

CASE STUDY REPORT //

**HERIWELL – Cultural Heritage as
a Source of Societal Well-being in
European Regions**

Weimar Memoires (Germany)

Annex VII // June 2022

This CASE STUDY REPORT is conducted within the framework of the ESPON 2020 Cooperation Programme, partly financed by the European Regional Development Fund.

The ESPON EGTC is the Single Beneficiary of the ESPON 2020 Cooperation Programme. The Single Operation within the programme is implemented by the ESPON EGTC and co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund, the EU Member States, the United Kingdom and the Partner States, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland.

This delivery does not necessarily reflect the opinions of members of the ESPON 2020 Monitoring Committee.

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ISBN: 978-2-919816-64-4

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Abbreviations

c.	Century
ECoC	European Capital of Culture
KSW	Klassik Stiftung Weimar
QdM	Quartier der Moderne
SGB	Stiftung Gedenkstätten Buchenwald und Mittelbau-Dora
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VAT	Value Added Tax

Executive summary

Weimar is a city where the last 250 years of German history are represented in heritage. This history reaches from the enlightenment inspired art and philosophy of the classical period through cultural and political modernisation (Bauhaus and the Weimar Republic), the terror of the Nazi regime (namely: the concentration camp Buchenwald), the socialist modernisation of the German Democratic Republic to the current state of a provincial town in the state of Thuringia. In 1999, Weimar was the European Capital of Culture (ECoC).

With this heritage, represented in a wealth of monuments, museums, memorial sites and symbolic locations, Weimar is a major destination of cultural tourism. The ECoC year in 1999 fell into the time when the city was in a deep refurbishment process after the long period of negligence in GDR housing policy. The ECoC was a booster both for the visibility of the location, and in consequence for tourism.

The case study investigates the politics of creating a heritage narrative in Weimar, and the connections with societal well-being. The main players and their prerogatives are presented. Three cases are presented, as to how the narrative of Weimar was produced: (1) city planning after Germany's unification and the role of the ECoC. (2) The joint effort of creating a space that tells the ambivalent story of modernity, with contributions of all major actors. (3) The most recent tourism concept of Weimar.

In this case study, societal well-being is mainly focussed on its economic dimension. The backbone of Weimar's economy is tourism. Thus, well-being has to be observed both as well-being of tourists, and as well-being of a population that lives of and with tourism in the city. The general social status of Weimar's population is within the expectable realm. No research could be found on the impact tourism has on the everyday life of inhabitants. Tourism can be a burden, but according to the interviewees Weimar inhabitants are aware of the city's dependence on tourism.

The case study starts from the assumption that heritage only exists through narratives. Things or places do not carry relevance. Thus, not the heritage assembled in a location, but the narrative and its connectivity decide on the potential of a location. Hence, heritage narratives are particularly significant for the contribution of heritage to material conditions, as the long term economic success of a destination of cultural tourism depends on an appropriate narrative.

From a closer inspection of the layers in heritage represented in Weimar, two principal directions to narrate the city's story could be identified. They are described as ideal types. One paints a straight line from the classics to modernity and considers the time of terror as an anomaly. History here is a success story leading to the present time which is perceived as a positive end of history. Future, in this perception, is more of the present or a next step along the positive development. Terror, in this perspective, is an anomaly. In the case study, this is conceptualised as the "dualistic" narrative. The other narrative focusses terror as a part of the modernisation process and approaches the present time as an open, but risky state of development. For this perception, history remains an open process. This approach is conceptualised in the paper as the "sceptical" narrative. A clear value statement is guiding the case study that only the sceptical narrative is appropriate for Weimar.

Lessons to be learned are (1) that the policy of narratives belongs in the centre of heritage policy. (2) The efforts of joint planning such a narrative should be permanent and strategic, always with a view on the effects of societal well-being. (3) In doing this, strengths and limits of the different actors need attention. The Weimar case also makes obvious the importance of heritage for the city economy, here: particularly for the tourism industry. There are no direct links from narrative to economic success of heritage-related economic strategies, but negligence in managing the heritage narratives evokes the danger of strategic failure.

Introduction

The case study on Weimar focusses on a city that, rather than having part in heritage, is heritage. Weimar can be seen as a focal location to experience the history of Germany, with its high, and with its low, points.

Heritage exists in the minds of people. It is not the objects that make heritage, but the significance given to objects, images, customs that makes them to heritage. Heritage is constructed by narratives. This case study thus investigates the narratives that make Weimar heritage. It does so by looking at the narratives that are produced, in their practise, by the main players in Weimar cultural policy, by their co-operation or by their own activities.

The main actors in Weimar are: (1) the Klassik Stiftung Weimar (KSW) administers buildings, collections, parks, interiors from the classical and post-classical period of Weimar. The collections and buildings cover the period from the 18th to the early 20th century, from Goethe to the Bauhaus, so to speak. (2) the Stiftung Gedenkstätten Buchenwald und Mittelbau-Dora (SGB) administers the memorial site of the former concentration camp Buchenwald in Weimar and other locations und subcamps in Thuringia. The memorial site Buchenwald in Weimar is a multi-layered location, the GDR policy of remembrance, or earlier the post-war use of the site as a Soviet internment camp being dimensions additional to the Nazi concentration camp. (3) the city of Weimar is a third major player, with its prerogative over planning, its own cultural policy, and its tourism policy.

The contribution of the narratives in general, thus the narrative policies in particular, to societal well-being in this case study is seen as predominantly economic. Weimar's economy strongly depends on cultural tourism. When this case study was originally planned, it appeared as if the ECoC year was a decisive event to re-invigorate tourism in Weimar after Germany's unification. Further research clarified that the ECoC was one steppingstone. It needed many such steppingstones to bring to fore the current success of Weimar as a site of heritage tourism. In this case study, societal well-being can be conceptualised in the well-being of tourists. Of course, the well-being of Weimar's inhabitants has to be focussed as well, both economically and, for one other dimension, in protecting them against over-tourism and the burden that puts on everyday life.

The case study follows the layout required by the HERIWELL project. Material has been collected

- in interviews with representatives of the main players mentioned,
 - for the KSW with the president, the director of museums, and colleagues from the museum department
 - for the SGB with the director and his deputy
 - for the city of Weimar with the cultural director, the city planning department and the director of the tourism office
- in an extensive desk analysis of literature, media, official documents

Furthermore, author of the case study had in the past the privilege of working for both cultural foundations in Weimar, as a consultant for organisation development. So, he could contribute information by reviewing material in his possession from this work.

1 The context features

Weimar is a special case. This city, one may say, is heritage. That is, both tangible and intangible heritage. The following pages expose not heritage in Weimar, but Weimar as a site which is heritage, as a site which exists economically, socially, and culturally through its heritage.

1.1 Territorial context

Weimar is located centrally in the German state (Land) of Thuringia, inhabiting almost 66,000 people (2019). After Germany's unification, the population of Weimar shrank, as in most cities in the new German states. Shrinkage was partly compensated by incorporation of some surrounding villages 1994. From 2000, after Weimar was European Capital of Culture in 1999, Weimar's population grew moderately, against the trend in cities of this size in Eastern Germany. There are no data whether the onset of this growth has a relation to the function as ECoC in 1999. This growth sets Weimar against the trend of population development in Eastern Germany: The majority of cities the size of Weimar shrank. Very likely some of the growth is connected to the tourism industry.

In the first German Republic, Weimar was capital of Thuringia. During the GDR period, the city was part of the administrative district of Erfurt. After the restoration of the state of Thuringia Erfurt, and not Weimar, was made capital of this state.

Erfurt, 25 km west of Weimar, with 214,000 inhabitants, is by far the largest city in Thuringia. Erfurt is economically dynamic as a centre of administration, services, and education. It is one of the main hubs of rail transport in Germany, compulsory stop of all high-speed trains from and to Berlin on southern and south-western lines. Jena, 25 km east of Weimar, 111,000 inhabitants, harbours a large university and is one of the hotspots of technological development in Germany. Compared to these two economically larger cities, Weimar is less dynamic and its business sector is less diversified. Weimar has its strength in tourism (this is a topic of the following pages) and in two smaller, but highly reputed universities (*Hochschule für Musik* and *Bauhaus-University*, the latter with a specialisation in civil engineering and architecture, design, and media).

Via Weimar, Erfurt and Jena are connected by a local train about every 15 minutes. Much lamented of is the loss of fastest train connections in Weimar a few years ago, when the high-speed network was reorganised to include Erfurt. But in fact, this has not much influence on the accessibility of the city. Equally good are street connections, Weimar is located close to a major east-west motorway (A4) and regional roads. After Germany's unification, transport infrastructure has been modernised throughout.

The vicinity of Weimar, as most of the state of Thuringia, is shaped by a rather rural environment, low mountain ranges, smaller cities and towns. Except for Erfurt and Jena, Thuringia is not much of an industrial state.

1.2 Cultural heritage context

Before the foundation of the German national state 1871, the Earldom of Saxony-Weimar (later of Saxony-Weimar-Eisenach) was one of the many dynastic states in the German speaking region. Weimar was the centre of this state. The city still harbours with the castle and other buildings for the entertainment of the court in Weimar and the vicinity, but also an important historical library (Anna-Amalia-Bibliothek), not only a showcase but also an important collection of books for research, dating back to the mid-16th c., heritage buildings and institutions from this time.

