various claims, including the historic dimensions of Nazi crimes and the 1948-1949 airlift being inappropriately addressed by the Gross.Maxx proposal, regarding the current layout of the space as uniquely permitting activities, such as a kite flying and land sailing, as well as habitat for bird, butterflies, bees, wasps, some of which are listed as endangered.

When Grün Berlin GmbH and Projekt Tempelhof GmbH initiated a workshop in 2012 to develop park concepts for the IGA according to the themes "free time and play, "sport," "rest and recreation," "environmental education," and "urban gardening," a counter workshop was organized by THF 100%. This included not only the park land, but sites designated for building, including the themes of "gentrification/social exclusion," "climate and species protection," "the planning process," "network building and finances" (Shalke, idb.). Some THF 100% members increasingly viewed the pioneer projects as "Trojan horses" to strategically accelerate the gentrification process rather than as opportunities for residents to engage in shaping their environment, a term Hooftman also used in his presentation at the Walker Arts Center. However, one pioneer project acted as a kind of reverse Trojan Horse: the Stadtteil Schillzerkeiz community garden. In addition to providing space for individuals to cultivate raised beds on the field, the garden's large central tent structure served as a forum for the dissemination of information and as a meeting place for organizers, acting as a counter-point to the official Grün Berlin info-center on the field (Rosol 2012; Kumnig, Rosol, and Exner 2017; Rosol 2010b). The garden became one of the most highly visible landscapes around Tempelhof, thereby promoting the referendum on the field. By January of 2014, the THF 100% initiative successfully gathered 180,000 signatures, meeting the 7 percent threshold required by the Land constitution for a referendum.

The Tempelhof Referendum and Planning After the Tempelhof Conservation Law

The future of Tempelhof soon became a referendum on Mayor Klaus Worwereit as scandals at BBI raged in the background, reflecting a broader discontent with the sale of public land and housing policy, especially in Kreuzberg and Neukölln. On the one hand, THF 100% opposed any new construction on the grounds that new housing would contribute to gentrification in the adjacent low-income neighborhoods. On the other, public officials invoked the city's debt and housing crisis to portray the opposition as a selfish, extreme form of NIMBYism. Opponents noted Berlin's population had increased by 40,000 people between 2011 and 2014, and officials estimated a need to

[26] Accepted pioneer projects were placed in three zones of 12 to 19 acres each, as well as a few stand-alone locations, with a 3-year agreement to use a small patch of land for a symbolic rent of 1.5 EUR per square meter. Of some 270 projects submitted, 38 were chosen from the themes of "science and culture" (located in the west along Tempelhofer Damm), "neighborhood and art" (near the rapidly gentrifying Schillerkiez neighborhood and Oderstrasse entrance), and "sport and religion" (along the Columbiadamm near the softball fields and Sehitlik Mosque). Twenty of these were realized in the spring of 2011, with five of those ending early. By April 2012 these 15 initial pioneer projects combined with some 1.5 million visitors, with as many as 70,000 a week in the summer (Falkner 2012) . Pioneer Projects expanded to 19 by December of 2014, and as of 2017 there are 18 projects still on site (Tempelhof Projekt GmbH).

construct 10,000 apartments a year (more than double the 2012 rate), while supporters of the referendum drew attention to the use of rent caps and the privatization of social housing, advocating for the protection of existing housing rather than new construction[27]. Like the case of the MediaSpree referendum, the city wielded the threat of an economic loss of 298 million EUR should the project be canceled. However, THF 100%estimated the cost of running Tempelhof as a nature park at only 1.8 million a year, while 630 million through 2025 would be needed for the basic renovation costs, of which only 445 million could be recouped through rents of the airport building (2014). Further, the cost of the new central library planned for the site alone were pegged at between 270 to 350 million euros. Additionally, both sides also appealed to sustainability and scientific expertise, with supporters of the referendum pointing to the need to preserve rare urban biotopes, while opponents, notably climate scientists at the TU, argued that climate agendas would be better served by building dense housing close to mass transit. Crucially, it was revealed shortly before the referendum that construction costs were dramatically underestimated, as the assessment had overlooked the lack of infrastructure underneath the field. This constituted a reversal of ambitious post-war plans that sought a tabula rasa overhaul of the city, only to be confronted by the stubborn subterranean infrastructure.

The referendum took place on May 25th, 2014 during an EU election cycle with a high turnout of 46 percent of Berlin's 2.5 million voters. Over 64 percent favored the new Tempelhof Conservation Law which kept the land unbuilt as a public park, with only 18.8 percent supporting the city's development plan—a devastating blow to the city administration. The *Tempelhofer Freiheit* name was removed from park and the Projekt Tempelhof management agency, and Wowereit's 13-year stint as Mayor ended in resignation two months after the Tempelhof Conservation Law was adopted in June of 2014. The new law covered the 303 Hectares, mandating conservation of approximately 202 hectares inside the taxiways and leaving some 101 hectares on the periphery, for temporary uses and facility upgrades. Grün Berlin partnered with BUND-Berlin to facilitate a plan for the development and maintenance of the area that would conform with the Conservation Law while still making the necessary improvements to the park's infrastructure and facilities. This was carried out in yet another public process over the next two years. In addition to workshops and public engagement facilitated by BUND Berlin, the city partnered with Liquid Democracy e.V., an open source software company associated with the Pirate Party, who had received a relative breakthrough in recent municipal elections. A "hacker party" that began in Sweden and then established footholds in Northern and Central Europe, the Pirate Party advocated for internet freedom and transparent governance, constituting an attractive political platform to a public plagued by scandal. A key feature of their political platform was the use of a "proxy voting" system, which was adapted by Liquid Democracy e.V. for moving crowdsourcing ideas forward under the new law and was hosted at tempelhofer-feld.berlin.de. The results included eight categories of ranked and tagged threads, many with hundreds of entries, with the city taking in some 800 proposals (interview with Evelyn Bodemeier).

After two years of meetings, despite the havoc wrought by the referendum upon city officials, the new land use plan for Tempelhof pronounces that Berliners "so positively received the opening of the former airport in 2010" that they enacted a referendum to protect the unique nature and recreation opportunities at the field. The new plan separated the field according to five general themes. In the center, "expanse, wind, and wilderness" designates the roughly 201 hectares between

[27] At the time of the referendum, 4,700 units of new housing at Tempelhof had been constructed, of which only 800 would be for "low and middle income." With over 200,000 potential housing sites identified by the city, 20,000 of them in the city center, and the 4,700 units at Tempelhof only constituted about 2 percent of the housing need. Moreover, the fact that this 2 percent figure was lower than the 3 percent city-wide vacancy rate, gave credence to THF 100%'s proposal (Amjahid 2014).

the taxiways under the strictest conservation measures and is identified as consisting of different kinds of sub-biotopes. Un-mowed grasses provide seasonal Skylark nesting areas as well as observation points and additional seating along the landing strips that cut across the field. On the periphery of the circular taxiways, a few areas are also reserved for a dog-run, grilling, and two small ball fields, while the landing strips themselves are also active with alternative sports such as kiteboarding. However, most of the new activities are designated for zones outside the taxiways, areas initially slated for temporary use and urban development. Here, temporary and experimental uses take four themes. "Calm and experimentation" is the theme in the more isolated areas to the south, though new access points are also proposed for this most remote region of the field alongside the ring infrastructure. In the east by the Schillerkiez, the theme of "neighborhood garden and projects" nods to the continued presence and expansion of the existing community gardens from the urban pioneers' phase. In the north, "sport and history" concerns the ruins of the first airport, archeological sites, as well as the historic softball fields. In the west, the location of the most accessible entrance for large crowds, the theme is slated for "recreation and events."

Tempelhof as Refugee Camp

To complicate matters, one year into the two-year process of developing the EPP plan, millions of refugees began streaming into Central Europe, with nearly 80,000 individuals making their way to Berlin by the end of 2015, far overshooting official's anticipated figure of 12,000 (Ulrich 2016). While it is beyond the scope of this project to uncover the causes and extent of the European refugee crisis, post-Cold War NATO intervention certainly appears to be a precipitating factor, and defense industry contractors who relocated to the Berlin-Brandenburg following the Cold War profited substantially and directly from these conflicts. In this regard, it reflects a geopolitical realignment some 30 years in the making, with many in the West optimistically comparing the "Arab Spring" of 2011 to the revolutions that swept Central and Eastern Europe in the 1990s stemming from the fall of the Berlin Wall. Moreover, Prime Minister Angela Merkel's initial response of initiating a national *Wilkommenskultur*, imploring individual citizens to take responsibility for the integration of nearly a million migrants, in many ways mirrored the sensibilities of the Pioneer Project to develop Tempelhof by harnessing the pathos of the individual and self-actualization. This convergence played out in a number of "social practice" or humanitarian projects by young design collectives for for refugees, including the InfoCompass a communications pavilion designed by Place/Making, and public engagement procedures in collaboration with Grün Berlin specifically gears towards refugees in the post-referendum planning period by ON/OFF.

This precipitated by the fact that airport hangars at Tempelhof soon became the largest migrant processing center in the country, if not Europe, and also a source of controversy. Conditions in the building were poor, lacking appropriate facilities, and many criticized the warehousing or ghettoization of masses of migrants. Moreover, many supporters of the referendum saw the housing of refugees at Tempelhof as a way for city officials to side-step the Tempelhof referendum, which was still in the process of being adapted into a development and maintenance plan (Ulrich 2016). At the same time, the housing shortage made it extremely difficult to find appropriate affordable housing, especially for large families, and especially in nearby Kreuzberg and Neukölln, traditionally the arrival destination for middle-eastern immigrants in Berlin. Moreover, in many cases, family housing became more readily found in housing developments further afield in the former East. However, these underdeveloped areas were also more susceptible to right wing populism. Since the refugee crisis, most of former East Berlin, where such housing is still plentiful and relatively affordable--outside the gentrified inner-city districts--has turned over from supporting Die Linke, the former East German Socialist Party, to Alternative für Deutschland, the insurgent

right-wing populist party, mirroring trends across former East Germany as a whole. Many migrants have thus stayed in the hangers in Tempelhof for much longer periods than officials intended. In 2017, officials began construction of temporary (2-year) modular housing "container village" on the Tarmac, costing a reported 17 million euro for about 970 modules housing about 1100 migrants (Memarnia 2017).

Figure 26: Concept for Refugee Housing on Tempelhof Tarmac.

As presented in the introduction, the Presidio, the village of Yerba Buena, and the Mission Dolores were largely isolated outposts of the Spanish Empire until the Napoleonic wars, when control was transferred to the Mexican Republic. At this time, the beginnings of a market economy were introduced as land holding was secularized, and the first surveys were conducted in the village of Yerba Buena. However, the Presidio continued to languish, with the poor condition of the adobe structures prompting General Mariano Vallejo to move the garrison stationed there to Sonoma in 1835. The scant Mexican state presence easily succumbed to a band of illegal Anglo immigrants from the United States, known as the "Bear Flag Rebellion," quickly backed by the U.S. Military as a footnote of the Mexican-American war of 1846.

Following the seizure of California for the United States, military command at the Presidio was soon joined by a larger defense network developed in the region, beginning with the Benecia Arsenal (1851), the Mare Island Navy Yard (1854), and Alcatraz (1859). However, the Presidio remained derelict, with army officers renting structures in San Francisco due to a lack of capacity at the base. On adjacent property, development was inhibited as land grant claims played out in court (Levinsohn 1976). Following the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill, swarms of prospectors made their way through the Golden Gate on their way to the Sierra Nevadas. Historians describe the Presidio as relatively quiet compared to the mania of Gold Rush San Francisco. In the growing city, Jasper O'Farrell created a new urban grid of abstract space over the sand dunes and wetlands. These landscapes were in turn obliterated by David Hewes "steam paddy," a process also fueled by speculative investment on the water and sand lots that mimicked the larger scale land rush occurring across the west (Booker 2013; Dreyfus 2009). Like other large landholders during this period, fending off squatters was a difficult task for San Francisco's land owners, and the federal government was no exception. The boundaries of the Presidio were first formally established at the end of 1851, when President Fillmore settled claims to land between Point San Jose, today's Fort Mason, and the Presidio, separating the base from what would become the main point of embarkation for the next century. This space between the Presidio and San Francisco was then gradually opened up to speculators and squatters, annexed by the Van Ness Ordinance of 1855.

During this time, the fantastic amount of gold moving through the Golden Gate necessitated the construction of batteries at Alcatraz and Fort Point, the place of the old Spanish Castillo de San Juaquin, at the narrowest passage at the mouth of the Golden Gate. Built between 1853 and 1861, these were the last of the "third system" seacoast defenses first developed in the wake of the British assault on Washington in the War of 1812, derived from the 18th century concepts of Vauban and Montalembert, with angular masonry walls and guns placed low to ricochet fire across the surface of the water at the sides of ships (Lewis 1979). Characteristic of the next century of defensive installations at the Golden Gate, the Third System Batteries were obsolete by the time they were completed, with muzzle-loading canons too slow to track steam ships, too weak for ironclad armor, and high masonry walls too vulnerable for rifled, breach loading guns.

With outbreak of the Civil War coinciding with the completion of fortifications at Fort Point and Alcatraz, the Presidio definitively began its process of gradual sprawl as a bay front road replaced the path through the dunes to San Francisco in 1864 (Lipsky 2004). Often hastily and irregularly constructed, cheap frame or adobe structures, such as barracks, storehouses, laundry buildings, officer's quarters, guardhouses, carpentry and blacksmith workshops, servant shanties, outhouses, stables, etc., gradually dotted the landscape. This somewhat haphazard development was grounded by the quadrangle established by the Spanish, which reinforced itself as an anchor for the base when it was expanded to create a parade ground, 1,600 feet north to south and 400 feet wide. On the eastern edge of the base, along Lombard and Greenwich streets, an urban economy of bars

and brothels began to emerge. The most notable was the Harbor View, opened in 1862 and billed as "the Coney Island of San Francisco," which bestowed its name on the low-lying agricultural waterfront between the Point San Jose and the Presidio. The Harbor View, a popular outpost of a North Beach bath house near what is now the Palace of Fine Arts, provided the impetus for the gradual construction of the rail network in the area beginning in 1866.

The Making of an Open Post: The Presidio in Victorian San Francisco

The manic development of San Francisco and the wider Bay Area, triggered by the gold rush and fueled by speculation on railroad and water infrastructure, dialectically established San Francisco as the center of the American environmentalist tradition. This took form in the establishment of a state park at Yosemite and a movement to establish a "Central Park" in the city, both of which involved Frederick Law Olmsted (Fein 1972; Rybczynski 1999). While Golden Gate Park was modeled after Central Park and European precedents, the case of Yosemite was more novel. However, both reflected concerns about national identity in the wake of the frontier closing and the changing demographics wrought by industrialization and immigration. For media theorist Peter Grusin, establishing a park like Yosemite, which few would ever visit, illustrates the constitution of what he terms a "nature machine." Specifically, this concept describes the ways the nature park comes into being through the mechanical reproduction and distribution of landscape imagery. In this case, it is the lithographs made by Ayers, which featured in *Hutchinson's California Magazine*, and the glass plate photographs by Carleton Waktins, including Frederick Law Olmsted's report to Congress, that circulated through galleries and salons of New York.[28]

In the case of Golden Gate Park, as discussed in the introduction, similar parks found wide support in responding to a variety of social concerns in an urbanizing country that had recently emerged from civil war, with Olmsted specifically citing Germany's *Volksparks* as a model. This was especially true in the San Francisco Bay Area where rapid development during the Gold Rush, paired with little planning besides O'Farrell's grid, left only a few urban squares and private gardens as public spaces. Olmsted's time in California resulted in Oakland's Mountain View Cemetery and plans for the University of California. In San Francisco, he recommended a large "Rural Ground and Promenade" along Van Ness Avenue, connecting Point San Jose to today's the mid-Market area, then the western edge of the city. Olmsted's initial vision a park as a ceremonial processional, emphasized the military character of the Presidio and Point San Jose, integrated into the fabric of the city. However, political debate, aesthetic preferences for New York's singular large Central Park, and economic interest led to the abandonment of Olmsted's vision in favor of a large park that could serve as an engine to develop San Francisco west to the Pacific Ocean. These parameters established as Golden Gate Park in 1870 (Young 2004).

Nevertheless, many continued to lobby for establishing the Presidio as part of this park. Interested parties targeted the base in an 1869 law suit to remove 5,000 acres of land in California from federal control. As a result, its boundaries were regularized in a systematic survey in 1870 that replaced Filmore's 1851 decree, which relied on a topographical description. While lawsuits from affluent and well connected squatters did manage to chip away at small plots east of Lyon Street, which was extended to the bay as part of the 1870 survey, the federal government maintained the marshlands or "lower presidio" that would become Crissy Field (E. N. Thompson 1997). That year, City Bill 370 proposed transferring the Presidio to the City of San Francisco for the purposes of a public park, followed by another initiative that proposed leasing the land to the city for park purposes. A compromise was reached in 1874, when the policy of making the Presidio an "open

post" for the public emerged from these petitions, and San Francisco was permitted to build roads on the reservation in areas not used for military purposes. Following this resolution, the Presidio served as a public stage for the 4th of July "Sham Battle" commemorating the centennial of 1876, with thousands of San Franciscans making their way to the hilltops surrounding the base.

The Presidio continued to develop as part of the San Francisco urban landscape and public life. In 1878, a congressional act required army officers to give up rented quarters and move to the nearest army posts, triggering renovations and new construction in the Presidio and other military installations around the Golden Gate. By 1880 the Presidio housed 275 soldiers (not including an unknown number of civilians, including servants, who were often Chinese, and women and children related to soldiers), while San Francisco had grown to a population of 234,000. In the final decades of the 19th century, areas to the east of the Presidio took on a more urban character, including the development of Golden Gate Park and areas west of Van Ness, with a rail line built by the Presidio Railroad Company providing regular service from Market Street ferry landings. General McDowell also encouraged the development of Arguello Boulevard in San Francisco and developed a landscape plan for the post, including the beginnings of a plan to establish the Presidio forest. This plan took form in 1883, with the aim of making the contrast between the installation and the city as great as possible, "indirectly accentuating the idea of the power of Government" (E. N. Thompson 1997). The first mass plantings were recorded on California's first Arbor Day in 1886 when school children planted trees donated by Adolph Sutro, with plantings continuing over the following decades.

In the years after the Civil War, United States Coastal Defenses fell behind, as gun powder gave way to chemical propellants, iron gave way to steel, and the aforementioned improvements in breach loading guns. In a move towards the bunker typology, improvised earthwork parapets were installed in the bluffs above Fort Point, known as East and West Batteries, an improvement on the earthen and masonry upgrades installed at Point San Jose.[29] However, the strategic location of the Presidio demanded a more comprehensive system. President Grover Cleveland formed the Endicott Commission in 1885, resulting in twenty-nine modernized coastal defense stations across the country. Construction began on the new batteries on the West Coast in 1891, which contrasted with the Vauban-inspired Third System forts that had low-profile concrete embankments meant to blend in with the landscape, with most of the engineering work going into expensive high performance weaponry (Lewis 1979). These batteries were built above Fort Point, as well as on the Pacific Coast, near what would become Fort Winifred Scott, Fort Miley near Land's End, Fort Mason on Black Point, Fort McDowell on Angel Island, and Fort Baker and Fort Barry in the Marin Headlands.

While Cleveland was himself not an expansionist, the construction of the Endicott Batteries signaled the dawn of a new era in the Presidio, San Francisco, and the west. As the final Indian Wars wound down following the Civil War, military presence in the Bay Area would steadily increase with mounting civil unrest following the depression of the late 1870s. By 1886 the U.S. Army was charged with administering the National Park Service, and when Yosemite was established as a National Park, it was managed by solders commanded out of the Presidio (E. N. Thompson 1997).

The Presidio and San Francisco's Oceanic Hinterland

By the 1890s, a "second industrial revolution" associated with electrical, chemical, and nascent information technology that transformed Berlin also began to take hold in San Francisco. Similarly, technology transfer from mining (and maritime activity) propelled by military contracts and speculative capital flooding the region set the basic framework for Silicon Valley (Lotchin 1992;

[29] These installations were documented by Edward Mubridge in 1868-1872

Sturgeon 2000). The 1890 census department declared the frontier closed on the basis of tabulations using computer punch cards, and with the Indian Wars that had drawn Presidio troops to locations as distant as Oregon, Montana, Idaho, and Arizona being largely over, smaller military installations throughout the west were consolidated.[30] Even before American military power began to expand outwards, the Presidio became the largest artillery garrison in the US, and heavy industry, like iron works, proliferated along the bayshore even though legal disputes hampered the reclamation of the waterlots and industrial development in the Harborview area west of Point San Jose. San Francisco was therefore positioned as a staging ground for the US Military to compete with emerging empires of Japan and Germany for the waning Spanish Empire's Pacific territories, establishing an "Oceanic Hinterland" centered on Hawaii and the Philippines following the 1898 Spanish-American War.

The unprecedented mobilization demanded by the Filipino-American War tested the infrastructure of both the city and the military. Soldiers from around the country poured into San Francisco's Ferry Building, traveling across the city by foot and streetcar to the Presidio where they were housed and trained before embarking across the Pacific to face a complex counter-insurgency. As discussed in the introduction, the logistical demands of the long distance and complex conflict provoked new military technologies. The Philippines was the first live conflict deployment of the US Division of Military Information, which used computational social network analysis to wage the first war fought with the telephone, and that was managed remotely from a new "war room" in the White House, necessitating the completion of a trans-pacific cable from San Francisco, to Honolulu, to Manila (McCoy 2015).

With the 1905 Taft Sea-Coast Defense Board recommendations, harbors in San Francisco, Honolulu and Manila were outfitted with defensive systems of breach-loading guns in reinforced concrete emplacements meant to blend into the landscape, similar to the Endicott Batteries recently constructed around the Presidio. In the Bay Area, the Taft board upgraded those Endicott batteries with the latest information and communications technology, including electric search lights and telephones to compute and command fire control across the expanded range of the high-powered guns. As a result of these weapons systems, artillery installations both grew in size and territorial extent, and required a new class of technically trained soldiers (Lewis 1979). A new command center for the Harbor Defense network was planned for Fort Winifred Scott on the western edge of the base above Fort Point, as well as embarkation facilities at Fort Mason, to obviate the need for soldiers to travel across the city to the Ferry Terminal (Thompson idb.).[31]

Historians describe Fort Scott as the base's first designed landscape, and a closer look at the architecture built at end of the Filipino-American War explicates the relationship between aesthetics and technology in the larger imperial apparatus by providing distinct parallels with urban development in western San Francisco. These projects can be attributed to Major William Harts whose 1907 report constitutes one of the earliest comprehensive planning documents for the base. Inspired by the grandeur of Daniel Burnham's 1905 plan for the city, Harts broke with Army standards and hired civilian architects to produce buildings that responded to the local conditions of California for a modern Port of Embarkation at Fort Mason and the Fort Scott Campus. Inspired by research visits to San Gabriel Mission, Philadelphia architects Rankin, Kellog, and Crane, drew upon historicist Mission Revival style for the most modern and technologically sophisticated buildings.

The Mission Revival style can be identified as part of a broader revival of colonial architecture in the U.S. that followed the Centennial, though the distinct Californian substyle also corresponded with the unique context of the final dismantling of the Rancho land grants. Fittingly,

[30] 1891, Presidio cavalry was charged with protecting Yosemite Sequoia and General Grant national parks.
[31] Thompson excludes Presidio Forest, the Golf Course, and vernacular landscape practices in his assertion of Fort Scott as the first designed landscape.

the style was adopted by the military as it overtook Spain's colonial processions in the Pacific, and the broader Spanish Revival style predominated the Panama-Pacific Exhibition of 1916. The turn towards history in the face of rapid technological change that occurred during this period also saw the first designation of the Presidio as a historic landmark (E. N. Thompson 1997). This dynamic is also evident on a national level, with the passage of the Antiquities Act of 1906, which provided the legal framework for unilateral designation of national monuments, many of which became national parks, by the President. It followed the Newlands Reclamation Act of 1902, which provided the water and electrical infrastructure that enabled the widespread urbanization of California and the West, triggering the conservation versus preservation debates that defined this phase of American environmentalism (Pincetl 1999).

In the City of San Francisco, these changes are associated with the politician James D. Phelan, a socially-conservative urban reformer elected mayor in 1896. Phelan consolidated power with a new city charter in 1900, and spearheaded the movement for a "Greater San Francisco," incorporating neighboring Bay Area cities and securing water infrastructure to ensure adequate growth and sanitation on a regional scale (Brechin 2006; Ethington 1994). As part of a wider expansion of the city's governmental apparatus in an effort to scientifically improve its landscape infrastructure, Phalen expanded the parks commission and converted it to a municipal department rather than an independent state-chartered board, resulting in a generation of new "rationalistic" parks and landscape improvements across San Francisco (Young 2004). In addition to economic boosterism, the park movement responded to disease outbreaks in Chinatown and the camps of soldiers that spilled out from the Presidio which contributed to racialized concerns about urban sanitation (Coats 2006). In the case of the latter, the Army began construction on modern barracks and what would become Letterman General Hospital between 1898 and 1902 on the eastern edge of the base. Continuously updated over the subsequent decades, Letterman General Hospital become a center for medical research and care in the U.S. Army, treating specialized cases not only from San Francisco's "oceanic hinterland" but from across the country within five years of its opening (Thompson idb).

On the Presidio's southern and eastern borders, the city was quickly urbanizing, with the historical migration of aspirational middle-class families westward as industrialization spread to older parts of the city. This migration acceleration with the 1906 earthquake, which also saw the center of the Japanese community move from the eastern waterfront to the Western Addition area, subdividing and densifying the previously middle-class cable car suburb of Victorian single-family homes. As the city closed in, hilltop neighborhoods of Pacific Heights and Presidio Heights between the Presidio and the Western Addition became even more exclusive. For of these elites neighborhoods, the "decline" of the Victorian suburban character of the Western Addition following the earth quake served as a source of anxiety and proved to be a powerful axis of urban politics in the first half of the 20th century (Horiuchi 2016; Walker 1995). In particular, the new Presidio Terrace development, beginning in 1905 just outside the Presidio's Arguello Gate, manifests important dynamics between environment and design within processes of urbanization during this period. An early example of the planned residential communities that would proliferate around San Francisco and the wider region, many of which were also built by Presidio Terrance's developer Baldwin and Howell, Presidio Terrace featured electric streetlights, underground utilities, and roads designed for automobiles set within an imposing gate designed by Albert Pissis, the progenitor of Beaux-Arts style in San Francisco. Presidio Terrace was also an early example of developer imposed restrictive covenants in San Francisco, constraining the subdivision of lots, commercial activity, architectural form, and the race of buyers the name of maintaining environmental quality.

