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A case study on urban renewal through community governance in two Berlin neighborhoods

Masters Thesis
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Table of Contents

- 1. Introduction.....2**
 - 1.1 Governance types.....2*
 - 1.2 Social Capital in Sustainable Development.....3*
 - 1.3 Hypotheses.....3*
- 2. Methodology.....4**
 - 2.1 Case study Format.....4*
 - 2.2 Questionnaires.....4*
 - 2.3 Interviews.....6*
 - 2.4 Limitations.....7*
- 3. Background and Theory.....7**
- 4. Berlin.....8**
 - 4.1 Berlin and Sustainability.....9*
 - 4.2 What is a Kiez and why is it important?.....9*
 - 4.3 Area of Study.....9*
 - 4.4 Kiez Analysis.....10*
- 5. Urban Sustainability Discussion.....12**
 - 5.1 The Urban Metaphor.....13*
 - 5.2 Issues with creative cities.....13*
 - 5.3 Social Capital.....14*
 - 5.4 Urban Renewal.....15*
 - 5.5 The Ecological Footprint and the Neighborhood.....16*
 - 5.6 Values and sustainability.....16*
- 6. Stakeholder Analysis.....17**
- 7. Results.....18**
- 8. Discussion.....21**
 - 8.1 Measured Social Capital.....22*
 - 8.2 Business, Participation, Branding.....23*
 - 8.3 Presence of *Zwischennutzung*.....24*
 - 8.4 "Green Consumption".....24*
 - 8.5 Reason for Residency.....25*
- 9. Conclusion.....26**

- Sources.....28**
- Appendix A.....32**
- Appendix B.....40**

1. Introduction

As cities continue to grow and a greater proportion of the world's population flock to them (Benton-Short and Short, 2008), any type of development that labels itself as "sustainable" will increasingly have to take this growing city development into account. However, living in an urban environment is a lifestyle that presents many ways to be sustainable while at the same time it encourages other habits and needs that are less than sustainable (Rees and Wackernagel, 1996). With all of this taking place, there is an ongoing wave of change taking place in many cities with economically driven gentrification and renewal taking place, while at the same time other areas experience stagnation and continual poverty, or even a reversal of fortunes from well of or stable to new poverty (Benton-Short and Short, 2008).

The purpose of this study is to explore the ways that two neighborhoods, named Reuter-Kiez and Graefe-Kiez, in the German capital of Berlin are experiencing urban regeneration and redevelopment through two different forms of governance. This study looks specifically at two neighborhoods that border each other and while located side by side geographically, are very different in terms of their economies, systems of governance, and social situations. While there is often a focus on the policies and processes of urban regeneration and their purported role in improving the quality of life and livability of cities, there remains a question mark as to how this actually takes place at the local level?

The focus of sustainability analysis is often at a city-wide level which allows for a systems analysis type of approach, yet this is necessarily a satisfactory way for determining what a "sustainable" neighborhood would look like. The importance of this study lies in its attempt to understand better what the participation of a neighborhood's residents means to its development and takes the approach that this should be better understood for sustainable development to be able to thrive at a local level. For the sake of this paper the local level is understood to be an urban neighborhood level.

Many studies and debates that deal with urban issues tend to focus on single items, such as transport (often focused on public transportation), building infrastructure (green housing or energy issues), or urban metabolism (also known as an ecological footprint). While it is recognized that these things are important when studying sustainable development, what separates this study from others dealing with urban issues is the above mentioned focus on the local level that will instead attempt to understand these issues in relation to the neighborhood's growth and development. A central part of this study will also be the analysis of current popular strategies for urban development that have focused on using 'creative' solutions as well as relying on a 'creative class' for urban growth and achieving regeneration in depressed areas. These theories will be used to help explain neighborhood strategies as well as to analyze what, if any, the relationship of these 'creative' ideas are to the theory of sustainable development.

1.1 Governance Types

The two neighborhoods that were selected were chosen for their types of governance which will be further explored in the section on urban sustainability. However it should be stated here that one neighborhood's governance operates in a bottom-up approach while the other is a more traditional city government driven form of governance defined here as a top-down system. The data gathered from this study will be used to analyze and better understand which system is more likely to bring an approach that fosters sustainable development for the neighborhood community.

1.2 Social Capital in Sustainable Development

While the definition of an idea like social capital is in a continuous state of debate and argument amongst scholars and researchers (see the discussion in the Background section) it is nonetheless an important concept when looking at sustainable development and governance in communities (Rydin et al, 2004). For the sake of this paper social capital will be defined as the following: “features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions“ (Bjornskov, 2006 p. 23: Putnam, 1993, p. 167). The idea is put forward here that this type of action is necessary to achieve sustainable development, however this is also a part of the hypotheses for the study.

1.3 Hypotheses

To help in understanding and being able to interpret the results of the surveys and to be better able to understand what the answers may tell about the “sustainability” of the neighborhoods, a set of hypotheses were developed to be tested by the empirical data gathered. These hypotheses are listed below:

1. The neighborhood with the higher value for time of residency, or that which contains more established residents, will be the neighborhood with the highest rates of participation in neighborhood organizations.
2. Businesses owned by locals in both neighborhoods are the ones that are most likely to participate in the governance systems as opposed to businesses that are owned by individuals living outside the neighborhoods.
3. The neighborhood that shows more signs of being sustainable will be the one where the participation rates in governance and organizations are the highest. For this study it is assumed that the neighborhood with the bottom-up system of governance will be the more “sustainable” of the two. This will be true for participation rates of both businesses and residents alike.
4. The neighborhood with a lower value for time of residency, or ‘younger’ residents, is expected to have a lower amount of participation in governance as well as in other neighborhood organizations.
5. Of the two governance types, the informal public participation practiced in the neighborhood with the bottom-up system is expected to lead to a “more sustainable” neighborhood through its higher levels of participation. The reasoning for this is that a bottom up organization is expected to be more likely to encourage trust between residents as they set their own agenda.

As this paper attempts to take a more holistic approach to looking at sustainable neighborhood regeneration through governance, it is assumed that from the questions asked it can also be determined whether there is some connection between the social capital levels in the neighborhood and the overall environmental status of both neighborhoods. The assumption is thus that the neighborhood with highest social capital will also be the one that scores the highest on the environmental questions. It is assumed that the levels of local sustainability will depend on the values and type of individuals who make up both the neighborhoods.

2. Methodology

The first part of this study consists of a section on background and theory that deals with relevant issues in urban discourses on sustainability. The purpose of this will be to clarify how different approaches to city management and regeneration (or redevelopment) may either be limited in their ability to achieve the goal of a sustainable city, as well as to analyze whether or not they will in and of themselves create more problems than the ones they initially attempt to solve. For this reason it should be stated from the outset that the author of this paper is taking an approach that sees the issues discussed here through the lense of being ‘wicked problems’ meaning that there is no immediate, or perfect fix-all and that the application of measures designed to solve the problem(s) may instead exacerbate and even have the opposite effect of the original outcome goals (Moore, 2007).

As a part of the background there will be a short overview of the situation that the city of Berlin is facing as a whole in regards to its position as a city state in the Bundesrepublik Deutschland (German Federal Republic). Information will also be provided on the backgrounds of the neighborhoods that were studied. This will rely on both interviews(qualitative) as well as population statistics that are provided by the German government. The reason for this type of information is to highlight the differences in approach taken here in the policies and processes that begin at both the top level (city and state government) compared to those at the local level i.e. the neighborhood.

2.1 Case Study Format

By setting a specific focus of and on a comparison of two different neighborhoods, this study’s design follows that of comparative case study (Drencombe, 2006). The scope of a case study often sets it off from other things around it and therefore it is important to be able to compare its results with others of a similar nature to be able to determine if it is a normal case or a special one(Ibid). For this reason secondary data was used to compare with the primary data, the questionnaires, when values proved significant or needed further context. A reason that a case study format was chosen was that it enables the asking of how and why questions in the situation that is being observed (Bryman, 2004).