Figure 1.1. Interior of the Anna-Amalia library (Photo Maik Schuck)



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At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th c., the Earldom was ruled by a comparatively enlightened ruler, who took interest not only in modernising the state by reforms, but also in the arts. By engaging promising intellectuals to his court, he fostered his reform agenda. With this policy, first and foremost, Weimar became the city of Goethe and Schiller, the capital, one may say, of the German literary classics. The German technical term is the “Weimarer Klassik”. This heritage makes Weimar the city of enlightenment for the German speaking area. Already contemporaries of the classical period considered Weimar as the intellectual hotspot of Germany. This period from the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th c., is now named the “golden period” (goldenes Zeitalter) in Weimar’s history. The golden period left in the city sites, built heritage, namely the houses of Goethe and Schiller, gardens and much more.

Figure 1.2. Goethe’s house in Weimar (Photo Jens Hauspurg)



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In mid-19th century, now retrospectively called the “silver period” of the city, Weimar excelled in music, Franz Liszt directed the court orchestra, Richard Wagner found refuge from persecution here. 1850, Wagner’s Lohngrien had its debut performance in Weimar. 1860 the Großherzoglich-Sächsische Kunstschule Weimar (art school) was founded, and eminent artists served as directors. Still, Weimar enjoyed an open and enlightened regime. Again, the period inherited some artefacts as built heritage.

Table 1.1. Societal well-being indicators

	Local (if available)		Regional		National		EU - 28				
	2020	Δ% 2014	2020	Δ% 2014	2020	Δ% 2014	2020	Δ% 2014			
Total Population (number)	65.228	3,0	2.133.378	-1,3	83.166.711	3,0	513.093.556	1,2			Last available data: 2019
Population over 65 (number)	15.156	9,5	559.535	9,4	18.090.682	7,3	102.655.668	9,2			Last available data: 2015
Upper-secondary educational enrolment (number of students)	n.a.	n.a.	46.058	1,8	2.426.607	-5,9	19.425.829	-11,6			Last available data: 2018
Early leavers from education and training (%)	n.a.	n.a.	9,6	3,5	10,1	0,6	10,3	-0,7			Last available data: 2017
Tertiary educational enrolment (number of students)	n.a.	n.a.	55.013	n.a.	3.296.249	18,5	18.438.720	n.a.			
Adult (25-64) participation rate in education and training (%)	n.a.	n.a.	6,0	-2,3	7,7	-0,3	11,3	0,5			
Net migration rate (per 1 000 persons)	5,5	2,3	1,3	-1,0	3,7	-3,5	3,2	1,1			
Gross domestic product (GDP) at current market prices	30.800	9,6	29.900	15,0	41.500	15,0	31200 (EU27)	17,3			
Working age population (number)	40.962	-0,4	1.301.527	-6,7	53.684.770	0,8	330.714.969	-1,0			
Employment rate (%)	n.a.	n.a.	77,4	1,9	76,2	2,4	69,2	4,4			
Unemployment rate (%)	n.a.	n.a.	4,3	-1,8	3,9	-1,2	6,4	-4,0			
Young people neither in employment nor in education and training (age 15-29) - NEET rate (%)	n.a.	n.a.	6,8	-1,9	8,6	-0,1	12,5	-2,9			
Gender employment gap (M-F)	n.a.	n.a.	3,2	-1,9	5,8	-2,8	10,3	-0,2			

Case study information:
 -Location: Weimar
 -NUTS3 level: DEG05 - Weimar
 -NUTS2 level: DEG0 - Thüringen

	Local (if available)		Regional		National		EU - 28	
People at risk of poverty or social exclusion (%)	n.a.	n.a.	19,3	n.a.	24,0	3,4	21,4	-3,0
Severely materially deprived people (%)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	6,6	1,6	5,5	-3,4
Life expectancy at birth (years)	n.a.	n.a.	80,7	+0.1y	81,1	-0.1y	81,0	+0.1y
Subjective health status (good + very good)	n.a.	n.a.	59,1	n.a.	64,1	0,3	69,3	1,8
Volunteering	n.a.	n.a.	34,0	n.a.	32,7	n.a.	34.1 (EU27)	n.a.
Satisfaction with water quality	n.a.	n.a.	0,84	n.a.	0,84	n.a.	0.8 (EU27)	n.a.
Burdensome cost of housing	n.a.	n.a.	15,7	n.a.	15,1	-2,1	28,2	-8,5
Overcrowding	n.a.	n.a.	6,4	n.a.	10,3	3,7	15,6	-1,1
Crime level	n.a.	n.a.	11,5	n.a.	8,2	-4,9	12,5	-1,5
Internet at home	n.a.	n.a.	95	7	96	7	90	9
Internet access	n.a.	n.a.	0,82	n.a.	0,89	n.a.	0.86 (EU27)	n.a.
Broadband at home (% of households)	n.a.	n.a.	94	10	95	8	89	11
Online interaction with public authorities (% of individuals)	n.a.	n.a.	57	5	66	13	55	8
Trust in the national government	n.a.	n.a.	0,58	n.a.	0,59	n.a.	0.43 (EU27)	n.a.
Institution quality index	n.a.	n.a.	0,87	n.a.	0,98	n.a.	-0.01 (EU27)	n.a.
Freedom over life choices	n.a.	n.a.	0,82	n.a.	0,88	n.a.	0.82 (EU27)	n.a.
Tolerance towards immigrants, minorities, homosexuals	n.a.	n.a.	0,72	n.a.	0,74	n.a.	0.61 (EU27)	n.a.

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At the dawn of the new century, Weimar became a hub of modernity. The art school was developed into a higher education institute, and under Henry van de Velde it became a major institution in the development of the new style (in Germany: Jugendstil) in arts and crafts. The Bauhaus university still uses a landmark van der Velde building. More traces of van der Velde's work include the interior of the Nietzsche archive (Nietzsche lived in Weimar under the care of his sister in the last illness years of his life), or van der Veldes own residence, the Haus Hohe Pappeln.

After the caesura of the World War, the earldom came to an end and Weimar became a city in the German republic. In 1919, the "Bauhaus" was founded in Weimar. It was to develop into one of the most influential schools of modern arts, design, and architecture in the world. The Bauhaus left Weimar after a few years, though, and relocated to the more welcoming industrial town of Dessau, 150 km to the northeast. But again, Weimar, now capital of the state of Thuringia, was a focal point of the project of modernity, both politically and in the arts.

The built remains of these periods, from the pre-classical court through the golden and silver period up to the traces of modernity in Weimar, are all under administration of the KSW. Much of the history is told in museums that are often located in heritage buildings. With this heritage portfolio, the KSW is the most important cultural player in Weimar.

Due to political unrest there, in 1919 the new German republic was not founded in the Berlin Reichstag, but the new parliament assembled in the National Theatre in Weimar. The location of this founding event made the name of the new state, the "Weimar Republic". Since then, the theatre has been restored to its original use. A museum on the Weimar Republic is located opposite the theatre building. It unfolds the history of the first democracy in Germany but does not show heritage artefacts. The museum is run by an independent foundation and subsidised with public moneys.

Hitlers "Third Reich" added a new dimension to Weimar, and, indeed, to modernity. Buchenwald, an early and important concentration camp of the regime, was founded on the Ettersberg, right above the city. The city profited economically, both from the demand in goods and services and from the forced labour of the concentration camp. Furthermore, Weimar was made an important place of national socialist representative architecture: the Gauforum is the only existing example of a Nazi administration centre and parade ground. Such places were planned for all administrative districts (Gau) of the Nazi state. The Weimar Gauforum was realised utilising forced labour of the captives from the concentration camp Buchenwald. After the war, from 1945 to 1950, Soviet military used the Buchenwald site for an internment camp. This part of Weimar's heritage is administered by the SGB.

GDR architecture added some new buildings to Weimar. On the heritage list are namely the campus dining hall of the Bauhaus university (since 1911) as one of the few examples of 1970's modernity in GDR public buildings (this is: after the Palast der Republik, dubbed "Erichs Lampenladen [Erich (Honnecker's) lamp shop]", in Berlin has been torn down to make place for the historic "Humboldt Forum"): the "Mensa" features a typical interior design for the period, which makes it a remaining example of a "Lampenladen". A landmark is the "Lange Jakob", a 12-story slab construction (characteristic for GDR modernity) with student housing, erected as a counterpoint to the Nazi Gauforum. It is included in the ensemble protection of the inner city; thus, the outward appearance of the building is protected.

With all this, in Weimar two centuries of German history are condensed. It was a capital of German culture before it was awarded the European title in 1999. All epochs in the history of Weimar have left traces in built heritage, original sites, museums, the very appearance of the city. The heritage of Weimar is the city, its history, its narrative. This narrative, its organisation, development, in short: its policy, is the focal point of this case study.

In 1998, just before Weimar became ECoC in 1999, eleven of the most important buildings and parks in Weimar were included in the UNESCO list of world heritage.

Currently, cultural infrastructure in Weimar is far beyond the expectable. Additional to the heritage sites the city entertains with the "Deutsches Nationaltheater" a theatre institution far above the standards of a city of Weimar's size. The name "national theatre" has been awarded to the house after its use as an interim site for the German Republic's parliament. The theatre is set up in the German standard organisational model of a public theatre with its own ensemble, comprising of a drama theatre, and an opera, and it entertains its own orchestra. With this, with the heritage sites, all in addition to the standard offerings in culture for its

population, public culture offers what would be adequate for a city three to four times Weimar's size, according to standards of public cultural funding in Germany.