As this section shows, the case of the Presidio provides a direct link between the geopolitical and the urban. Many of the developments presented in the following discussion of the Panama Pacific Exposition, were executed by Major General Leonard Wood, James D. Phelan's military counterpart in developing the landscape in and around the Presidio at the turn of the century. Wood was appointed Chief of Staff by President Taft in 1910 after serving as Governor of Cuba and before serving in the same position in the Philippines; he was also Roosevelt's second in command in the "Rough Riders," and shared a progressive, imperialist, and anti-communist viewpoint. This perspective is reflected in landscape infrastructure improvements, such as model camps open to the public and the production of the first U.S Army recruitment film in the Presidio in 1913 (Bonnett and Beckett 2012; McCallum 2005). These developments were part of a broader series of reforms for a mechanized "mobile army" that could quickly quell civil unrest at home and abroad while the buildup of a "two ocean navy" channeled federal funds into San Francisco (Lotchin 1992).

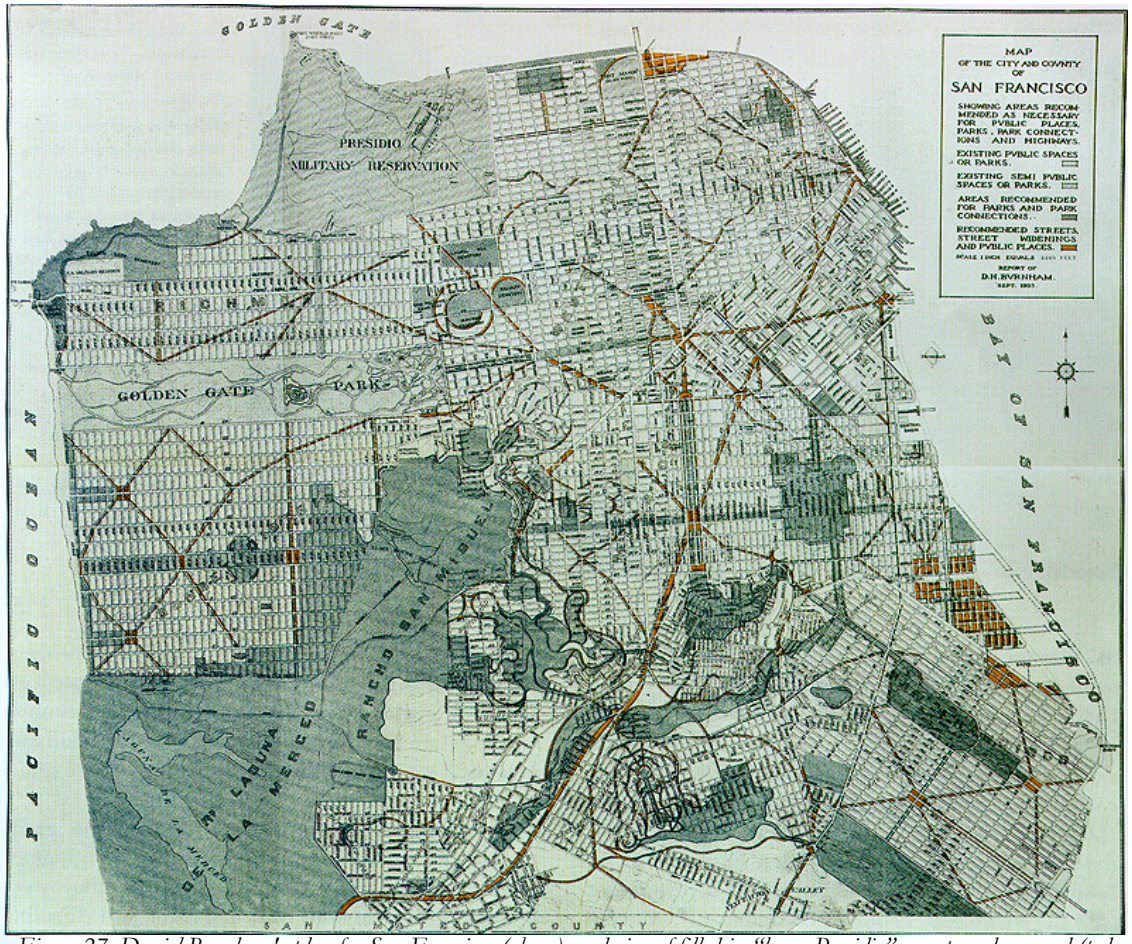
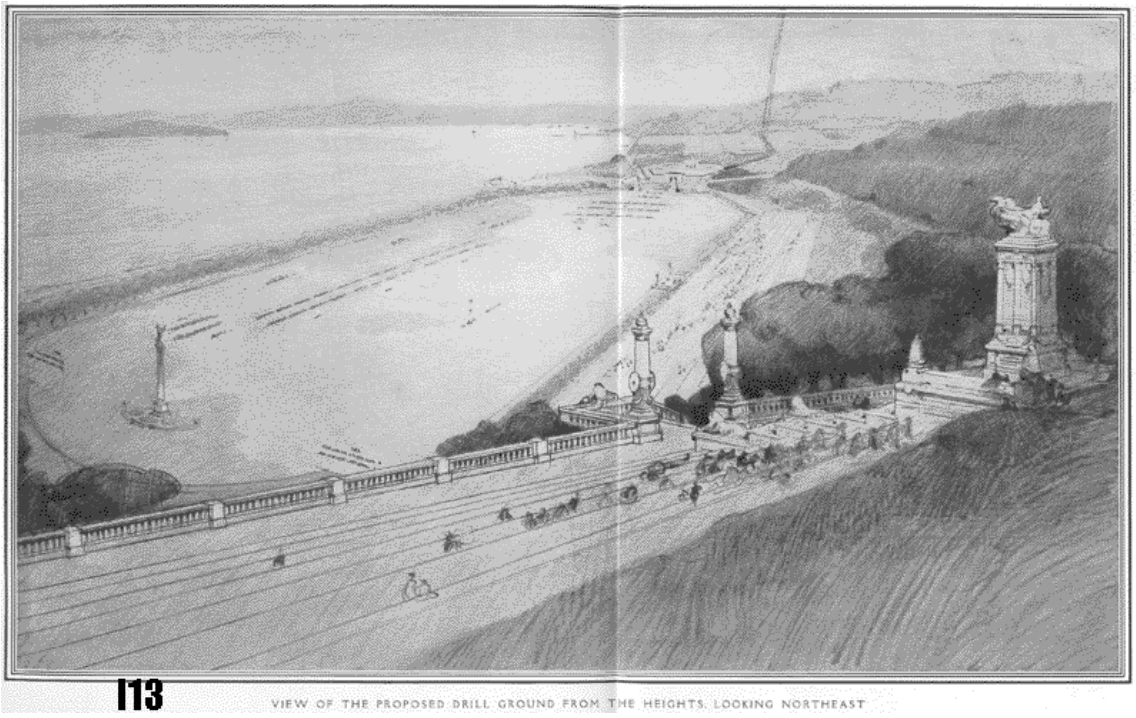


Figure 27: Daniel Burnham's plan for San Francisco (above) rendering of filled in "lower Presidio" as a parade ground (today's Crissy Field (below).



The Panama-Pacific Exhibition and the Making of Crissy Field

Save for early afforestation initiatives, the Presidio was first taken as an object of urban design in Daniel Burnham's 1905 study on San Francisco. The undertaking was spurred by an invitation from Mayor Phelan, who was also the founder of City Beautiful organizations like the Merchants Association and the Association for the Adornment of San Francisco. While the most well-known result of the plan was likely the creation of San Francisco's Civic Center and the preservation of hilltops as open spaces, Burnham recognized the growing importance of the Presidio in light of recent imperial expansion. Picking up were Olmsted left off, Burnham aimed for a forceful integration of the military into the civic landscape. In line with his classical iconography deployed in the Athenaeum on Twin Peaks, he sought to stage the landscape of the base as a monument to the US Army.

This entailed making the space, "already in measure a public park," more accessible to the rest of the city through a series of promenades and boulevards proposed for the city, many of which were diagonals that cut across the grid (Burnham et al. 1905).[32] With regards to existing plan of the Presidio Parkway along 13th and 14th Avenues, Burnham declared, "at the end of each connecting parkway there should be a *Place"* (emphasis original). Perhaps most significantly, Burnham identified the "unrivaled view of the Golden Gate," and called for the creation of a drill ground on the marshes of the lower Presidio, now Crissy Field. Though Burnham's plans for San Francisco were largely put aside following the earthquake of 1906, some aspects were incorporated in Major William Harts' 1907 report on the base, including the filling of Crissy Field.

As the city rebuilt itself, it leaned on its recently secured oceanic hinterland not only for economic purposes but also for civic pride. This was tipped off by the ceremonial entrance of the "great white fleet" through the Golden Gate upon return from Tokyo, watched by hundreds of thousands gathered in the headlands, and culminating in the Panama Pacific Exhibition of 1915 (Brechin 2006; E. N. Thompson 1997). Key aspects of both Burnham's city plan and Harts' 1907 report on the Presidio were executed in preparation for the Panama-Pacific Exhibition, including filling the "Lower Presidio" and extending the 75-foot-wide Presidio Parkway into the base. Beyond the Presidio, the Panama Pacific Exhibition was a major redevelopment project, foreshadowing the large scale clean-slate urban renewal demolition of mid-century. Beyond providing the impetus for the Army's long held plans to fill the Lower Presidio, exhibition planners purchased and demolished the entire Harbor View waterfront neighborhood, including apartment buildings, factories, and the eponymous resort. In light of this radical transformation, it is unsurprising a sentiment of historic preservation prompted the designation of the Presidio as a historic landmark during this time. Like Fort Scott, the Exhibition embraced Spanish revival styles, though leaning more heavily into the baroque. At the same time, it was also an unabashed celebration of modernity, featuring a demonstration Model T assembly line and the construction of an airfield on the western portion of the site where crowds would witness several groundbreaking feats in aviation.[33]

Following the fair, the Army continued to use the new land created at Crissy Field for its early aviation operations, and in 1919, the site was designated as an Air Coast Defense Station. From here, pilots conducted the first aerial surveys of California, and integrated observation of artillery fire into the feedback loops between Fort Scott and the batteries that triangulated targets around the

[32] As Mel Scott notes, many of Burnham's thoroughfares foreshadowed the alignment of the freeways of the 1950s and 60s. (M. Scott 1985)

[33] The 1911 air meet in South San Francisco witnessed the first airplane to fly through the golden gate, the Army's first aerial reconnaissance exercise, the first sea bound take-off and landing, the first successful message from air-to-land, and the first aerial armaments test conducted by the Presidio's Lt. Myron Crissy for whom the field would be named (Thompson idb.)

Golden Gate, which were also upgraded with anti-aircraft guns the following year (Thompson idb.). The eastern edge side of the field handled civilian traffic as Marina Airfield, with the arrival of mail service in 1920 as aviation matured as a military and commercial endeavor. On the military side, Crissy Field became the most important airfield in the West, and was the site of numerous milestones in the history of aviation (Haller 1994). This corresponded to permanent upgrades to the airfield, including the laying of a clay surface seeded with grass, and the construction of service buildings and barracks, a landscape Marshal Foch famously dubbed "the last word in airfields" during a visit at the end of 1921. However, 1924 plans to expand both the eastern civilian and western military airfields with more landfill stalled, and when the US Post Office opted to contract out airmail service in 1926, city officials and entrepreneurs jockeyed for other larger sites to the south and east (Scott idb.). Municipal airports established in Oakland and San Bruno foreclosed the possibility of the northern San Francisco waterfront as a site of aviation. Crissy Field continued to be vital to military operations until 1936 and the construction of the Golden Gate Bridge, when routine aviation operations decamped for larger fields in sunnier parts of the bay.

The Golden Gate Bridge and the Metropolitan Region

The rise and fall of aviation at Crissy Field reflects the larger process of industrial decentralization in the region that began with the establishment of the transcontinental rail terminus in Oakland and accelerated as the regional industrial economy shifted from mining equipment to petroleum, chemicals, and automobiles largely centered in the East Bay. This trend permitted the emphasis on livability pursued by Mayor Phelan, Daniel Burnham, and the Panama-Pacific Expo. With much of the 19th century industry on the northern waterfront west of Point San Jose demolished, save for the Gasworks, the city created the Marina Green as an urban park for the new neighborhood developing on the vacant flats following the Panama-Pacific Exposition. Intended as a residential community of detached single-family homes on half acre lots with new gas, water, electric telephone and sewer lines, most of the property was eventually subdivided. Known as the Marina, the neighborhood maintained a decidedly middle-class suburban character as it developed in the 1920s, especially along the Marina Green waterfront, which initially attracted upwardly mobile Italian-Americans from the more crowded areas to the south and east (DeLong 1966; Levinsohn 1976; Lipsky 2004).

However, during World War I, a rail tunnel beneath Point San Jose connected Fort Mason to the Ferry Terminals and commercial waterfront, and soon extend along the Marina Green to Crissy Field in the Presidio. The creeping return of industrialization, conflicting with efforts to establish it as a suburban enclave, foreshadowed the urban-environmental politics of the area as the region suburbanized in the post-World War I period. This accelerated in the 1930s, when the Works Progress Administration (WPA) authorized almost $2 million in construction at the Presidio, including an elevated approach to the Golden Gate Bridge. The bridge itself was an entrepreneurial venture, stemming from overloaded ferries on Sunday evenings when Marin County was flooded by day-trippers newly equipped with automobiles. In tandem with the Bay Bridge, which was constructed with federal funds, the crossings immediately killed the ferry system, and the Golden Gate Bridge's intentional lack of a rail crossing heralded the end of that system as well (Brown 1965; M. Scott 1985; Starr 2010; Van der Zee 2000).

The explosion of the San Francisco Bay Area with the proliferation of the automobiles and the Fordist middle class, part of a broader national trend with clear corollaries in Germany, has been the subject of substantial study (K. T. Jackson 1985; Pincetl 1999; M. Scott 1985; Walker 2009). What is significant for this dissertation is that as suburbanization triggered movements for open space and nature conservation, and the Golden Gate Bridge reinforced these movements in its

technological sublime monumentality. While the bridge was initially opposed by conservationists such as Ansel Adams, it soon came to be revered, a subject of Adams' photographs, and the basis for the earliest calls to establish a National Park at the strait (Alinder 2014). This reverence for the bridge, but disdain for what sustains it, is reflected in the Presidio Tunnel Tops scheme to bury the approach as detailed in chapter 7 of this dissertation.

However, in addition to the Doyle Drive approach to the Golden Gate Bridge, WPA funds included $345,000 for Letterman, with 100 buildings covering the hospital's 48 acres by the time the US entered World War II. With Fort Mason as the primary point of embarkation, the northern waterfront reached an apex of industrialization. Tens of thousands of patients flowed through Letterman Hospital, with special hospital train cars devised to shuttle passengers from Fort Mason. Following the war, temporary accommodations were demolished, and the military began planning for a modern hospital complex. Not beginning in earnest until the 1960s, and completed in 1968 by Stone, Marraccini and Patterson, and Milton T. Pflueger, the modern hospital, at a cost of $15.5 million, obliterated the historic street grid remaining from the Pan-American Pacific Expedition. It was later expanded to include a 7.4 million medical research center completed in 1974. Like the rest of the administrative base, the hospital complex became a major employment center in the city, conducting research in conjunction with Stanford, UC Davis, and UCSF. Letterman was the first stop for wounded veterans returning from Vietnam (via bus transfer or airlift from Travis Air Force Base). However, by this time the base also came to be a target of anti-war protesters, especially following the jailing of war resistors and the shooting of a deserter as rumors spread that the Letterman center was secretly preparing experiments targeting those of Asian descent in the city's population (E. N. Thompson 1997).

Underpinning these socio-cultural and spatial phenomena, we can identify specific developments in military technology. Aerial surveillance techniques and fire control concepts developed in part at Crissy Field transferred to the planning sector, providing a new image of the city as the subject of design, and also providing an information feedback loop necessary for "continuous master planning" (Branch 1971). This was reflected not only in the systematic aerial surveys of the 1930s, but in the construction of the first comprehensive scale model of the city by the WPA in 1940 (Nolte 2010). While this "continuous master planning" was constrained largely within expert institutions, the WPA model later served as the base model for the UC Berkeley Environmental Simulation Laboratory, developed by Professor of City & Regional Planning Donald Appleyard, which grew out of Kevin Lynch and Giorgy Keppes' experiments in developing a pluralistic vision of the city.

At the same time, aerospace and information communication technologies rendered the Presidio largely an administrative "paper post." Subsequent improvements leading into WWII, like anti-aircraft guns, radar, and camouflage, further expanded up and down along the Pacific Coast in the footprint of harbor defense. However, as targets moved from the sea to the air, the cold-war doctrine of mutually-assured destruction and intercontinental ballistic missiles rendered obsolete even the latest generation of post-war anti-aircraft Nike systems surrounding the Golden Gate by the end of the 1960s. The base continued to develop in this capacity, eventually triggering a backlash by neighbors discussed in the next chapters. However, given the popularity of the post amongst military personnel and its importance to the regional economy, many thought the base would never definitively close. It was not until the Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1989 that this actually occurred. Hatcher has identified the cost of living in California as a major driver, and while direct defense spending in California declined from a high in 1968, from fifteen percent of the state's economy to 7.8 percent by 1992, this shift was also accompanied by a slew of direct and indirect subsidies to private technology firms and research institutions in Silicon Valley that would eventually lead to the "Dot Com Boom" of the 1990s (Hatcher 1994).

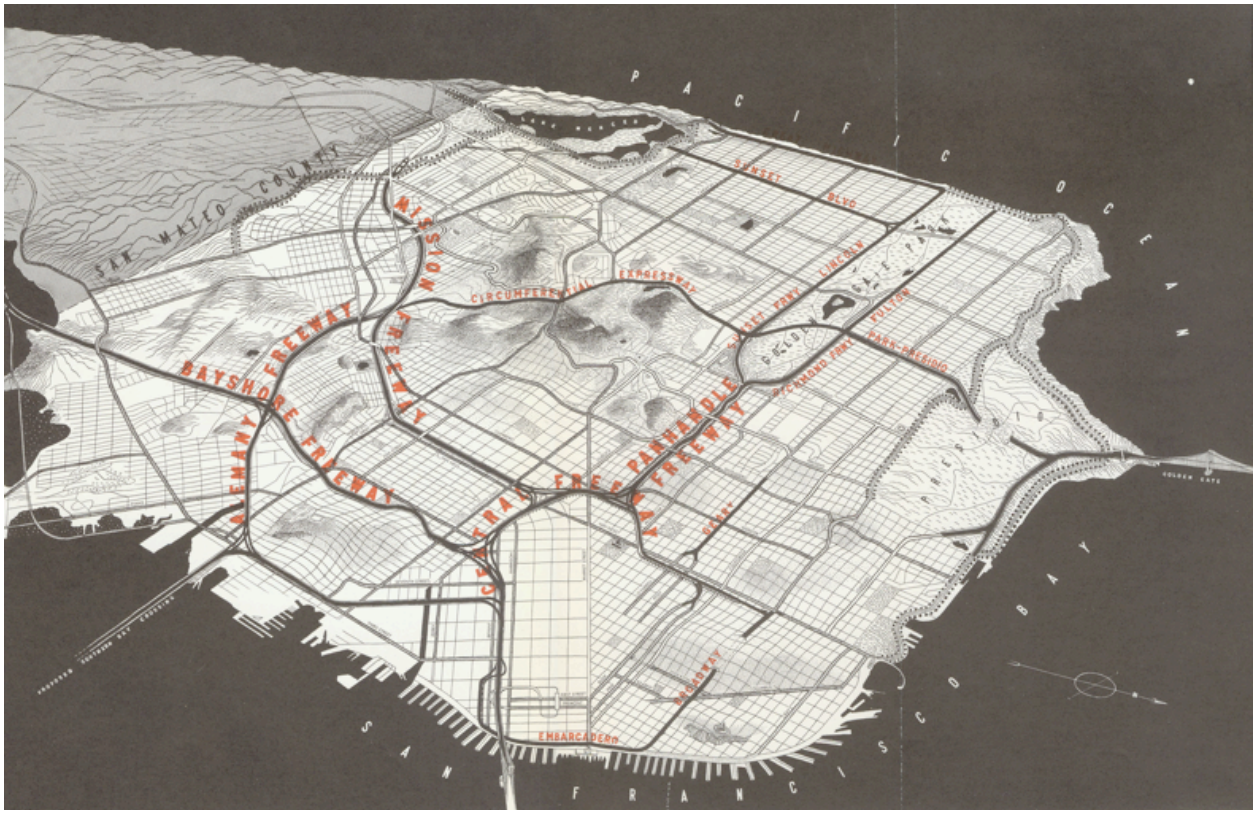


Figure 28: Freeway Plan for San Francisco. Source: "A Report to the City Planning Commission on a Transportation Plan for San Francisco" (De Leuw and Ladislas Segoe and Associates 1948)

Chapter 6: Landscape and Environment in Post-War San Francisco

This chapter presents the historical context for the emergence of Presidio Trust, including the development of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area and the Golden Gate Parks Association. Articulating the relationship between these institutions begins with the national politics and internal dynamics within the National Park Service that led to the first studies for the GGNRA. A second section examines the regional context of the San Francisco Bay Area in the 1960s in which these plans began to circulate. It then examines the formation of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, the park's gradual expansion and the rise of its private park partners that increasingly exerted power over the planning and design of the park as discussed further in the next chapter. The climax of this trend towards privatization is the formation of the Presidio Trust in 1996, detailed at the end of this chapter.

From Mission 66 to Parks to the People: The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and Nixon's National Recreation System

As presented in the introduction, the idea of a National Recreation Area can be traced to a 1935 interagency agreement between the Bureau of Reclamation and the National Park Service at Lake Mead. However, the concept of a National Recreation Area System emerges later, out of the "Mission 66" modernization program undertaken by the National Park Service, coinciding with the

Interstate Highway Act and closely coordinated with the American Automobile Association. The initiative, launched in 1956, sought to respond to the criticisms of neglected facilities in existing parks, and lay out a plan for a rapidly growing and increasingly mobile post-World War II population in time for the 50th anniversary of the agency. Planners anticipated accommodating 80 million visitors by 1966 (roughly half the US population at the program's onset in 1956) (Wirth 1980). Additionally, the program entailed extensive surveys and design research, reflective of broader post-war trends of improving government service provision through predictive algorithms and computational systems analysis derived from military research (Futrell 1976; Light 2005) (Kim 2016). These studies included user and ecological research, overlapping and sometimes coming into conflict with the Wilderness Act of 1963. Throughout this time of inquiry, design emerged as a way to resolve tensions between social demands for public access with cultural ideas of pristine nature and climax ecosystems.

Two years into Mission 66, Congress created the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC) to evaluate recreation needs and resources and develop recommended actions. With Laurence Rockefeller selected as the first chairmen by President Eisenhower in 1958, the evaluation culminated in the 1962 report *Outdoor Recreation for America* (Foresta 1984; United States 1962). The report surveyed some 16,000 individuals to develop an understanding of outdoor recreation in America, gathering information on their economic status and social background, including age, race, sex, and mobility levels. The frequency of recreational activities, like fishing, hunting, nature walks, bicycling, sightseeing, walking for pleasure, camping, picnicking, driving for pleasure, swimming, boating, as well as winter skiing in northern cities, were also surveyed. Findings indicated that outdoor opportunities were most needed near metropolitan areas, where water ways would be a valued focal point, and that recreation was often compatible with other resource uses, such as wildlife and watershed management, historic preservation, timber harvesting, etc. It also identified outdoor recreation, like other leisure activities, as being of growing importance with potential economic benefits in light of the anticipated reduction in working hours brought by technological advances. Recommendations included developing a system for classifying recreation resources as well as the formation of a Bureau of Outdoor Recreation to coordinate recreational planning between federal agencies as well as with state and local governments. The BOR would also administer a federal grant program to assist states in planning and acquiring recreational facilities through a Land and Water Conservation Fund (J. Smith 1972; Foresta 1984; K. T. Jackson 1985).[34]

The Secretary of Interior then founded the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, formally established with the passage of the National Outdoor Recreation Act in 1963. This resulted in a National Recreation Plan, as well as the formation of a Federal Recreation Advisory Council. The Council consisted of the Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, Health, Education and Welfare, and Interior, chaired by the Tennessee Valley Authority and administered by the Federal Housing Agency. Notably absent was the National Park Service, which viewed the BOR as an encroachment, until Kennedy's Interior Secretary Udall dismissed NPS Director Conrad Wirth, whom they viewed as a holdover from the previous administration (Foresta 1984). In its first policy statement in March of 1963 the Council outlined a system of National Recreation Areas as "areas which have natural endowments…well above the ordinary in quality and recreation appeal…being of lesser significance than the unique scenic and historic elements of the National Park System, but affording a quality of recreation experience which transcends that normally associated with areas provided by State and local governments…"

These were understood as "spacious areas" of at least 20,000 acres of land and water surface, except for riverways or coastal strips in areas where population in a 250-mile radius was in excess of

30 million people. Intended to be "nonurban in character," they should nonetheless be within 250 miles of urban centers. Areas should have a high capacity for intensive use and be significant enough to assure regional interstate patronage. Moreover, the scale of investment and development should be high enough to require federal involvement. In terms of land use, recreation was to be the "dominant or primary management purpose." However, natural resource utilization as well as the conservation of other "scenic, historic, scientific, scarce, or disappearing resources" would be allowed if compatible with recreation purposes (Recreation Advisory Council 1963). The BOR produced a National Outdoor Recreation Plan in 1969 with the two "Gateways" conceived as prototypes for the new kind of park, as well as other potential recreation zones near urban areas. These included waterways around the DC area including the Potomac, Anacostia, and C&O canals, the upper reaches of the Connecticut River, the Chattahoochee River north of Atlanta, the Meramec River outside St. Louise, the Buffalo Bayou in Houston, foothills outside Denver, and an Upper Mississippi NRA in Iowa and Minnesota (Futrell 1976). However, the project to develop a comprehensive National Outdoor Recreation Plan stalled at the Office of Management and Budget and was never widely circulated (J. Smith 1972).

Following the appointment of George Hartzog as director in 1964, the National Park Service began to join the Democratic administration's program of providing mass recreational opportunities within urban regions. This began with new "National Seashores" including Point Reyes, on the northern edge of the San Francisco Bay Area, in addition to Cape Cod, Padre Island, Fire Island, Assateague, as well as the first "National Lakeshore" at Pictured Rocks on Lake Superior and the Indiana Dunes on Lake Michigan. Nevertheless, as race riots broke out across the country by the middle of the 1960s, racial inequity became an increasing focus of recreation studies, with the 1967 Kerner Commission Report on Riots and Civil Disorders noting the lack of open space and discrepancy in recreation opportunities in the inner city (Futrell 1976; Foresta 1984).[35] Accordingly, a 1968 Presidential Advisory Commission reported to President Johnson that the federal government lacked a comprehensive approach to meeting the urban dweller's need for outdoor recreation, urging the formation of a task force to "review the needs of the urban areas and to evaluate existing federal programs in terms of meeting those needs…" This resulted in a more prominent role for the National Park Service in urban America, operationalized in a policy of "Parks to the People" that was formulated by Interior Secretary Hickel in 1969. This policy aimed to specifically examine possible military lands that could be made available for public outdoor recreation use following recommendations by the Citizen's Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality, citing Public Law 90-645 that authorized the Secretary of Defense to create public recreation development and maintenance programs.