Using a case study also enabled the taking into account of the local history of the areas, including both the current inhabitants and their culture which includes values. The importance of taking into account the value that culture brings to a group of people can be seen in Weber’s concept of the “protestant work ethic” to explain the patterns of economic growth, or what could better be termed as “capital accumulation,” that occurred in Europe and the United States of America during his time (Callinicos, 2007 and Florida, 2005). Looking only at economic factors and environmental factors thus tells an incomplete story, and cannot fully explain how various urban situations came to be in the first place.

2.2 Questionnaires

As part of the sampling strategy for gathering data in the case study, a survey was carried out in both neighborhoods that involved written questionnaires with both closed as well as open ended questions. By using a mix like this it was hoped that the results from the questionnaires as well as the study as a whole would not become to reliant on empiricism (Drencombe, 2006). Questionnaires are able to answer two types of questions; first they are able to deal with value issues while at the same time leaving room for gathering quantitative data that can then be analysed using statistical methods (Ibid).

The sampling strategy used in this case, involved quota sampling which “establishes certain categories (or strata) which are considered as vital for inclusion in the sample, and also seeks to fill these categories in proportion to their existence in the population” (Ibid, pp. 13). The categories here were that participants be residents of the two neighborhoods under study, that they be over eighteen years of age. There were also two separate age stratas: the first consisted of those falling between 20-40 years and the second of those 40 years and up. The reason for this will be discussed later on in the background and theory section. The initial goal was to have the same representation of males and females in each neighborhood, however due to time constraints this was not possible. The pattern was to conduct one or two surveys on a street corner or park and then move on to another area so as to avoid issues of only interviewing those in the park on a certain day or missing those who might be at work. Sampling was therefore carried out at various times of the day and both on weekdays as well as weekends to ensure a more representative sample of both neighborhood populations. Individuals under the age of 18 were ruled out as they were assumed to have less knowledge about their household’s consumption patterns. The reasons for using this type of sampling strategy had to do with time constraints as well as a lack of money for pursuing other strategies.

The questionnaires were not of the type that could be mailed out. They were conducted in a way that was more along the lines of a short interview, though this aspect of the questionnaire was primarily used only if the respondent communicated some specific information without prompting, or if the answer to one of the questions prompted the need for a follow up question which led to further new information. Thirty-five questionnaires were conducted with local residents per neighborhood as well as fifteen business questionnaires (however one of these was lost) that were conducted in both areas as well. This brings the total amount of questionnaires that were conducted to ninety-nine.

In order to take any measurements that would lead to comparisons between the two neighborhoods, a set of indicators had to be established on which to base them. For the purpose of comparing cities, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) has compiled a set of 13 categories for various types of indicators as listed below:

1. Population, migration, and Urbanization
2. Income disparity, Unemployment, and Poverty
3. Health and Education
4. Urban productivity and competitiveness
5. Technology and connectivity
6. Housing
7. Urban land
8. Municipal services
9. Urban environment
10. Urban Transport (both people and goods)
11. Cultural
12. Local government finance
13. Urban governance and management

Figure 1. Indicators for measuring Urban sustainability. Source: ADB, 2001 p. 9-13.

While it is not possible in a project of limited timescales like this to compile statistics for all the above categories, it is important to mention that there are various ways of compiling these

numbers and looking for relationships between the data as to whether or not a city is more or less sustainable. However, these indicators were designed for a city wide study and were not specifically focused at a neighborhood level. For this reason only certain aspects of these indicators were incorporated into the questionnaires.

In the case of the Graefe-Kiez neighborhood, there was already a highly detailed set of statistics available for this area that was compiled by a local city research group (TOPOS) for the Senate Department for Urban Development (senatsverwaltung f. stadtentwicklung). The Asian Development Bank notes that “The main difference between indicators and other kinds of data is that the connection with policy is, or should be, explicit” (Ibid, p17). This means that when an indicator is presented, such as the quality of green space or amount of floor space per person, there should be some kind of connection with the policies in place. To further expand on this, it would be possible to argue that in two neighborhoods, the one with the larger amount of green space is this way because of specific policies that the neighborhood has. It remains important to look both at policy and to see if there are other forces at work affecting the areas of study.

Finally, the results of these two different surveys were analyzed to see what the results infer (if anything) about the neighborhood’s path to sustainable development in regard to the levels of social capital that are to be found in both. It is important to note here that as this study does rely on value judgements, it will be difficult if not impossible to determine which of the two systems of governance in the neighborhoods is the “better” in terms of encouraging or building for sustainability, as it must first be explained what exactly sustainability means to those who are active there. The raw data from the questionnaires is compiled in Appendix B

The reason that it is important to take into account the views of the local population as compared to the governments explanation of things, is that this gives a clearer picture of both the feelings toward any urban development initiatives as well as helps to see what the dynamics of relationships, inherent in any city’s polycys and moverments, in these communities look like and manifest themselves. Further it also helps to understand the needs and aspirations of the local population in order to determine whether the programes that are advocated as part of the Social City program (see area of study section) are indeed relevant to and improving the lives of the local residents or whether they are instead making them worse. This again brings up the notion that urban development issues are by nature “wicked problems”. A “wicked problem” is defined as “problems that defy logic and methods of scientific or technocratic rationality” further “there is no definitive statement of the ‘the problem.’ the problem is ill structured, an evolving set of interlocking issues and constraints.” (Moore, 2007). Framing it in this way makes it easier to understand that there is no simple answer to any of the “problems” in an unsustainable city undergoing regeneration.

2.3 Interviews

While the original goal was to conduct a series of qualitative one on one interviews with individuals involved at the top levels of leadership in the two governance organizations, this proved impossible in the case of Reuter-Kiez. The individuals involved in the local governance, known as the quartiersmanagement, declined any interviews and claimed that they were simply too busy with work. The individuals at the Graefe-Kiez governance, known as IGG/GEKKO, however were more open and so an interview was conducted with one of the responsible coordinators. Based on the information obtained in this interview and a recommendation, an interview was set up with another resident in the neighborhood who agreed to an interview and who was regularly active with the organization. This type of

bridging between two individuals be described as ‘snowballing’ which means that the information and understanding gained from one interview lead directly to the next one and also influenced the types of questions that were asked (Drenscombe, 2006). While this interview with the resident was very helpful in the context of better understanding both the process of governance as well as gaining more information about the neighborhoods background, it was more difficult to keep the questions from becoming to ‘leading’ on certain issues.

2.4 Limitations

The largest limitation of this study was the language barrier. The researcher did not speak more than very basic German. There were other individuals in the study areas who spoke other languages who could have taken a survey had the researcher been able to communicate with them. This was also an issue in regards to reading policy papers by the local government as well as from the state government where most of the documents were only available in German or if they were available in English were often less detailed. Another limitation on the study was the inability to conduct an interview with one of the governance offices. Therefore most of the data had to be gathered from secondary sources to understand this entity. A weakness was the inability to gain better contacts with the immigrant community. Although this was tried, it was found to not be so easy.

3. Background on Sustainable Development

The urban aspect of the sustainable development paradigm is directly addressed in the Brundtland report which noted this about “industrial cities:” “Many face problems of deteriorating infrastructure, environmental degradation, inner-city decay, and neighbourhood collapse. The unemployed, the elderly, and racial and ethnic minorities can remain trapped in a downward spiral of degradation and poverty, as job opportunities and the younger and better-educated individuals leave declining neighbourhoods” (UN, 1987 p.). Cities and Urban regions in general can be characterized in geographical terms as spaces of uneven development which is a way of explaining the way that capital is continuously invested and then moved to another place in a process of creating space in a capitalist society (Smith, 2008: Smith, 1982). Thus the places that people live, such as a city or a neighborhood in this case, can be viewed first as a created space (by capital) and that secondly the capital that was initially invested may have relocated elsewhere in a never ending process, thus always leaving certain areas “uneven” in relation to others (Smith, 2008). This idea of space can be contrasted with the notion of a specific place and seen in this definition provided by Neill (2004 p. 6) “Whereas space is open and is seen as an abstract expanse, place is a particular part of that expanse which is endowed with meaning by people.” Thus whereas space is simply creatable, for an area to have place it must have personal meaning to the locals and therefore cultural values attached to it.