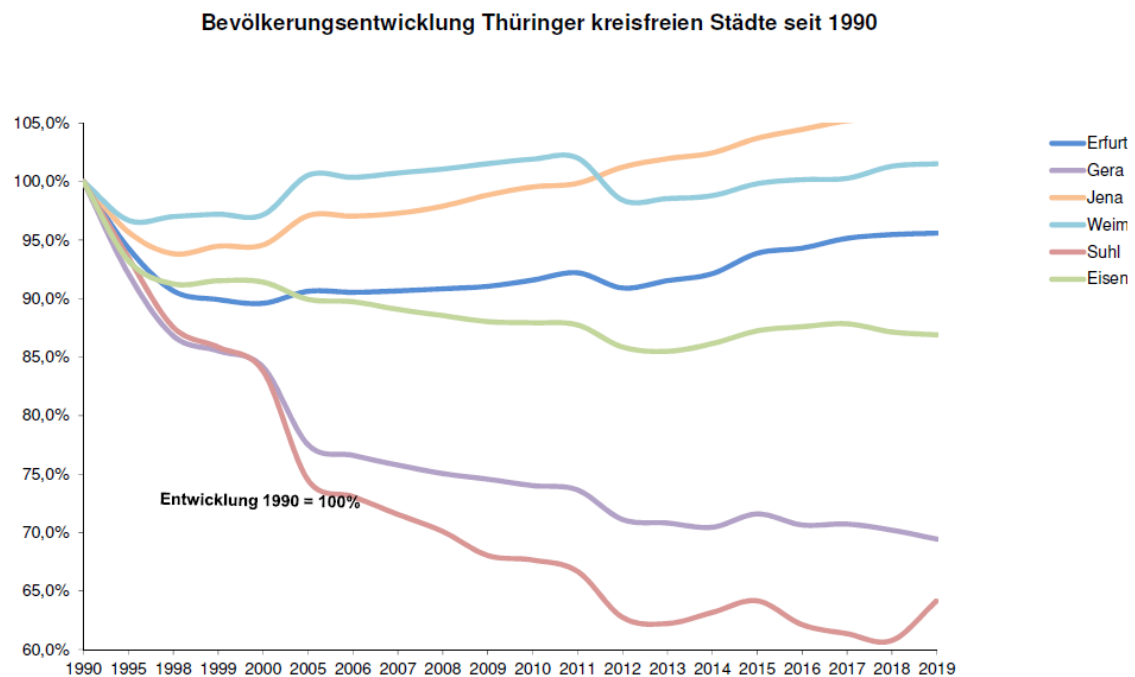
1.3 Societal well-being context

Today, Weimar is a hot spot of regional, national, and international tourism in Germany. With approx. 4 million visitors per year, tourism is the most important industry of the city.

Indicators on social well-being (see Table 1.1 before) are scarce on the local level. Weimar's population grows since 2001. This sets it apart from the state of Thuringia which still suffers from the post-unification population shrinkage. Population growth is to a large part urbanisation, the cities of Erfurt and Jena are also growing, while the rate of shrinkage is dramatic in the Thuringia countryside. At the same time, Weimar's population is ageing, the ageing trend equals the regional trend. Ageing is more dramatic in Germany's east: Thuringia has only a small share of migration from abroad and migrant settle to the large, and economically strong, cities in Germany. The working age population in Weimar shrank only slightly, way below the regional shrinkage rate, where the national working age population grew, again as an effect of international migration. Up to now, on a national level this international migration compensates for the shrinkage of the domestic population at large, and in working age. This is not so in Thuringia.

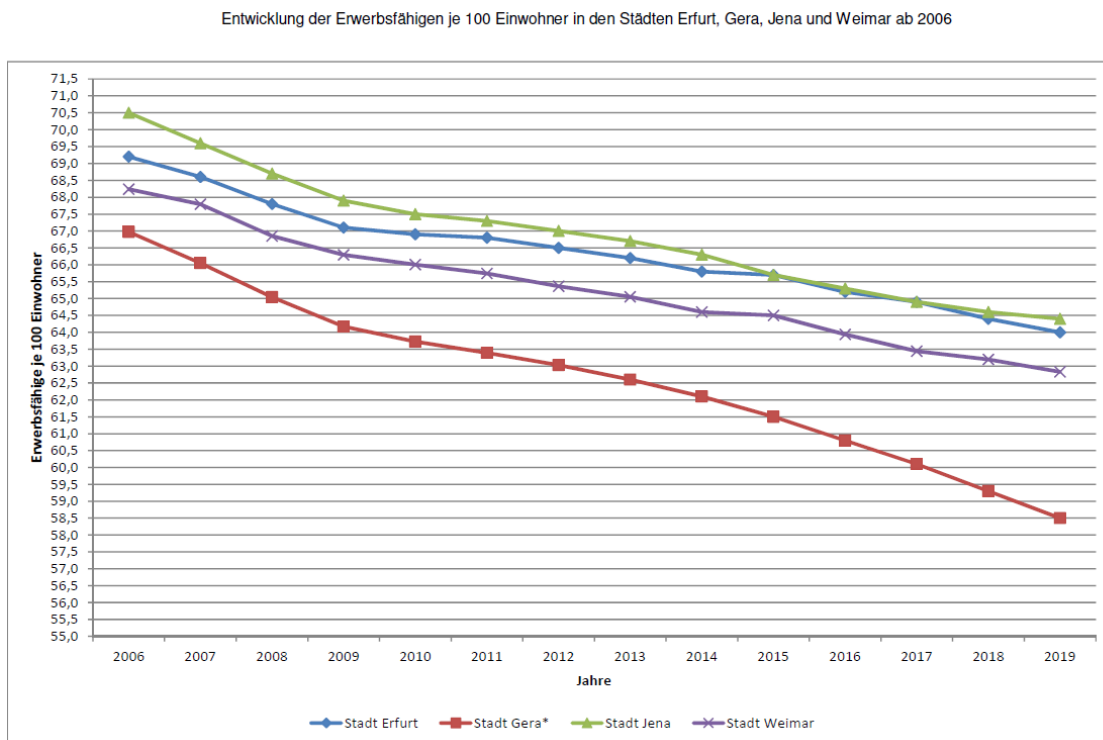
The statistical yearbook of Weimar shows some regional comparisons that underline the regionally positive position of Weimar.

Figure 1.3. Comparison of the population development in Thuringian cities¹.



Stadt Weimar 2021: 201

¹ The dip in Weimar between 2011 and 2012 shows corrections after the 2011 census.

Figure 1.4. Working age population in four Thuringian cities.

Stadt Weimar 2021: 202

Figure 1.4 shows that Weimar's population is older than the that of Erfurt and Jena. And it shows the general demographic trend of ageing. In the case of the city of Gera, a strong additional factor is outward migration.

The only economic figure available on a local level is GDP per person. According to the newest available numbers (Weimar: 2018, Thuringia 2019), Weimar's GDP is slightly above the regional GDP. But it is only three quarters of the national GDP. The growth rate of GDP is considerably slower than both in the region and in Germany, and much slower than in the EU. But one has to take into consideration that the figures of the economically strong year 2019 have not been available for Weimar. Overall, the development of Weimar's GDP is in line with the general development of Germany's eastern Länder. In a regional comparison, Weimar has an economy that is mostly based on tourism, not on industry. The less dynamic development of tourism in general might be one factor that the growth rate in Weimar is lower in comparison.

In the interviews for this case study all respondents mentioned no housing shortage, and that standards of social welfare, schooling, public infrastructure are within the expectable for a city the size of Weimar.

The newest public opinion poll in Weimar (Bürgerumfrage 2005) was published in 2006. The results do not contradict the newer statistical observations reported below.

2 The analysed case: characteristics and policy features

Weimar presents itself rather self-confident. The city's logo (www.weimar.de) reads "Weimar. Kulturstadt Europas" (cultural city of Europe). This refers to the history outlined above, the golden and silver period and the contribution to modernity. And it alludes to the 1999 role as a European City of Culture, the first ECoc on former territory of the Eastern Block.

The analysis here relies on one methodological assumption briefly outlined here. Heritage as understood in this case study is not the object, but it is the object with its respective appropriation. Without such appropriation, there is no heritage. Appropriation makes heritage. Of course, there must be something to appropriate. But even a site, with nothing to see or to touch, is worth appropriating if the narrative around this site is believed and shared. In a broader understanding heritage is part of history. And history is not what has happened in the past but what is considered worthy telling in the present time of what happened in the past. Both, history, and heritage are current social constructions. What and how things and memories are appropriated changes over time. In the context of this case study, systems of appropriation of heritage are called narratives. Weimar is a site of heritage, is, as I called it earlier, through such narratives. The presentation of heritage, in a cityscape or in museums, in memorials or in listed buildings, is more a function of the narrative than of the things featured.

One could also use the term "identity", or "identification". People can identify with heritage, or even, they can define their identity through heritage. Whenever they do so, they identify, consciously or not, with a particular narrative that makes a particular heritage.

It is difficult to empirically assess the effects of such narratives on societal well-being. The connections are loose, between heritage and narratives, between narratives and identification, thus between heritage and identity. The question whether different narratives bring about different results in well-being is also difficult for empirical assessment: it is not possible to compare different narratives for the same heritage. If narratives on heritage compete then this competition is often linked to major differences in political worldviews. If narratives are too complex, they might not work for identification. Contrariwise, if they are too simple, or if they carry a worldview that does not agree with large groups of people, they might again not work for a larger public.

In this case study, heritage narratives and economic well-being are focussed. The flow of cultural tourists is the backbone of Weimar's economy. One may state that the narratives of a location impact impacts on tourism in terms of volume, quality, length, type of tourist attracted. Hence they impact on the tourism industry, and in Weimar's case, strongly on the economic development of the city (jobs, securing the flow of tourists even possible growth). Likewise, the narratives have an impact on the citizens' identification with their city, maybe a sense of belonging which is one component of the quality of life.

Due to the loose linkages between heritage, narratives, identity, all empirical statements on such connections would rest on a shaky ground. For those forces who have the capacity to shape it, one the one hand, it is necessary to strategically manage the narrative. On the other hand, the well-being dimension is not closely linked to such management.