Visioning the Golden Gate as a National Recreation Area

1969 was also the year in which the San Francisco Field Office of the National Park Service assembled a six-person team led by BOR official Ray Murray to develop a proposal for Alcatraz. After having been decommissioned in 1963, the island captured the public's imagination, and Secretary of the Interior Hickel issued a memorandum for a study of Alcatraz as a park space on October 27th, 1969. In a few short weeks, a research team created *A New Look at Alcatraz,* which was

[35] Catherine V. Richards, of the Children's Bureau at the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare writes, "professional personnel in recreation recognize Negro participation is extremely limited and admit that they are unable to stimulate broader interest. Few directors have tried consciously to analyze the problem and take definite steps to promote interracial participation or reduce the tension" in Journal of Leisure Research 1.1. (1969).

submitted for review on November 25th, five days after the island became subject to international attention as it was occupied by the American Indian Movement (T. R. Johnson 1996). The Alcatraz report recommended that the Secretary of the Interior "authorize a more deliberate and comprehensive study of other recreation resources in the SF Bay Area to determine the feasibility of establishing a Golden Gate National Recreation Area…" According to NPS landscape architect and research team member Doug Nadeau, the team immediately realized that Alcatraz could be combined with other Federal Lands in the area to create a park with exciting potential.

Based on oral interviews of the team members, the degree to which pre-war ideas for some sort of National Park at the Golden Gate such as espoused by Ansel Adams influenced their vision is unclear. Nadeau described a "spillover" within the research team from the Parks to the People initiative and the Regional Planning Association's proposal for a park at the Gateways in New York and New Jersey. Also, team leader and BOR official Roy Murray was aware the NIKE missile system was obsolete, having worked at an installation on the east coast in the early 1960s. In either case, Nadeau and other team members were Bay Area residents working out of the San Francisco NPS west region office and would have been well aware of local conservation and urban politics, as well as the distribution of the Bay Area's NIKE sites. On Dec 2nd, 1969, with the American Indian Occupation turning into an international spectacle, Hickel heeded the recommendation made in "A New Look at Alcatraz" and requested a follow-up report from the BOR and NPS, resulting in the proposal "The Golden Gate: A Matchless Opportunity."

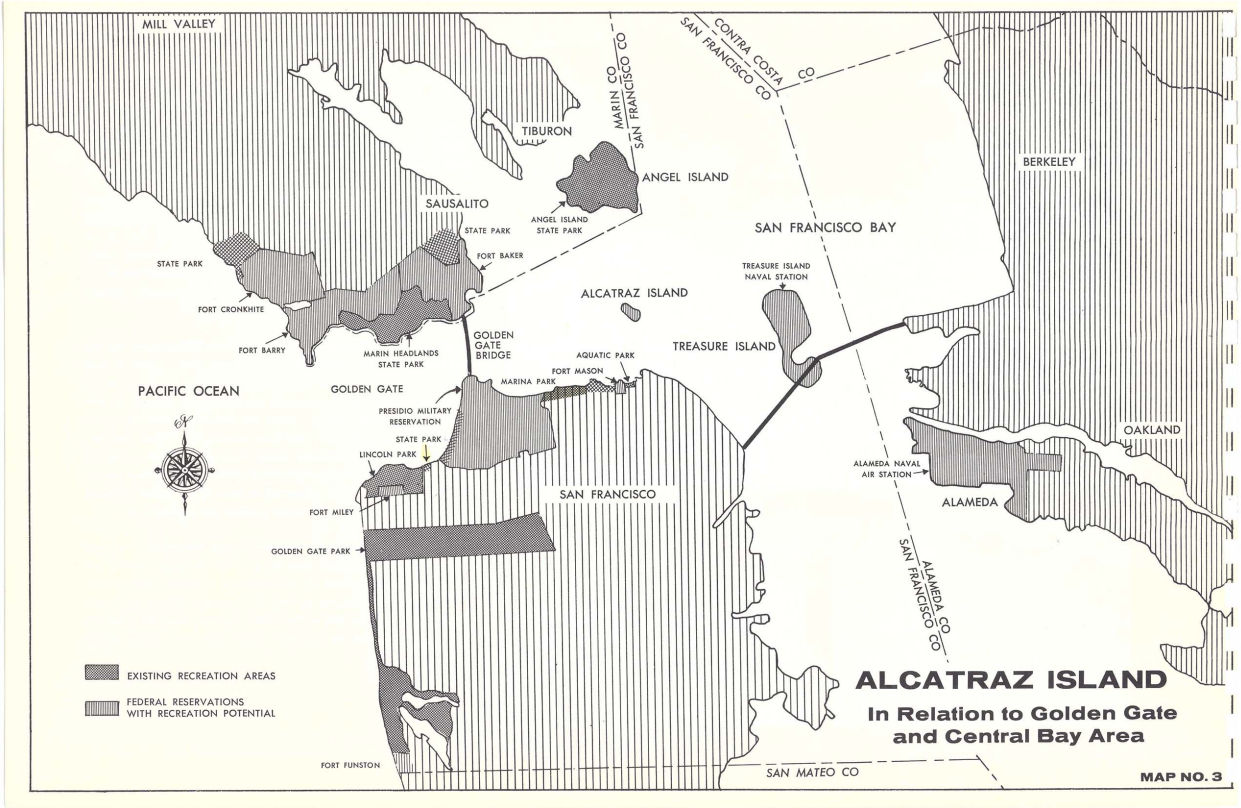


Figure 29: 1969 Proposal for Alcatraz includes potential of a broader Golden Gate National Recreation Area using existing federal lands and state and local open spaces.

Like the broader BOR National Outdoor Recreation Plan, *A Matchless Opportunity* was not widely circulated outside the government. It was not until Sierra Club members living in San Francisco's Outer Richmond district voiced opposition to the construction of a Federal Records Center at Fort Miley did word of the plan circulate, likely from John H. Jacobs, director of the San Francisco Planning and Urban Renewal Association (later San Francisco Urban Research Association, or SPUR) (Meyer and Delehanty 2006).[36] With the help of Sierra Club president Edgar Wayburn, Richmond neighborhood activist Amy Meyer created the organization People for the Golden Gate National Recreation Area (PFGGNRA), which functioned as an umbrella group through which San Francisco neighbors and suburban groups opposing development in West Marin County could combine their efforts. Crucially, Amy Meyer reports never having actually seen *Matchless Opportunity* until writing her memoir, only being made aware of its existence by more politically connected Sierra Club and SPUR executives. Perhaps most crucially for the purposes of this dissertation, she notes that a fundamental difference between the PFGGNRA vision and *Matchless Opportunity* was the idea of a national park and its associated cultural connotations. With both *Matchless Opportunity* and the broader *National Outdoor Recreation Plan* largely remaining within the Department of the Interior, the concept of a National Recreation Area remained ambiguous, which permitted homeowner activists like Meyer to expound upon the idea of a National Park in their backyards, a long-time goal of Bay Area conservationists, many of whom tended to hail from affluent areas of western San Francisco and West Marin.

In fact, *Matchless Opportunity* did not call for a unified National Park operated by the Park Service. Rather, it designated a target area for block grants from the Land and Water Conservation Fund to develop recreational facilities on lands that would continue to be managed by their respective federal, state, and local agencies (whether DOD land would be transferred to the BOR or NPS or managed by a civilian recreation division within the DOD as per Public Law 90-645 remained a point of debate within the Federal Government). Nevertheless, the spark of the idea of a "national park" would fundamentally shape the politics and aesthetics of the Presidio.

Urban Transformation and Conservation in the San Francisco Bay Area in the 1960s.

This gap between the Federal Government's vision for a National Recreation Area, and the Sierra Club-led PFGGNRA vision for a National Park, would re-emerge as a point of conflict in the 1980s. However, the socio-political context of 1970 permitted a broad coalition to form in support of the GGNRA. In terms of leadership, this entailed an alliance between old style Republican conservationists, such as Sierra Club President Edgar Wayburn and Philip Burton, a Democrat closely tied to labor interests in the tradition of New Deal-style politics (Walker 2009). Additionally, as neighborhood representative, Amy Meyer organized some sixty-five groups to consolidate their political power in the PFGGNRA, from old style conservationists, neighborhood homeowner's associations, and business interests, to labor and ethnic organizations (Rothman idb.). Using their house organ, the *Greenbelt Gazette,* the PFGGNRA was crucial not only in bringing the idea of a National Park to fruition through congressional lobbying, but substantially expanding its territorial extent through local politicking. The urban-political context for this novel environmental coalition was a dramatic transformation of the San Francisco Bay Area, emerging from two decades of surging prosperity that followed WWII.

At a time of visionary planning and spatial restructuring, the region was attempting to consciously shape itself for the 21st century on several fronts. As war-time mobilization wound down, the military scaled down bayfront operations at Sausalito, Angel Island, and the Marin

[36] This group is known today as the San Francisco Bay Area Urban Research Association.

Headlands, while containerized shipping was consolidated in Oakland, dramatically transforming not only San Francisco's commercial waterfront on the northeast rim of the city, but also its working class neighborhoods and social structure (Rubin 2016). Similarly, by the time large scale deployments to Vietnam began in 1965, the Presidio and Fort Mason had given way to Travis Air Force Base as the point of debarkation. Underpinning these economic shifts was the construction of new infrastructures, including a network of urban freeways conceived in the Collier-Burns Act of 1947, which shifted state funding from multipurpose roads to limited access highways and the California Freeway and Expressway Plan of 1959 (K. M. Johnson 2009). At the same time, street car systems were dismantled over the course of the 1950s and 60s as regional planners shifted their focus to developing a Bay Area Regional Transit System (BART) to connect white collar workers in far-flung suburbs to downtown offices, opening the same years as GGNRA legislation in 1972 (Healy 2016). These infrastructures contributed to a centrifugal force, dispersing residents over the region's hills and into agricultural and ranchland areas at what was then an unprecedented rate. By the end of WWII, developers propelled by Federal Housing Authority loans for homeowners transformed most of the remaining hilltops and dunes on San Francisco's west side into single family homes. However, this soon triggered a backlash. As the East and South Bay wetlands were filled for development, the "Save the Bay" movement emerged, leading to the formation of the regional Bay Conservation and Development Commission (Walker idib.)

In the Marin Headlands, developer Thomas Frouge unveiled a plan financed by Gulf Oil for a $285 million (1964 dollars) mixed-use development for 30,000 residents dubbed "Marincello" (Walker 2009; Hart 1979) Likewise, the Marin County Plan of 1964 sought to connect the new Point Reyes National Seashore with the urban agglomeration to the south and with a parkway over the Bolinas Ridge. This entailed substantial developments in the National Seashore, stabilizing dunes and wetlands, and building recreational facilities such as converting the Bolinas lagoon into a Marina, what critics deemed "Jones Beach on the Pacific" (Hart 1979). Marin County had long been a target for conservationists with political efforts to preserve Muir Woods and Mount Tamalpais dating back to the 19th century and the formation of the Sierra Club. The Golden Gate in particular was a popular subject of landscape painting, and construction of the Golden Gate Bridge spurred a preservation movement for the headlands by Sierra Club director Ansel Adams, as well as groups such as the Marin Conservation League led by high society women of the day. These groups tended to reflect more conservative tendencies associated with the character of their constituency of wealthy landowners and industrialists.

However, as early as the end of the 1930s, with the opening of the Golden Gate Bridge, the objectives of these groups began to coalesce with the progressive agendas of urban reformers advocating for regional planning and open space green belts inspired by European modernists, such as le Corbusier and Martin Wagner, as well as British garden city traditions. A key convergence of these political and intellectual approaches can be identified in the San Francisco group Telesis and their 1939 exhibition *Space for Living* in which they presented visions both for massive slum clearance as well as the institution of a regional green belt system. Telesis contributed a regional planning perspective to these conservation movements, coalescing as Citizens for Regional Recreation and Parks in 1958, then People for Open Space in 1968. Under the leadership of Dorothy Erskine, these groups played a large role in lobbying the federal government for the creation of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission of 1958, as well as the State of California's Open Space Study of 1965 (Walker idb.). In the state's Open Space Study, EDAW describes San Francisco as having "nowhere to grow but up," anticipating the Bay Area population of 4 million to double by 1994, while demands for recreation could be expected to quadruple, belying a deeper social and economic transformation. The authors cautioned that the "Golden Gate Parks and Lake Merritt Parks of the future are not being preserved today" and urged the development of new management

agencies to address this perceived impending crisis (Williams 1969). These assessments were all echoed in the BOR's research, which also that predicted demand for recreation would grow even more rapidly due to population increases, shortening of the workweek, increased personal spending power, and the majority of the region's residents living in high-rise structures on the Marin and East Bay hillsides.

The space of the city was also reconfigured in San Francisco itself. Freeways began to rip channels through the urban fabric, including along the antiquated waterfront, spurring large scale protests known as the "freeway revolt" while Golden Gate Park's panhandle became a means to access the Golden Gate Bridge and Highway 1. At the same time, mobilizing many of the ideas presented by Telesis, business interests sought to compete with suburbs for a burgeoning white-collar workforce through the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency, beginning with the development of hill tops at Diamond Heights in the late 1950s. In the 1960s, widespread demolition, especially in the Western Addition and Yerba Buena neighborhoods, galvanized much of San Francisco's working class and black community against development interests. This led to the formation of third sector development organizations, such as the Tenderloin Neighborhood Development Corporation and the Tenants and Owners Development Corporation in Yerba Buena, which would have substantial influence on large swaths of the city by the end of the century (Hartman 2002). High-profile demolitions of beloved buildings, such as the bohemian literary hub, the "Montgomery Block" in 1959, and the Fox Theatre in 1963, spurred a renewal of interest in historic preservation beyond the interests of the working class districts subject to renewal (Tomlan 2014) (Isenberg 2017). By the time the GGNRA was established at the end of the summer of 1972, public recreational spaces remembered as hallmarks of the Fordist social compact, such as Playland at Ocean Beach and the giant Fleischhacker Pool, would be closed. However, during this decade, new forms of public space began to emerge that paved the way for the GGNRA.

These new public spaces were perhaps most notable along the northern waterfront, where warehouses that formerly supported commercial maritime activity were converted into a nascent design district in the early 1950s, reflecting one of the earliest concerted efforts to rehabilitate historic properties for commercial uses by private capital (Isenberg idib.). Private schemes at Jackson Square complemented efforts to transfer Aquatic Park to the state and federal government as a Maritime Museum, as well as efforts to establish Fort Point as an historic landmark during this period. While such proposals date back to the 1930s WPA, the enthusiasm for San Francisco's historic urban landscape and northern waterfront in the 1960s can be directly related to high-rise projects such as the Fontana Towers and unbuilt Ghirardelli Center, corresponding to a wider backlash against high-rise office construction emerging in the wake of the "freeway wars" and urban redevelopment. In particular, the development of Ghirardelli Square heralded an era of post-industrial adaptive re-use, adding to a wider transformation of the wharf area specified in a suite of proposals for retail and tourist activity at Fisherman's Wharf over the course of the 1960s (Isenberg idb.). It was in this context that when Alcatraz was closed in 1964 and Texas oil tycoon Lamar Hunt announced plans for an out-sized monument to the Apollo 8 mission and a reconstructed Victorian San Francisco shopping mall, push back was swift. The local businessman and urban-environmental activist Alan Duskin's full page ad in the *San Francisco Chronicle* denouncing the Hunt deal also featured clip-off notes that could be mailed to city officials in protest, foreshadowing a new era of civic engagement in the construction of the built environment (Duskin 2014).

Duskin would go on to rail against high rise development, joining a slew of neighborhood activists, such as the PFGGNRA, that would transform urban politics in San Francisco. This resulted not only in measures such as height and density limits, privately owned public spaces specified in the 1971 General Plan, and its groundbreaking *Urban Design Guidelines*, but also a substantial de-centralization of political control to neighborhoods by the time George Moscone was

elected mayor in 1976. Ensuring the conservation of the Presidio, the Board of Supervisors would reverse their 1956 resolution for the Presidio to be sold off for development, instead re-zoning the base as open space. In the meantime, an invigorated urban-environmental movement kept private capital flowing into third sector agencies such as the Trust for Public Land, which under the leadership of Huey Johnson, developed the Trust as an effective instrument for land conservation and succeeded in securing rights to the Marincello lands in the Marin Headlands that would ultimately be transferred to the GGNRA (Kirk 2007; Walker 2009; Rothman 2004). As discussed in the previous chapter, the once sparsely populated northwest San Francisco had rapidly developed in the first half of the 20th century (with the backing of racially exclusionary FHA loans). However, with a proposal for BART service from San Francisco to Marin across the Golden Gate scrapped in the early 1960s, and Muni streetcar service in the Richmond abandoned in 1958, the neighborhood Planning Association for the Richmond succeeded in downzoning much of the Richmond district from R-3 to R-2. This was part of broader trend that included successfully petitioning against subway service along the Geary Corridor in ballot measures in 1966 and 1980, and the defeat of schemes that proposed rail lines that cut north across the Presidio, with a station at Golden Gate Plaza and continuing across Golden Gate Bridge (Northwest San Francisco Rapid Transit Study 1973). A similar story unfolded in the Marina to the east of the Presidio, where Muni abandoned streetcar service to the Presidio in 1950s. Though the Army's beltline was eventually transferred to the Park Service and the right-of-away would be featured in early plans focused on accessibility in the GGNRA, the Marina Homeowners Association strongly opposed reactivating the rail line. This included squashing efforts to convert the track to passenger use when historic trains gained momentum with the Fisherman's Wharf Railroad, despite a proposed 20 minute ride from the Ferry Building to the Presidio touted by entrepreneur George Adams (Avery 1965).

These exclusionary neighborhood dynamics complicate an often-uncritical celebration of devolved urban governance and citizen environmentalism that came to define San Francisco Bay Area politics in the 1970s, of which the formation of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area was a major part. As the park developed over the course of the final three decades of the twentieth century, these contradictions would become acutely apparent.

The Specter of an Urban National Park in Bay Area Politics 1972-1989

With Native Americans occupying Alcatraz in the Winter of 1969-70, bolstered by a newly articulated pan-Indian identity (T. R. Johnson 1996), Amy Meyer attended a meeting of the Outer Richmond Neighborhood Association where Roger Hurlbert of SPUR informed the group of the General Service Administration's plans to build a Federal Records Center (the previous building was demolished in freeway construction). Due to their knowledge of the internal report *A Matchless Opportunity,* SPUR opposed the plan, and urged neighbors to lobby against it. Already a member of the Sierra Club, Meyer was captivated by the prospect of a National Park across from her property on Clement Street in the Outer Richmond and became a leading advocate for the GGNRA. With the support of Sierra Club president Edgar Wayburn, Meyer formed PFGGNRA and began lobbying local neighborhood groups and politicians. Meyer and Wayburn eventually developed a proposal of lands to be incorporated into a GGNRA and Wayburn presented it to Philip Burton, who encouraged him to expand the proposal. Burton's alliance with the PFGGNRA was somewhat novel as he identified as a labor politician, rather than as a traditional environmentalist, with constituents in San Francisco's working class eastern neighborhoods that lay outside the park boundaries (Rothman 2004). However, his labor background disposed him to "bring home the bacon," beginning an era of what became known as "park barreling"(John Jacobs 1997).

In what would have been the largest parkland expenditure in US history at $118 million,

Burton's proposal drastically expanded the extent of the GGNRA, especially in Marin County, to include Forts Baker, Barry, Cronhkite, the Olema Valley, Marin Headlands State Park, Angel Island, and the defunct Marincello development. In San Francisco, the park would include Fort Funston, Fort Miley, Fort Mason, Fort Point, 700 acres of the Presidio as well as Baker, Phelan, and Ocean Beaches, and most of Lincoln Park. In sum, the project would have added 100,000 acres of open space, including 64,000 in Point Reyes National Seashore, 17,000 in Marin Municipal Water District, and 34,000 in the GGNRA. In an act of political theatre intended to play to his hometown base, Burton's initial draft proposal suggested the federal government sell Alcatraz to the Native Americans occupiers for $24 in beads and trinkets, a reference to the sale of Manhattan Island to Peter Minuit in 1692, presented five days after federal agents evicted the last Native American activists.

Burton's bill emerged from committee in 1972, receiving bi-partisan support from Republican Secretary of the Interior C.B. Rogers Morton, who wrote, "we can no longer accept the premise that parks are where you find them; we must identify—and create—parks where people need them" (J. Smith 1972). However, the Presidio continued to be a contentious point, with the San Francisco Board of Supervisors favoring its inclusion but Mayor Alioto opposing, afraid of disturbing the economic stability the military base provided for the city and region. In the end Burton managed to insert clauses requiring approval from the Department of Interior for further military construction at the base. After some congressional wrangling with the Armed Forces Committee Chairman, Burton's bill passed the House and Senate on October 11th and 12th respectively. Richard Nixon signed the bills as part of his re-election campaign on October 27th1972, and Bill Whalen was appointed Park Superintendent by Park Service Director George B. Hartzog. Whalen, who was the youngest Superintendent at the time, rose through the ranks due to his adeptness in the handling of "urban park problems," proven during the "Summer of Parks" staged in the National Capital Region (Hartzog 1988).

Planning the GGNRA

Whalen initiated an unprecedented public engagement process with the formation of a Citizens Advisory Commission (CAC). Consisting of 15-members, five were appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, five were selected by the PFGGNRA, San Francisco and Marin County each appointed two, and the East Bay Regional Parks District chose a final representative. As part of the public engagement process, the Park Service used the Association of Bay Area Government's (ABAG) mailing list to contact over 500 community organizations, with a focus on underserved groups such as youth and senior citizens, and neighborhoods such as Hunter's Point, Chinatown, and parts of Oakland. This goal of social equity was not only at the base of the National Recreation Area concept, but by 1973 was also articulated in the San Francisco Open Space Master Plan, which also zoned unbuilt portions of the Presidio as open space. The 1973 Open Space Master Plan attempted to incorporate the GGNRA into the city's broad open space goals of transitioning the working waterfront into recreational or other non-industrial uses, including converting the India and Central basins, down to Candlestick Cove, into residential development. City planners identified neighborhoods such as Chinatown, the Mission, the Western Addition, Central City, SoMa and South Bayshore, as "high need" areas where demand for parks exceeded supply due to social and economic factors, based on an analysis of "median income, population density, delinquency rate, elderly and youth population against the number of recreation centers available, acres of recreation facilities and recreation staff hours allotted to each neighborhood."

However, while the GGNRA and the San Francisco Open Space Master Plan identified equity as a goal, they failed to prioritize it in implementation procedures. For understandable

reasons, purchasing hilltops, even in "non-high need" areas, was identified as a priority even though it was generally eastern flatlands neighborhoods that lacked green space. Moreover, the city included a memorandum of understanding with the Army in which "the current Army Master Plan proposes no additional housing" in the Presidio. While the distribution of housing may not have been immediately apparent as an issue in 1973, these failures crystalized as San Francisco became increasingly stratified and exclusionary around the turn of the millennium.

Figure 30: 1973 San Francisco Open Space Plan, showing "high need" neighborhoods in the east and "protected" neighborhoods in the west. The Presidio is zoned as open space except for built areas.

Nevertheless, the official objective of using open space and outdoor recreation as part of inner-city social reform continued through the GGNRA planning process. Invited to some 125 community meetings, Park Service officials presented a slideshow of the park concept and solicited

informal feedback. Despite anticipating that "low-income minority populations" would request recreational facilities, like basketball courts or soccer fields, according to Doug Nadeau the overwhelming request was for more accessible transportation and food services. As a result, transportation became the single most studied subject during the planning process in terms of time and funds, and the 1980 General Management Plan (GMP) included the goal to provide "some form of transit to almost every site in the park." Specifically, the study aimed for increased connections with southeast San Francisco and the Southern Pacific and East Bay terminals, as well as expanded service into Marin County, up to Point Reyes. Specific "recreation specials" would connect particular neighborhoods, such as Hunter's Point, with a specific part of the park.

In addition to accessing the park from other points in the region, the study called for a number of services within the park. This included: a bayshore shuttle bus running from Aquatic Park to Fort Point, continuing across the Golden Gate Bridge into the Headlands; a shuttle along the western San Francisco Waterfront to Golden Gate Bridge Plaza, potentially into the Headlands, and a shuttle that connected major sites in the Point Reyes area. Foreshadowing the revival of historic trolley cars, the beltline on the northern waterfront using the tracks and right of way was to be reactivated and transferred to the Park Service. The beltline ran from Aquatic Park, along Crissy Field, and plans called for it to be extended to Fort Point. Rail service along the northern waterfront was seen as a counterpart to considerations by the city to reactivate the beltline along the eastern waterfront, and sought to create a continuous rail link from the Golden Gate and Bay Bridges, as well as the Ferry Building and the new BART system. In the longer term, the plan envisioned Ferry service to Fort Baker as a means to reduce auto traffic, including service from the East Bay, with the Berkeley Marina as a likely landing site. This transbay route would be accompanied by an additional ferry stop at Crissy Field, and a ferry loop running between Fort Mason, Crissy Field, Fort Baker, and Angel Island, along with expanding service to Larkspur that included a connection from Fort Mason and would serve as a transfer point for shuttles to Mount Tamalpais and Point Reyes.

Adjacent to the spatial planning of this transit network, the park service identified the necessity of an "information and communication system" that combined media publicity, wayfinding kiosks, and exhibits to be installed at various points within the park, as well as major transit junctions nearby. Reflecting the ambition of *A Matchless Opportunity*, Park Service planners aimed to develop a sense of the "park experience" via the transportation system. Staging remote intercept areas throughout the region, in a bid to discourage automobile driving and calm traffic throughout the park, a transit system with a "unique recreational characteristic identified with the GGNRA," such as a special bayfront rail system with historic cars or special buses, was seen as particularly important. Otherwise, planners feared that visitors would simply drive directly to the park, fill-up limited parking spots, and search for parking in adjacent neighborhoods. In order to stage the "transit ride as park experience," planners therefore sought to provide short and direct links to specific destinations within the park rather than intercept stations further afield that required transfers within the park. Despite these ambitions, the utilization of the beltline right of way to the Presidio disappeared from the plans for access into the Presidio and the GGNRA, and plans for a ferry system, gradually stunted, have been slow to materialize.[37]

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[37] The 1994 *Presidio Transportation Plan Supplement to the GMPA* called for establishing public transit hubs at the Main Post and Golden Gate Bridge Plaza, extending Muni lines into the park, and added 11 miles of hiking trails and bike paths each, anticipating 28,000 bike trips each weekend day by 2010. Additionally, it recommended the establishment of a shuttle system, as well as a water taxi at Crissy Field that would connect with Fort Point, Fort Mason, Fisherman's Wharf, and potentially as far as the downtown Ferry Terminal, Angel Island, along with Points in Marin County. The Presidio Trust framed transportation in terms of sustainability, with a "transportation system management" aimed at reducing auto travel and reducing parking spaces in a bid to "encourage travel in ways the complement the Presidio's natural historic, and recreational qualities." By this time a Presidio ferry had disappeared from plans,

As the park expanded its boundaries and refined its General Management Plan over the course of the 1970s and 80s, a defining feature of the GGNRA became the gradual devolution of control by the National Park Service, resulting in a shift away from an emphasis on urban recreation and equitable access and towards ecological concerns and more specialized cultural production. The beginning of this dynamic can be identified within the composition of the Citizens Advisory Commission (CAC). While the National Park Service tended to exercise power over rural municipalities in older parks, advisory commissions were commonly appointed by the Department of the Interior by mid-century. However, the fact that a third of the commission seats were appointed by a private group revealed an unprecedented dynamic of power and patronage within the GGNRA (Rothman idb). While the Park Service administration was embroiled in internal turmoil in the late 1970s, GGNRA Superintendent Bill Whalen encouraged the CAC to take an active role in engaging local constituencies in the planning process that led up to the 1980 GMP (Hartzog idb).