At this time, sustainable development is still more of a development theory as opposed to being a measurable end result in itself or to put it in different words a clear cut process (Krueger and Savage, 2007). This means that any study that aims to measure sustainable development is in itself relative to the definitions provided by both the individuals involved in what is attempting to be made sustainable as well as to those who are analysing the process and its progress. Thus a framework is needed to aide in the understanding of both the object of the study as well as the process that measures the results. This will be shown more clearly in the Kiez analysis section.

4. Berlin

The city of Berlin's relation to the term "industrial city" is debatable and indeed it is argued here that as a whole the city is now on its way to being almost entirely in a post-industrial phase. Post-industrial meaning that the city employs less in the manufacturing sector and has experienced a large growth in the services sector (This means that the greater share of the economy is no longer driven by industrial goods and has instead moved to primarily a service sector) (Pratt, 2009). Of course in Berlin's case there is also the presence of a strong city government as well as the federal government.

The city of Berlin is a good location for conducting an urban regeneration study for several reasons. The first reason being its history of division during the Cold War, which often lead to interesting developments in urban planning and strategy. Another good reason is for its ongoing struggle in transitioning itself from a Fordist economy to a post-Fordist economy. While this type of transition is common in most Western European Cities (as well as Eastern European cities), what makes Berlin more interesting is that its transition only began as late as 1989 when the wall fell and the process of reuniting the two Germanies began (Strom, 2001).

A system of subsidies, provided by the West German government, had existed during the cold war to the industrial production capacity of West Berlin going as it had become an isolated island inside the DDR (Ibid). They disappeared almost as soon as their original function no longer existed during the reunification of the two countries. This led to a drastic reduction in the amount of industrial jobs (and work as a whole) available in a unified Berlin in the early nineties as many of the factories in the former eastern blocks of the city also collapsed (Ibid). Krätke (2004) notes that between 1991 and 2001 there was a 58% job loss in the manufacturing sector in Berlin.

When Berlin was later chosen as the new capital of a once again united Germany, there was a rapid growth in real estate development and prices rose in anticipation of Berlin becoming a service oriented metropolis (under the post-industrial label), however this proved to be over-optimistic in its assumption about the power of Berlin to draw service related companies and by the early 2000's had lead to an economic 'crises' (Strom, 2001:Krätke, 2004). This type of development strategy, focusing on attracting the service industries, has also been pointed out by Häussermann et al (2003).

Since the economic crises in early 2000, the city of Berlin has struggled to grow the local economy to the levels that were imagined in the early 90's. Instead of the focus on strictly corporate growth, which has indeed brought some company headquarters to Berlin but as a whole has not done enough to be called a success, the office for Senate Department for Urban Development (Senatsverwaltung f. Stadtentwicklung) has turned more and more to the notion that Berlin's future growth and development lies in the 'creativity sector' and that this is the area that should be invested in (Krätke, 2004). The ideas behind creative development will be further examined in the discussion on urban sustainability.

4.1 Berlin and Sustainability

It is important to note here how the city government of Berlin looks at sustainability as a whole and how it seeks to integrate it into its planning mechanisms. In the report titled 'Sustainable Berlin,' the idea of sustainable development is portrayed as being a way of operating that will keep the urban system functioning as it always has (Back, 2003). To Berlin, the idea of sustainable development is tied to a way of life as well as with what they

refer to as ‘modernisation.’ The way they have formulated their idea of sustainable development in their own context is that “Modernisation and environmental protection are thus not opposed to one another. On the contrary, protecting the environment is an integral part of the modernisation strategy for Berlin.” (Ibid, pg. 8). While they do acknowledge that much of this modernisation has previously been aimed at the economic side, they argue that now it is possible to do both and do them both well (Ibid). This approach to sustainable development seems to follow what is known as ‘weak’ sustainability where the total available resources must remain constant, while allowing for substitution of one for another, over time as opposed to a ‘strong’ sustainability which has a main focus on resource conservation and more concern for the environment (Hediger, 2000). Modernisation is meant as a way to upgrade existing building structure (Back, 2003) and therefore is closely related to urban regeneration.

Since the city itself states that there is no conflict between sustainable development (and therefore the environment) and modernisation, this is a type of development argument that draws from an ecological modernisation paradigm. Ecological modernisation “argues that economic development and ecological crisis can be reconciled to form a new model of development for capitalist economies“ (Gibbs, 2000, p.10). To add to this, the way that Berlin looks at sustainability is comparable with Manchester and Leeds where the cities moved away from their industrial states of being by using strategies that were designed to clean and make the place more livable though usually for special groups who could afford this type of redevelopment (Aidan et al, 2004). This suggests then that not all redevelopment plans for cities are always all inclusive.

4.2 What is a Kiez and why is it important?

To better understand the urban fabric and development of Berlin as a city it becomes necessary to introduce the German word “kiez.” A “Kiez” can only be defined in relation to the city of Berlin as it is a word that is not used outside the city. A “Kiez” for the sake of this paper will be defined as a specific neighborhood that is known both locally (i.e. to those living in it) as well as officially (to city government) though often it is not in any way an administrative power in its own right. Another definition of a Kiez could be “(a) German expression for a smaller urban district with a pronounced local identity” (Schnur, 2005 p. 502). These are traditional historic districts in the city of Berlin that in some way stood out in a distinct pattern and were established through local identity: the space versus place idea again.

4.3 Area of Study

While the two neighborhoods are located next to each other, they are separated by Borough governments as well as by a large road. The Graefe-Kiez is a part of the Kreuzberg borough, but has developed its own form of local neighborhood governance under the name IGG/GEKKO. IGG/GEKKO stands for Interessengemeinschaft Graefe-Kiez (Interest Community Graefe-Kiez) while the GEKKO stands for community, development, communication, cooperation, and organisation. This organization was formed in 2000 by local business owners who wanted to improve the neighborhood to improve business.

Before IGG/GEKKO was formed, several of the members were a part of a renters union (Personal Interview Markus Domsch, 2009 March). The organization is not a part of any government and therefore does not have to deal with bureaucratic issues and is not controlled by any political parties. As the group is led by citizens, the issues dealt with are the ones that they feel are important (Ibid). The area of the Graefe-Kiez is also under ‘milieu schutz’

(Graefe-Kiez, 2009). This means that the city government has placed a block on fast rising rent prices as well as lowering the amount of rentable space that is turned into condos (Mayer, 2003).

Reuter-Kiez on the other hand is not managed by the type of system in Graefe-Kiez, but instead through a program run by Berlin city government. This type of program was initiated under a program that is known as “Quartiersmanagement” (roughly: neighborhood management) which is a part of the German government program ‘Soziale Stadt,’ the city of Berlin, and the European Union. (Soziale Stadt, 2007). The program defines itself as being developed for “districts with special development needs” (BVBS, 2009). There is also a focus on developing local economy as well as integration (Ibid). The Berlin Senate defines the quartiersmanagement system as being “a social oriented urban development plan” (Senatsverwaltung, 2008b p. 102). Reuter-Kiez is part of the Neukölln borough.

As these quartiermanagement programs are initially set up by the city of Berlin, they can be referred to as regimes in concurrence with the way Moore (2007) uses the term as “a set of institutional arrangements or decision-making procedures that attempt to control the expectations of citizens regarding the benefits that derive from scientific knowledge” (pg. 13).

4.4 Kiez Analysis

The Graefe-Kiez area is home to a population of around 18,000 (Graefe-Kiez, 2009). Of this population, around 4,030 are resident aliens (Ausländer). The highest percentage of the population falls between the age brackets of 27-45. It was found that 11% of the population work in the neighborhood while another 20% work in the Kreuzberg Borough in which the Graefe-Kiez lies for administrative and geographic purposes. A map of the area is provided below. Of the population, 93% rent first hand while only 5% actually own a property in the neighborhood. (TOPOS, 2008).