2.1 Characteristics and history of the analysed case

Considering the layers of heritage in Weimar, in principle two narratives are possible. Both feature a relation to the classical period, to Weimar's share in modernity, and to the present. The description of the narratives is ideal-typical. Real narratives are located in a field between the ideal-typical extremes. In a broad outline, the narratives can be described as follows.

The first narrative draws a line from the classics, the golden period of Weimar, to the present, as an evolutionary process, which is understood as progress. The following story is told: In the classical period, the foundations were laid for a progress, that led to the present situation. For the narrative, the current situation appears positive. The narrative draws a direct line from the classical impulse to the present period. If the present time is not already perceived as the end of history, then it is at least seen as a stage on the way to such an inevitable end. The darker sides of Weimar's history are not considered in this success story,

they are not seen as part of this development. They are rather framed as an accident, as a fall-back into barbarism. They are no part of progress. Thus, the material manifestations of these events are not part of the narrative, they are not heritage. They can be ignored, or they can be looked at as deterrent examples of a deviation from the right path. The main feature of the narrative is the division of history in good and bad, is the assumption that good and bad are distinct and not connected. Of course, the narrator of this narrative sees himself or herself firmly on the side of the good forces.

The second narrative tells a story that does not divide a supposedly good development from a bad deviation. More sceptical, this narrative sees light and shadow, bright and dark as two sides of the same token. And it has an equally critical perception of the classical period and the cultural developments in the 19th c. Consequently, in this narrative, the story of Buchenwald and the Nazi period in Weimar must be told as a part of the process of modernisation in Weimar. The Nazi camp and the Gauforum story must be told as part of the becoming of today's Weimar, they are part of modernity. The narrators here keep the story open; they are not certain as to an end of history. This narrative is cautious in moral judgement, considers contradictions or ambiguous developments.

The first narrative will be called "dichotomic", as it juxtaposes a "good" and a "bad" history. The second narrative will be called "sceptical", it sees one development in which many factors interfere.

Yet obviously, for an easy reception the dichotomic narrative is more palatable. Both for visitors and inhabitants of Weimar, it might be easier to see the dark side of the inherited history as the abnormal. And for this reason or in connection with a dominant political worldview the dichotomic narrative is an attractive possibility if it comes to providing a round and comforting experience with the Weimar heritage.

The next chapter will look into today's policy of the narrative and into the difficulties of creating and maintaining a sceptical narrative in the presentation of Weimar. This includes a perspective on the main players of heritage policy in Weimar. This chapter will look into the tendencies to narrate Weimar in brief sketches on the Nazi and the GDR narrative and on the narrative of the ECoC in 1999.

The Nazi narrative of Weimar followed the dichotomic form. For them, their own regime was a state on the right historic path, and the Weimar Republic appeared as the deviation, the fall-back into a barbaric form. The very name "Third Reich" demonstrates the claim to an end of history: a hidden connotation exists to the Christian mythological idea of an empire of the Holy Spirit, which was believed to appear after resurrection. The classical Weimar was seen as a step on the path to the Nazi Third Reich. The Weimar Republic was perceived as the deviation from the path leading into the current state.

The socialist regime in the GDR told its own story of an end of history. The story is different, but again rooted in the dichotomic narrative. Here, the classical tradition leads through capitalist modernisation into socialism which is a state only followed by the final liberation of humankind in communism. The eschatological reference to an end of history can be easily seen, it is part of the Marxist narrative and was particularly prominent in the earlier years of GDR socialism. Here of course, the Nazi regime was the antagonist, the fall-back into barbarism. Modernity and democracy, on the other hand, had a positive connotation and so some traditions of the Weimar Republic could be perceived in a positive light.

A brief look into a tourist guide from 1962 (Heinemann / Scheidig / Iwan 1962) may demonstrate, how this narrative worked. The guide divides the presentation of Weimar's history in four periods before it goes into presenting the built heritage and the museums. The pre-classical time (from 975-1775) is covered on a few pages, then comes the classical (in the terminology of this case study: "golden") period, the post-classical ("silver") period from 1832 to 1900, then the chapter "Weimar in the 20th century." Briefly, Henry van de Velde is mentioned, then the proclamation of the (Weimar) Republic. To cover the events from 1919 to the end of the Hitler regime hardly one page (14) is needed, out of which four lines are devoted to National Socialism and the concentration camp. After this period, "also in Weimar the creative work in the spirit of the humanistic tradition could be resumed." (ibid.) The guide then goes on in describing the foundation of modern industries in Weimar. Before this socialist policy of industrialisation, according to the guide, Weimar was, for most of its history, an economically insignificant earldom exploited by the ruling class. The "tour of the town" (16 ff.) starts with the Ernst Thälmann memorial and the Buchenwald memorial site close to the train station and then guides to the sites and museum of the classical and post-classical period. The National Socialist Gauforum is not mentioned in the guide, and it is also not marked in the map that is part of the guide. The most westerly building of the Gauforum, though, appears in its post-war usage as "school of administration (Verwaltungsschule)". Toward the end of the guide, Buchenwald is mentioned on two pages. Most of the space is taken by a description of the "national memorial site (Nationale Mahn- und Gedenkstätte)" that was

erected in the early years of the GDR on the southern side of the Ettersberg, facing the city with the landmark “Glockenturm (bell tower)”.

Figure 2.1. Gauforum, on the horizon left side the Belltower of the GDR Buchenwald memorial site on the Ettersberg (Photo Maik Schuck)



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The memorial site on the Ettersberg did not play a major role in the tourist guide but it was an important location to represent and strengthen the GDR narrative on National Socialism. All local pupils had to visit Buchenwald, many other delegations were organised to visit Buchenwald. All visitors were confronted not only with the Nazi terror but were also told the story of strong communist party resistance in this camp. Ernst Thälmann, party leader in Weimar, murdered in Buchenwald by the Nazis, served as the symbolic representative for this resistance. The GDR claimed that a countermovement in Buchenwald was organised by the interned members of the communist party. Later research showed that this claim was unfounded in large parts, resistance could be found in all groups of interns. The role of the communist party organisation in the camp was rather ambivalent between resistance and collaboration. The GDR built on site a memorial area, in its architectural gesture almost as grandiose as the Gauforum, to put on stage their narrative of the confrontation with the evil regime of “fascism”. In today’s heritage policy this assembly place and the buildings there represent one layer in the development of the narrative of Buchenwald.

No topic, neither in the tourist guide nor in official narrative of the German Democratic Republic on communist resistance in Buchenwald, was the reutilisation of the site as an internment camp of the Soviet army from 1945 to 1950. The camp was mainly used to intern Nazi officials. The living conditions were grim, and of 28,000 captives some 7,000 did not survive the hunger winter of 1946/7. The fate of the interned and the history of this camp was not discussed publicly during the GDR period. When Buchenwald’s story was told including both the post-war utilisation of the site as Soviet internment camp, and the heroic epic of communist resistance in the Nazi camp, this new narrative faced stout opposition of those who wanted to memorise their own story of Nazi terror. The narratives of Buchenwald can serve as an example on how narratives are routed in, and shaped by, the present.

The late GDR tried to counter the built Nazi heritage with some architectural developments. In the area dominated by the Gauforum whose buildings had withstood the war and were still in use, a counterpoint was built: The “Lange Jakob”, a 12-storey slab construction was erected south of the site and used as student accommodation (cf. in detail Bodenschatz 2016). This building presents itself as a gesture that deliberately dominates the environment by its size, it is meant to overshadow the Gauforum. Now, this building is

protected as part of the preservation zone comprising of the inner city of Weimar. Second, the “Halle der Volksgemeinschaft (Hall of the Volksgemeinschaft [roughly: national community])”, was put in a rather profane usage as a multi-purpose building mostly for storage and it was given a banal façade. The inherited reinforced concrete frame had not been finished during the Nazi period and proved too sturdy to be torn down.

Within this inner city, quite a few buildings were planned and erected during the GDR regime. Different from the “Lange Jakob”, they fit into the architectural proportions of the inner city (cf. Stadt Weimar 2021). An example of some prominence is the Schiller Museum, next to the poet’s residence in the inner city. When refurbishment of this building was planned after 1990, the architects of the original building successfully protested against some parts of the reorganisation plans. Now, this GDR-1 building is listed under monument protection.

One controversial building of the GDR period is worthy mentioning here. The student restaurant (Mensa) of the university (then: Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen Weimar) from 1982 on a site next to the park upon the Ilm river. The park is a historic site, its design dates back to Goethe, which was honoured by including it in 1998 into the UNESCO world heritage list. The plan of the Mensa found much resistance in the GDR, by the local population and by experts. Internationally, ICOMOS protested the plans. After some modifications the Mensa building was realised anyway. It is now one example of the functionalist architecture of the late GDR and was itself put under monument protection in 2011, after intense debates in Weimar about the value and protection of GDR architecture. The decision to put the building under protection was closely linked to a decision in Berlin: that was to tear down there the Palast der Republik (in folklore: Erichs Lampenladen [lamp shop, in reference to the party leader Erich Honnecker]). The interior architecture of the lighting system in the Weimar Mensa is similar to that in the Berlin Palast. Part of this discussion on the Mensa and its value as a heritage building was that the site was under consideration as one of the possible locations of the Bauhaus Museum to be erected for the centenary of Bauhaus in Weimar 2019. But this plan was again controversial in the local discussion as well as among experts, because again this new intervention was feared to disturb the appearance of the historic park. The Mensa remained; it is to be reopened soon, after refurbishment of the exterior and the interior.