As part of the mission to engage urban constituencies, Park Service Director Bill Whalen built on his experience devolving responsibilities for cultural programming to private non-profits during his tenure at Ford's Theater in Washington D.C. Faced with costly renovations exceeding the park's budget, Whalen applied the Ford's Theatre model to Fort Mason, establishing the Fort Mason Center and Fort Mason Foundation between 1975 and 1978. The center won a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts to complete a master plan and relied heavily on local grants and corporate leases–including a large event by Coca-Cola in 1979–to rehabilitate piers and warehouses that had been vacant since 1962. In 1980, the Fort Mason Center Foundation's director and board members decided to further devolve cultural programming responsibility to private partners, (including laying off substantial amount of staff concerned with these tasks). Acting essentially as a landlord or building manager, the foundation then focused solely on repairs, maintenance, and marketing to the public, potential donors, and attracting partner organizations. By 1985 when the site was designated a National Historic Landmark, entailing a higher standard of architectural restoration, the Center was raising $6 million in annual donations and grants. As Meyer notes, many of these were from resident organizations, who were in turn funding capital improvements on their own spaces. The Fort Mason model would go on to serve as an important precedent for the formation of the Presidio Trust after 1989.

Outside San Francisco, as the public engagement process to develop a General Management Plan continued, voluntary organizations such as the Sierra Club and the Trust for Public Land, led by the PFGGNRA, continued to work towards settling the deals for land encompassed within the GGNRA. As the park gradually expanded, it entered into a variety of political coalitions and conflicts as local and county governments saw the park as a means to achieve their land use goals. In Marin County, planning officials were already re-zoning much of their jurisdiction, facilitating additions to the park where the federal government balked. Such additions were acquired by private groups, such as the Nature Conservancy and the Trust for Public Land, who donated to the GGNRA parts of their Bolinas Lagoon holdings, and tracts in the Tamalpais Valley, the ocean-front Slide Ranch near Bolinas, the Marincello development, and Green Gulch Ranch (Rothman idb). However, while many applauded the expanded conservation zones, some state and municipal park

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though the Trust did successfully extend Muni bus lines onto the base and establish a free shuttle to downtown San Francisco, and partners with neighborhood organizations in the southeast quadrant of the city for specific point-to-point tours. As of 2017, Muni is poised to extend the Fisherman's Wharf streetcar line to Fort Mason with the help of a $1.1 million federal grant.

Finally, perhaps the most crucial aspect of the transportation planning for the Presidio after 1989 was the reconstruction of Doyle Drive as "a parkway rather than a freeway," with direct access to the main post. As is discussed in the next chapter, with the original Doyle Drive constructed to keep traffic away from the base, the Park Service wanted to provide a new interchange near the main post in order to alleviate traffic on Mason, Gorgas, Lombard, and Lincoln entrances.

officials and supporters opposed the transfer of areas under their jurisdiction to the federal government. These negotiations led to the removal of Tamalpais and Angel Island from the GGNRA in a revised bill, with refined and expanded park boundaries, that passed both houses of Congress and was signed by President Gerald Ford on December 26th, 1974. The following year, the PFGGNRA and the NPS proposed a massive expansion of the GGNRA in San Mateo and Santa Cruz counties, adding 170,000 acres as a "Golden Gate National Seashore."

However, the PFGGNRA would encounter a changing political landscape over the course of the 1970s. In western San Mateo County, then more of a blue-collar suburb, the PFGGNRA misjudged public support as towns feared taxable land would be lost to serve the recreational needs of wealthy residents to the north and east. In San Francisco, Mayor Joseph Alioto gave way to George Moscone, ushering a shift away from centralized, large scale development that characterized the controversy around Yerba Buena Center and devolved power to the neighborhood level. At first, this worked to the benefit of the GGNRA as neighborhood coalitions in the affluent northwest quadrant of the city could more effectively lobby for areas to be annexed by the park. As a result, the Hyde Street Pier and Aquatic Park were transferred to the GGNRA in 1976. Later, neighborhood residents fighting housing and commercial development at the site of the former Playland on Ocean Beach, after having downsized the project as it was reviewed by the City Planning and Coastal Commissions, were able to lobby John Burton to include a parcel in the GGNRA. By 1978, 51 percent of the land in San Francisco was tax exempt, with 35 percent of government land being held by the federal government (Rothman 2004). That year, Proposition 13 froze property taxes across the state, compounding effects of the oil crisis of 1974 and leading to a push back on park expansion even in GGNRA-friendly Marin County. However, while the fiscal crunch made municipalities less interested in turning land over to the federal government for conservation, it did cause the California State Parks system to give up its resistance to ceding territory to the GGNRA, transferring three parks of $1 billion in value for a $1 annual lease (Rothman idb.).

John Burton worked these dynamics to his advantage, authoring the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978, or the Omnibus Bill of 1978, the single biggest expansion of the National Park System thus far (Rothman idb.) Walker idb). The act benefited more than 100 congressional representatives in forty-four states with more than 100 projects, 34 expansions, adding nine historic areas, and three parks, tripling the size of national wilderness areas, adding five national trails, eight wild and scenic rivers, and authorizing the study of seventeen other river segments for inclusion into the system, all just before the 1978 elections. In the GGNRA, the bill poured $15 million into Marin County, extending the park to the Point Reyes National Seashore and acquiring 3,741 acres from fifty-six property owners, including financing the deals with the Nature Conservancy and Trust for Public Land at Marincello and Slide Ranch. Following a 1978 referendum, the city donated more than 600 acres, including its beaches and part of Playland. Burton exercised a similar strategy of expanding the National Park System as a congressional power play with the National Recreation Act of 1980, which called for $5 million for 2,400 acres at the Point Reyes National Seashore and $15.5 million for 5,400 acres in San Mateo County for the GGNRA. Following a brief freeze on acquisitions under the Reagan Administration's Secretary of the Interior Ray Arnett, expenditures began flowing, leading up to the 1984 presidential election. The GGNRA snapped up ranches in Marin and local parks in San Mateo County to round out the vision of the 1978 and 1980 legislation with the help of the Trust for Public land and $3.1 million in appropriations from Senators Alan Cranston and Pete Wilson.

The Rise of the Golden Gate Parks Association

In the 1980s, new institutional dynamics began to develop that would come to define the GGNRA and the Presidio in the post-Cold War period. While the PFGGNRA had previously functioned as a sort of grass-roots lobbying and PR support group for the park, a new group, the Golden Gate National Parks Association (GGNPA, later renamed Golden Gate Parks Conservancy), was founded in 1981 with the support of Bill Whalen, who returned to the GGNRA after being appointed director of the National Park Service by Jimmy Carter in 1977, and Greg Moore, the leader of the initial planning team with the BOR and the park's chief of interpretation. Whalen and Moore aimed to create an organization specifically focused on the GGNRA, replacing the Coastal Parks Association, which sold books at Alcatraz and Muir Woods, and distributed funds north to Redwood National Park and Point Reyes National Seashore. Meyer reported that the organization grew slowly in the earlier 80s, without a full-time staff and raising only $40,000 in its first independent year (Meyer and Delahanty idb.). Initially, the GGNPA was restrained by Park Service administration, restricted to raising funds, managing some retail operations and operating plant nurseries. However, it soon began to break out of a traditional support-role, becoming more and more integrated into park planning and operations. The GGNPA's first chair was Virgil Caselli, a real estate developer and manager of Ghirardelli Square, who drew on large donations from affluent local users, and who expected "tangible services and park projects…with a sense of quality and timeliness" (Greg Moore in Meyer and Delahanty idb.).

The GGNPA's influence in the GGNRA became most evident through design commissioning between 1983 and 1985, when the GGNPA contracted landscape architect John Roberts to produce designs for ecological restoration at Crissy Field. As is discussed further in the next chapter's analysis of design in the Presidio, this occurred just as the Army was beginning a construction program nearby. The GGNPA and John Roberts' vision provided a compelling alternative vision for the site, beyond what was generated by the Park Service in the GMP and helped catalyze public support for a lawsuit against the Army. The controversy also implicated the Park Service as negligent in their oversight duties, leading the new designs for Crissy Field to reflect a reconfigured relationship between the public, the Park Service and the Army that would prove to be prescient for the future of the Presidio. In addition to these design commissions, the GGNPA undertook numerous other restoration projects, many of which hinged on managing hundreds of volunteers to undertake labor intensive activities of ecological restoration, such as weeding or conducting species counts.

Notable ecologically-oriented GGNPA projects include establishing the Golden Gate Raptor Observatory in the Marin Headlands, which banded tens of thousands of raptors. The organization also commissioned a series of Lawrence Halprin workshops for Alcatraz in 1988, published as *Alcatraz the Future: A Concept Plan and Guidelines*. Halprin's plan, which emphasized ecological restoration and public space over historic aspects of the site, received mixed reviews from the Park Service. Only the "Agave Trail" portion of Halprin's plan was instituted, though a revised 1993 *Alcatraz Development Concept Plan and Environmental Assessment* bore Halprin's influence with an emphasis on bird habitats, with which some staff in Park Service cultural resource management disagreed. However, because the Alcatraz gift shop was a major source of funding for the GGNPA, the island facilitated a positive feedback loop for the growth of the non-profit partner and the transformation of the island. More recently, the Conservancy helped create the Tamalpais Land Collaborative, an ecologically-oriented cooperation between the four public agencies responsible for the mountain (National Park Service, California State Parks, Marin County Parks, and the Marin Municipal Water District) with the Conservancy, through the One Tam initiative, mobilizing volunteers not only to undertake physical labor of trail restoration, but also data entry and visual analysis of camera trap photos.

In this sense, the GGNPA came to serve as a sort of ecological constituency for the GGNRA, something that is evident in donning the name 'Golden Gate National Parks Association' rather than Golden Gate National Recreation Area Association. According to Amy Meyer, the GGNRA, combined with Muir Woods National Monument and Fort Point National Historic site, are "usually called the Golden Gate National Parks," with the later implying a higher level of natural resource protection. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, Meyer and Wayburn, if not other members of the PFGGNRA, echoed the sentiments of Ansel Adams in viewing their efforts at landscape conservation at the Golden Gate as working towards a "national park." As discussed in the next chapter, the ecological aesthetics reflected in conations of "national park" status influenced the design of a unique brand identity for the GGNPA. Combined with trends towards privatization and devolved governance and management in the 1980s and 1990s, the use of design to promote the idea of the GGNRA as a national park would come to define the transformation of the Presidio. Amy Meyer cites the year 2000 as the beginning of the "unofficial" designation of the GGNRA as a National Park, and someday, she expects, an act of Congress will "cause the name 'Golden Gate National Recreation Area' to disappear (Meier and Delahanty idb.). Indeed, the Presidio Trust uses lower case letters to bill itself as "a national park at the Golden Gate Bridge."

The Formation of the Presidio Trust

Given these dynamics firmly established over the 1980s, as soon as planning for the transfer of the Presidio to the National Park Service commenced following the Base Closure and Realignment Acts of 1989, few expected the Park Service, or any federal agency, to actually be the sole operator. This was largely due to the Presidio's 764 structures–nearly 6 million square feet of built space–much of which would require strict historical preservation standards and newly elevated seismic requirements in the wake of the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake. Indeed, in a draft Presidio Concepts workbook developed in expert workshops early in the process, only 1 of 5 concepts, "Rangers in Paradise," left the Park Service as sole operator in the park. It was thus not a question of if the Park Service would require private partners to operate the Presidio, but rather the terms of the public-private partnership.

Because of the scope of the project, the Park Service turned to the GGNPA to assist in the public engagement process and developed a transition and management plan. The GGNPA in turn created the Presidio Council in April of 1991, which included thirty-six leaders in industry, finance, academics, and philanthropy. Led by investment bankers like Tully Friedman and Warren Hellman, the council coordinated with the GGNPA to raise more than $2.5 million in funds (Meyer and Delahanty idb.). Additionally, over $1 million in pro bono services were solicited, often from companies closely affiliated with Presidio Council board members. This included the accounting firm Arthur Anderson & Co., which created a database to analyze future operating costs, the architectural firm Anshen + Allen, to assess rehabilitation requirements, while McKinsey & Company provided economic analysis, and PG&E, the TransAmerica Corporation, and Urban Ecology advised on maintenance and infrastructure repair. The first million in cash funds raised went towards hiring planning and communications staff, additional consultants, and the production of communications materials, including a newsletter to interface with community members.

On the public side, the Department of the Interior appointed an 18-member Advisory Commission, which included Amy Meyer and Edgar Weyburn of the PFGGNRA and the Sierra Club. Finally, the Park Service assembled a Presidio Planning and Transition Team out of public employees with relevant experience, consisting of a core team of seven people working full time on site in the GGNRA, including funds for a San Francisco city planner, and with an extended team of thirty-five members from other branches of the Park Service who would meet periodically to review

progress. The public and private planning groups each had their own newsletters to communicate with the public at large, *Reveille* and *Presidio Update*, respectively. According to Lisa Benton-Short, whose work as an assistant to William Reilly, former EPA administrator and senior advisor to the Presidio Council, which served as the basis for her 1998 book on the Presidio, these publications functioned mostly to garner support as planners faced deeply-entrenched neighborhood associations. However, in many cases there was overlap between the socialite members of the Presidio Council and the elite neighborhood associations.

Some mutual skepticism endured from the lawsuits of 1984, with many private sector members on the Presidio Council and GGNPA arguing that the Park Service was inexperienced and under-equipped in the domains of planning and financial management. Complicating matters for GGNRA officials who were forced to deal with private groups under various auspices, they also had to answer to the Park Service hierarchy up to the Department of the Interior and other parts of the federal government. Most notably this pertained to negotiations with the Army, which spent $45-60 million a year to manage security and maintenance in the Presidio's 1,500 acres, while the annual operating budget for the entire GGNRA at 72,000 acres was only $10.5 million (Benton-Short 1998). It was therefore expected that private businesses would play a role in financing and perhaps even managing the park, the precedent for which had been legally established by a Historic Property Leasing Program for concessioners in 1982.

On top of these ongoing management costs, transition costs were estimated at between $700 million and $1.2 billion, prompting Congressman John J. Duncan from Tennessee to introduce legislation in the spring of 1993 that would sell off the golf course, the Letterman Complex, and the Public Health Service Hospital to fund a public benefit corporation. This incensed the GGNPA and Presidio Council, who were further aggrieved when Duncan introduced legislation a few months later to reduce the Presidio's additions to the GGNRA of its coastal strips. After a year spent focused on opposing base closure, Nancy Pelosi, heir to Burton's safely Democrat seat in Congress, changed course and acted to pass legislation that transferred the Letterman Complex to the Park Service, allowing it to serve as the financial anchor of the park's conversion. She followed with HR 3433, which created the Presidio Corporation to manage the park, based on the study that McKinsey provided to the Presidio Council.[38] While this bill was held up in the legislative process, the transfer of the base from the Department of Defense to the Department of the Interior proceeded on schedule, with the Park Service distributing a management plan in the summer of 1994, produced in partnership with the GGNPA who funded over two years of public engagement. That fall, on October 1st, the Army held an official departure ceremony, handing the land over to the Park Service.

The conservative outcomes of the 1994 national election reinforced a tendency towards private management of the Presidio, especially in light of cost estimates being greater than any other NPS unit. According to Craig Middleton, Pelosi's aid and future director of the Presidio Trust, the conversation shifted from "how much we fund the Presidio to what's the long-term future and how do we ensure the place is protected while also ensuring the taxpayer is protected" following the 1994 elections (in Meyer and Delahanty:262). While many historians are quick to lay blame at the feet of the Newt Gingrich-led legislature for the necessity of the privatized Presidio Trust, it is clear both

[38] The study surveyed 19 management models including the Battery Park City Authority, Colonial Williamsburg, Fort Mason, Fort Worden State Park, Habourfront Corporation in Toronto, Pacific Grove Asilomar Operation Corporation, PADC, Pioneer Square properties, Sacremento Housing and Redevelopment Agency (Old Town), San Francisco Redevelopment Agency, as well as NPS projects such as the Southwest Pennsylvania Heritage Preservation Commission, Statue of Liberty Ellis Island Foundation, Yosemite, the Kennedy Center Trust, the Lowell Historic Preservation Commission, Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve, and the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor.

from Pelosi's HR 3433, which preceded the 1994 elections, as well as the consultancy reports generated by the Presidio Council, that public management was never a viable option for local power brokers. In any case, in the Spring of 1995, Pelosi, with the support of Stephen Horn (R-CA), Benjamin Gilman (R-NY), and Tom Lantos (D-CA), introduced HR 1296, which adopted the previous proposal of the Presidio Corporation with the aim to "provide for the administration of certain Presidio properties at minimal cost to the Federal taxpayer…" following the logic that, "the best way to protect this asset is by creating a management and financial mechanism that will enable it to be used and to pay for itself."[39] According to HR 1296, Congress would maintain oversite by way of reporting and auditing procedures, and the Trust was to adhere to GGNRA legislation and the Presidio General Plan Amendment. The Presidio Council then launched a nationwide campaign, which included "modern office technology" that could send identical letters to all 535 representatives and 100 senators with the signatures of dozens of prominent people, in addition to personal lobbying by well- connected GGNPA directors and board members (Meyer and Delahanty idb.).

However, when the Presidio Trust Act passed in 1996, contradictions soon emerged between the dictate to abide by the idealistic 1994 GMPA, produced as a "blue sky" document, while also attaining self-sufficiency by 2013. Institutionally, the arrangement invariably created territorial conflict between the two management agencies, with the trust managing 1,168 inland acres that contained most of the structures, leaving just 360 coastal acres to be managed by the National Park Service. The Trust rebuffed Park Service rangers by developing their own landscape maintenance teams as well as their own interpretive programs, preferring the GGNPA or the Fort Mason Center model, and many in the Park Service worried the trust model would be implemented across the National Park system. Even in the coastal zones with less built space under NPS management, similar dynamics unfolded with the GGNPA leading the way at Crissy Field during this time period, as detailed further in the next chapter. With the Dot-Com boom underway in the mid-1990s and internet companies beginning to set up offices in the park, especially in light of negotiations with George Lucas over the Letterman Center, discord between the Trust and the Park Service succumbed to obstruction and obfuscation, occasionally spilling into the public sphere (Tremain 2001). In an effort to smooth things over, the Trust restarted the planning process, and in March of 1999 its board passed a resolution, publicly establishing their interpretation of the "General Objectives" of the 1994 amendment to the 1980 GMP:

> -To Preserve and (where appropriate) enhance the historical, cultural, natural, recreational and scenic resources of the Presidio.
>
> -To address the needs of Presidio visitors, tenants, and residents for community services such as transportation, water, power, waste management, and public safety (among others) in an environmentally responsible manner, while respecting neighboring communities.
>
> -To increase open space, consolidate developed space, and provide for appropriate uses of the Presidio, including those that involve stewardship and sustainability, cross-

[39] Congress gave the Presidio Trust $25 million in its first year of operation in 1997 and negotiated an increase in funds from the US Army in 1999, winning an additional $94 million over four years to clean up contaminated sites. On top of this, the DOD, the Park Service, and early tenants had already spent more than $114 million on infrastructure upgrades and building rehabilitation prior to the institution of the Trust. (See Meyer Delahanty pg. 272 for more early expenditures).

cultural and international cooperation, community service and restoration, health and scientific discovery, recreation, the arts, education, research, innovation and/or communication.

-To sustain the Presidio indefinitely as a great national park in an urban setting."
(Presidio Trust Management Plan)

However, the public reputation of the Trust would not reach its nadir until late 2001 with the resignation of its first board of directors following an investigative report in *San Francisco Magazine*. Responsibility for hiring the director fell to the first Presidio Trust board of directors, consisting of the billionaire founder of GAP clothing company and Presidio neighbor Donald Fisher, UC Berkeley Chancellor Mike Heyman, Amy Meyer, former city Planning Commissioner Toby Rosenblatt, and former EPA head William Reilly. The Trust and its supporters, contrary to the desires of the Park Service, petitioned for an exception of the federal salary cap of $148,400 in order to attract an executive with private sector experience. Compensation was then raised to $160,000, plus bonuses, including living rent-free in the former General's Mansion. After a brief search the board appointed Jim Meadows, a former military pilot, as the first executive director of the Trust. Meadows worked on the redevelopment of Lowry Airforce Base in Denver and headed the National Association of Installation Developers (NAID), an organization of base-closure redevelopment executives. The Trust was reportedly attracted to his military background and hoped his outsider status and hard charging style would cut through Bay Area politics in the quest for self-sufficiency.

A key issue was a balancing act in selecting tenants acceptable to the diverse group of Presidio constituents and critics. Many hoped for non-profits, but organizations needed the capacity to enter into 40-year leases and commit millions in renovations due to stringent historic, seismic, and accessibility standards adopted since the 1972 legislation. As detailed in the next chapter, this included the controversial demolition of the 900,000 square foot 1969 Army Hospital complex to make way for George Lucas' Digital Arts Campus, which would generate $5.8 million in rent, or 14 percent of the Trusts' operating costs. Meadow's reaction to public scrutiny was to conceal details of the Letterman Complex development from the public, spurring more criticisms. This eventually required the Trust to put leasing operations on hold in order to take public comment on the Presidio Trust Management Plan that would supersede the Presidio General Management Plan developed by the Park Service.

Worse, unbeknownst to board members, Meadows left behind substantial debts from previous business ventures in Bakersfield and Arizona during the savings and loan crisis of the late 1980s and early 1990s. With thousands in unpaid taxes, Meadows' assistant was soon screening calls from debit collectors, while the director himself lived rent-free in the General's Mansion, renovated with $80,000 of trust funds, in addition to billing a luxury car and first-class trips to Europe. As revealed in a six-month investigative reporting exposé in *San Francisco Magazine* published at the end of 2001, Meadows' abusive management style included nepotistic appointments and the award of no-bid contracts as the Trust blew through the park's one-time $50 million federal loan and projected deficits. The story, titled "Trouble in the Presidio," led to the dismissal of Jim Meadows, who was replaced by Craig Middleton, the Pelosi staffer who helped draft the Trust legislation.[40] As discussed in the next chapter, Middleton was more successful in reforming the Presidio Trust, but

[40] The investigative journalist, Keri Tremain, won a National Magazine Award for Public Interest, though he was only paid $6,000 for the piece. For urban sociologist Eric Klinnenberg, the discrepancy between this sum and the vast public interest in the negligence uncovered by Tremain in a marginal lifestyle magazine spoke to the decline of local investigative journalism as a result of market consolidation spurred by liberalizations ushered in with Clinton's 1996 Communications Act (Klinenberg 2007)

did not make changes to its mission, and was ultimately unable to escape the Trust's nepotistic reputation, stepping down following a public scandal related to George Lucas failed museum bid.

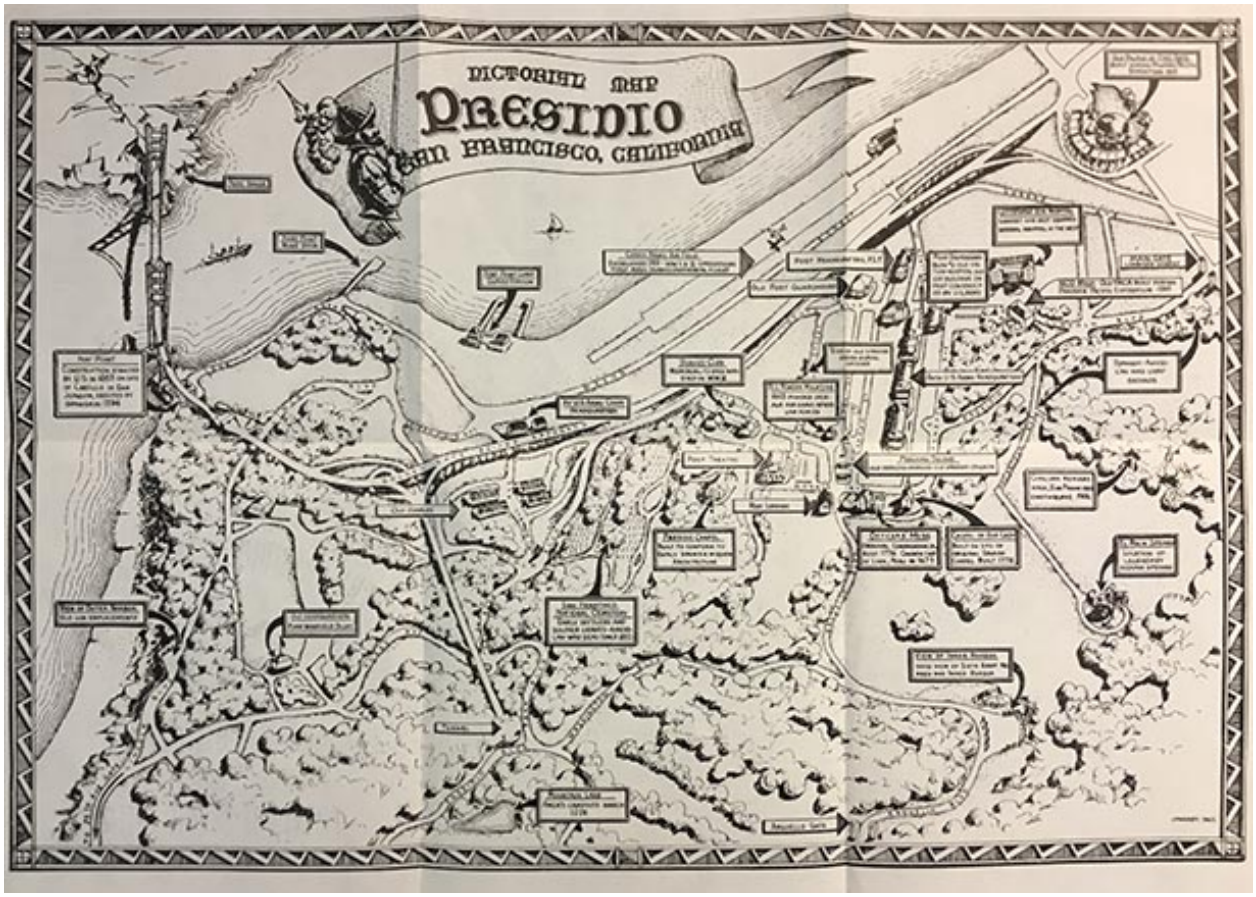


Figure 31: By 1962, the Presidio was depicted as a tourist destination with historical sites for civilians.