In the case of Graefekiez, it is important to note that there is an overlap with another quartiersmanagement in the area of the Werner-Duttmann Siedlung. This small area of the city has around 90% of its residents on what is known as Hartz IV which is the German version of unemployment payments (Personal Communication Franziska Hirner, 2009 Feb). For the local businesses to be a part of the IGG, they must pay a fee and as part of this fee, they are also featured in a neighborhood brochure produced yearly by the organization highlighting areas of the neighborhood such as shops, restaurants and cafes, services, social organizations, sports clubs, dance studios, doctors offices, as well as arts and culture institutes and galleries (Ibid).

The role of the organizer for the IGG/GEKKO described her role as being one of mainly acting as a facilitator or coordinator in grouping people together on similar interest projects as well as being available to help in applying for money for those projects that are approved by the citizens committee (Ibid). Projects that have been implemented include; installing speed humps in a traffic calming area, a tree adoption program where members of the community adopt a tree and take care of it (such as by building a fence around of it and possibly installing and caring for a small garden around it) (Ibid). There is also a long term project that seeks to re-install a set of street gardens that existed before WWII. Another project consisted of digging up a road median and re-planting it with new trees to green the area further in hopes of making it more attractive to people as well as customers in the stores that line the street (Ibid).

It was expressed that perhaps the most difficult work that the IGG/Gekko deals with is encouraging integration in the area by working with the schools. One such project involved coordinating a cooperation between the local schools and the various sport and dance studios and clubs in the neighborhood. This was known as the “Mein Kiez” project and had the intentions of helping the younger residents become more active locally (Ibid). Perhaps the attitude of the worker toward the neighborhood and their own goals are to work with the community in such a way that eventually they would not be needed (Ibid). The funding for these types of projects is managed through the “Kiez aktiv-kasse,” which can be sponsored by local businesses or individuals. Other funding is acquired by applying to the government money by the IGG/Gekko management team (Ibid).

The Reuter-Kiez Quartiersmanagement was instituted in 2002 and the reasons given for its existence are as follows; high unemployment, a growing number of low income households, increasing numbers of immigrants, integration issues, as well as youth unemployment (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, 2008a). The Reuter Kiez receives funding from three sources: the European Union, the German Government, and the city of Berlin. In comparison to IGG/GEKKO in the Graefe-kiez, this is already a significant difference in kiez management; that it is top-down instead of bottom up.

The reasons for starting a project of this kind can be seen as an example of a later wave in urban renewal discourse, that the way to renew an area will take place through social and economic growth as opposed to strictly focusing on the renovation of existing housing stock or other infrastructure based building projects (Kleinhans et al, 2006). To expand on this is the idea that “Area-based urban renewal policies in several European countries share the common goals of strengthening the capacity of distressed neighborhoods to become both ‘sustainable’ and ‘self-governing’” (Ibid, pg. 67: Cole and Etherington, 2005). As part of the quartiersmanagemnet there is a “Quartiersrat” which is roughly translated here as a ‘neighborhood council’. This is a group of maximum 30 individuals who are from the neighborhood (at least half are residents while the other half are members of organizations present in the area) who evaluate and vote on suggested projects together with local officials to determine whether they are initiated (Senatsverwaltung, 2008c). These residents and representatives are elected in open meetings at the quartiersmanagement (Ibid).

There has been criticism of the quartiersmanagement system in that it has often ignored other organizations that were already in place and that were attempting to accomplish the same types of things (Mayer, 2003). While it has been suggested that quartiersmanagement systems are bottom up type organizations based primarily on public participation (Levine, 2007), the direct involvement of the government as well as the funding issues suggests against this. It is for these reasons that the quartiersmanagement has been labeled a top down system in this study.

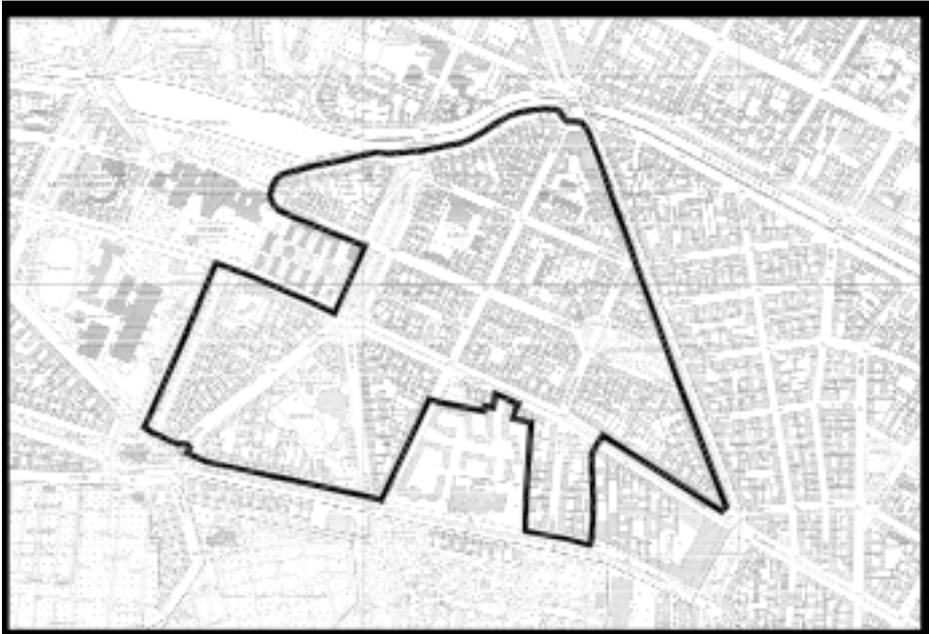


Figure 2. Graefe Kiez Area. Source: (TOPOS, 2006)



Figure 3. Reuter Kiez Area. Source: (Quartiersmanagement, 2008)

5. Urban Sustainability Discussion

Some issues that are commonly part of a discourse on urban sustainability are the need for mixed use development, high density, transportation issues, as well as questions regarding brown site development and urban regeneration (Babalis, 2005). While these types of questions remain important to sustainable development as a whole, they are often the type of solutions that in theory are geared mainly towards economic development and also infrastructure issues under an urban design focus. While the economy is an important and integral part of the sustainable development concept, at the same time if it is the only aspect focused on, the goals of achieving sustainable development have not been achieved (as per definition).

With the shift in former industrial cities to service based centers, there has been a growth in the debate on what makes a city succesful in the sense of economic growth and how to encourage this. Recent urban economic growth strategies have focused frequently on the

ability of a city to innovate and the amount of creativity that is available from its citizens (Landry, 2000 and Florida, 2003). These types of strategies function on the basis that the city of today and the future is essentially a city that is competing if not with other cities in its own country, then with other cities internationally (Ibid). These strategies also take into account that a city must essentially turn itself into a place where humans want to live (Ibid) and by doing so lead to the issues of livability.

The economic strategies, viewed in development terms, are not so much a question then of hardware (infrastructure and so on) but is instead an issue of software (the type of people living in the city and their work). To reframe it in terms of capital, it is more of a case of human and social capital being proposed as the source of new growth as opposed to the traditional investment capital that was the major growth mechanism in urban regions in the immediate post-industrial period (Harvey, 1989).

5.1 The Urban Metaphor

Landry's view of the creative city is firmly tied to an economic perspective on development, but is also concerned with sustainability. He notes that "sustainability addresses more than environmental concerns. It has at least four pillars: the economic, social, cultural, and ecological" (Landry, 2006 p.11). Taking this further in its level of application in cities around the world he notes that "in spite of the public pro-sustainability stance of national and local government, sustainable development is in its infancy; sustainability is a term more talked about than practised" (Ibid, p. 278). Another issue that is often a problem with any project that is labelled as sustainable is that it often fails to go beyond the simple hardware (infrastructure) aspects of sustainable development and move into the other areas that were stated above. Cities are often happy to promote projects that "build green" but don't go beyond that (Ibid). The concepts and ideas Florida and Landry's separate notions of the creative city are best described as an "Urban Metaphor" which means that it is a set of ideals that the city is striving for and mentioning in much of their official planning statements and development goals (ADB, 2001).