The GDR narrative is clearly dichotomic as defined above. The “good” classical tradition is juxtaposed against the “bad” heritage of Buchenwald. The Gauforum was an issue of city planning, but it was no issue of the heritage narrative.

German unification in 1990 made the socialist narrative redundant. Unification was administered under western conditions. Weimar, like many other towns and cities in the GDR-territory suffered from some decades of severe under-investment in the housing sector. East German folklore changed the official slogan of the peace movement “Frieden schaffen ohne Waffen (make peace without weapons)” into “Ruinen schaffen ohne Waffen (make ruins ...)” to point to the ruinous housing policy of the regime.

As soon as April 1990, Weimar’s inner city was included as one of five pilot-projects into a redevelopment programme for eastern German cities (cf. Stadt Weimar 2020). As part of the redevelopment and considering the significance of Weimar as a site of German, and indeed, European, heritage, the city, supported by the State of Thuringia and the Federal Government of Germany, applied for the European City of Culture and was in November 1993 awarded the title for the year 1999 (cf. for the following *ibid.*). It is next to impossible to distinguish the significance of the ECoC initiative from the general investment programme in the years leading to 1999. Yet, there was, and still is, a high symbolic significance of Weimar as the ECoC. Weimar was the first ECoC on territory formerly east of the Iron Curtain. And it was, up to this year, by far the smallest city awarded the title. Before Weimar, it had always been national capitals or major metropolises that were given the title of a ECoC. Comparatively, the budget for the programme and the investment leading to the year, were significantly smaller than for the metropolises before. Put into perspective, the year and the preparatory investment (public and private investment in the infrastructure added up to 1.2 billion DM) helped to stem the enormous effort necessary to develop an infrastructure for tourism in Weimar, and to help marketing Weimar as a city of heritage and culture. In the early years of ECoC, the documentation and evaluation of the effects of the ECoC nomination and programme have not been documented as exhaustively as nowadays.

2.2 Policy features: policy strategies under analysis

German unification and the years leading to the ECoC award to Weimar mark a change in the narrative of the Weimar heritage. In the ECoC programme this change has become manifest. In this section the practise

of this narrative is investigated. First, the main players are characterised, then some decisions in the practise of narrating will be analysed.

Heritage policy in Weimar is shaped by three main players.

- First and foremost, the policy field, being part of cultural policy, in Germany it is a prerogative of the communal level, in our case as part of the city's cultural policy. City planning is another policy field shaping the narrative. With its authority as an office for monument protection, Weimar is, in first instance, responsible for built cultural heritage. The monument policy is a factor in city planning and in dealing with the architectural heritage of GDR modernity.

Under direct control of the city are

- the archives of the city
- the Stadtmuseum (museum on local history)
- cultural programmes and festivals with heritage and history themes

Yet, in the field of cultural heritage and under the special local conditions, the city is a small player. Much of heritage policy is managed by the two foundations KSW and SGB.

- Almost every older heritage site in the city is under administration of the "Klassik Stiftung Weimar" (KSW), a public foundation (Stiftung öffentlichen Rechts). The importance of this foundation is underlined by the fact that it is the second largest public foundation in the cultural field in Germany.² With few exceptions, the foundation administers most museums, most heritage buildings, many of the heritage parks. The foundation itself is funded by the German Federal Government and the government of the State of Thuringia, with a small share from the city budget. The board of trustees is formed by these three public bodies, with some participation of the heir of the old ruling family of the earldom which holds property in a part of the Weimar castle. Total public funding is approx. 26m €, the foundation earns from tickets an additional 4m € (2019, less under pandemic conditions).

Most institutions in the Klassik Stiftung are relevant for cultural heritage. These comprise of (some places not in Weimar or vicinity are not mentioned here):

- Bauhaus-Museum Weimar
- Fürstengruft (a mausoleum built in the first decades of the 19th c.)
- Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv (archive on literature)
- Goethe-Nationalmuseum (residence of Goethe and a large museum exhibition)
- Goethes Gartenhaus (garden retreat of the Goethe family)
- Haus am Horn (Bauhaus architecture)
- Haus Hohe Pappeln (residence of Henry van der Velde)
- Herzogin Anna-Amalia-Bibliothek (historic building and a major collection of historic literature)
- Kutschenmuseum Auerstedt (collection of carriages of the court from 18th to 20th c., in a neighbouring city)
- Liszt-Haus (house of the composer Frederic Liszt)
- Museum Neues Weimar (featuring the modernisation initiatives at the beginning of 20th c.)
- Nietzsche-Archiv (interior design by Henry van der Velde)
- Park an der Ilm (park, co-designed by Goethe)
- Rebecca-Horn-Installation (modern art installation "concert for Buchenwald", not cultural heritage, but a position in the narrative on cultural heritage)

² Only the Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz ist larger. It administers the cultural heritage (mainly: museums, archives, and libraries) of the former state of Prussia.

- Römisches Haus (summer residence of earl Carl August, end of 18th c., designed by Goethe in roman style)
- Schillers Wohnhaus (Friedrich Schiller's residence in Weimar) and the Schiller museum
- Schloss und Park Belvedere (baroque court architecture south of Weimar)
- Schloss, Park und Liebhabertheater Kochberg (residence of the von Stein family, Goethe visited Charlotte von Stein here often, the castle includes an old court theatre, still in use)
- Schloss und Park Tiefurt (summer residence of the ruling family)
- Stadtschloss Weimar (residence of the ruling family, with a history of 400 years)
- Wielandsgut Oßmannstedt (residence of the Wieland family, Christoph Martin Wieland, contemporary of Goethe, was at his time an influential poet)
- Wittumspalais (old age residence of the duchess Anna Amalia)

Figure 2.2. Haus am Horn



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Figure 2.3. Schiller's house, behind it the Schiller Museum (Photo Guido Werner)



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The Klassik-Stiftung offers two apps on their programme and institutions:

- App Weimar+ (guide in the museums and parks of the Klassik Stiftung and beyond (city), with additional information and games). App Weimar+ is designed to become the only digital guide for all KSW sites.
- Erlebnis-Portal Weimar (a web-app with seven digital tours in Weimar and the region)
- The third player is the “Stiftung Gedenkstätten Buchenwald und Mittelbau-Dora” (SGB), again a public foundation, funded in equal parts by the Federal and the State governments. Beyond Weimar, the foundation holds responsibility not only for the Buchenwald concentration camp site, but also for subcamps in Thuringia, namely Mittelbau-Dora where the Nazi regime erected and maintained a construction site for weapons in an old mine, using forced labour.

The Stiftung Gedenkstätten maintains the site of the former concentration camp on the Ettersberg, located administratively within the realm of the city, connected by a regular public bus service. On this site, after the end of World War II and the Nazi regime, the Soviet administration kept an internment camp for prisoners of war and Nazi criminals. The GDR built a memorial site on the Ettersberg facing the city. This has become another physical layer of memory policy under the administration of the foundation.

Summing up, the division of labour between the three players can be described as follows:

- The city of Weimar has the prerogative of city planning and entertains some cultural institutions or programmes that contribute to the narrative. Neither for the classical theme nor for the narrative of the dark side of modernity the city can exercise a strong influence, as the heritage sites are owned by the two foundations. With its institutions and with its prerogatives, the city cannot set the agenda of heritage policy. Furthermore, while tourism is the backbone of the city's economy, the communal budget is not strong, and it must be divided between the many duties of a communal administration.
- The Klassik Stiftung has the strongest narrative power. It has control of all relevant museums that cover the golden and the silver period (with the one exception of the museum on the history of the city), it also owns part of the history of modernity and modernisation in Weimar, prominent with the Bauhaus Museum and with the new permanent exhibition on the onset of modernity in Weimar in the Neues Museum. With its ample economic scope completely devoted to the case, the KSW has

much more possibilities to frame its themes than any other player. In a way, the powers of the KSW resonate the powers of the former aristocratic rulers over the city, only that this rule is now circumvented by public control.

- The Stiftung Buchenwald has one location in Weimar and one theme. It is dependent on co-operation with the other actors if it wants to reach out into the city and place its narrative outside the memorial site on the Ettersberg. The moral power of the foundation, though, is rather high and its funding is overall secure. In the sceptical mode of narrating Weimar's heritage, the contribution of the SGB is essential.

Through the two foundations, the State of Thuringia and the Federal Government of Germany can exert some influence. In practise, they use their powers mainly in personnel policy, hiring the leading persons in the foundations, and in steering through budgets. Beyond this, the foundations have a great deal of freedom in their policy.

The Bauhaus University, with its expertise in city planning, architecture, civil engineering, design and communication also plays a role, mostly driven by the expertise of its staff.

The three principal players, the city administration and the two foundations all have the power to insist on their respective own political, or public, mandate, and to form their policies accordingly. They are all sufficiently equipped and mandated to have a great deal of autonomy. With their offerings, all three institutions shape the narrative of Weimar. All players feel the need to co-ordinate their narratives. They act in the same territory, visitors, even inhabitants, in most practical situations might not be aware who controls a particular site or has a prerogative on a particular question.

The following chapter will show in some examples how the co-ordination of a sceptical narrative of Weimar has worked and does work in practise. Afterwards, some conclusions will be drawn on the need of a heritage policy, or, as one could say, a narrative policy on heritage.

2.3 Results of the analysed case: the contribution to societal well-being

In this chapter, recent policies of the narrative on Weimar are analysed and the question raised what their impact on societal well-being is.

What is the impact of this narrative and its changes on important stakeholder groups, namely the tourists and the inhabitants of Weimar? In one of the case interviews, with a life-long resident of Weimar, she told me "I was always ashamed of my city", referring to the Nazi concentration camp and the Soviet internment camp on the same site. This was a single voice, but it refers to the difficulties to identify with the narratives of a city that bears so many layers of meaning. More often one finds in the population pride of living in a place with strong historic significance. This pride, of course, is irritable by a heritage narrative that too strong an emphasis puts on the darker sides of Weimar's history.