Established as an "open post" in 1874, designs for the Presidio as a public park space run through nearly its entire history as part of the United States. In the 20th century, early historical treatments of the site as a cultural landmark coincided with the Panama-Pacific Exposition and development of the National Recreation Area concept at Lake Mead, and when WPA renovations uncovered remnants of Spanish occupation at the officer's club and engineers modified the Golden Gate Bridge to spare the Civil War era Fort Point. Following a flurry of speculative post-war public debates about developing public housing in the park[41], these two sites were recognized as historic sites in 1963 and 1959 respectively, after which time the Army began producing civilian tourist maps of the base depicting hiking trails and historical sites. As discussed in the previous chapter, the first formal designs for the Presidio as part of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area emerged with the 1969 "New Vision for the Golden Gate," continuing through the 1980 General Management Plan for the GGNRA. Up to this point, the Presidio was also subject to military planning as coastal areas at Baker Beach and a part of Crissy Field were transferred to the Park Service, and after 1978 a

[41] Debates presented in the San Francisco Chronicle, Dec 5th 1948.

"one up one down" building policy restricted the Army's development plans from expanding its footprint. However, in the 1980s, the Golden Gate Parks Association began to assert itself in the planning and design of the Presidio, commissioning independent plans for Crissy Field and challenging the Federal government's interpretation of the "one-up-one-down" rule in court.

These developments reflect the beginning of voluntary sector management of the Presidio, concretized in the 1996 Presidio Trust Act that followed the transfer of the base to the National Park Service after the Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1989. This entailed a shift towards ecological aesthetics in the place of a recreational focus that characterized planning in the 1970s, which was not only evident in planning priorities but in an effort to re-brand the area as a national park (rather than a national recreation area). At the same time, the need to fund renovations of the park through private capital poignantly manifested in the planning and design of the Letterman Digital Art Center (LDAC) at the close of the twentieth century. The LDAC's two botched attempts to develop museums in the park, as well as the Presidio Trust's public art policy, illustrate the ways planners and designers have struggled to successfully reconcile competing dynamics at work in the production of an "urban national park." These experiences shaped the development of the New Presidio Parklands by James Corner Field Operations, which included an unprecedented public engagement process for a public space in San Francisco.

Plans for the Presidio Before the Trust

While not specifically focused on the base, the Presidio takes a prominent role in the initial proposals for a National Recreation Area at the Golden Gate. In addition to proposed developments at the Federal Records Center at Fort Miley and projects in the Marin Headlands, the 1969 report compiled by the BOR research team specifically cites a recent Army plan to construct 600 units of housing in the Presidio, lengthen the Crissy Field runway, and demolish antiquated gun emplacements above Fort Point as grounds for immediate conservation measures. Evoking the scenery and views, the report argues that "it is impossible to believe that the present and proposed military uses of this unique Federal real estate represent the greatest good for the American public," especially in light of emerging "sophisticated communication and transportation systems" that permit remaining functions of the Golden Gate's forts to be relocated elsewhere. Indeed, a feature in *San Francisco Magazine* in 1966, three years prior to the BOR report, describes the base as a "'paper post—an office center with trees." In a timely reference to the transformations sweeping the rest of San Francisco, "all the post's administrative functions could be handled in a couple of high-rise cubes with an underground garage and a neat little plaza with brushed aggregate benches for noon-time sunning."

Accordingly, the BOR report subordinates the non-critical functions of the military on the Presidio and Marin Headlands to "the critical need for urban open space and recreation." With that, the proposal urges a "bold sweeping concept" to "save" the Golden Gate, envisioning a "living laboratory for orienting the urban American to his natural environment." Reflecting the social mission of the Parks to the People Program and National Recreation System addressed in the previous chapter, the BOR report on the Golden Gate envisioned "room for the vacationing tourist from the East, the family from across the Bay on a Sunday afternoon drive, and the child in the nearby Ghetto looking for something better to do. Here is a place where reverence for nature can be rekindled in the heart of urban man" (Bureau of Outdoor Recreation 1969).

These early visions for the recreation area divided the land around the Golden Gate into three broad categories. The first were undeveloped areas where the present character as "natural environment" prevailed. These areas were mostly in the Marin Headlands, though areas in the Presidio on the coast west of the Golden Gate Bridge qualified, such as Baker Beach. A second

management classification, encompassing most of the Presidio, was "developed green space," denoting the development of urban recreation facilities, such as "playgrounds, totlots, athletic fields and courts, picnic areas, walkways, and senior citizen centers." Though the landscapes of the Presidio would be "essentially as they are now," the plan entailed opening the Presidio golf course and tennis courts to civilians and reprogramming the recreational features into the military landscape. For example, "existing scenic drives would be maintained, and the network of bicycle and hiking and picnic and group camping expanded," while existing structures such as those at Fort Scott could be converted to "day camps for school children, environmental research laboratories for nearby high schools and universities, and cultural centers and social halls for special interest groups where people of all backgrounds could come together" (Bureau of Outdoor Recreation 1969).

The third management area was the "developed waterfront," which conceived of Crissy Field, Fort Baker, and Alcatraz as contingent with the emerging hub of Fisherman's Wharf. Crissy Field was seen as a "waterfront for people instead of planes," with "great potential for intensive use … alive both day and night" including "informal eating places tailored to all pocketbooks," as well as

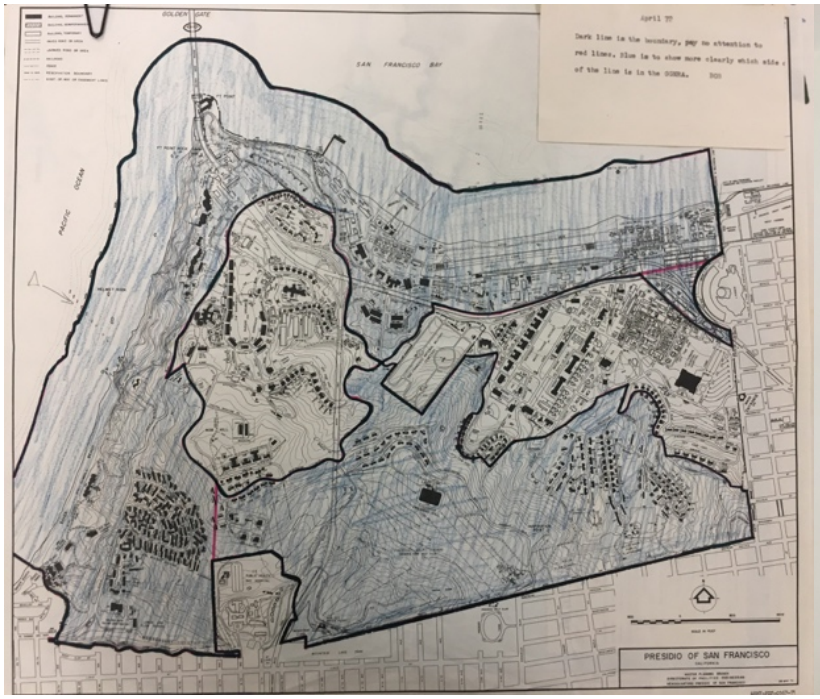


Figure 32: Leading up to negotiations with the Army in 1972, PFGGNRA activists colored over Army Master Planning documents to suggest various land transfer arrangements. Here, nearly all the open space and residential areas are transferred to the Park Service (marked in blue), reflective of the City of San Francisco's Open Space Plan.

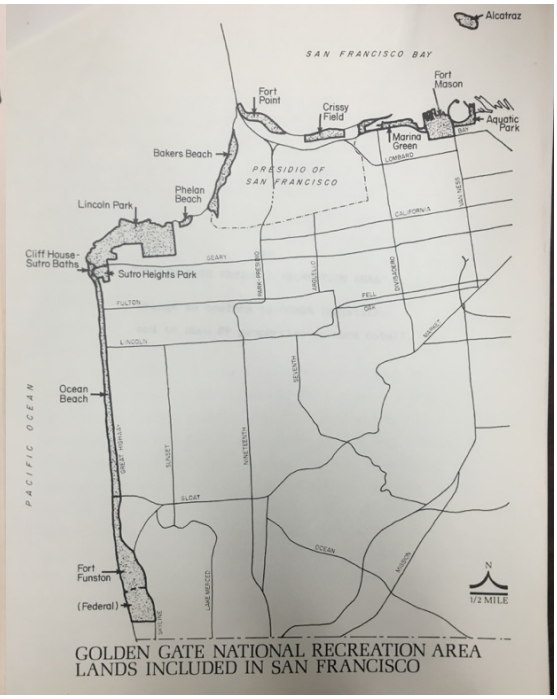


Figure 33: San Francisco Lands in the GGNRA, including the Golden Gate Promenade and portions of the Presidio; 1980 GMP

more traditional landscape features such as "gardens, beaches, malls, greenswards, lagoons, and pavilions." Nineteenth-century brick stables, which now house the Park Archives, are seen as "ideal as studios and workshops for artists and craftsmen… a place where people from all cultural, racial and religious backgrounds could work and communicate through the media of their art." Transportation was also an early consideration for the developed waterfront, with a network of "elephant trains, low-fare shuttle buses, and passenger ferries" that could link up with municipal systems to circulate visitors through the disparate park. Foreshadowing a turn to user experience

design, the authors aimed to craft "getting there" as "part of the Golden Gate experience." New construction would be minimal, although the vision did call for new ferry terminals at Fort Mason, Crissy Field, and Horseshoe Cove at Fort Baker, with services that would eventually expand to connect to the East Bay and Peninsula.

The 1969 report concluded with a recommended course of action that included a moratorium on construction in the Presidio and a further study of excess military land in the area, including Alameda Naval Air Station, Treasure Island Naval Station, and Yerba Buena Island. Though the PFGGNRA had not seen the BOR report, several configurations were developed for the Presidio that included a variety of lands within the base itself as park constituents petitioned Congressman Burton for the GGNRA. With Fort Point established as National Historic Site in 1970, momentum continued for a "Golden Gate Promenade," linking the fort with the Marina Green, Fort Mason, Aquatic Park's historic ships, and Fisherman's Wharf under transformation with Ghirardelli Square, which would also be the most immediate departure point for Alcatraz. The Golden Gate Promenade was achieved through what is remembered as a shrewd move by Burton: the Army's beloved golf course was added into the park as a provocation, forcing the Army to relinquish at least part of the Crissy Field waterfront. In this sense, the GGNRA emerged as a vision of urban design focused on connectivity along the transforming northern waterfront.

The social issues driving *A Matchless Opportunity* and the city's 1973 open space master plan endured as the Park Service began the unprecedented masterplan research and development campaign between 1973 and 1980. One of the primary ways the Presidio was invoked in the GMP public engagement process was in demands for better transportation access to the Park reflected in the *Golden Gate Travel Study*, reportedly the most thoroughly studied aspect of the park (GMP 1980). Additionally, a *Preliminary Base Information Analysis* report produced by SWA, surveyed natural and cultural resources within the Recreation Area, including user studies focused on race and income. While this primarily concerned areas outside the Presidio, and with the base designated as a "special management zone," the overview of historic and ecological resources reflected the subtle beginning of a shift away from the recreation focus. In the wake of the Endangered Species Act, the Presidio Clarkia on Crissy Field and Baker Beach were identified as rare native plants. The landscape categories from *Matchless Opportunity* of "natural environment," "developed greenspace" and "developed waterfront" areas were therefore reworked as "natural appearance," "biotic sensitivity" and "urban landscape" zones.

The Politics of Sustainability Aesthetics and the Design of the Presidio as a National Park

A broad theme running throughout the history of the GGNRA is that of park constituents battling to exert power over the park, both in terms of expanding its territory and also the values and norms of the Park Service. During the 1970s and 80s, a flourishing of uses occurred across the GGNRA, leading to contestations concerning ownership, stewardship, and the meaning of a "National Recreation Area." In addition to controversial events within the Presidio, such as the Whole Earth Jamboree and the New Games in the Marin Headlands, Fort Point emerged as a popular location for surfing, and the first Burning Man festivals were held at Baker Beach during the 1970s and 1980s. However, it was at Crissy Field that stewardship claims and conflicts with the Army and the Park Service became most clearly articulated. By the early 1980s, the area had become popular for dog-walking and wind surfing, and a group identified as "wives of Bechtel Corporation Executives" began Monday cleanup events after the weekend to supplement Park Service maintenance crews (Meyer 2006). A $10,000 donation to the newly established Golden Gate National Parks Association was paid to local landscape architect John Northmore Roberts to develop a schematic design for the Golden Gate Promenade that diverged sharply from the GMP's vision of an

"urban landscape" or a "developed waterfront." The plan included practical amenities such as improved trails, more parking, and bathrooms, but also more dramatic changes such as removing concrete rubble to allow a sand beach to accumulate, installing dunes anchored with native grasses and plants, and most crucially, installing a lagoon and marsh inspired by historical conditions at the site (Champion 1985). With the Roberts plan presented to the public in 1985, the Golden Gate National Parks Association embarked on a $7 million fundraising campaign, aiming to begin construction in 1989.

At the same time, the Army began construction on a $100 million building program, which foresaw a Burger King, a shopping center, and an expanded regional post office, some 112,000 square feet on their portion of Crissy Field. Additionally, the program included two more barracks, a child-care center, and a bowling alley elsewhere on the base. Advocacy groups were tipped off by a neighbor walking her dogs who observed early stages of construction in August of 1985, and Robert's plan was leveraged in local media to garner opposition to the Army's plans, culminating with a law suit by the Sierra Club against the US Army. At a public hearing facilitated by Congressman Bruce Vento in March of 1986, park advocates such as Amy Meyer eviscerated not only the Army, but also the Park Service for "falling asleep at the wheel," and failing to provide adequate oversite to Army planning. Ruling that the Army did not adequately circulate the environmental review, the court ordered a halt to a majority of the building program and a demolition of the Post Office's foundation. While the Army arguably legitimately abided by Burton's "one up one down rule" by banking square footage from previous demolitions, neighboring residents exerted political capital and effectively established a buffer around the park, restricting the Army's authority over the base with the assertion that it was "in a National Park" (Meyer and Delahanty 2006).

While the area is not a National Park but a Recreation Area, the demise of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and the National Recreation System, compounded by new environmental regulations, such as the 1973 Endangered Species Act instituted after the initial park proposal, contributed to this boundary slippage. Notably, the supporting agency founded in 1981 took the name the Golden Gate National Parks Association (GGNPA), reflecting their priorities for the future of the park that they were increasingly responsible for funding. After the announcement of the Base Closure and Re-alignment Act (BRAC), this rhetorical move was further concretized when the GGNPA contracted the San Francisco advertising agency Goodby, Silverstein & Partners, headed by GGNPA board member Rich Silverstein, to create a public relations campaign in 1994, aimed at creating "a sense of community and personal ownership" corresponding to association membership, as well as donations of time and money (Benson idb, Rothman idb.). The GGNPA ad campaign targeted local broadcast markets, street advertisements, and promotional activities in park visitor's centers as part of a broader federal lobbying effort, aiming to increase public awareness of the precarious funding situation while encouraging a public dialog about the future of the parklands while the Park Service conducted an official public engagement campaign for the Presidio Masterplan. According to surveys carried out by the GGNPA, Bay Area residents thought the area was not an integral part of the National Park system, so the GGNPA sought to create a brand identity for the Recreation Area, casting it as a cohesive National Park. A graphic schema for the system designed by Michael Schwab rebranded the Golden Gate National Recreation Area as the Golden Gate National Parks, the first instance of a National Park developing its own graphic campaign independent of the park service. Following a master visual identity, Schwab designed derivative individual "place" identities for the Presidio, Alcatraz, the Marin Headlands, Muir Woods, Fort Point, and Land's End that worked to create a visually unifying scheme while showcasing the diversity of the system. In this way, design and private capital made the GGNRA into a "national park."

The Case of Crisssy Field

The GGNPA opened a store selling Schwab-designed merchandise on the Embarcadero, which was itself undergoing transformation into an esplanade with the demolition of the Embarcadero Freeway, segueing neatly into a fund-raising campaign for the restoration of Crissy Field. This effort received a boost from the city in October of 1996 when Mayor Willy Brown used the occasion of the passage of the Presidio Trust Act to announce that between $2.5 million and $3 million of a $2.4 billion bond issue for the expansion of San Francisco International Airport would be used to restore the Crissy Field marsh as compensation for paving 17 acres of marsh near the airport (Nolte 1996). With the wheels in motion for the largest ecological restoration ever undertaken within the National Park Service system, two Haas family charities contributed $16 million to the GGNPA with $34 million raised by the time the park opened in 2001. The project was aided by another Goodby, Silverstein & Partners ad campaign specifically for Crissy Field that ran across the Bay Area in print, television, as well as the emergent medium of the internet (Rothman 2004). Using the slogan "Help Grow Crissy Field" framing the silhouette of a child holding a seedling plant, the graphics worked to solicit volunteers for labor intensive ecological restoration at the core of the project's design. While restoring the Crissy Field marsh was a departure from the GMP, the work of ecological restoration, including the labor-intensive activity of weeding out non-native species, such as French broom, pampas grass, and bull thistle, could be easily fit within the frame of "recreation" and even education. The work of the Bechtel wives therefore foreshadowed an emphasis on soliciting volunteers that would define the transformation of Crissy Field and beyond as ecological restoration became a key feature of the Presidio, relatively unforeseen in earlier land use plans. With Crissy Field as a precedent, stewardship initiatives helped reconceive of restoration as a recreational activity rather than a "museumified nature" (Gobster 2007) in subsequent projects at Lobos Creek, Mountain Lake, and El Polin Spring.

Relying on massive capital investments, a major media market advertising campaign, and thousands of volunteers to restore a representation of a pre-settlement landscape, the restoration of Crissy Field reflects contradictions in the goals of deliberative planning and sustainability at the turn of the 21st century. Cranz and Boland acknowledge these contradictions, arguing that sustainability is a social concept rather than a technical or biological one, "since humans are responsible for the ecological crisis." For this reason, while a "truly sustainable" park would not require human labor, a sustainable park that is "both ecologically self-sufficient and culturally satisfying still requires human care in planting and maintenance." In this sense, the brand identities and marketing campaigns developed by Park Partners therefore not only supported aspirations of an ecological, communicative park model's aims, such as soliciting volunteers for plantings and to minimize vandalism and graffiti within the park, but also to inspire visitors to implement ecological practices outside the park in their homes, schools, and workplaces. Crissy Field was thus conceived as an "outdoor classroom," with a hands-on youth environmental education facility, the Crissy Field Center, organizing volunteers. According to park managers, "stewardship programs" allow "urban residents to rediscover ecological processes and wild places hidden in the urban environment and to play a role in their preservation" (Cranz and Boland 114).

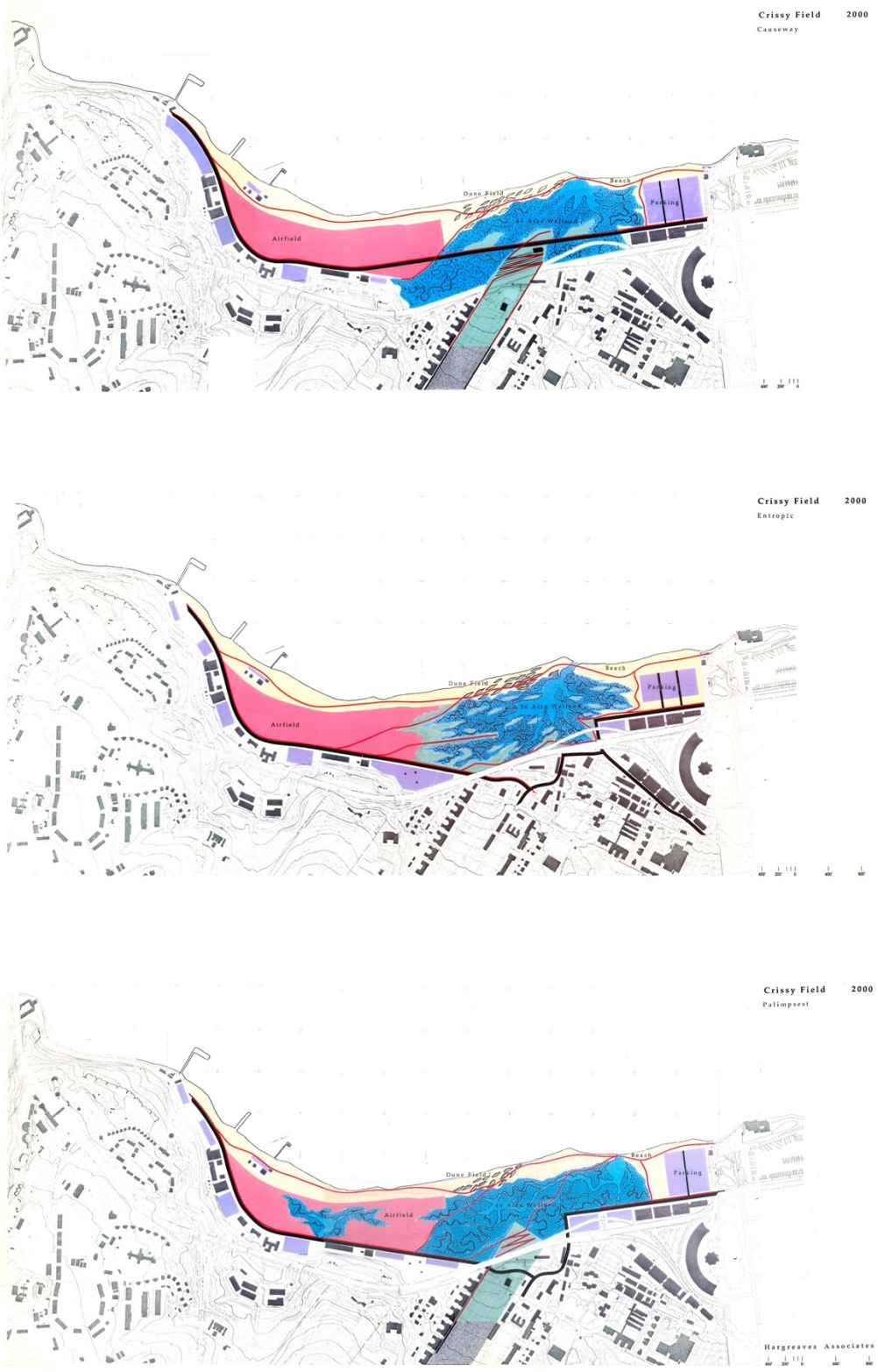


Figure 34: Iterative designs by Hargreaves Associates expand on Northam Roberts' proposal for a marsh at Crissy Field, also incorporate aspects of Tunnel Tops Project emerging from Doyle Drive Commission during the same time period.

The professional landscape designs for the new field developed by Hargreaves and Associates also reflected these dynamics. Incorporating historic aspects of the airfield dating from the 1920s, as well as the wetland proposed by Northam Roberts, the recreation of a tidal marsh in a heavily trafficked urban area was a novel concept. Landscape theorists during this time used Crissy Field as a prominent case study, focusing on the contradictions of re-making ecological functions as "iconic" in the traditional sense of landscape aesthetics since many landscapes of high education value often do not correspond to conventionally aesthetically pleasing landscapes (Mozingo 1997). At the new Crissy Field, native plants and landforms such as swales evoke a dune landscape that once proliferated across most of western San Francisco but no longer form due to urban conditions. Even the wetland itself, which is the signature feature of the "restoration project," is representational rather than functional, since the tidal flows were not compatible with maintaining the historic airfield or adjacent streets (M'Closkey 2013) . While the wetland required mechanical dredging and the dunes were created by volunteers and donations rather than the movement of water, wind, and soil, Cranz and Boland believe there is value in these representative forms in their communicative capacity, analogous to the concept of sustainability as "material rhetoric" in the way they "educat[e] the public about ecological process in the urban environment. According to the designers Hargreaves Associates:

> We were more interested in experiencing nature as a system, a process…it's rare to have such a powerful natural system in such an urban location . . . Usually, tidal marshes are far removed from urban areas. Here, a lot more people will see it. The majority of the people in this world are not eco-tourists. They live in urban areas and the landscape they see is the built landscape of the city. We're trying to make the natural processes more evident, make them more palpable and readable . . . We want to engage the mind as well as the body and the emotions. (Jim Doyle in SF Gate 9.23.01)

Finally, the ascendancy of ecological restoration in the Presidio reflected in the case of Crissy Field corresponds to another impact on landscape interpretation in the Presidio and the GGNRA more broadly–the combination of archeology and ecology, specifically the representation and participation of native people. The emphasis on indigenous culture began with the process of clearing some 230,000 cubic yards of rubble at Crissy Field, and opening a 44-foot-wide channel into the bay, which uncovered long-buried Ohlone artefacts in 1998. Despite being birthed from the Indian Occupation of Alcatraz, the GGNRA had no official relationships with Indian tribes to this point, other than monitoring the annual commemoration of the 1969-71 occupation where they informally discussed the restoration of graffiti dating from that period (Strange and Loo 2001). While the Indian Occupation of Alcatraz was recognized as an interpretive theme following a push for multi-culturalism in the Park Service in 1987, it was a unilateral effort by the Park Service, while Native Americans were conspicuously absent from the Presidio masterplan of 1994, addressed with a short disclaimer as "beyond the scope" of the plan.

The artefacts of Crissy Field, however, catalyzed a collaboration with Indian organizations in the Bay Area that reverberated across the whole GGNRA, particularly Alcatraz, just as the "history wars" were enveloping public institutions such as the Smithsonian (Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn 2000). At the new Crissy Field, Ohlone history was incorporated into the signage and landscape interpretation, and an Ohlone ceremony commemorated the re-emergence of the 100-year old tidal wetland and the beginning of dune and marsh planting in November of 1999 (Meyer and Delahanty idb.). In 2012, "non-historic" mid-century housing was demolished to make way for ecological and archeological public programming, celebrating the location as an historic site of an Ohlone Village, the first water source used by Spanish colonizers at the Presidio, and a key contact zone outside the

walls of the fort.

The Genera Master Plan Amendment for the Presidio

As the GGNPA pushed forward with the restoration of Crissy Field over the course of the 1990s, the Park Service, and eventually the Presidio Trust, worked on a plan for the entire Base. The earliest aspects of this can be traced to the controversy over Army development at Crissy Field in the mid-1980s, after which SPUR and the ASLA began to organize a survey of historic buildings, and the GGNPA collected speculative proposals for the day the base was decommissioned. When BRAC came somewhat as a surprise in 1989, the future of the base captured the public's attention despite local and national elected officials' primary concern being preventing base closure (Benson ibd.). The *San Francisco Chronicle* ran a feature titled, "The All New-Presidio: 1001 Ideas on What to do with It Now;" including a wide variety of speculative concepts through a few key themes that illustrated the new dynamics of urban space in San Francisco that emerged by the end of the 1980s.