The problems associated with such growth 'regimes' (this is the way Moore (2007) sees this type of development thinking) is that while they may attempt to address an urban entity as a whole, the truth on the ground is much more problematic geographically. The argument can be made that these 'creative' approaches to growth and urban development will only thrive in areas where they are able to cluster and thereby achieve the maximum amount of attention from potential customers. The best example of this taking place in Berlin is the area of Prenzlauer Berg which while once a part of the DDR, is now going through a period of rapid urban regeneration both on the infrastructure level as well as on the population side (Levine, 2004). While the area had developed a sense of identity that was associated with creative types and a generally hip atmosphere, at the same time it was not the entire area that was being regenerated, but specific clusters (Ibid).

5.2 Issues with creative cities

Florida's theory regarding the "creative" or "cultural" industries, which can mean anything from graphic design and art related activities to more normal and standard white collar jobs (Florida, 2002), has led to criticism that the very same cities that were advocated as lead examples are the ones who are suffering the most from income inequality issues (McCann, 2007). This means that while certain more visible elements of the city were regenerated or doing well, supporting this structure was a hidden class of individuals who worked illegally or

for very low wages which was also reflected in their standard of living (Ibid). A city that was held as an good example of this was Austin, Texas (Ibid). Austin was also noted to have a significant amount of sustainable development backing by local figures in the government (Moore, 2007). The argument against such “creative” development focuses on what it takes to actually build and maintain such a system. Further the notion of “creative” development as Florida (2002) looks at it should also be questioned since his idea is for cities to encourage an influx of these “creative” types. Cities, in theory, fall into the same notion of competing to be the hippest and most attractive to a certain class of individuals (Ibid). While not arguing against this, it is questionable whether there is any connection between a “creative” city and sustainable development.

Another question about this type of development is whether or not it is sustainable from an economic perspective (which would be economic sustainability)? If the case is such that this is truly a case of a global market and that for a time Berlin does actually achieve a large piece of the ‘creative’ market share, can this be sustained in the long term? If living costs rise will this force out the very creative individuals, as was noted in New York during the 1980’s by Zukin (1989), the city is so interested in developing? Any debate on the meaning of gentrification in a city will need to take more than just an areas hipness into account as a factor for people being displaced, as in the usual definition of gentrification (Levine, 2004), or whether or not they are leaving for other reasons. While displacement may not be taking place in a neighborhood, there may instead be entry access only for individuals with a certain minimum capital base i.e. those who cannot afford rent (Krueger and Savage, 2007).

5.3 Social Capital

As this is a study at the local neighborhood level, the concept of social capital needs to be analyzed as to whether or not it is relevant in local sustainable development planning. Adding to the definition used earlier it can be added that social capital is “general socio-structural resources which can be utilised as capital for the individual. Thus, what is not ‘useful’ does not count as social capital“ (Schnur, 2005 p. 491: Coleman, 1990). To put this in a context with other forms of capital, it can be said that "unlike traditional forms of capital, social capital is not depleted by use, but in fact grows by use and is depleted by non-use“ (Landry, 2006 p. 107). From this definition the idea is that while an injection of investment capital, as was often the case in Fordist production (as discussed earlier), was usually a one time thing that was then used up in its capacity (once money is spent, its spent) the social capital is expected to grow when used, as it will continue to inspire trust between members of the community (granted proper use).

In the case of local neighborhood development, as in Graefe-kiez, it can be defined as "micro“ social capital meaning that it is between members of the local community (Rydin et al, 2004: Woolcock, 1998). It has been noted that this same type of capital is also visible in mafia-like criminal structures (Ibid). This type of social capital is also known as "Bonding Social capital“ (Kleinhans et al, 2006). It is stressed here that it can be used for both positive as well as negative development in a neighborhood. Another type of social capital may be referred to as ‘collaborative,’ which was noted as being the type used in one neighborhood regeneration movement studied (Rydin et al, 2004: Purdue, 2001). This collaborative social capital would be that between the citizens and the governance organization. In regards to the concept of social capital and its relationship to sustainable development, it has been noted that

“a wide range of claims have been made for the analytic potential of social capital, from explaining regional development to measuring characteristics of civic society, and a parallel

set of normative claims have been made, suggesting that policies aimed at encouraging public participation, reducing social anomie, ensuring sustainable natural resource use and reducing poverty could all benefit from promoting the generation of social capital”

(Rydin et al, 2004 p. 117).

5.4 Urban Renewal

How and if urban renewal is a part of sustainable development must be looked at critically. Both neighborhoods under study have housing stocks that are old. Therefore any type of modernisation or change to the neighborhood can be seen as a form of urban renewal. This is especially the case when it is being promoted actively either by the local residents and businesses or by government agencies i.e. quartersmanagement. One way to look at the process would be to see it as one that attempts to upgrade a neighborhoods infrastructure in such a way that it will not deteriorate further and will not need to be replaced for a minimum of two decades (Noorman and Uiterkamp, 1998). The meaning is clear; to not have to spend large amounts of money on infrastructure upgrades and instead do the more easy things. However the way that this ties in with sustainability is best illustrated in the following example:

“The quality of a neighborhood is determined by factors that influence the quality of both the housing stock (i.e. technical factors, maintenance, and the arrangement of houses), and the residential area itself (i.e. the presence, quality, and accesibility of facilities, the identity of the neighborhood, security, environmental quality, ecological quality (“green” areas) and street cleanliness). These factors are also important in determining its sustainability.” (Ibid, p. 132)

The above definition also emphasizes the important relationship between livability and sustainability. A better working definition of what a sustainable city looks like is open to interpretation based on culture, history, and location. What is meant by this is that strategies and environmental concerns that may be important to some cities (such as water shortages in Southern Californian metropolises) are often not applicable to other areas. Roseland (2000) sees sustainable communities (essentially the same thing as a sustainable neighborhood) as having different issues that they would need to resolve to become sustainable. This definition is important when looking at neighborhoods in the sense that it is admitted that a neighborhood isn't something that's standing still; it's always changing (Ibid). For this reason, any strategies for neighborhoods would need to be aware that there will be change no matter what is done or isn't done; it will only take on a different form than it could have been. 'Solutions' such as green infrastructure (passive housing, green roofs, etc.) will only serve certain segments of the population (Krueger and Savage, 2007) and therefore should not be taken as a direct measurement of whether or not a neighborhood is on the path toward sustainable development. Rather these types of development measures should be looked at as related to redevelopment strategies along the lines of those advocated by Landry and Florida. Therefore when looking for sustainable development in an urban setting a set of criteria need to be established that help guide and even make taking measurements possible. One such set of criteria that is useful is known as “The compact sustainable city list” and consists of the following:

1. A mixed-use city
2. Graded density
3. Compact communities

4. Representation and participation
5. Local identity
6. The flourishing of city life
7. Buildings should form closed blocks
8. Buildings that line the streets
9. Community centers must be served by main streets
10. Traffic tamed but not forbidden
11. Networks of shared streets
12. A piecemeal, fine-grained, bottom-up process.

Figure 4. “The Compact Sustainable City List.” Source: (Thwaites et al, 2007)

What is interesting is that in such a list as that given above, many of these aspects are already present in many areas of Berlin and not due to any interest in sustainable development, but instead for a variety of reasons that include aesthetical taste as well as city ordinances regarding building sizes (Strom, 2001). An example is the city attempting in the nineties to keep its six story height limit arguing that it was the same as the older building stock, however the original reason for this ordinance had been the inability of the old firetruck hoses to reach any higher (Ibid). While the above list does give a good insight into the type of thinking that accompanies a rhetoric on what sustainable cities are, it does not go beyond being a list and doesn't give examples of how it can be achieved. It also does not address issues related to the city's ecological footprint.