Whatever narrative is chosen, or, in the terminology of the HERIWELL report: whatever branding is chosen, it has an impact on the experience of visitors. It meets in the visitors, and in Weimar's population, a mental infrastructure, a set of expectations, and it changes or confirms this mental infrastructure. Heritage does only exist through narratives. If there are no narratives to direct attention, heritage is only old things, buildings, ideas. Therefore, it is the narratives that make a place like Weimar.

A consistent and appropriate narrative affects the success, economically and mentally, of a heritage location. It affects the number of visitors in Weimar, the likelihood of their returning or their mouth-to-mouth communication to other potential visitors. Narratives thus have an impact on the success of the tourism industry. And, as pointed out, they also shape the mental infrastructure of the inhabitants.

In the light of the question of the HERIWELL project: How is societal well-being and heritage connected, narratives are an important factor. More so, they are the fundamentum on which heritage is based. But the connections between narratives and societal or, in a narrower sense, economic well-being cannot be described as a simple relation of cause and effect. Specific narratives of a certain area of heritage are imbedded into the larger frames of master narratives, that is the ways in which certain areas and epochs see themselves. Narratives on a heritage site have to fit into the master narrative, and they have to make a difference, in order to make a site a special location. A policy of narratives, a deliberate effort to tell the appropriate and the understandable story for a set of heritage, is thus crucial for a site, and it is a complex

task. On the same token, a direct line of influence between a narrative as a cause, and social and economic effects, cannot be drawn. As the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche has put it, history is made in the present. History, one may add, is a narrative. How can heritage contribute to societal well-being? If it is narrated appropriately.

The ECoC year brought 7m visitors to Weimar (compared to 4,2m in Berlin in the same year, albeit without such an event). Of course, the number of visits went down after the ECoC year, and for a few years Weimar had even difficulties in maintaining all the sites that had been in use for the event (Tamsin / Cox 2013: 156). An equal number of visitors was reached again in 2019 when 100 years of Bauhaus were celebrated, and the new Bauhaus-Museum and the exhibition in the Museum Neues Weimar were opened. It needs events with a high visibility to push up the number of visits. Such events cannot happen permanently, they would not be events anymore. The city's tourism policy is geared towards avoiding over-tourism anyway and wants to keep tourism on a steady level. In sum, the ECoC year helped pave the way toward steadying tourism on a desired level since then. The cultural programme of the year was deliberately designed to attract tourists, a festival year for the population was not the prime goal (cf. Garcia / Cox 2013: 91). And other than places that became ECoC later, Weimar did not meet any difficulty in steadying the prominence it gained through the ECoC year. There was no need to put Weimar on the landscape of destinations for heritage tourism. The ECoC year allowed Weimar to highlight again the prominence it had always had as a major cultural site in Germany. Today's city logo "Weimar. Europäische Kulturstadt" connects to this historic self-understanding and shows, on the same token, a reference to the ECoC year.

What was the narrative told by Weimar in the ECoC programme (cf. for the following Abschlussbericht 1999)? The leading concepts were "remember -- actualise -- conceptualise (erinnern -- vergegenwärtigen - - entwerfen)". They clearly indicate that the general theme of the programme, and the message behind it, were now dominated by the sceptical narrative of Weimar's heritage. This also shows in most themes that organised the programme. (1) The "Goethe complex" attempted a contemporary assessment of the Goethe's work, 1999 was the 250th anniversary of his birth. (2) "Weimar and Europe" reflected the Weimar history in the context of the European context of intellectual history. (3) "The difficulties of remembering and orienting" marks the soaring flight of intellect (Höhenflug) and the moral crash in Weimar. Two more themes were on 10 years of unification and the onset of the new millennium. In practise, the ECoC programme tried to put the multidimensional heritage of Weimar on stage, by taking up themes in multiple locations and pointing to their ambivalences. The Buchenwald foundation was involved in the programming for the ECoC year.

In the interviews for this case study, a consensus showed that the general line of the narrative should be the sceptical story about the Weimar heritage. But other than in the ECoC year with its programme committee, now no permanent organisation exists to co-ordinate such a narrative. There do exist co-operation projects that over and again brought the actors together, but this co-operation had its occasion and its end in the respective projects. Three projects will be described in the following, then some general observations will follow.

A new approach in **city planning** started immediately after Germany's unification. Here, communal politics and administration are in a leading role. As already mentioned, 1990 Weimar was chosen as a model location for the refurbishment of inner cities in the eastern parts of Germany. In 1992 a first plan and guiding principles had been devised (cf. for the following Stadt Weimar 2020). They included to keep private housing a main feature in the inner city, at the same time to make the inner city the main area for shopping and services for its inhabitants, and to work toward a cityscape that accommodates the need of cultural tourism to the heritage sites. 2003, after the ECoC year, 2011 and 2013 the principles were reconsidered and found valid still. More than 90% of the buildings in the inner city had been either fundamentally reconstructed or were new buildings. This number alone gives an impression of the task that had to be fulfilled after the end of GDR housing and planning policy. Of the 950 buildings in the inner city 181 are under monument protection, a share of 19%. The whole area is included in an ensemble protection. Since 1998, 16 buildings and parks in Weimar have been included in the UNESCO world heritage list "classical Weimar". Eight buildings are located in the inner city, six of them are under the care of the KSW, one is owned by the protestant church and one by the city. Three objects in Weimar are on the UNESCO list with the title "Bauhaus". The Bauhaus University's main building is located in the refurbishment area inner city. Construction and reconstruction in general were designed to re-create the historic structure and outline of the inner city. Major new additions were the Bauhaus University library and the Bauhaus Museum.

After 30 years in the inner-city refurbishment project, the city is confident to have reached the goals of the project. Main goal was to protect the inner city as an ensemble and to protect the traditional layout, to foster

the mercantile functions, to strengthen culture, scholarship and education, to keep the inner city as an attractive living quarter, to refurbish public places. -- In comparison to other cities that underwent structural refurbishment in Eastern Germany there are reasons for such confidence. Additional to preserving the heritage in Weimar, refurbishment of the inner city achieved that visitors now find not a monolithic structure only for tourist, not a Disneyland, but a place where people live their everyday lives. This does increase attractiveness of Weimar.

The general objectives for the next planning period did not change fundamentally. Climate has become a new topic, cycling, and traffic management in general, both for inhabitants and visitors remains a challenge.

The original plans of city development focussed on the inner city and left aside the area of the Gauforum. The newest document in city planning (Stadt Weimar 2020: 51) puts one focus on the area around the Gauforum, north of the inner city. While the inner city development could address mostly sites connected to the “golden” and “silver” period of Weimar’s history, the site focussed now immediately affects the question of heritage and its narratives. During some years now, this area has been a focus of joint effort for the three main players on the Weimar sceptical narrative. The “**Quartier der Moderne** (Quarters of Modernity, QdM)” is designed to designate an area to make the sceptical narrative of Weimar’s heritage visible, in adequate utilisation of built heritage (here: the Gauforum), in the museums in the area, in public information and in a layout of the area that allows to decipher the connections. The general idea is to assemble, and hopefully integrate into one experience, contributions from all players in an area where the ambivalences of modern developments in Weimar can be made visible.

In the context of QdM, the western part of this area is relevant. The following layers are planned, or already realised in this area:

- Bauhaus Museum (Klassik Stiftung Weimar).
The museum was opened to the centenary of the Bauhaus in 2019. Before the final location was found there had been long debates in the city as to where it would find its place. The location found connects the museum to the Gauforum area. The predecessor was located for many years in a provisional arrangement in a building in the inner city, opposite of the Nationaltheater. This former building was too small, not equipped for the heritage pieces to be shown, its architecture did not connect to the Bauhaus idea or style.
- Museum Neues Weimar (Klassik Stiftung Weimar).
A new permanent exhibition in this museum was opened in 2019. “Van de Velde, Nietzsche und die Moderne um 1900” shows the different influences on modernisation in art, design, architecture, but also philosophy, represented by players resident in Weimar at the turn of the century. The ambivalence of modernisation is the main theme of the exhibition. Always using evidence from Weimar, it connects the pre-history of the Bauhaus in the architectural and design work of Van de Velde, the avantgarde artwork of the time, but also the influence of the philosophy of Nietzsche, or more precisely, Nietzsche as he was represented by his sister Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche who twisted his work into an ideology that later matched the National Socialist ideology with its anti-Semitism and its specific understanding of modernity. This exhibition in itself is a presentation of the sceptical narrative on the Weimar heritage, it draws lines both to the “bright” modernity of Bauhaus and its design and to the dark sides of modernity that came to the fore in the anti-democratic and racist Nazi regime. The story line of this exhibition aims to make visible these ambivalences to the spectators.
The museum building itself needs at least a short recognition. It was built in 1869 as the “grand duke’s museum”, one of the earlier purpose-built museums in Germany. From 1919 it was the “Landesmuseum (State of Thuringia Museum)”, and it showed avant-garde exhibitions during the time of the Weimar Republic. In 1937, the building was included as the north-western tip into the northern wing of the Gauforum. In 1945, the roof was damaged by Allied bombing. In 1946, the building was briefly used again for an exhibition. Then the building was given up and left to rot. Not much more than the outer walls remained in the 1980s and the city considered to tear down the remains. In 1988, after civic protest, the city changed its policy and secured the ruins. After Germany’s unification, the museum building was reconstructed in the late 1990s and re-opened in time for the ECoC, now with the name “Neues Museum Weimar”. Until 2017 the museum was used as exhibition-space. The new installation telling the story of modernisation in Weimar is meant to be permanent. With this history and the location at the, or more precisely as an architectural part of the, Gauforum the building was deliberately chosen by the KSW as appropriate location for showing the ambivalences of modernity in Weimar.