The vast majority hinged on addressing homelessness, which had become a defining feature of urban public space in San Francisco over the course of the 1980s (D. Mitchell 2003). These opinions were backed up in a 1991 *San Francisco Examiner*/KRON-TV survey, which found that over 35 percent, the largest plurality of those polled, believed the Presidio should be converted to homeless housing and job training, while only 15 percent coalesced around the idea of conversion to a park (Rothman 2008). The housing issue continued to be a point of contention, culminating in protests in the May of 1994 when, just prior to the scheduled transfer of the park from the military to the park service, the California Homeless Network occupied part of the Wherry Housing above Baker Beach that was slated for demolition. Additionally, many interviewed in the 1989 *Chronicle* exposée desired a waterfront amusement park to replace Playland, which was demolished just months before the adoption of the 1972 Burton legislation, with some parcels incorporated into the GGNRA's naturalistic redesign of Ocean Beach in the 1980s. Finally, indicating the visual quality of the Presidio in 1989, some pointed out there was "enough cemented-over" land, providing an appropriate space for a new ball park to replace the aging Candlestick Park damaged in the Loma Preita earthquake, or at least recreational facilities, with Crissy Field's flat paved surfaces seen as a prime location for ball courts–as in the original planning visions.

Of course, the trajectory of the Presidio and the GGNRA had firmly shifted from these initial populist, recreation-oriented visions over the course of the previous decade. Just days after the announcement of the base closure the Park Service initiated a "Visioning Phase" with aims to establish general guidelines through a series of workshops and public events. In November of 1989, the Park Service sponsored a two-day expert conference at San Francisco State University, entitled "Think Big," for city officials, local architects, and landscape architects. In May of 1990, the GGNRA Advisory Commission and the National Park Service adopted the first official documents in the new planning process, the 10-point Presidio Planning Guidelines. These guidelines focused on historical and natural resource conservation rather than recreation and accessibility, marking the beginning of a formal departure from the objectives of *Matchless Opportunity* and the 1980 GMP:

> 1. Components of the historic landscape that ensure and enhance its historic integrity will be preserved.
> 2. Historic Structures will be put to use while preserving their basic exterior and/or interior historic features.
> 3. The character and scale of the Presidio's open space will be preserved and wherever feasible enhanced.
> 4. Natural features of the post will be protected and wherever feasible restored.

5. The Presidio will continue to be open to the public and public uses will be encouraged.
6. New uses in the Presidio should support or be compatible with National Park purposes as well as the significance and character of the site.
7. Appropriate uses that support the operating cost of the Presidio may be sought.
8. The Presidio planning process will take a long-term view.
9. The planning process will include ample opportunity for public input and coordination with local and state governments.
10. The Presidio's infrastructure will be modernized; hazardous wastes will be removed; and air and water quality and other environmental values of the post will be restored and enhanced. (from *Concepts Workbook Draft* Aug. 1991)

These guidelines were included in a *Presidio Visions Kit* distributed to the public, along with a worksheet to solicit feedback, and served as the basis for a series of workshops throughout the Bay Area in early 1991. A series of plans developed over the course of 1990 and 1991 made up the *Presidio Concepts Workbook,* featuring a gradient of five schemes for the park. Generally ranging from the most "natural" to the most "urban," the plans contained overlapping proposals and were in many ways more akin to rhetorical themes. However, the various themes also corresponded to different administrative organizations, ranging from complete Park Service management, to a joint administration council in which the Park Service was a member, to continued collaboration with the military, to the creation of a "super-partner" with the Park Service providing oversite, to the Park Service managing a number of partners running independent programs. In terms of spatial planning, key conflicts at this stage emerged around three points. Among these were the status of "non-historic housing," the largest of which was Wherry Housing at Baker Beach, the coveted Presidio Golf Course, and the future Presidio Forest consisting of exotic Eucalyptus and Cypress planted in the late 19th century and nearing the end of their lifespan.

The first concept, in which the NPS retained full control, was titled "Rangers in Paradise" and saw the base more as a traditional park. Emphasizing preservation of natural and cultural resources, as well as ecological restoration and reforestation, built areas were effectively reserved for Park Service research, training and administration, with the public mostly interfacing through visitor's centers or formal stewardship initiatives. A "Village Green" concept envisioned more public involvement under the guise of private or community environmental groups, a greater emphasis on ecological restoration, including redesigning the golf course to "a more naturalistic landscape," and shrinking the forest (considered a cultural resource). A "History and Mystery" theme essentially created a military museum park, maintaining services such as the golf course and "non-historic" hospitals. Under this scheme, the forest was also preserved as an artifact of military history. The "Rim with a View" theme reflected aspirations of a "post-military" society and sought to focus on the Presidio's geopolitical location rather than its explicitly military history in its interpretation, reworking the base as a center of trans-Pacific cultural exchange, featuring conferences, arts, and medical centers. Finally, "Urbanite Renewal" focused primarily on recreational and social services for city residents, corresponding most closely to the initial 1969 proposal and the 1980 GMP.

In their presentation to the general public in the *Presidio Concepts Workbook*, these five concepts were consolidated into four themes: "Preservation and Exploration," "Environmental Living and Learning," "Cultural Crossroads," and "Recreation and Renewal." Planning team officials estimated the workbook was distributed to some 10,000 people; 6,500 people on the Presidio Planning mailing list and people who made independent requests, meeting attendees, and members of organizations that distributed the document. They recorded receiving 277 response forms, mostly from the Bay Area, with 49 percent from San Francisco and only 7 percent from outside California. In any case, the Park Service recognized that tenants would need to be found to occupy the buildings as the Army

moved out and provide funds for renovation of historic buildings. In April of 1992, after the formation of the Presidio Council, the Park Service, with staff and funding support from GGNPA, issued a *Call for Interest* to identify tenants, presenting "a setting for distinctive programs" with the goals of *Presidio Concepts* reworked as "environmental living, research and learning," "international understanding and cross-cultural exchange," "global concerns such as health care and nutrition," "personal renewal and lifelong learning," and "preservation and appreciation of cultural and natural resources." These six planning areas were conceived as each appealing to a single large planning area: Letterman Complex, Fort Scott, Main Post, Crissy Field, Public Health Service Hospital, and Cavalry Stables. Respondents to this vision of the Presidio as a "working laboratory" and a model for environmental sustainability included the United Nations Environment Program, the U.S. EPA, the Gorbachev Foundation, the Commission on National and Community Service, the Youth Conservation Corps, and the University of California.

Another workshop in June, with pro-bono partners and Presidio Council-affiliated organizations, launched the "Community Consultation Initiative" that included some two dozen neighborhood associations and community organizations. This outreach seemed to have little impact on visions generated in the expert conferences, which fixated on grandeur and an early 1990s, post-military optimism about globalization. This sentiment is reflected in the writings of local architecture critic Alan Temko, who voiced a fear of tourist traps and kitsch, warning against "mass-cult shrines" like the College Football Hall of Fame or using the area to relieve the housing crisis in general, and in particular to "shelter the homeless, AIDS patients and crack addicts." Temko advocated for a "Smithsonian of the West" in the airplane hangars of Crissy Field, "an unprecedented, profoundly democratic international institution that all nations could share," which emphasizes the cultural and educational potential of the Presidio, especially the campus-like arrangement of the Main Post and Fort Scott (Temko 1989). It is this vision that appears in the first public draft masterplan document released in October of 1993. A glossy bill-sized 11x17 pamphlet with color 22x17 spreads, displayed the primary images used to communicate the Presidio of the future: a general "greening," shifting the center of the park to the Main Post where the GGNRA visitors center would be relocated from Fort Mason, converting over half of the 1,100 parking spaces to a grassy lawn on the main parade ground, the removal of the 140 housing units at Baker Beach, and the wetlands restoration at Crissy Field. The draft masterplan was well received, at least as measured by the lack of lawsuits, implying relative success for such a large-scale planning project in San Francisco. According to Benson (idb.) support from California Senators as well as Representative Pelosi was also important, as they had been lobbying the Army to stay up to that point.

Legislative support was particularly crucial because legal action was required to transfer the Letterman Complex and the Public Health Service Hospital, not included in the Burton Acts, to the Park Service. A special two-day conference in the summer of 1993 and a volunteer Letterman Design Group developed plans for the complex. Many suggested removing Letterman from the Presidio and selling it to the city or the state, though financial consultants and the design group recommended including the complex in the park as its high-tech laboratories and other facilities could command top of the market leases. Others pushed for a demolition of the complex, especially historicist architectural critics such as Temko (1989), for whom the 60-acre biomedical campus anchored by a ten-story hospital constructed in the 1950s was seen as "marring" the crown jewel of the park. It nonetheless held the most potential as an immediate revenue source as the most modern

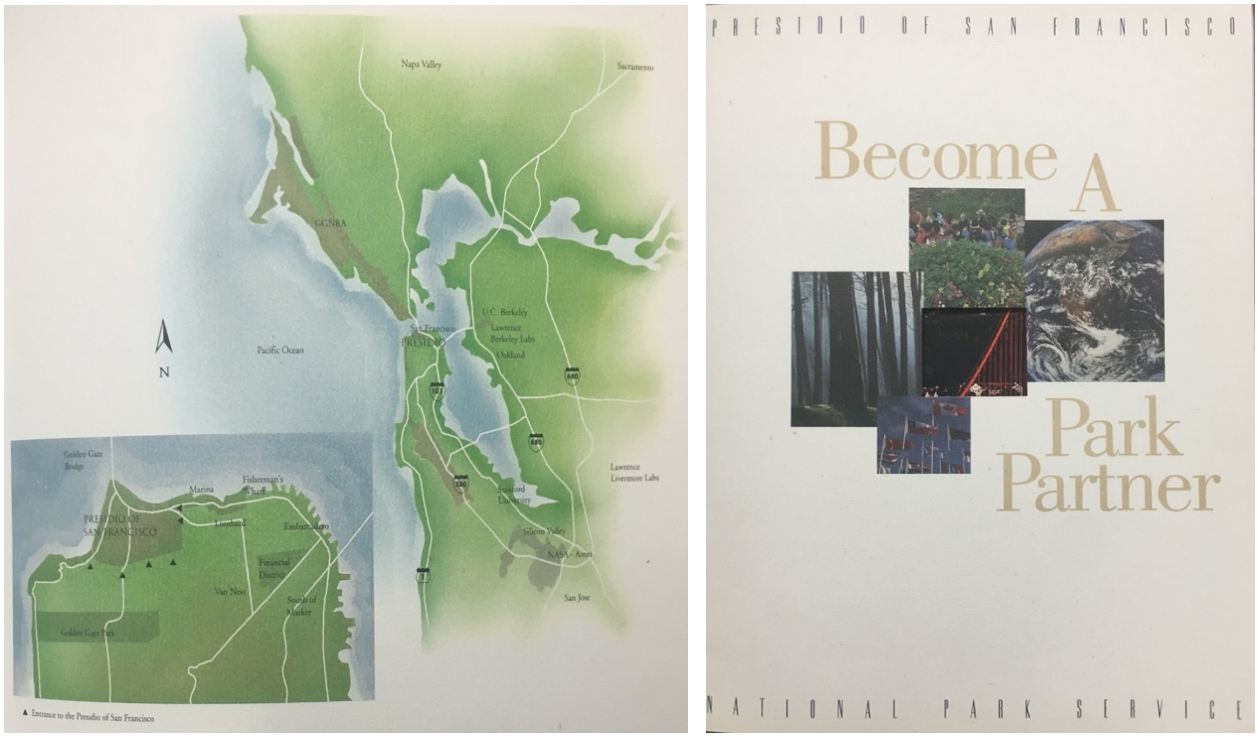
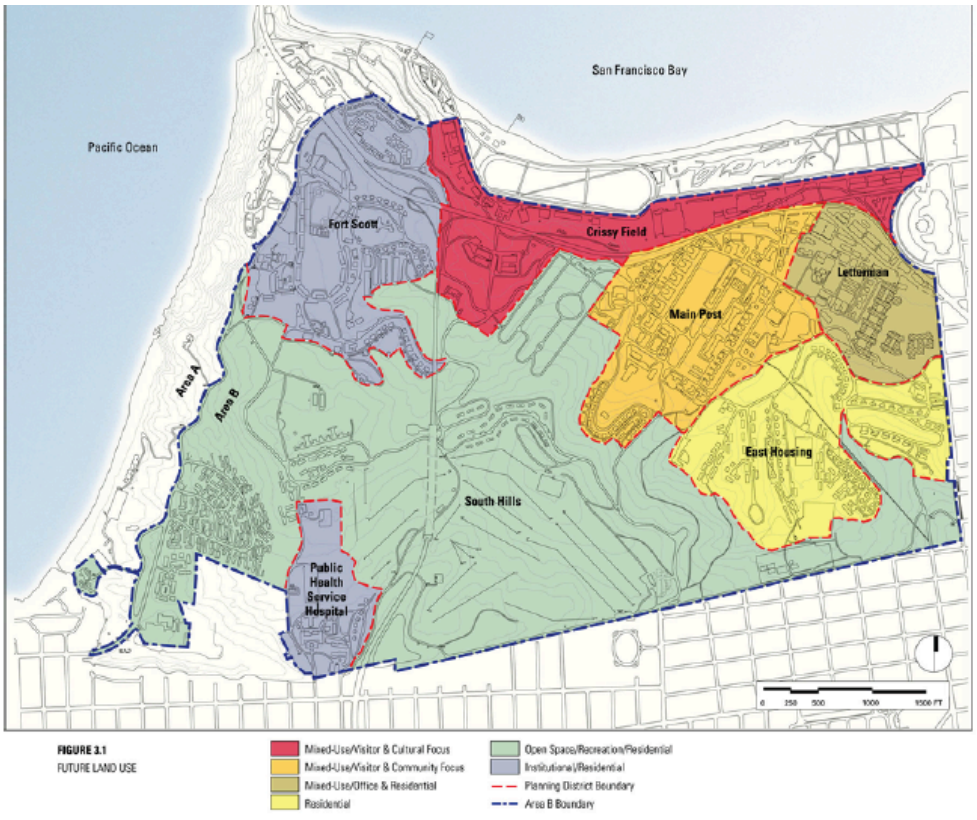


Figure 35: The optimism of post-Cold War globalization is reflected in the 1994 calls for park partners (right), which includes a map situating the Presidio in relation to Silicon Valley (left).

facility at the base, and also the most spatially integrated into the city itself, easily segueing into a "campus" that could pay for renovations at the Main Post and Fort Scott campuses. Moreover, some 128,000 local residents were eligible for care at the hospital. For these reasons, the Park Service identified the University of California early on as an ideal tenant for the complex; a non-profit partner that would provide rents as well as some health services at the site. "Health and Discovery" were therefore added to the visioning concepts of Stewardship and Sustainability, Cross-Cultural and International Cooperation, and Community Service and Restoration. Nevertheless, skeptics included those wary of traffic, those concerned with the potential for animal research by the University of California at the Letterman laboratories, and opponents of "non-historic architecture."

In any case, negotiations with the University of California began to unravel shortly after the adoption of the plan in July of 1994. With the total cost of the Presidio conversion estimated between $590 and $666 million, and with over half coming from tenants, finding a tenant for the Letterman complex to fund renovations became an urgent matter. Once the Park Service secured special legislation to engage with long term leasing, it released the 1994 marketing booklet, *Become a Park Partner*. Featuring a montage of the earth from outer space and an array of international flags against typical park views, such as the Golden Gate Bridge, the Presidio Cypress Trees, and a park ranger leading children through dunes, the booklet maintains the idealistic global ambitions for the Presidio at this period. At the same time, inside the booklet, a map that would accompany Calls for Proposals for the Letterman Complex in

Figure 36: (above) planning zones in the 1994 GMP (below) and areas subject to the management of the Presidio Trust after 1996.



March and Main Post in December that year shows the proximity of the park not only to San Francisco's Financial District and other city landmarks, but also UC Berkeley and Stanford, Lawrence Berkeley and Lawrence Livermore Labs, and, for the first time, Silicon Valley. In *Become a Park Partner,* the map is accompanied by the text, "in addition to the advantages of its spectacular beauty, the Presidio's location could not be better. It is directly in the center of the region's resources. It is surrounded by prestigious educational institutions, the nation's most vital scientific and technological communities, and San Francisco's significant corporate, financial, and professional companies" (fig. 3).

The Presidio Trust Management Plan

While the heady aspirations of global change-making of the early 1990s were tempered by the end of the decade, the relationship between the Presidio and the region's tech industries would prove a formidable connection. As discussed in the previous chapter, the national political context of the mid 1990s accelerated this tendency, leading to the 1996 Presidio Trust Act, enshrining authority of the 1,618-acre inland area known as "Area B" to the Presidio Trust, while the Park Service would manage Area A, consisting of Baker Beach, Fort Point, inland areas of Crissy Field containing most of the area's buildings, as well as most of the inland area of Lobos Creek in the southwest of the park. Following the adoption of the Presidio Trust Act, a new planning schema in the Presidio Trust Management Plan (PTMP) was released in 2002. In short, the PTMP reflected the reality that federal appropriations would decrease to zero by 2013.

While the GMPA envisioned that the Presidio would become "a global center dedicated to addressing the world's most crucial challenges," the PTMP declared that the Trust "cannot share the vision that the Presidio should be preserved for a purpose beyond itself" and instead dedicated itself to preserving the Presidio "as a park for the American public." The PTMP divided Area B into seven planning districts from the 13 delineated in the 1994 GMPA: Main Post, Crissy Field (Area B), Letterman, Fort Scott, Public Health Service Hospital, East Housing, and South Hills. This classification scheme differs from the Grand Vision by essentially collapsing "Presidio Hill," Presidio Forest," inland areas of the "Coastal Bluffs," and the "National Cemetery" units into "South Hills," while the Cavalry Stables are absorbed into inland areas of Crissy Field. Lobos Creek, most of the Coastal Bluffs," Golden Gate/Fort Point, and Crissy Field north of Mason Street remain in Area A managed by the National Park Service. In terms of design in the Presidio, the significance of the Trust can best be understood through three general projects: the Letterman Digital Art Center, efforts to establish a flagship museum, and the Presidio Tunnel Tops.

Lucas and the Letterman Complex

While the idea of removing the 1969 Letterman Army Medical Center (LAMC) Hospital was presented in the initial GMPA "unless a suitable tenant can be found," retaining the research laboratories known as the Letterman Army Institute of Research (LAIR) was deemed more favorable due to the potential of its facilities to attract a high-tech, high-rent financial anchor that could fund renovations around the park (Benton 1998). Following Pelosi's 1993 legislation, the Park Service solicited sixteen proposals for the Letterman Complex and officially entered into negotiations for the 1.2 million square foot complex with the University of California, San Francisco. After negotiations with the UCSF fell apart at the end of 1994, the Park Service turned to their second choice, the Tides Foundation, which proposed a smaller lease on 73,000 square feet building to house the Thoreau Center for Sustainability. Using the model of the Fort Mason Art Center, operated by the real estate arm of the Tides Foundation, Tides Shared Spaces, the Thoreau Center for Sustainability essentially provides environmentally-oriented non-profits office space, support, and shared services, such as

conference rooms, building maintenance, and programming. Historic buildings on the western edge of the complex dating from 1898 were renovated and opened in 1996, with the dot-com boom underway cited as a cause of displacement of non-profits from San Francisco (Said 2008).

Following the formation of the Presidio Trust, a subsequent RFQ for the modern portions of the Letterman Complex in August of 1998 solicited "respondents that enhance the financial viability of the Presidio" for 4,000 prospective users, expanding the acceptable uses "[b]ased on current market conditions." Prospective tenants might then "include those involved in . . . biotechnology, multimedia, computer graphics, telecommunications, film production, Internet-based research and development, computer software, environmental science and other high-technology, knowledge-based industries." This change in programmatic framing led some observers to speculate the guidelines were written with George Lucas in mind (D. Scott 1999). Though he submitted the lowest bid of the three finalists, some of which included proposals more oriented towards the themes of health and wellness, the Trust selected Lucas' proposal for a state-of-the-art $300 million facility for 2,500 employees working on digital sound and images over fiber optic cable for Lucasfilm Ltd.'s Industrial Light & Magic and LucasArts divisions. Additionally, the Presidio would earmark 265 housing units for employees of the Letterman Digital Arts Center (LDAC).

Schematic designs reviewed in the Final Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) were admittedly different from the 1994 GMPA Science and Education Center vision; the report acknowledged a departure from "issues of health, life and earth sciences…to developing technologies in the digital and interactive arts and sciences." Calling for the demolition of both the 356,000 square foot LAIR facility and the 451,000 square foot LAMC rather than promoting infill construction, the LDAC approximated the existing LAMC/LAIR footprint, increasing the amount of new construction within the 23 acres. Gordon Radley, president of Lucasfilm Ltd., identified Lucas as the conceptual designer of the development, who recruited Lawrence Halprin as landscape architect and Kevin Hart of Gensler's San Francisco office as the lead architect (Sullivan and Writer 2002). Both the landscape and the architecture were designed in a post-modern style that aimed to "reflect and harmonize" with context of the Presidio (Sullivan and Writer 2002). This entailed the digital simulation of view corridors, which provided a framework for architectural massing. Buildings were scaled down from 2.5 to 4.5 stories to one to four stories in order to improve views of the Palace of Fine Arts from points south and west (Halprin and Olin 2011). Moreover, historical research presented in the *Final Planning and Design Guidelines* identified elements of the cultural landscape to be incorporated into the design. These included subtle aspects of the historic hospital complex and street layouts from the Panama Pacific International Exposition. As the brief pointed out, these trace elements dating from its "modernization" following the Spanish-American War endured through WWII but were wiped out by the construction of the new hospital in the early 1960s. Ignoring the fact that the modern complex had its own distinct identity separate from the base, the design hinged on gesturing to the pre-war era in the complex's open space and the park-like approach to landscape design.

Though Lucas had strict security requirements, the Halprin-designed campus landscape was to be open to the public during the day, along with a restaurant and coffee bar, contrasting with the walled off LucasArt film studios in Burbank and the Pixar Studio in Emeryville. Radley touted the new landscape a 17-acre "park within a park" as public goods "donated" by Lucas, noting that there were "no walls around the 23 acre" campus and most of the parking (1,500 spaces) was located underground, reportedly adding $10 million to the $100 million construction cost of the campus (Newman 2005). The public park is sited on top of the parking garage, circumscribed by a pedestrian promenade extended from Chesnut Street, which loops around a sloping meadow towards the north. An artificial creek running between the two clusters of buildings empties into a lagoon adorned by a cast iron arcade folly. Designed at the same time as Halprin's Stern Grove and approach to Yosemite

Falls, these final projects of his career followed the drawn-out FDR monument and reflect a departure from the modernist forms for which Halprin is famous. The rambling creek, curvilinear paths, and baroque arcade folly constitute a decidedly post-modern, picturesque aesthetic. This historicism corresponds to the architecture of the Letterman Center and is perhaps at its most pronounced of his three contemporaneous final projects.

The Letterman Digital Center was presented to the public in June of 2000, the first instance of digital renderings of the future landscape. These "digitized representations" accompanied the watercolor design renderings, presenting a more scientific or objective presentation of how existing views would be not only preserved but enhanced by the Lucas complex, with the medical building along Gorgas Avenue removed to open up a "park-like connection." Lucas Film Ltd. enlisted the Rocky Mountain Institute as consultants, who praised the buildings' LEED qualifications, the first of its kind in the park, claiming that it would "be remembered for ecological restoration and the growth of vibrant new cultures and economies." Despite these efforts, opponents such as the Friends of the Presidio National Park voiced opposition to the land use while the Sierra Club focused on the size of buildings and amount of green space.

Reflective of the divisions between the Trust and the Park Service, the spokeswoman for the GGNRA was quoted in the local press as not having had a chance to review the plans prior to their public release. Many critics countered that superficial brainstorming sessions and public workshops were used to create the mere *appearance* of public support for the Lucas project, and that strong opposition to the tech industry as a vehicle for park development was voiced in public meetings, though not evident in documentation. Finally, by building on leased federal property, Lucas avoided not only the high cost of buying land in San Francisco, but also paying some $16 million in city fees associated with office development in addition to other city and state taxes (Scott idb.). In this way, the Letterman Center reflected a broader criticism of a private, profit-seeking enterprise being sited on public land. This was also particularly evident in the housing projects, where property managers and developers were able to side-step city requirements such as rent control and affordability requirements. Among the lesser known but more egregious cases were the 150-plus luxury units at the Public Health Service Hospital developed without regard for city taxes and regulations.[42]

However, after the deal with the University of California fell apart, and with internet service providers forfeiting security deposits on Crissy Field warehouses in the wake of the dot-com crash of 2001, the $5.8 million in annual revenue secured by Jim Meadows through the Letterman Digital Arts Complex appeared as an important milestone on the Presidio Trust's mandated progress towards self-sufficiency. While the criticisms of the Presidio Trust raised during the Letterman Digital Art Center planning process would endure, including the dismissal of Jim Meadows a few months after he closed the deal, the public warmed to the project soon after its opening in 2005. George Lucas commissioned Berkeley sculptor Lawrence Noble to create four sculptures that animate Halprin's park space, resulting in the Henry Hering Memorial Medal for Art and Architecture by the National Sculptural Society for outstanding collaboration between owner, architect, and sculptor in the distinguished use of sculpture in an architectural project awarded to Noble, Lucas, and Halprin (posthumously) in 2014.

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[42] In 2003, the Presidio Trust began to search for a partner to renovate the 1932 Public Health Service Hospital and spent $34 million on renovations. Forest City, a large local developer, spent an additional $75 million converting the buildings to residential and office real estate. Neighborhoods petitioned to remove two large modern wings added in the 1950s on historic grounds, and also in a bid to reduce the number of residential units from 350 to 154 luxury apartments (Gordon and Writer 2008). CMG landscape architects designed a parking lot and landscape in the place of the downed wings, attempting to integrate the historic building into the broader park and hospital campus.

The first of these sculptures was a statue of the Star Wars character Yoda, installed near Halprin's fountain near the Lucas Film lobby, becoming among the most popular locations in the Presidio.[43] The popularity of the Yoda Statue led to additional commissions for Noble at the LDAC which highlight the Bay Area's contributions to the history of television and film. Along the promenade, encircling Halprin's meadow, sit statues of pioneers in media technology including Eadweard Muybridge and Philo Farnsworth.[44] Inside the foyer of the Lucas offices is a statue of path-breaking animator and Oakland native Willis O'Brien aside his iconic creation King Kong. These statues speak to the importance of San Francisco in the history of digital imagery, and by the time Noble's statues were installed and recognized by the National Sculpture Society, a second tech boom was well under way. This time it was driven by the "web 2.0," associated with user-generated content and data analytics rather than internet service and promises of on-line commerce as in the first "dot-com" boom. Subsequent tenants within the Letterman Digital and New Media Arts Center include a number of private equity firms focused on technology companies such as Francisco Partners, as well as a number of projects by the venture capitalist Peter Theil, including his Founder's Fund, the Theil Foundation, and Mithril Capital.