5.5 The Ecological Footprint and the Neighborhood

An ecological footprint is a way to measure a city's impact on the environment as a whole and not limit it to only local impact. This means that all the goods that enter a city and all the waste that leaves the city in return are a part of this calculation (Rees and Wackernagel, 1996). This enables a city to understand its efficiency, its consumption patterns, and its impact on the environment. While a tool like an ecological footprint provides a better understanding for the city leaders as well as for the individual citizens on their own consumption patterns, it does not provide answers on its own for how to deal with the very “problems” that it identifies.

5.6 Values and Sustainability

A note of caution should be added at this point about the neighborhood process and its links with sustainable development because of value systems. Hediger (2000) notes that “terms of sustainability cannot exclusively be defined from an environmental point of view, or on the basis of attitudes. Rather, the challenge is to define operational and consistent terms of sustainability from an integrated social, ecological, and economic system perspective” (p. 482). While this may seem like a repetition of earlier points made about the interconnectedness of the three spheres, it does provide something new in the sense that it raises the issue of attitudes and therefor opens up for a discussion on values. Sen (2004) is concerned with values when it comes to preservation of rare species and maintaining biodiversity, however he does not expect any action to come from only an economical view point (which is the notion put forward in cost-benefit analysis where every item that is considered must also carry a price tag) but argues that it will be from personal values that these species can be protected. This applies to sustainable development of neighborhoods then in the sense that while it is important to stress a need for economic growth (similar to a neo-liberal paradigm), there is also the importance of considering the values of the residents as well as the businesses that are located in urban neighborhoods. The looking for values is

assumed to show whether or not there is any connection between pro-sustainability attitudes (though not necessarily directly expressed in that way) and the two neighborhoods under study.

6. Stakeholder Analysis

There are small differences between the types of stakeholders in the two separate neighborhoods. The main reason for this is that in the Graefe-Kiez there are those businesses who are part of IGG and those that are not. Also there is the difference in type of government and governance involved. For these reasons, the stakeholders will be listed in two separate columns for the two neighborhoods to compare as well as contrast the interests of those involved.

Stakeholders:

Graefe-Kiez	Reuter-Kiez
Bezirke Kreuzberg	Bezirke Neukölln
Residents	Residents
Property Owners	Property owners
BVG (Berlin Transport Authority)	BVG
BSR (Berlin Municipal Garbage collection)	BSR
Local Business Owners	Local Business Owners
IGG/Gekko	Quartiersmanagement Reuter-Kiez
Quartiersmanagement Duttman Siedlung	Local Schools

Figure 5: Neighborhood Stakeholder comparison

It should be noted that while property owners here are listed as individuals, they may often be property developers or property management companies. While the role of the BVG and the BSR are not topics of this paper, it remains important to consider them as a part of any stakeholder analysis, as any type of change to transport or garbage collection systems would have to be approved by them (through the Senate Department for Urban Development). While the City of Berlin is also a stakeholder in these neighborhoods, it has been left out, as the Boroughs of both have been included. There has been friction between the city Senate and the boroughs in the past over urban development issues (Mayer, 2003), but this is not a part of this study. The local business owners may be property owners as well as residents, however it is necessary here to note that the wants or needs of these individuals may vary depending on what role they are in when interviewed about the neighborhood and that this “role” will thus be reflected in the answers provided.

The overlap in the Graefe-Kiez of the IGG/Gekko and the quartiersmanagement in Werner Duettmann Siedlung does not seem to have any negative effects on the work that is done, and it is assumed here that the two do a certain amount of cooperation together (as evidenced from the monthly meetings where representatives were present from the Quartiersmanagement as well as from the website). Given the significant number of Vereins or ‘registered associations’ (authors translation) present in both neighborhoods, that there may be more stakeholders present that are operating for change in the neighborhoods. This study did not take these into account for the reason that there was not sufficient time. The questionnaire question concerning participation in neighborhood organizations was designed to determine what percentage of participation these have.

The role of local schools in the Graefe-kiez was noted as a difficult area by one long term resident interviewed. He noted that while the school yards possessed community important elements like playgrounds and infrastructure that could be used by the community, they were usually not available due to insurance, potential vandalism, and “bearaucracy” issues (Personal Interview Markus Domsch, 2009 March). However, while this seems to be an issue of the schools not being as fully a part of the community as potentially possible, they should nevertheless be regarded as important stakeholders in both neighborhoods.

7. Results

The primary data has been placed in a table so that it can be better understood. All values are expressed in percentages except for the quality of life and the average residency indexes. To see the actual results in their raw data form see Appendix B. While the business questionnaires had been intended to measure what amount of the products sold in the stores could be labeled as bio/öko/fairtrade, this turned out to be impractical as some stores had no way of knowing while others sold goods that could not be labeled that way.

	Graefe-Kiez	Reuter-Kiez	Graefe Business	Reuter Business
Bio/Öko/Fairtrade	51.1	47.2	N/A	N/A
Local Purchases	83.6	74.9	N/A	N/A
Avg. Residency	7.8	8.6	10.3	4.0
Work in Kiez	22.9	31.4	60.0	85.7
Gov. Participation	2.9	2.9	See below	See below
Org. Participation	11.4	14.3	31.4	22.9
Planing to leave	20.0	22.9	N/A	N/A
R. Energy	54.3	40.0	53.3	42.9
Quality of Life	7.9	7.3	8.1	6.8

Figure 6. Primary Results Table

In regards to the first question about how long the residents had lived in the area, it was found that in Graefe-Kiez it was 7.8 years, while in Reuter it was 8.6. This suggests that as a whole the residents of both neighborhoods cannot be considered as being very long term, however at the same time it also suggests that both areas had a significant changing of residents 7-8 years ago.. The data from TOPOS (2008) on Graefe-Kiez found that half the population measured in a 2008 survey had moved to the area within the last five years. The population group, age wise, that made up the biggest percentage of Graefe-Kiez were those between 18 and 45 at a percentage of 51.7% (Ibid).

The answer as to why the residents of both neighborhoods chose to live where they do showed a more clear image of the financial situation of the residents in the bigger difference among the answers from the two; 22.9% of the residents of Graefe noted that low rents (preiswerte mieten) were the reason for living there whereas in Reuter this was 68.6%. On answering whether or not neighborhood atmosphere (atmosphäre) was a reason for residency Graefe came up as high as 85,7% while Reuter was 62.9%. The rest of these results can be seen in the following chart. It should be noted here that this question was not a ranking option so the residents taking the survey had the option of choosing more than one reason for their residency in the neighborhood.

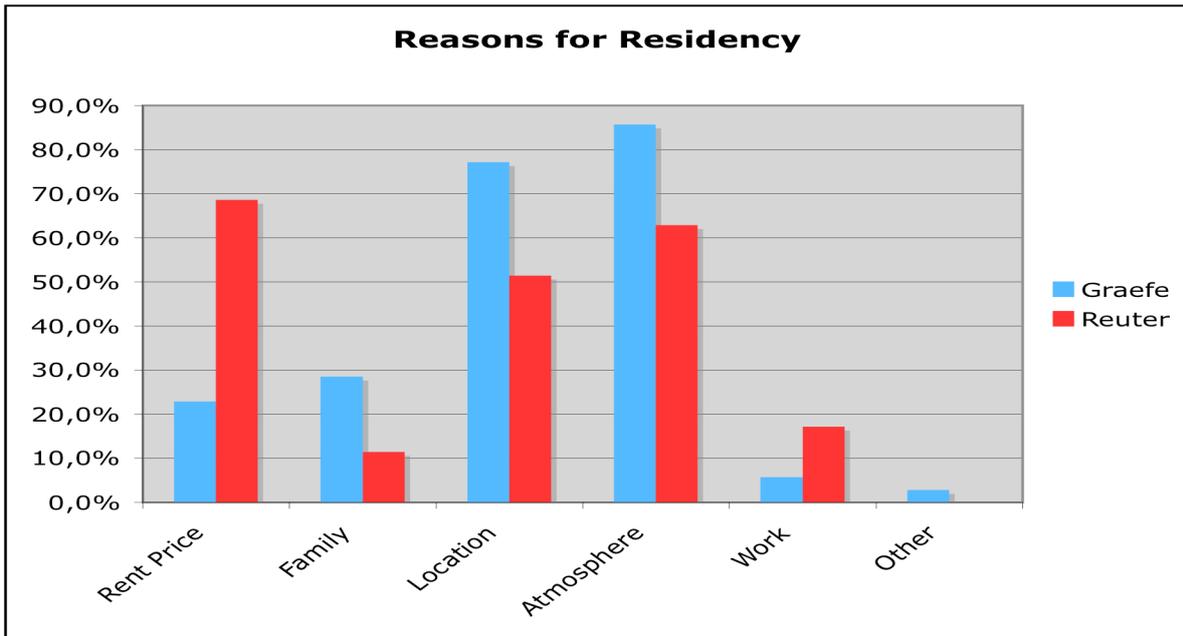


Figure 7. Reasons for Residency by Neighborhood.