- **Museum Zwangsarbeit (Buchenwald foundation).**
Opposite to the Museum Neues Weimar, the Buchenwald foundation uses the western tip of the south wing of Gauforum for a museum on forced labour, to be opened in 2023. The exhibition has toured through Germany. It has a wider scope than only on forced labour in Weimar. Nevertheless, with this exhibition, an explicit and direct link between Weimar and the concentration camp on the Ettersberg will be visualised. One topic for the display is the economic interaction of city and concentration camp. This a theme already taken up at the permanent exhibition in the Buchenwald camp. Not only did the concentration camp draw on goods and services from local businesses, but also supplied forced labour of interns to various projects in Weimar. For one example, the construction of the Gauforum, utilised forced labour from Buchenwald captives. This museum will make an explicit statement on the entanglement of everyday life and the concentration camps.
- **Stadtmuseum (city of Weimar).**
Run by the city of Weimar, the Stadtmuseum Weimar shows a permanent exhibition on the history of the city until 1945. It takes another view on the multi-layered history since the time of the classics, independent from the other exhibitions. The exhibition is part of the QdM, within walking distance to the other museums.
- **Haus der Weimarer Republik.**
In the inner city, since 2019 the “House of the Weimar Republic”, displays a permanent exhibition on the history of the first democratic republic in Germany. Thematically, it is part of the QdM, its location, though, is remote from the buildings in the quarters. The location opposite to the National theatre, the site of the republic’s first parliament, is historically appropriate. The Haus is run by a registered association which enjoys public funding from the German Federal Government and the State of Thuringia. It also engages in public education programmes. In the foyer to the exhibition the Haus points out other sites, namely those in the QdM. Programmatically, the Haus states on its web presentation what could be a motto of a sceptical narrative of Weimar’s history: “Nowhere else can recent German history, with its light and shadow, be felt as compactly as in Weimar.” (<https://hdwr.de/ausstellung/dauerausstellung>).

The QdM is a project still in the making. But it is a result of joint planning, and this joint planning of the city and the two foundations was guided by the idea to tell the sceptical narrative to visitors of Weimar. The planning of the QdM is an example of close co-operation of the institutions involved. This co-operation was, up to now, theme focussed, covered the development of the QdM only. The partners co-ordinated the respective plans of their institutions. These plans were sketched out independently, but use the shared narrative. The co-operation needs to become more institutional to complete the QdM and to make more visible the guiding ideas of this project. The COVID-19 crisis was a hindrance to intensify the shared planning; consultations decreased during the pandemic.

To make the QdM experience more obvious for visitors to Weimar, more needs to be done. Some of these tasks are already taken on board of the city development plan 2020 (Stadt Weimar 2020: 51 ff.). In particular, the space between the museum buildings needs to be fashioned in a way that the connections intended become visible. As of now, the QdM is a concept, but not a format that has become obvious to the public. An even more demanding task is to work out how the history and the significance of the Gauforum building can be visualised within the QdM narrative. As of now, a meagre information table points to the history of these buildings: But the buildings need to be even more critically appropriated, and their history told more in a more approachable way. An earlier decision to make the space between the buildings a sterile no-go-area, covering an underground parking, might be worthy reconsideration. The space is now designed as uninviting as possible, with the rationale to not allow this area to become a site of right-wing dark tourism. There could be a more active utilisation of this space which still serves this goal. In particular, the story of the remains of the “Halle der Volksgemeinschaft” as part of the former Gauforum should be made transparent. Its post-war history of a storage space in the GDR, a temporary exhibition space during the ECoC year and, particularly the present use as a shopping centre, a final banalisation, indeed, sheds an ironic light on the most recent German history. Not only in Weimar the question on how to deal with the remains, or the heritage, of Nazi representative architecture, is still hotly debated.

The Quartier der Moderne can become a prominent site for a sceptical narration of the history of Weimar, and for that a place of German, even European, significance. It has the potential to be a site in which heritage is presented to visitors in an exemplary way. The location gives all chances to present the narrative of

modernity in an authentic place, binding together the historical threads from the classic period to the most recent history.

The interconnection of the historical layers in Weimar's history are also taken up in other places in Weimar's presentation of heritage. Until the late 1990s, several items of furniture displayed in the Friedrich Schiller house were not original pieces from the nineteenth century, but rather reproductions fabricated in the cabinetmakers workshop in Buchenwald, using the forced labour and craftsmanship of the inmates. The seemingly authentic experience of Schiller's living quarters was thus made possible through an interaction with the terror regime. Most of these reproductions have been permanently loaned to the SGB and can be seen today in the exhibition "Buchenwald. Ostracism and Violence 1937 to 1945". One chair built by inmates in Buchenwald is still on display in the Schiller house and is contextualized in a current exhibition intervention. Additionally, it is planned to make the historical connection to Buchenwald explicit in the permanent exhibition at the Schiller house: This gesture should encourage and challenge visitors to critically reflect upon the supposed authenticity of the house. Similarly, the transport boxes used for the evacuation of the Goethe house treasures in the Second World War, likewise produced in Buchenwald, still exist. They have been shown at the Goethe Nationalmuseum since 2012 and will be given a much more prominent place within the Goethe Nationalmuseum exhibition which is planned to be redesigned in the near future. These are two examples that the sceptical narrative of Weimar potentially influences further stories told in heritage places seemingly more remote from the terrors of the 20th century.

With its cultural programmes, the city of Weimar supplements the sceptical narrative laid in stone in the Quartier der Moderne. Namely the yearly history festival "Weimarer Rendevous" opens the stage for deeper exploring the history of the city and its relevance for German history, always in the spirit of the sceptical narrative of Weimar.

As a last example of narrative policy Weimar's **tourism concept** and recent discussions on the further development of tourism in Weimar will be discussed.

Commissioned by the tourist office of Weimar, and after an intense consultation process in the city, including participation of city officials, the two foundations, and citizens, the newest tourism concept for Weimar has been written by a specialised business consultancy (bte 2019). The concept summarises the current offer for tourists as follows: Besides the given brand "Weimar classics" a "comprehensive basic offer on the subject of Bauhaus and modernism is available. There is therefore a need for action above all in terms of the experience and in the development of supplementary offers such as themed routes or storytelling. There is also a lack of networking offers so far, that 'tell the whole story'." (ibid., 14). In a footnote, the concept states for "the memorials and places of remembrance of the victims of National Socialism" that they "are expressly excluded from this. They serve the purpose of information and education and do not fulfil any entertainment purpose." Consequently, for all ideas and proposals that follow in the concept, Buchenwald and the sites dealing with the heritage of the Nazi regime, are not part of the consideration.

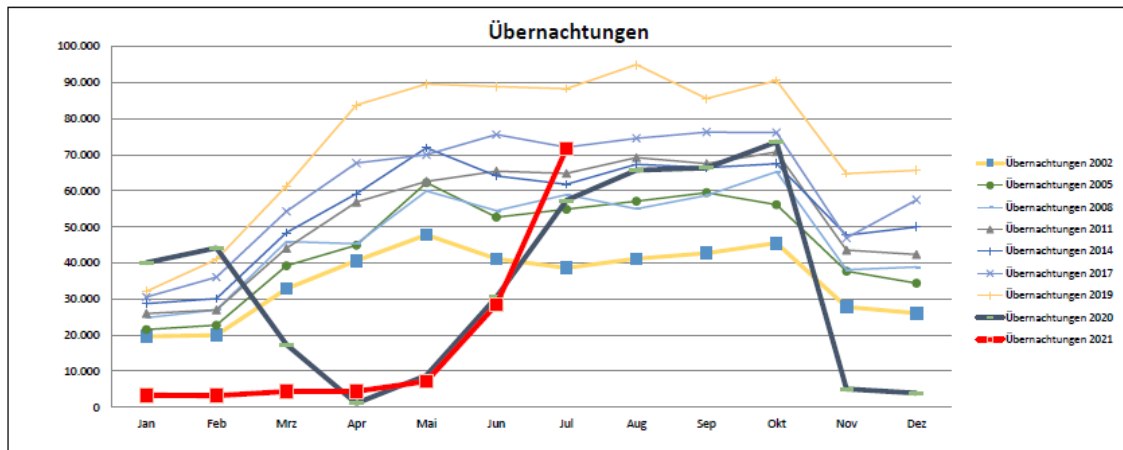
Obviously, this perspective contrasts with what is being developed in the "Quartier der Moderne". The tourism concept focusses on strengthening the entertainment quality for tourists in Weimar. The concept aims at the positive experience for the visitors. Heritage is seen as a stage for this entertainment. A comprehensive picture in the sense of the sceptical narrative of Weimar's heritage is not the concept's goal. A summary of the guiding principles, suggested by the consultants, includes the following four points: (1) Weimar is "the domain of creative, brave and open personalities", (2) is "THE educational site for German history" (including humanism and barbarianism [capital letters in the cited source]), (3) is known "for its interactive and extraordinary staging of cultural world heritage", and (4) "is THE location for special events in creative locations". The second principle is not echoed in the summarising claim. It states that Weimar "is the most beautiful stage for culture and creativity in Europe." (ibid., 31) Not for reasons of a defined idea of history but with a motivation to sell Weimar most efficiently to tourists, the claim of the tourism concept comes close to using the dichotomic narrative. Behind this is not an idea of historic fulfilment, but the instrumental purpose of marketing Weimar most efficiently as an event location. Barbarism and terror are the other side, worth mentioning, but not part of the story.