Site Specificity and The Presidio's Aborted Art Museums

Even after Jim Meadows' dismissal as director of the Presidio Trust, criticism of the Trust raised during the Lucas' Letterman Complex deal continued to haunt the organization. These criticisms came to a head most acutely in the Trust's attempts to plan for two museums in the Presidio. The first, presented to the public two years after the opening of the Letterman Digital Art Center in 2007, was a proposal by Presidio Trust board member Donald Fisher to house the clothing magnate's modern art collection. Conceived as The Contemporary Art Museum of the Presidio, Fisher and his wife pledged to pay for the entire 100,000 square foot project and fund a foundation to ensure its operation into the future. Additionally, the Fishers' offer included $10 million to convert the Main Post parking lot into the long-planned grass "parade ground," and renderings of the project presented the wider context of the Main Post rather than the immediate architectural site. However, because of his insider status as a former board member and Presidio neighbor, and in light of criticism of the Lucas project and the public downfall of Jim Meadows, the Trust was obligated to run a public RFP to ensure "reasonable competition." A competing proposal then emerged from the Presidio Historical Association, which consisted of a smaller 48,000 square foot museum focused on the military history of the Presidio, though the group lacked the comprehensive funding program of the Fisher museum (Wildermuth 2007).

However, the Presidio Historical Association was well suited to make a case against the Fisher Museum due to its location in the center of the National Historic Landmark District of the Main Post. Situated on southern end of the post, the museum site would overtake part of a parking lot near the officer's club, the "non-historic" bowling alley, and tennis courts dating from the Army's controversial building program in the mid-1980s (nevertheless still one of the most popular destinations in the Presidio). New York Architect Richard Gluckman struggled to reconcile conformity to the strict historic design standards with the modern architectural forms appropriate to a museum of contemporary art. Additionally, terraces and outdoor spaces envisioned for Fisher's

[43] Similar Yoda statues exist at Lucasfilm's other campuses, the Skywalker Ranch in Marin County and their Sandcrawler building in Singapore, as well as one donated by Lucas to his hometown of San Anselmo, and 25 other bronze castings sold for $15,000 each.
[44] Muybridge took some of the earliest photos of the Presidio and Yosemite while on contract for the US Government. Philo T. Farnsworth, who worked out of a lab on Green Street in North Beach, successfully projected an early television image in 1927. The statue depicts Farnsworth holding Cathode Ray, standing next to an early television, featuring nobs labeled, THX, in reference to the 1971 George Lucas Film THX 1138

sculpture collection, including works by Richard Serra and Alexander Calder, spilled out from the sloping roof of the museum into the main post lawn. While local architecture critic John King acknowledged an attempt by Gluckman to mimic the "vertical march" of the Main Post barrack porches in the museum glass façade, this gesture was ultimately betrayed by the inevitable flat roofs and rectilinear concrete forms, including a windowless blank wall housing the loading dock that would abut the first of the historic barracks (King 2008).

Beyond the architectural form, historic preservationists' critiques dovetailed with broader criticism of the Presidio Trust as a corrupt nepotistic organization, since Fisher served on the board of the Presidio Trust. According to the PTMP, a "cultural destination" such as the proposed museum would be sited on Crissy Field, not the Main Post. Moreover, Fisher's initial proposal for a single large building violated the "one up one down rule" as it was defined by the 1986 Federal Court ruling on the debate over the Army's development at Crissy Field (Bancroft 2008). Faced with these criticisms, Fisher commissioned a new set of plans that broke up the museum into a series of pavilions or overlapping bars that sat just off the main post, in the place of "non-historic" buildings currently housing a senior library and day care center. The new proposals moved much of the building underground and reduced its' height, but ultimately the project was unable to survive public dialog in the environmental review process, and Fisher gave up on the project in the summer of 2009.

As controversy mounted over the Contemporary Art Museum of the Presidio, the Fisher family began funding another art venture in the Presidio and the broader GGNRA, chartering the For-Site Foundation headed by art dealer Cheryl Gaines. The foundation bills itself as "dedicated to the creation, understanding, and presentation of art about place." Since its establishment in 2003, it claims to have "broken new ground and provided a model for engaging audiences through artistic collaborations on national park land." The first projects within the GGNRA coincided with the development of a *Presidio Trust Art Policy* and *Art Collections Manual* in 2008 and 2009, when Andy Goldsworthy was invited to the Presidio to develop site specific earth-work sculptures. The first of these was *Spire*, a 100-foot tall sculpture funded by a British patron. Consisting of 37 steel-armatured cypress tree trunks felled as part of the Presidio's re-forestation program, the trees are fixed below ground, within a metal sleeve enclosed in a reinforced concrete base. Above ground, the sculpture towers over the newly planted seedlings, and can be seen from the surrounding valleys, a form inspired by the visual similarity of distant views of church spires in the British countryside and the tops of the downtown skyscrapers peaking over the hills of western San Francisco. Conceptually, the spire will become enveloped in the surrounding forest as the saplings grow, aiming to communicate the "Presidio's history and ecology" to the public (Finkel 2008). Goldsworthy produced three additional permanent sculptures for the Presidio, two inside historic buildings, and For-Site went on to curate a number of high profile exhibitions in the park dealing with natural and cultural aspects of the Presidio and GGNRA. Unlike the Fisher Museum, it appears that For-Site and Goldsworthy's work reflects an aesthetic ideal of contemporary cultural production for a complicated site such as the Presidio.

In contrast to For-Site's success with most temporary exhibitions, or Goldsworthy's mostly incongruous earthworks, the Presidio Trust's attempt to secure an art museum on the site of the Crissy Field commissary resulted in another public scandal stemming from irreconcilably different views of the park. George Lucas first approached the Trust about a Lucas Cultural Arts Museum housing his collection of media artifacts in 2010, after the Fisher museum had been called off. Having recently sold Lucasfilm to Disney for $4.05 billion dollars, Lucas was prepared to pay $300 million in construction and a $400 million in an endowment, in addition to monthly rent to the Presidio Trust. Markedly more accessible than Fisher's modern art collection, the Lucas artefacts were particularly geared towards families and children, with a collection of pop culture artefacts like

comic books, Normal Rockwell illustrations, and animation cells. However, after seeing his architectural proposal, the board held Lucas at bay, telling him that the historicist post-modern building in the New Urbanist style produced by Urban Design Group of Dallas, Texas, which mimicked the Palace of Fine Arts, was unsuitable for the site. Instead, the Trust initiated a public process to develop design guidelines, then waited to initiate a public RFP the following year (King 2015).

The RFP resulted in 16 entries, with two finalists competing with Lucas; a "Bridge/Sustainability Institute" by WRNS Studio and museum consultants Chora Creative, and "Presidio Exchange" by the Golden Gate National Parks Conservancy (Solomon 2013). As in the Fisher museum RFP, competing proposals lacked the detailed funding scheme of the primary contender, but stood-in for the values of the Trust itself. In this case, both projects presented somewhat vague programming concerning sustainability and culture, criticized by Lucas as "jargon." Their designs were set within "eco-modern" architectural forms characterized by wood cladding, green roofs, curtain wall windows, and landscaping that integrated the buildings into the Crissy Field landscape. These forms were in stark contrast to the Lucas entry, which maintained its post-modern neo-classicism, though slightly reducing the height and scaling down its large domes from his original conception. Lucas led an effective public relations campaign soliciting support from city and federal representatives, as well as a slew of local institutions and personalities. However, the Trust was ultimately unable to find a compromise with Lucas on an architectural style. While Lucas was praised for his historicist Digital Art Center in the early 2000s, and Fisher was chastised for brazen modernity in the National Historic Landmark Site in 2009, Lucas' domes and neo-classicism were too overwhelming in 2014. Lucas aborted the project when he received a counter offer from Chicago Mayor Rahm Emmanuel, feeling as though the Trust was intentionally evasive as a means to kill the project.

The matter became more complicated when prominent Bay Area personalities such as Joe Montana, Twitter founder Biz Stone, and local political operative and venture capitalist Ron Conway submitted a Freedom of Information Act to release emails and other Presidio Trust internal communication regarding the Lucas negotiations. The public release revealed embarrassing correspondence among Presidio Trust employees, particularly between Tia Lombardi, the Director of Cultural Affairs (who had been instrumental in the Goldsworthy project), and a consultant she hired, the former director of the National Museum of American History. In email exchanges made public, Lombardi and the consultant derided not just the architectural style, but the entire Lucas concept, as "Empire meets Middle America." More scandalously, these derisions included a quote from Adolf Hitler accompanying a statement made by Lucas criticizing Fisher's modern art collection as needing "a booklet that explains to you what the picture is." (Solomon idib., King idib.).

A Department of Interior investigation into the process found that the Presidio Trust Board of Directors were uninfluenced by the staffers inappropriate correspondence, in fact offering Lucas "exclusive negotiations" to the site in exchange for flexibility on the design style prior to his walking away. However, the FOIA release saw a shuffling of Trust board members by President Obama, as well as the resignation of Presidio Trust Executive Craig Middleton and staffer Tia Lombardi (Matier and Ross 2015). As the museum left the Presidio, Lucas re-conceptualized it as the "Lucas Museum of Narrative Art," and shed its historicist style in favor of curvilinear contemporary forms produced by Chinese Architect Ma Yansong. Ironically, the Chicago lakefront proposal was ultimately killed by historic preservationists, and Lucas eventually returned to reviewing other sites in San Francisco, including an eastern stretch along the Embarcadero, with a final decision made in favor of Exposition Park in Los Angeles over San Francisco's Treasure Island. These politics of art in the Presidio not only help reveal changing attitudes about nature and aesthetics, but also the

mounting importance in public communications in light of multiple scandals.

Doyle Drive and the New Presidio Parklands

Perhaps the most crucial aspect of the transformation of the Presidio from base to park was the reconstruction of Doyle Drive, the elevated approach to the Golden Gate Bridge. Conceptually, the project had its roots in plans developed by landscape architect Michael Painter, who first proposed modifying the approach to the Golden Gate Bridge in the mid-1980s as debates about the future of Crissy Field unfolded. During this period, Painter mostly focused on the interchange between Crissy Field and the Exploratorium, where he was a board member aiming to provide better access to the waterfront as part of the museum's expansion. These goals began to shift as the plan took form following the Loma Prieta earthquake of 1989 and the transfer of the Presidio Army Base to the National Park Service (Rapaport 2014). However, Painter's vision for a diverting the approach into tunnels first had to navigate the complex entanglement of bureaucracies and institutions. The approach was owned by the Golden Gate Bridge and Highway District, operated and maintained by Caltrans, passing through a right-of-way caught up in negotiations as it passed from the US Army, to the National Park Service, to the Presidio Trust. In 1991, the City of San Francisco created the Doyle Drive Commission consisting of representatives from neighborhood associations and larger organizations such as SPUR and the Sierra Club. The group rejected the first 26 concept designs, each a derivation of the standard 8 lanes, each twelve feet wide with shoulders, center barriers, and off ramps that doubled the width of the road.

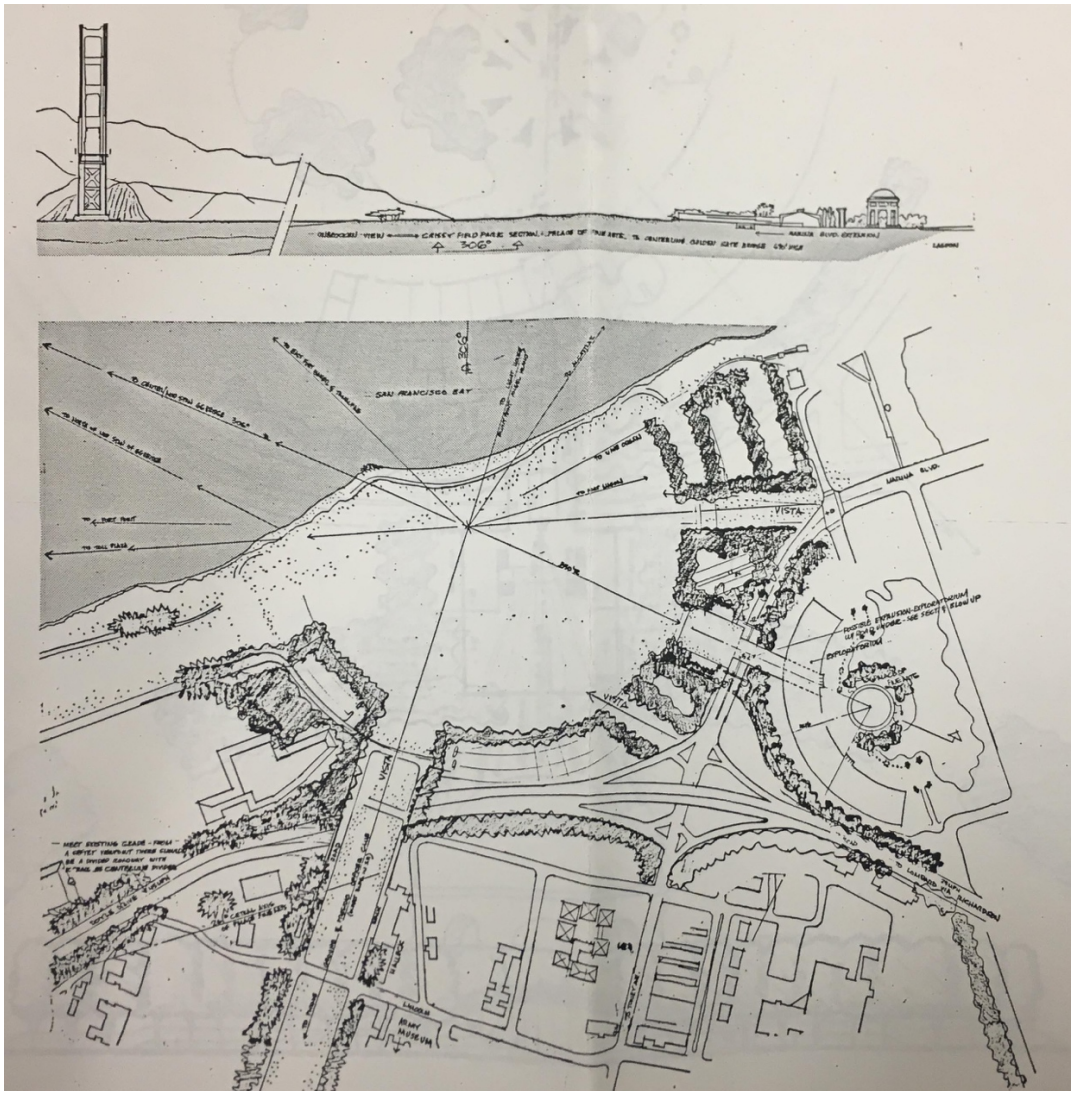

Figure 37: Michael Painter's 1989 proposal for an expansion at the Exploratorium that foreshadowed the New Presidio Parklands Tunnel Top Project, with the Main Post Lawn extended over Doyle Drive.

As a member of the public attending Doyle Drive Commission hearings, Painter seized the opportunity to present his vision—dubbed 'Presidio Tunnel Tops'—developed out of his proposal for the Exploratorium at the Palace of Fine Arts. By concealing the approach in buried tunnels, Painter created 10 acres of open park land, connected Crissy Field and the Presidio's Main Post, and perhaps most seductively, removed the access ramp from the view out onto the bay from the Main Post. The scheme was bolstered by an Arup consultancy report, which argued that the tunnels reduced environmental impact, traffic, and would cost only $400 million, which was $200 million less than the Caltran's alternatives. The cost reduction came from transitioning from the elevated approach to a tunnel across phases of construction, thereby maintaining traffic on Doyle Drive. This not only saved construction time but also space required for constructing a parallel approach. Moreover, Painter's plan also narrowed the roadway from 8 to 6 lanes, 4 of which would only be 11 feet rather than the standard 12. However, Caltrans resisted deviating from engineering standards that might leave them open to liability. As Michael Alexander, a SPUR board member who participated in the Commission recalls, Painter's designs for Doyle Drive reflected a reconfiguration

of expertise and responsibility in a major infrastructure project, with a landscape architect providing the conceptual designs around which traffic engineers organized their work, rather than landscape design following traffic engineering (M. Alexander 2012).

Bolstered by the Arup report, Painter's schematic design for the tunnels received approval from the Doyle Drive Commission, and in November of 2003, 75 percent of San Francisco voters approved ballot proposition K, authorizing a 30-year half-cent transportation sales tax. Generating $2.35 billion dollars over 30 years, the tax provided funding for a variety of expenditures, including the San Francisco Central Subway, a Caltrain extension to the new Transbay Terminal, and Caltrain Electrification, in addition to funding an environmental review for the Presidio Tunnel Tops. However, by the time the final environmental review of the tunnel project was released in October of 2008, California was in a deep budget crisis stemming from the broader collapse of financial markets earlier that year. California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger arranged a controversial public-private funding scheme with a consortium called Golden Link Partners underwritten by German engineering firm Hochtief and the French firm Meridian Infrastructure. According to the plan, Caltrans paid $173 million upfront, with Golden Link Partners funding the rest for yearly payments of $28.5 million. The Professional Engineers in California Government claimed the arrangement would cost twice as much as the standard practice and sued the state but were unsuccessful. By 2012 the cost had risen to well over a billion dollars.

In aesthetic terms, while Painter's scheme hid the access road from the view of the Golden Gate Bridge from many places in the Presidio—especially the parade ground at the Main Post—and also somewhat reduced the width of the road, it ironically did little to improve the urban landscape and connectivity between the Palace of Fine Arts and the rest of the park. As Michael Alexander of SPUR, a member of the Doyle Drive Commission, recalls, rather than productively engaging in the design review processes, neighbors in the nearby Marina district expended their energies focusing on the unobtainable goal of preventing all traffic from the new bypass from entering their area (M. Alexander 2012). As a result, the project makes most of its impact in the west by the Main Post, while the eastern stretch that straddles the Palace of Fine Arts, as it empties bridge traffic onto Marina Boulevard and Richardson Avenues, remains an uninspired freeway interchange. With the Exploratorium's move to the Embarcadero downtown, the view of the tunnel tops from Palace of Fine Arts presents a somewhat anti-climactic realization of a billion-dollar vision of the surrounding landscape, birthed from its roof.

In any case, the western side of the Doyle Drive reconstruction soon became subject of perhaps the most high-profile public space competition in the Bay Area in recent memory, if not in the history of the city. Before the tunnels were complete, competition for the new tunnel-top parklands began, with five invited teams presenting competition visions in the fall of 2014, including the local firm CMG, Snohetta, the Norwegian firm that had setup a local office for their work on SFMoMA, the Dutch firm West 8, and Olin Landscape Architects out of Philadelphia. With the public scandals of the Fisher and Lucas Museums lingering, the Presidio Trust undertook its most extensive public engagement and design review process to date, with the Tunnel Tops the first Presidio project to be featured with its own web domain and designated design center at the Main Post. However, despite this unprecedented public design process, the competition entries themselves featured diverse visualizations for essentially the same architectural goal: covering the Doyle Drive tunnels in a way that connects with Crissy Field. For park planners, this is outlined both in terms of human perception and experience, with Crissy Field as the most popular destination in the Presidio as measured by amount of traffic, while the Main Post was designated as the welcoming area and future center of the park. Additionally, the Trust aimed to restore Quartermaster Reach Creek, expanding the Crissy Field wetland. It was also the first major Presidio

Project to explicitly address climate change in its design, evidenced by sea level-rise diagrams produced by CMG, and a topic that the public raised in design review.

Figure 38: Render of JCFO proposal for New Presidio Parklands

The winning entry, "New Presidio Parklands," was submitted by James Corner Field Operations' (JCFO)[45]. With over $54 million raised by Parks Conservancy, the JFCO design in many ways modestly renders the initial goals of the Main Post viewshed restoration and connectivity between Crissy Field and the Main Post. These include the "Anza Promenade" specified in the Main Post Master plan, a pedestrian thruway adjacent to the Main Post Lawn, which extends from the Officer's Club towards a central meeting place. Dubbed the "Zocalo" after the famous public square in Mexico City, the new space sits atop the tunnels, where the grassy lawn extends over the tunnel tops and descends onto the Crissy Field dunes. Below, a "learning landscape" aims to activate the space between the Crissy Field Youth Center and the restored marsh, supplementing the more structured environmental education programming with activities available on a "drop-in" basis. The educational aspects of the JCFO proposal, like all the Presidio Tunnel Tops competition entries, can find precedents in the alternate entries for the Lucas Museum from the previous year, reflective of the driving role of Presidio Trust's in-house landscape architects. In the case of the New Presidio Parklands, the "learning landscape" takes as a theme "the relationship between people and the land

[45] Originally conceived as "Presidio Gateway" in early competition stages, the Presidio Point eventually took on "Presidio Parklands," a derivation of "New Presidio Parklands Project" as the competition was first called. Dubbed NP3 which curiously mirrored Caltrans term designating the financial model of tunnel tops construction—P3—for public-private partnership.

and how it has changed over time," providing a "place-based experience and play environment," delivering high-quality, immersive environmental education experiences."

Spatially, the learning landscape is oriented around a pathway linking programmable spaces––"rooms"—that can support the addition of "environmental and place-based educational, play installations and features" where children and families can gather to "learn, discover, gather and create." These rooms sit within a larger "cohesive dune landscape" that surrounds a botanical garden, sample coastal prairie, and wildflower habitats, connected along a loop punctuated by a variety of "fixed elements" that could potentially include a weather station, tool shed, art space, a tule (native American) hut, or periscope (James Corner Field Operations 2015). According to Presidio Trust landscape architects, "kids learn when they are allowed to play freely…putting out signs and exhibitions is not how kids will be able to learn." The aim is to give children "full body" experiences in which they can learn how to take risks, with the landscape becoming increasingly risky as they move outwards (Reyes 2017). The design aims to be relatively free of parental supervision, permitting children to graduate from one level to the next on their own. However, a key question for designers is how to effectively communicate risk within legal structures required for accessibility and liability.

Initially estimated at $50 million, the James Corner Field Operations Tunnel Top Park is billed at $100 million as of late 2017. It has also been delayed for several years as Caltrans, the Presidio Trust, the National Park Service, and the San Francisco County Transportation Authority negotiate details for the delivering the site to the Presidio Trust before it can begin with construction of the tunnel top park (King 2017).

Finally, the last piece of the conversion of the Presidio is still in the works—the Fort Scott campus. At the most recent board meeting in the Spring of 2018, the Trust is looking for someone with a $2 billion idea compatible with the Presidio vision. As Amy Meyer put it, past projects were undertaken largely out of financial need, whereas Fort Scott will be the chance to really fulfill the original vision of the park (Meyer 2017). At the time of writing, the finalist to develop the space include the World Economic Forum, which already leases office space in the Presidio and proposes a "campus of the Fourth Industrial Revolution" that would "address the effect of accelerating technological innovation on human needs." Additionally, OpenAI, a non-profit dedicated to benevolent artificial intelligence founded by Elon Musk, Sam Altman, and Peter Theil. Finally, the California Clean Energy Fund, a private nonprofit investment firm and the EPIC institute propose the "Epicenter for Climate Solutions," which would house startups and NGOs focused on energy use and carbon emissions (King 2018).

Figure 39: Rendering of JCFO "Learning Landscape" as part of the New Presidio Parklands project.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

While the public park concept, the idea of landscape, and more abstractly perspectival vision are widely understood as expressing concepts of citizenship and nature, the revival of the public park concept at the end of the 20th century is situated at the intersection of broader discourses concerning the emergence of "global cities," "post-military society," "post-internet aesthetics," that characterize contemporary patterns of urbanization. Focusing on the way these concepts apply to the revival of the public park reveals key interrelated themes, conceptualized here as "assembling publics," and "nature and sustainability," underpinned by "new financial and governmental models." While these characteristics of public parks have been identified by both park revival advocates and critics, this research is unique in tying them to socio-technological change and geopolitics.

Assembling Publics

The problematization of the idea of a singular national "public" in the second half of the 20th century has been the subject of substantial scholarly debate beyond the realm of landscape architecture. As expressed previously, the dynamics of this debate are crucial for framing an analysis of contemporary public parks. The socio-cultural profile of the park visitor was crucial to the establishment of the Parks to the People Program that resulted In the Golden Gate National Recreation Area and is a defining feature of Dutta's "Second Modernism" in architecture and design as well as Manuel Castell's theory of urban social movements (Dutta et al. 2013; Castells 1983). Just as the public park was called to act as a mechanism of social cohesion amid the rapid social changes of the late 20th century, a proliferation of scholarship emerged to detail the ways the traditional public park model excludes, oppresses, or marginalizes people based on gender, (Massey 1994; Ruddick 1996; Tonkiss 2005) along with on race and ethnicity (Byrne and Wolch 2009; Low, Taplin, and Scheld 2009; Lipsitz 2011). This was evidenced in the case of the Presidio at the earliest stages of research by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, through the GGNRA masterplan research in the 1970s. With the development of Crissy Field, Native American narratives were first integrated into the Park Service interpretation, and women and minority groups are now explicitly represented in Presidio interpretation.

In the case of Tempelhof, a similar trajectory of criticism and institutional incorporation can be identified with respect to the representation and memorialization of the Third Reich over the 1970s and 80s. However, the multi-cultural character of the areas surrounding Tempelhof did not come to be represented in the planning process until the Urban Pioneers phase, if not until after the referendum of 2014. In fact, Best (2014) argues that in earlier phases of the planning process, Schöneberg residents dominated planning participation, and framed Neuköln residents on the other side of the field as a problem and an obstacle to opening the giant open space to the public. While the planning process was increasingly democratized over the 1990s and 2000s, the incorporation of multi-cultural "Neuköln character" as a positive asset to the park also corresponds to the area's intensive gentrification, as well as the refugee crisis. Further, any comparison of the two procedures must also account for the fact that the Presidio is situated among San Francisco's most exclusive neighborhoods, while Neuköln is among Germany's poorest and most diverse (Baus et al. 2017).

Reflective of a "hetero-architecture" that defines post-modern urbanism (Dear 2002), critic John Beardsley has argued that the existence of multiple constituencies has led to a focus on adaptability to accommodate different groups at different times, resulting in awkward designs to serve fragmented publics (Beardsley 2007). For James Corner, synthesizing these often competing interests in a way that maintains the experiential quality of a public park is a core challenge of

contemporary landscape architecture (Corner 2007). The Presidio appears to have been successful in weaving these diverse narratives into the Park design, as seen in projects like Crissy Field, El Polin Spring, and the Presidio Tunnel Tops. However, this may also be reflective of a broader, more developed Californian multi-cultural identity more than any design strategy. In any case, the Presidio continues to feel disjointed, with discreet recreation sites like Baker Beach or Crissy Field set amid an office park with historic buildings and signage. Unifying the place-identity of the Presidio constituted a major goal of the Presidio Tunnel Tops project, and it will be interesting to observe the ways in which design is or is not able to transcend the structural forces driving fragmentation of the landscape.