The amount of residents who had attended a meeting with the quartersmanagement or the IGG/GEKKO was the same for both neighborhoods: it was 2.9% of the population. While it was expected that there would be a difference in the percentage of people who have ever attended a meeting between the two neighborhoods, it was not possible to determine it in this study. Whether or not there is any meaning to the value for governance participation will be debated further in the discussion section.

On the question that noted why or why not for choosing renewable energy the responses for Reuter-Kiez were as follows when the respondent did use renewable energy: a concern for nature, why not, to not support nuclear energy, cheaper than vattenfall, inherited contract from previous tenant. When the answer was no then these were the reasons given: too expensive, that it didn't matter, and laziness. For Graefe-Kiez, the answers were as follows when they did have renewable: environmental reasons, political reasons, personal reasons, because they had kids, as well as inherited from previous tenant. The reasons for not having it: not well informed, didn't like the noise of the windmills and am concerned about birds, price issues, that it was important for future survival, laziness, and no time to change. The answers show that most people were aware that using renewable energy existed was an option, however it also shows that while a high percentage of the population and even that of business used it (see table above), the reasons for doing so were quite diverse. The most common listed reason was any that involved nature (umwelt) as the primary reason for switching.

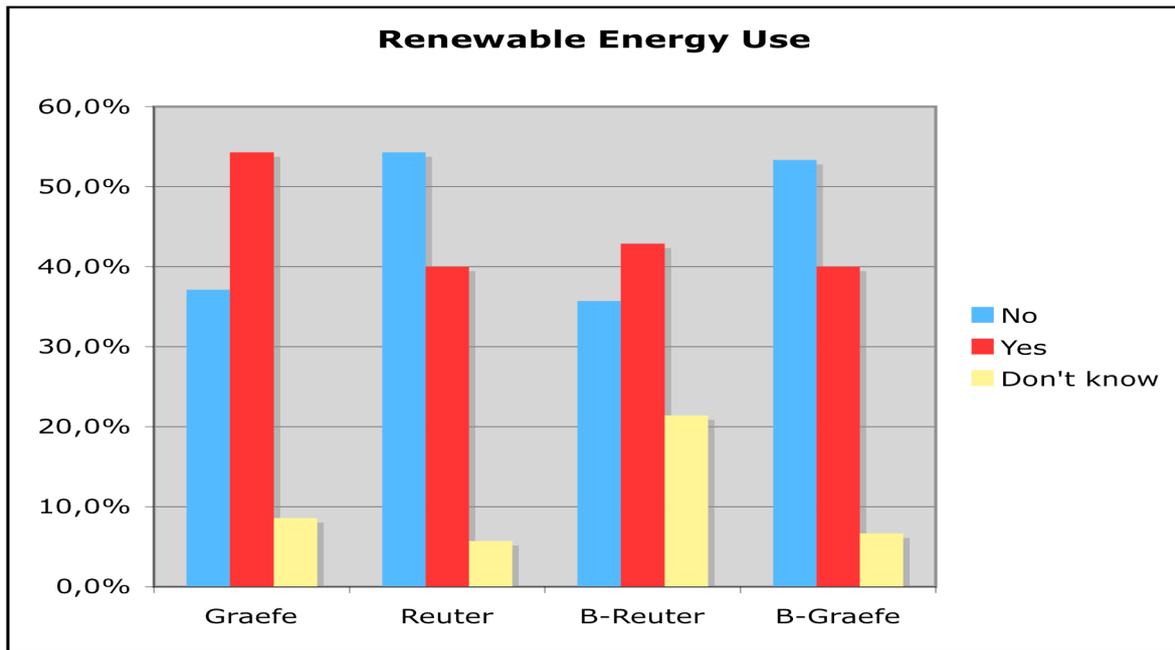


Figure 8. Renewable Energy Use by Resident and Businesses

The most interesting thing about the question regarding the bio purchases was that while it may seem as a straightforward question that is well defined (products in stores are usually labeled as bio and fairtrade) therefore as was noted in the hypothesis it was expected that the percentage for both areas would be low but that in the end the area that was thought to be most well off would be the one that had the higher value. While this was certainly the case, the level of difference between the two neighborhoods was lower than expected, while the percentages reported were higher than expected.

The questions that allowed for open answers (for residents) were numbers 2, 3, and 13. The reasoning for mixing the closed with the open questions were to see if there were any recurring themes that residents noted. For example, following the hypothesis presented earlier that assumed that both neighborhoods were experiencing some form of gentrification, it was assumed that there would be several respondents noting that the problem of “increasing costs of rent” was one of the things that could be improved to increase the quality of life in the neighborhood in question. This was also the case with question 4 which was designed to give details as to whether or not there were significant issues that were not being addressed in the neighborhood, such as violence or environmental issues, that would be cause enough to require residents to leave. The problem with open questions were that as many people were pressed for time, they often didn’t answer the questions as fully as would have been desired or chose to only answer the first part and then not explain their answers more.

In the Graefe Kiez, there were several responses that were repeated several times regarding quality of life; More things for kids, something to deal with rising cost of rent, more green space, more jobs, less garbage on the streets, less dog feces left on the streets, as well as less cars and that something be done about drug dealing in the park that borders the area which is known as Hasenheide. This can be compared to the responses that were repeated on the Reuter Kiez resident surveys: garbage on the streets, the issue of dog feces left by owners, more organized social events, less cars, an effort to stop gentrification, more local shops, as well as more cultural events and information from the Quartiersmanagement.

In regards to the open question of why residents would leave, the responses in Graefe-Kiez were as follows (if the question was answered in its open section): job opportunity in another city, too many people in the neighborhood, for reasons relating to the local schools, job opportunity in another neighborhood on the other side of the city, a desire to have a garden for their children, and a desire to get out of the “big city.” In Reuter Kiez the answers for leaving were: if there is a better paying job that requires it (this was a maybe response), for reasons related to family issues, when children start school, work in another city, and finally because of the threats of neighborhood gangs.

The amount of people working local was also not what was expected in regard to the hypothesis that was set out from the beginning. The amount of people who worked local was found to be rather low, while on the other hand in the business surveys, this was found to be the opposite. The reasons behind this can be many and there was an open question for allowing the businesses to explain why they chose the area that they did. Listed in the table below are the answers to this question. If two were similar enough then only one was listed.