It may well be that the idea of streamlining the tourism experience is so deeply entrenched in the genome of this company specialised in the marketing of tourism that the concept tends to make the tourism experience as smooth and free of irritation and contradiction as possible. Except for this leaning, many of the proposals in the consultancy's concept on qualifying the offerings for tourism in Weimar make perfect sense.

In an interview with the city's tourism official a different picture was drawn. The sceptical narrative was put to the fore, the Quartier der Moderne was pinpointed as the most interesting recent development. For her, the practise of co-operation on the Quartier der Moderne speaks its own language. According to current policy in the city, adverse parts of the narrative must be told. In this perspective, the Quarter der Moderne is seen as an achievement and positive development. The city wants to develop tourism by including the darker aspects of Weimar's history.

The city of Weimar's tourism goal is to keep tourism steady. Further growth is not intended, the tourist office sees a danger of over-tourism. A graphical display, compiled by the Weimar GmbH from statistical data shows that the hotel overnight visits stay within a small band. The city aims at influencing the distribution of visits from the summer and holiday peak to a steadier distribution.

Figure 2.4. Guest-nights in Weimar in monthly distribution³.



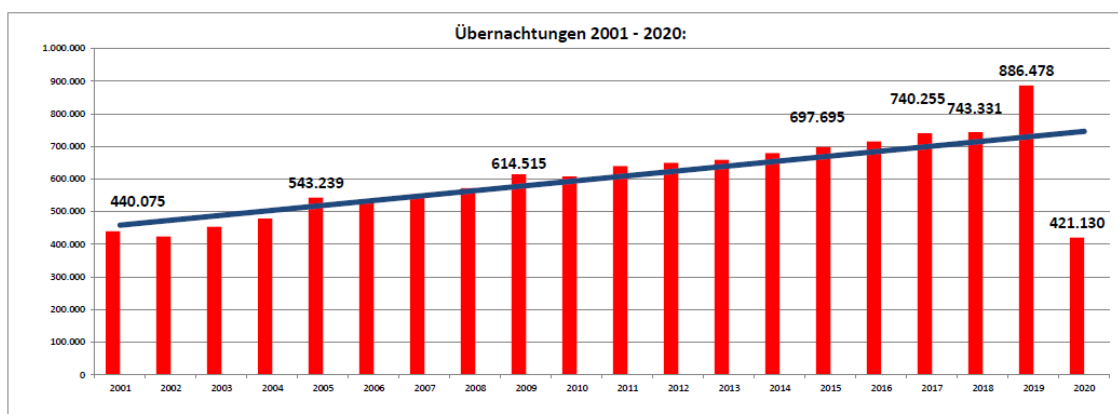
Weimar GmbH 2021

Three exceptional lines have to be commented briefly. The line for the year 2019 shows the year of the centenary of Bauhaus, with the opening of the Bauhaus Museum and the Museum Neues Weimar, additionally an extensive programme around the event. The two bold lines in dark blue and red show the COVID-19 years 2020 and 2021, respectively, with the deep dip due to the shutdown, and the equally strong desire to travel again after the end of this shutdown showing in the figures.

According to the tourism policy of Weimar, as stated by the tourist officer, the current tourism with approx. 4 to 4.5 million visitors in an average year, is below the threshold of over-tourism. More would be problematic for the infrastructure and capacity of the city. Thus, a significant increase would affect the well-being of the inhabitants of Weimar. They accept the level of tourism and understand this as the backbone of the city's economy. But the city does not want to stress this acceptance. Also, ecological sustainability gains importance as a guiding line for communal policy, and this again would be in contradicted by a policy of strong growth in tourism.

Still, over the last years, there was a steady growth trend in guest-nights, as the following table shows.

³ Statistics cover only cases in hotels and guesthouses with more than 8 beds.

Figure 2.5 Trend of guest-nights in Weimar, 2001-2020⁴.

Weimar GmbH 2021

Some numbers may underline the importance of tourism for the city economy and thus for the economic well-being of its inhabitants. It goes without saying that this very industry is an industry of heritage tourism. In other words, by far the heritage narrative the most important factor generation tourism in Weimar.

For the year 2013, the city undertook an investigation of capital flows from tourism (Weimar GmbH [2014]). According to this, the tourist days in Weimar were distributed as follows:

Hotels (more than 10 beds on offer)	659,000
Smaller accommodation	44,000
Camping	6,000
Private visits	418,000
<u>Day visits</u>	<u>3,500,000</u>
Total	4,627,000

The average turnover per visitor day in 2013 was €45,11; this sums up to a total turnover from tourism of €208,800,000. Of this, €96,700,000 were income which can be seen as equivalent of 5,830 employments on full time and with an average income. According to this research, the VAT and income tax generated from tourism was €20,200,000, the city's share of this, plus the local taxes levied by the city, was €4,600,000. In a budgetary analysis, considering the tourism-related expenses and incomes, in 2013 the city had to shoulder a financial burden from tourism of €454,000, a small sum considering the overall economic effects of the tourism industry in the city (Weimar GmbH [2014a]). A newer detailed survey of the economic effects of tourism in the city has not been undertaken.

The visits to the museums of the KSW underline the steady development in touristic visits to Weimar. The number of visits fluctuates in a narrow band around 750,000 p.a., with exceptions only when highly frequented houses were closed (Stadt Weimar 2021: 110). Again, the year 2019 marks an exception: one million visitors came to the museums in this year, 400,000 alone were counted for the newly opened Bauhaus Museum and the Museum Neues Weimar.

⁴ Statistics cover only cases in hotels and guesthouses with more than 8 beds.

3 Conclusions and lessons learnt

The Quartier der Moderne is an example for a successful development of a qualitatively rich, sceptical narrative on the complex heritage in Weimar. All major player, i.e. the city administration and the two foundations for the classical and post-classical heritage and for the memorial site on the Buchenwald concentration camp agree in the orientation at this sceptical narrative, all agree that only this narrative is appropriate to present this heritage. The well-being dimension of this is political; this narrative does not allow for truncated conclusions and does not allow for political extremism.

The co-operation on the Quartier der Moderne was case-related, not permanent and strategic. Reason for this may be that all institutions involved follow their own agendas. To fulfil these agendas always has a higher urgency than strategically shared projects. The Quartier der Moderne allowed the institutions to principally work within their own fields, and co-operate nevertheless, as the topics matched. The Quartier has the potential to be a new gravitational centre for visitors. Once the outdoor areas will be appropriately designed the Quartier could also become the site of events here that strengthen the Quartier and that carry the Quartier's message.

This first co-operative and structural result toward guiding the tourists with the sceptical narrative is important for societal well-being in several dimensions.

1. Tourists in Weimar is offered a narration that includes all layers of the history and the heritage the place is representing. Possible irritations are answered by thoughtful and high-quality information. This can steady the success of Weimar as a quality destination for heritage tourism.
2. Something similar is true for Weimar's population. They are not left alone with desires to distance themselves from the darker sides of the city's history. The sceptical narrative allows identification with the site that includes good explanations for what happened in the city's past.
3. The solid representation of the sceptical narrative makes it more difficult to tell different narratives. For this reason, possible dark tourism that uses the Weimar heritage sites for their narrative, will most likely meet no acceptance.

A comprehensive narrative policy thus stabilises the heritage of Weimar. This is the connection of narrative policy and societal well-being.

It would make sense to develop the thematic co-operation a permanent feature of work, for each of the institutions. It could still be focussed on the Quartier der Moderne. As one example, the city could locate its history festival and other such programmes at the Quartier and use the expertise of the foundations for the festival. It could be co-ordinated events of the museums. There will be no shortage in ideas.

Some prerequisites of closer co-operation should be named. Co-operation needs parallel interests and awareness of the different abilities of players to contribute. Both foundations have their clear mandates. The role of the city of Weimar is more complex, both in the different tasks and in the fact that it has to politically legitimise its acts in the communal parliament. The foundations are, to a certain degree, shielded against political dissent. Additionally, the city has a rather meagre tax base, typical for places where services in tourism and not industrial production is the backbone of local taxation. Typically, excise tax of hotel chains cannot be charged locally, and taxable income is lower in services than in industry anyway. In Weimar's case, despite the steady tourism (that is, if there is no pandemic), the burden in social spending is high and the room for additional cultural initiatives accordingly limited. Of course, the two foundations as well have limited budgets. But strategic co-operation has to take into account that the city administration's limits are more difficult to cope with.

All this being considered, today's Weimar is an example of a rather positive development over the last decades. The refurbishment of the inner city went well, no conceptual mistakes have been made. Weimar is successful as a tourist destination, of course mostly due to its built heritage and the reputation as unique focus point of German history, but also because it withstood any temptation to develop into a heritage Disneyland and to allow for the complete take-over of tourism over the grown structure of a city. Weimar's can serve as an example for the importance of heritage for a location's economy, and it can serve as an example on how a good heritage policy can invigorate the economy. Although, narrative policies have no direct effect on the economy, it should have become obvious that failure here increases risks on several fields. The communication of a location's "identity" becomes more difficult under competing or

incomprehensive narratives. Low complexity alienates significant groups of potential touristic visitors, so do obvious inconsistencies in the narrative.

In one word, the lesson learned from the Weimar Memoire, is to understand that heritage exists only in and through a narrative. In a democratic society, the narrative must be open, inclusive. In Weimar this is only true for the “sceptical” narrative, described in this case study.

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The ESPON EGTC is the Single Beneficiary of the ESPON 2020 Cooperation Programme. The Single Operation within the programme is implemented by the ESPON EGTC and co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund, the EU Member States, the United Kingdom and the Partner States, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland.

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