Moreover, while efforts towards historic preservation and cultural representation at the Presidio are on the whole impressive, it is difficult to disentangle them from the broader exclusionary dynamics underway in the Bay Area. While the Presidio cannot be expected to solve the housing crisis, decisions such as the construction of luxury housing and tech offices, the demolition of affordable housing, and the de-prioritization of mass transit indicates how influential neighbors used the Trust model to maintain these exclusionary dynamics. While Pelosi and others point to the GOP and claimed the Trust model was the only way to "save the park," this obscures the fact that the city had already zoned the unbuilt areas as open space. In this regard, one could imagine a state-led alternative where the Presidio was returned to the city, with unbuilt areas maintained as open space while developing new neighborhoods around "non-historic" areas used for public housing. This would correspond more closely with the original vision of the 1970s, as well as popular visions expressed in the early 1990s, without necessarily forgoing establishing a historical district or ecological restoration undertakings. Further research into this domain might examine how the Trust model has been applied in other contexts as an anti-gentrification mechanism, or if it produces similar exclusionary tendencies with different constituencies.

In fact, a similar vision (save for the affordable housing) was proposed for Tempelhof. And though it might appear that Gross.Max failed to successfully synthesize a pluralistic vision into their proposal in light of the referendum, it is probably more accurate to understand the cancelation of the project in the broader context of the failures of the Wowereit government. Moreover, while there is certainly an anarchic and pastiche feel in the collectively designed field, this dynamic is also clearly part of its appeal. This is illustrated most vividly in the case of the early experiment with online engagement to propose to divide the space into some 4 million square meter parcels, one for each citizen of Berlin, a "radically democratic" approach that would require several hundred strangers to agree to construct a soccer field. This tendency may be reflective of "post-internet culture" more broadly, and certainly corresponds to the rise of the Pirate Party and their Liquid Democracy decision making platform piloted following adoption of the Tempelhof Conservation Law. Further research into this domain might examine other attempts to spatialize online communities, like the "micro real estate" art project for Detroit, *Loveland* (Ryzik 2010), to examine the ways libertarian individualism and private property complement and contradict social cohesion.

Ecological Aesthetics

The final decades of the twentieth century accompanied a dramatic reconfiguration of ideas of nature and the environment that differentiates the production of contemporary park spaces from previous eras. In the broadest terms, this view of ecology and design presents itself in contrast with traditional Judeo-Christian conceptions of nature, understood as a static entity for conservation or transformation into value through labor (Merchant 2013; J. M. Turner and Cronon 2012). Environments, like users, emerge as the aggregate sum of place-specific data made visible through specific techniques and technologies (McHarg 1992; Holling 2001). Along these lines, Louise

Mozingo has identified the need for landscape architects to develop a vocabulary of iconic cultural formations that also make visible ecological value (Mozingo 1997). This dynamic previously referenced through the relationship between the Berlin School of Urban Ecology and the Bürgeinitiative West-Tangente, which generated alternative models for the city based on scientific surveys, with the designs serving to communicate science to the broader public. In both cases, this entailed the development of new aesthetic regimes. At Crissy Field, advocates followed Mozingo in calling for an "evolutionary aesthetic" that blends modernist ideas of form following function with a post-modern approach to the construction of nature, aiming "to represent, mimic or otherwise derive a formal approach from various features of an ecosystem" (Cranz and Boland 2004). Similarly, a "Berlin style" urban wilderness emerged, following Dutch Designer Louis Leroy, where the landscape is designed to look as though what originally existed has been interfered with as little as possible (Geiger and Hennecke 2015).

Nevertheless, both cases reflected the danger cautioned by Gobster, what he calls the "museumification of nature" (Gobster 2007). Crissy Field was a primary case study in this regard for Gobster, and Gandy notes a similar effect at the Natur Park Sud Gelände and Gleisdereick. Gobster's term is an apt one, given the importance of museums in the development of these landscapes. Moreover, the Exploratorium, developed as new kind of science museum in the wake of Oppenheimer's disillusionment with the nuclear bomb, corresponds to a critical approach to science and technology that also underpins the 2nd wave of environmentalism of the time (Ogawa, Loomis, and Crain 2009; Oppenheimer and Cole 1974). The German Museum of Technology professes to be influenced by the Exploratorium, and in both cases, albeit in different ways, these new kinds of science and technology museums catalyzed a larger "museumification of nature" in the surrounding landscape. Further, although the Exploratorium has left the Palace of Fine Arts, it has continued to move into the urban landscape, with the Exploratorium Studio for Public Spaces bringing a public science approach to tactical urbanism and place making. In this regard, the museum presents itself as a potent metaphor through which to understand the landscape of the contemporary city.

However, in the past years, new landscape forms emerged to respond to critiques of a "museumification of nature." Both the Naturerfahrungsraum and the New Presidio Parkland's Learning Landscape seek to design "undesigned" nature experiences. While these landscape features can be traced through older traditions such as Waldorf pedagogical philosophies and the adventure playground, concerning tactile and unstructured play, they are also specifically framed as an antidote to the proliferation of digital screens in the environment, fulfilling social integration functions demanded by contemporary society, as well as discourses about risk, creativity, and innovation. Landscape theorist Elizabeth Meyer (2007) situates this understanding of nature at the intersection of themes of citizenship and assembling publics, drawing on Ulrich Beck's notion of a "risk society" to argue that large disturbed sites like Tempelhof, the Presidio, and other military sites should be restored in such a way that reveals the broader risks of industrialization and consumer society that prompted mid-century second-wave environmentalism.

Meyer's view reflects the early ambitions of both citizen environmental movements, where large disturbed sites like Tempelhof and the Presidio were the only places left following decades of urban decentralization and should therefore be used to form a new environmentally conscious citizenry that will react to the presentation of a degraded environment and change their ways. However, as the subsequent decades have shown, particularly in the phenomenon of "environmental gentrification," the "risk society" does not so much correspond to the "destruction of nature" per se, but more towards an understanding of environments in terms of data and statistical calculations that leads to a "post-social" condition (Beck 1994). As Irwin writes, the risk society entails an end to the antithesis of society and nature; judgments about environmental risk reflect one's position in the social structure rather than an inherently damaged "nature" (Irwin 2002)

As this dissertation has shown, conceptualizations of nature in terms of risk and resiliency also reflect a financialized logic corresponding to new governance models such as the Trust and Liquid Democracy. In this way, Meyer's vision of environmental citizenship is complicated by Nina-Marie Lister's distinction between ecological design and designer ecology, or the framing and staging of symbolic gestures, usually reflecting a historical ecological function for educational, aesthetic, spiritual, or other reasons, rather than the restoration of functions themselves (Lister 2007). While Lister does not discount the immaterial value of "designer ecologies," one might ask if funds to install a non-functional tidal marsh at Crissy Field might be better spent preserving functioning marshes elsewhere - especially considering that the transformation of Crissy Field was in contradiction to the initial plan of developing an urbanized waterfront, a Golden Gate Promenade accessible by rail from bayshore neighborhoods to the east.[46]

A similar depoliticization of ecology, or a fragmentation of the second wave environmental coalition, is witnessed in the Berlin case. At Tempelhof this was seen in TU ecologists' criticisms of THF 100% claims of climate change and urban heat island effect as grounds to oppose development of the field. Similarly, two decades earlier, TU ecologist supported tunneling under the Tiergarten, opposed by the BIW as a final battle of the much bigger war for a decentralized rail system and eco-corridor from the Tempelhof railyard.

Financial and Governmental Models

There has been a resurgence in political-economic critiques of the uneven development evident in postmodern urbanism accompanying these reconfigurations of nature and recompositing of the public sphere (Harvey 2006; Logan and Molotch 2007; N. Smith 2010), with trends towards privatization and securitization heralding "the end of public space" (D. Mitchell 2003). Reflecting the emergent "post-social" state of often mutually exclusive interest groups described in the assembling publics section, (Rose 1996; Beck 1994) scholars have identified the incorporation of community-based initiatives into state services provisioning as a "shadow state" (Wolch 1989). Margit Mayer links the incorporation of community-based organizing and alternative projects by the third sector as part of financialized austerity regimes, leaving urban elites to "identify and instrumentalize the activation of potential (sub)local civil society groups"(Mayer 2012). In contrast to Castell's assessment of 1970s urban social movements in *The City and the Grassroots*, Mayer emphasizes that these constituencies do not share a common alternative vision for social change and fail to present a unified challenge to the reigning mode of development. This is in part enforced by the context of "creative city" politics, where, as foretold by Guy Debord, any social or cultural development, no matter how radical or subcultural the gesture, is incorporated and subsumed into a financialized urban development regime (Mayer 2013).[47]

Recent disciplinary literature in landscape architecture evidences these trends, with Tate identifying the establishment of the Central Park Conservancy as a defining aspect of his third post-modern phase of park development (Tate 2015). The delegation of park management to a third sector is often framed as "stewardship" or "entrepreneurial management" (Garvin and Brands 2011), and has increasingly become a focus of studies of public parks (Fisher, Campbell, and Svendsen 2012; Svendsen 2010; Harnik and Martin 2015). In addition to new governance models, these urban dynamics have provided new opportunities for landscape architects and park advocates

[46] This blatant inquiry is magnified by the botched superfund cleanup at Hunter's Point Shipyard (Dillon 2014).

[47] Additionally, others have shown how increasing privatization corresponds to increased surveillance and securitization (Steve Graham and Marvin 2001; Low and Smith 2013).

to participate in entrepreneurial urban boosterism (Harnik 2010), including diversifying the practice of landscape design to include branding, marketing, event promotion, and experience design (Julier 2005).

Theoretical Contributions and Limitations

In addition to articulating the ways Tempelhof and the Presidio differently illustrate the re-emergence of the public park typology, this dissertation aims to situate these thematic developments as part of a longer genealogy of the public park, relating to state practices of territorialization that emerge from the dialectical process of geopolitical structuring and technological change. Tempelhof and the Presidio are significant as urban sites for the experimentation and intensification of aviation and communication technologies, which worked together to accelerate warfare into the atmosphere with the second industrial revolution at the end of the nineteenth century. This occurred with the institutionalization of the concept of geopolitics as a subdiscipline of geography, a science of the state as a territorial organism in competition with other states (N. Smith 2004; Legg 2011). However, by 1916, the post-Westphalian order underwent a violent transformation as war developed a new meaning. Schmitt bemoans the criminalization of Germany, both its sovereign and citizens, but also the reconfiguration of the spatial orders of the land and sea with the advent of the submarine and airplane. The moving of combat into the atmosphere, rupturing the land-sea *nomos* that was the basis for the Westphalian order and culminating in the bi-polar partitioning of the globe by the two nuclear superpowers that diminished the sovereignty of nations like Germany and Japan (C. Schmitt 2006).

Along these lines, the philosophy Peter Slöterdijk locates the "originality of the 20th century" in "the development of chemical war clouds into a product-design-type task" of the First World War, resulting in a particular relationship between terror, design, and environmental thinking. Herein, modern technics crosses into "the design of the non-objective- . . . psychical air quality, artificial atmosphere additives and other factors of climate creation for places of human-dwelling" (Sloterdijk 2009). This shift is immediately evident in the Weimar Constitution's technical specification of an environmental *Existenzminimum*, forming a protocol for the modernist "tower-in-the-garden" model of the city later decried by Jane Jacobs. As part of the "total war" ushered in by WWI's annihilation of the land/sea spatial order, the public park concept thus emerged as a way to scientifically reconstitute the environment through the instrumentalization of disciplines such as anthropology, psychology, and ecology. At the same time, the landscape concept itself was being transformed through new techniques of representation enabled by the aerial view, the immersive experience of cinema, and a proliferation of design in a mediatized urban environment. The new aesthetic regime associated with aerial vision and photo-mechanical reproduction signaled both "the death of landscape," heralded by the decline of figurative painting for modernist abstraction (Cosgrove 1998), as well as the decline of the park with the rise of the international style (J. B. Jackson 1984; Jane Jacobs 1992). Earlier and influential theorizations of this modern aesthetic regime can be found in the refutation of the "uninhibited translation of the principles of l'art pour l'art to war itself"(Benjamin 1968). Specifically, Benjamin was reacting to the development of a "techno-sublime" by Ernst Junger and Italian Futurists who saw beauty in the "new architecture" of war, "the big tanks, the geometrical formation flights, the smoke spirals from burning villages," a technological vision rooted in "man's dominion over the subjugated machinery by means of gas masks, terrifying megaphones, flame throwers and small tanks." In exile from Nazi Germany, Benjamin famously called for a communist politicization of aesthetics in response to the fascist aestheticization of politics.

Tempelhof serves as a unique example of this aestheticization of politics, from Speer's breakthrough decorations for the May Day 1933 rally, to Sagabiel's monumental airport. In the end,

fascism was defeated not so much by the communist politicization of aesthetics as Benjamin would have it, but by the massive human sacrifice of the Soviet Union's people. In support was the Fordist labor-capital truce, propelling techno-scientific advancement culminating in the nuclear bombs dropped on Japan, unconditional surrender and the new Schmittian *Nomos* that structured the Cold War. The detonation of nuclear warheads, combined with the global reach of intercontinental ballistic missiles, both of which were made possible in no small part by the technological transfer from the Nazi regime, pushed the technological sublime to its limits (Masco 2013; Nye 1996). The breach of this limit and the new Nomos emerging from the chaotic void of the technological-sublime, viewed through the emergent media of the computer console, presented a dramatic reworking of the figure/ground relationship of the landscape and the perception of the environment. This rupture, which Martin Shaw identifies as the beginning of the de-militarization of western society, also corresponds to the rise of supranational institutions like the United Nations, NATO, the International Monetary Fund, and the European Coal and Steel Community. While these institutions, the international style, and the open space concept lay beyond the scope of this dissertation, further research could examine the dissolution of the city into the form of the park and the rise of supranational institutions using the case of the Ruhr Valley Planning Authority and the League of Nations, which Chadwick identifies as the first regional open space plan (Chadwick 1966).

As many scholars have shown, Cold War technologies transferred to the planning sector almost immediately in the post-war period helped produce the post-war decentralized urban form (Light 2005; Kargon and Molella 2004; Galison 2001). The resurgence of the park emerged as a reaction to this decentralization, producing new approaches to urban design broadly conceived as a "second modernism," characterized by canonical studies by McHarg, Lynch and Keppes, and Christopher Alexander, which incorporate cultural and psychological data into the computation flow-charts of modernist planning (Dutta et al. 2013). This "second modernism" also corresponds to the development of the computer as a medium of creative expression (Brand 1974; Manovich 2013; Kay and Goldberg 1977). For some, these technologies appeared as tools for social change, providing new ways of seeing the world and discovering oneself rather than merely as a means of mechanically accelerating progress towards predetermined goals (F. Turner 2010; Kirk 2007).

The GGNRA provides a unique convergence of these dynamics, as the site of the first New Games held at the Gerbode Valley 1973, only months after they were acquired by Huey Johnson, serving as a model for the Trust for Public Land, and an environmentalism that aimed to use the market to transcend politics. Funded by sales from the Whole Earth Catalog, the New Games were permitted to be held on the preserve by Johnson who was on the board of the Point Foundation, charged with administering the profits from the catalog to the quirky projects that appealed to be in its spirit. Perhaps most known for images of groups of long haired young people batting around a giant inflated Earth-Ball, the New Games were inspired by Stewart Brand's concept of "soft-war." For Brand, who trained soldiers for Vietnam and worked as a Pentagon photographer, the "peaceniks" of the San Francisco State War Resistor's league were "out of touch with their bodies in an unhealthy way." Soft-war would "let them understand war by appreciating and experiencing the source of it within themselves" (Fluegelman 1976) and "bring conflict home," where too many are removed "from the concept of direct confrontation" (M. Thompson 1974). However, spatial and environmental concepts are also explicit in the concept of soft-war. Recalling images of self-contained Space Colony ecosystems of the Whole Earth Catalog, Brand writes,

> our battles have famously outgrown our battlefield. The world's too fragile for another World War with current weapons and rules…I suggest that it's time to turn the fortress inside out, send the conflict inside . . . If arena-activity permeates the streets and countryside, then security may be found only in fortresses, islanded in a sea of fighting. If however, arena

> activity is regionalized, then there would be islands of fighting in a sea of security. The safe portion of living could wander in a kind of park, with warfare contained *behind* fortress walls …What I'm predicting, or promoting, is re-design of current war forms. Cold War showed us some advantages over hot war, and some disadvantages (such as boredom, frustration, routine cheating, and a kind of paralysis) . . . let soft-war mean conflict which is regionalized (to prevent injury to the uninterested), refereed (to permit fairness and the certainty of a win-lose outcome), and cushioned (weaponry regulated for maximum contact and minimum permanent disability.) If you don't see much difference between soft-war and sports you're getting the point.…All I would require is that involvement in the arena would be voluntary, and so distinct from our present ghetto system (Brand 1974).

In additions for Brand's visions for what Shaw might term a "post-military society," the New Games were highly informed by George Leonard of Esalen Institute. Writing in *The Ultimate Athlete*, Leonard deploys the Gestalt metaphor of landscape figure-ground to describe the "unaccustomed modes of change" wrought upon humanity by cultural and planetary conditions circa 1970 (Leonard 2001). Previously, writes Leonard, design fixated on the figure. In the emerging "ecological era," shifting the basic "ground of a game of any kind" forces us to learn "about living comfortably in the world to come." This included the emergent medium of video games, such as Space-War, which was popular at Stanford Research Laboratories, featured in Brand's *II Cybernetic Frontiers*, and with several early video games debuting at the New Games.

Like Leonard, media theorist Lev Manovich looks to games as reflective of a shift from the scopic regime of perspectival representation (culminating with cinema), with its Cartesian implications of subject/object relationships and cause-and-effect master narratives. In contrast, Manovich specifically identifies video games, constituted by a computer ontology of data structure and algorithms, as the symbolic form of contemporary life (Manovich 1999). In terms of aesthetics, Hadas Steiner, in her study on Archigram, Hadas Steiner used the term "technological picturesque" to describe an aesthetic category emerging at the end of the 1960s (Steiner 2013). In particular, Steiner notes the San Francisco poet Richard Brautigan's *All Watched Over By Machines of Love and Grace*. Distributed at the Human Be-In, Brautigan writes of cybernetic meadows where mammals and computers program in harmony, cybernetic forests filed with pines and electronics where deer stroll peacefully past computers, part of a cybernetic ecology where "we are free of our labors and joined back to nature…" For Fred Turner (2007), Brautigan's poem reflects a unique convergence of technology and counter culture as computers and LSD moved from (or were infiltrated by, or were liberated from) the Cold War research laboratories in Silicon Valley to the streets of Berkeley and the Haight. Indeed, even the predetermined goals of the straight-laced Bureau of Outdoor Recreation recommended the conservation of urban nature zones in anticipation of a shorter work week and more leisure time. What happened to this "high fordist" vision of a "post-work" society, a leisure eco-city?

The stories of these parks attempt to articulate this evolution, and the New Games provides a clue. Namely, after the first successful iterations in the Gerbode Valley, the New Games traveled to other locations and developed into a consultancy mode. It became clear that part of the appeal of the New Games to public officials was the ways in which it could serve to rationalize increasing divestment in public parks and infrastructure. For example, in the Visitacion Valley, rather than repairing facilities and paying for regular maintenance, fixing and cleaning the park could become a game. This dynamic is also evident in Mayor Alioto's proclamation leading up to the third new games, where "ethnic, cultural and economic differences," are cause for "celebration" rather than collective political demands. In this regard, further research could focus on a genealogy of gamification itself, from the subversion of the urban landscape by situationst avant garde groups like

Subversive Aktion or the Diggers, to more zany attempts at "culture jamming" by groups of the 1980s and early 1990s like the San Francisco Cacophony Society or the TUWAT-Spektakle.

While the focus of this dissertation has been the evolution of designs for specific sites, further research could examine how the urban landscape becomes reconfigured in tandem with the adoption of new media technologies foreshadowing a new post-Cold War *nomos* of the Earth. While substantial literature exists on the rise of the "California Ideology," and the techno-environmentalism of 1970s Bay Area, (Kirk 2007; F. Turner 2010; Barbrook and Cameron 1996) a parallel study could focus on the relationship between urban nature and information technology in Germany. This could further explicate the ways German advances from the second industrial revolution and Third Reich military apparatus were integrated into the post-war consumer society, as well as the links between the Kommune 1 counter-culture, the Chaos Computer Club, and the fledgling Pirate Party, building on examinations of the West German Census boycotts of the time as well as the study of the Bürgerinitiatve presented here (Hannah 2009, 2017). In particular, the Aspen Institute's urban policy recommendations for Berlin in 1984 exhibit the ways the alternative cultural milieu and technological picturesque landscapes could be appropriated as a means of stimulating economic growth in a regime of "roll back" liberalization. This could add to existing literature linking the Aspen Institute's promotion of ecological design and "green capitalism," and the digital landscapes of the Aspen Movie Map as a predecessor to Google Street View, as well as the appropriation of ecology and sustainability in Silicon Valley's tech office campuses more broadly (Anker 2010)(Buchmann, Scott, and Twemlow 2012).

Along these lines, a closer look at the ways the IBA-1987 and the Jubillüam reconceived the fabric of the city in the context of *Historikesstreit* would provide a fuller picture of the resurgence of the public park concept with the rise of the "new right" and the emergence of digital media. In particular, the Berlin-Info consoles networked as part of the BERKOM local access network, the first in Europe, appeared to work as part of a broader strategy to not only reclaim German identity in the landscape, but also undermine the East German state. A detailed examination of this system and the way it reframed the landscape of the city could provide an important precedent to the contemporary urban dynamics defined by ubiquitous computing. How did this fragmentation and digitalization of landscape correspond to a resurgent national identity? Moreover, what is the relationship between the decline of social democratic and labor parties and a rise of the far right, a fortification of national borders and state sovereignty, and a re-emergence of the public park concept?

The re-emergence of the public park detailed here links the depoliticization of ecology with a post-Cold War geopolitical re-ordering. However, rather than addressing the geographic phenomenon of demilitarization in California or Germany, this dissertation focused on discrete park forms to understand landscape as a symbolic form. In doing so, it attempts to understand the reconfiguration of state-space described as "roll/out" and "roll/back" neoliberalism (Peck and Tickell 2007; Holm 2006) within Schmitt's concept of the *nomos* as a way resolving the disjunction between the scale of the urban landscape and the geopolitical. Specifically, following WWII, Schmitt forecasted the disintegration of the bi-polar world order according to one of three tendencies that would unfold in tension among one another. The first would result in the triumph of one of the major powers as the planet's sole sovereign, with technological development making possible the unitary appropriation and administration of the land, sea and air. Today, this would appear as America gradually ceding it's power to a planet administered by supranational institutions, multinational corporations, and unrestricted global flows of capital, what Bratton terms "the nomos of the cloud," corresponding to what Huntington termed rule by "Davos man" (Bratton 2016b; Huntington 1997). A second possibility saw a return to the prewar world order, with the Britain's former domination of the oceans expanded to a joint domination of sea and air carried by the

United States. Finally, a third possibility saw the emergence of a new nomos not sustained by a hegemonic combination of sea and air power, but rather through the balance of several independent *Goßräume*.

Since the Cold War, each of these tendencies has played out in clearly identifiable ways (T. Luke 2011). From the onset, both the United States and "Davos Man" are caught in a "hegemonic rhetorical spin" from the drive to eliminate cultural, economic difference at home and abroad. The result is a bind between cosmopolitan impulses to remake America and the west in the image of the world, and an imperialistic impulse to remake the world in the image of America. Timothy Luke writes, "when Davos man wishes to hold forth about truth, progress, and justice, cosmopolitanism prevails, but when those addressed recoil, and/or resist, imperialism," backed by the U.S. Military and NATO, "can work just as well." The inability for the world to fall back into pre-WWI geopolitical alignments with the United States maintaining freedom of the seas and air, namely in the Middle East, has resulted in constant low intensity war, particularly in the non-aligned socialist countries remaining from the Cold War world order; Yugoslavia, Libya, Syria, and Iraq. These conflicts are defined by the computational gaze, carried out by cruise missiles and drones on the one hand, and on the other, what Wallerstein terms "radical alterity," networks of disillusioned youth radicalized on social media, such as ISIS. The exhaustion of both American military power and the multiculturalism of the 1990s has resulted in a civilizational defense project of "the west" prophesized by S.P. Huntington's *Clash of Civilization*.

As the global order tilts towards the multipolar nomos theorized by Schmitt, a reterritorialization in the form in the securitization of public space and the borders has been well documented (Stephen Graham 2011; T. Luke 2011). For a brief moment following the financial crisis of 2008, it appeared that the decentralized nature of social media might provide a prospect for an alternative transnational solidarity based on the material distribution of wealth and collective management of the earth's atmosphere. However, both the cosmopolitan social democracy of Obama and Wowereit, as well as more radical impulses of the Occupy Movement, the Arab Spring, Syriza, or the Pirate Party, all failed to navigate between the documented tendency of new social movements to be incorporated into the framework of global capital. In retrospect, the fragmenting tendencies of the internet only accelerated the resurgence of nationalism germinated with Helmut Kohl and Ronald Reagan in the 1980s, proving to be the most compelling common denominator in the face of the hegemony of the cosmopolitan world order of Davos culture.

As the world settles into a new multi-polar world order, we can expect the revival of the park concept to continue. The geopolitical process of territorialization adds an additional perspective through which to understand the contemporary politics of parks, illustrated previously in the presentation of the rise of the Presidio Trust and collapse of *Tempelhofer Freiheit*. These dynamics continue to play out in on-going disputes over National Park land and a new border wall in the U.S. West to the conversion of the Iron Curtain to a "European Greenbelt," and the creation of a Heimat Ministry and a Bavarian border guard by CSU German Interior Minister Horst Seehofer. Public spaces such as Sproul Plaza or the Cologne Bahnhofvorplatz, once symbols of midcentury cosmopolitan liberalism, are transformed into nationalist rallying cries. High profile public spaces are transformed into stages for political spectacle, circulated through an affective economy where "hate-clicks" and "likes" are indistinguishable. In one sense, this is reflective of Brand's description of the Soft-War arena, and a parallel can be witnessed in the relationship between the visualization and circulation of ecological information through an apparatus of field surveys, camera traps, and GIS visualizations and the role of environmental branding in the production of contemporary parks. Accordingly, these dynamics have led some to repeat Benjamin's error in overemphasizing the essential political qualities of aesthetics, in contrast to what Debord termed spectacle. Positioning the ups and downs of the Presidio and Tempelhof since 1989 against the incorporation of

environmentalism and multi-culturalism into neoliberal global capitalism, it is clear that the public park concept has done little to temper a base instinct towards nationalism or address global environmental problems pertaining to the ocean and atmosphere. If anything, reconfigured as spectacle, the public park may contribute to these problems. In this sense, a further, more nuanced reassessment of the political agency of the design fields is pressing.

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