Graefe-Kiez Business	Reuter-Kiez Business
Interesting Kiez/Customers with money	Live locally
Location/Living quality	Price and development opportunities
High income/nice kiez	Coincidence
Rent Price and coincidence	Inherited from Parents
Live locally	Rent Price, Young people, networking
Friendly and educated people/ multi kulti	Neighborhood supposedly “up and coming”
Like to livve and work here	Close to Rütli School
Available Space	Love the Neighborhood

Figure 9. Reasons for Locating Businesses in Area

More interesting and more important for this paper as a whole is the way in which both businesses and residents responded to why they are a part of IGG or Quartiermanagement programs. As a part of this was also a question about how these two governance functions could help improve local business. In the case of business the answer that dominated was more advertisement, promoting the neighborhood, and helping with networking. However as the participation numbers showed, not all businesses that participated in programs in either neighborhood were really aware about what the goals or projects were in for the organization. As well, in the case of Reuter mainly, there was a significant amount of businesses, 43%, who knew nothing about the Quartiersmanagement or didn’t have enough information to say what they thought about it. This is distinctly different from the Graefe area where at least 85.7% was active (i.e. had as a minimum contributed monetarily and thus become a part of the Graefe-Kiez Führer). While the businesses in Graefe-Kiez could become a part of this brochure by paying 50 euros, the businesses in Reuter-Kiez could do so for free provided they were having public events and their businesses were arts related (the Kunst-Reuter.de project which will be discussed further in the discussion section).

8. Discussion

The area of the study that proved the most interesting as far as the results went was that of the residents participation in the governance meetings. Both neighborhoods had the same value of 2.9%. While there are certainly other ways that residents can be active with these two systems of governance, there was also evidence that there is a low level of knowledge about who these organizations are as well as what they represent and stand for. When asked whether they agreed with the projects or goals of the two organizations, in Reuter-kiez 25% said yes while

in Graefe-Kiez it was 20%. For Reuter-Kiez, 62.9% said they didn't know while it was 77.1% in Graefe. While this does not follow the hypothesis from the beginning that the neighborhood with the 'older' residents would be the one that was more active, it did however show that the knowledge about the form of governance was at least higher in Reuter-Kiez.

Returning to the participation for Graefe-Kiez of 2.9% it was noted by the staff member at IGG/GEKKO that the organization had an email list of 400 emails whom they were regularly sending out emails to about events and meetings. As the population of the kiez is listed as being 18000 some very basic math shows that this is approximately 2% of the population who has had some form of contact with the organization where they expressed interest and were therefore put on the email list. While the 2.9% was at first perceived as being an extremely low value, it can now be assumed to be a bit over what the real percentage is in reality. Thus it can also be stated here that social capital built from attending meetings and being active in governance are considered low. This is not considered unusual however, but on the other hand it does suggest that there is not enough communication between residents and these organizations to build a higher level of participation which would be more successful at acquiring resources as well as residents with the skills for various projects. In Reuter-Kiez where knowledge concerning the quartersmanagement was higher, it is possible that the 2.9% value for participation could be related to the existence of the neighborhood council and that citizens don't feel a need to attend meetings. However there was no way for the study to truly determine this.

8.1 Measured Social Capital

When it comes to the hypothesis concerning a relation between the amount of perceived social capital coming from participation in neighborhood organizations, it comes across that the Reuter-Kiez neighborhood scored higher (14.3%) while the Graefe-Kiez was lower (11.4%). While this follows the earlier idea put forward that the neighborhood with the higher average years of residence is likely to have the higher value for social capital, it does not follow the hypothesis of this study, since the Graefe-Kiez turned out to have a lower value for time of residency than Reuter-Kiez.

It is still possible to relate the low value of participation in both neighborhoods (which may be normal for Germany as a whole) to the idea that it may not necessarily be about how many are participating but instead who is participating. "Priorities emerge according to the relative strengths of different interests, personalities and partners and, of course, the perceived likelihood of success" (Robinson et al, 2005 p. 16). From this idea it can then be concluded that it might not so much depend on the amount or time of residency, but instead on the type of people resident there. Therefore it is put forward here that the neighborhood that is more likely to experience a sustainable urban renewal through community based participatory governance is that which is able to capitalize on the strengths of its local leaders meaning those who take the most active role. The last notion in Robinsons statement is that of perceived likelihood of success and while this may seem rather vague as to what it is likely to mean, it is argued here that it will be very much based on the perception of quality of life. This means that a neighborhood with a high perception of itself is likely to be able to achieve more than a neighborhood that is low on the self esteem chart. This points as a reason that Graefe-Kiez would have a higher amount of success, due to its perception of its own quality of life as higher than that of Reuter-Kiez.

The reason behind this was not determined for this paper, however as has been noted earlier both neighborhoods are in what has been traditionally poor boroughs of Berlin. The possibility

here then is that these neighborhood's current residents began to move to this area when other parts of Berlin began to take off and become too expensive, or also as the later results suggest a big part of the choice of location had to do with the neighborhood's atmosphere.

8.2 Business, Participation, Branding

While the rate of business participation was certainly higher in the Graefe-Kiez area, the reasons for this do not seem to be that the businesses themselves are more interested in changing or improving their neighborhood, but instead that they know that being placed in the Kiez brochure is a way to attract customers as well as a way to market themselves as being a part of the "Neighborhood Brand." One of the more active members of the IGG/Gekko noted that this branding of the neighborhood has been a conscious strategy of the organization (Personal Interview Markus Domsch, 2009 March). Further, any business could be a part of the organization and also get their business in the guide as long as they paid fifty Euros. This was the opposite of the Kunst-Reuter.de project in Reuter-kiez with an art gallery and café brochure that the Quartiersmanagement has promoted. In Reuter there was no cost to be a part of this and all that a business (shop or café) had to do to be a part, was to have some kind of social event once a month.

Some store owners noted that they had wanted to be a part of the Quartiermanagement but had been told that this was the only way to be a part of this guide; to have events and that this was not possible for all business types. There is a significant difference in the approach taken by both organizations to local businesses: one is seeking to include everyone (for a fee) whereas the other is focusing solely on art and gastronomie in exchange for a service (events). Once again given that these events are focused around art related things, this works as a rather exclusionary tactic and something that seems to come right out of the playbook of Landry or Florida whose urban renewal strategies were already discussed in this paper. It would appear that Kunst-Reuter seeks to use art (and local artists) as a way to encourage urban renewal by building up a local base of artists and cafes. One of the artists involved in the Kunst-Reuter project was a respondent in the survey and also answered some questions as to why he was taking part. He stated that it was because he had lived in the neighborhood for years and wanted to create a scene as well as network for the local artists that were there as well as help the neighborhood.

The Senate Department for Urban Development notes that businesses that are a part of the creative or cultural industries, and whose owners live in the same neighborhood, are likely to be active in local community organizations. This was reported to be true for a fifth of businesses of this type in Berlin (Senatsverwaltung, 2008b). The way that this participation was quantified was in the following patterns: 28% were a part of what is referred to as "Branch Networks," 16% work with "the local urban development process (e.g. committee work)," and 8.5% with the local quartiersmanagement (assuming there is any) (Ibid, p.122). The thing that is ignored by the city in this case is the reasons that are behind the businesses participation. In the case of this study it was noted that the reason listed most often for participation was for better advertisement for the company and that the actual participation in projects was minimal.

Another of the businesses that was active in the Kunst-Reuter project, as well as working more closely with the quartiersmanagement, was SDW (a silkscreen print shop). The SDW was set up by a group of sociologists who wanted to help out a struggling nearby school by creating a place where students could create a clothing brand that they themselves would then run. The SDW and several other of the 'creative' businesses in the neighborhood were also a

part of a program called *zwischenutzung*. While the English translation is usually temporary-use, a better translation would be “in-between use” which fits it better as the following section will discuss.

8.3 Presence of *Zwischennutzung*

Zwischennutzung is a deal that is worked out through the city government of Berlin (it may or may not be through a *Quartiersmanagement*) where a run down area of the city is targeted for renewal or rejuvenation, local property owners are then convinced to give a store or office space that isn't in use (usually because the area is depressed financially) to an entrepreneur of some type (usually a small business entrepreneur who is just starting out and often of a creative nature). The contract is only for a few years at most and brings down the amount of rent that is due from the business owner (Senatsverwaltung, 2007). By doing so, the property owner is able to make some money from the unused space, the business owner is able to operate at less than market prices (for the duration of the contract), and the area is able to see an influx of new commercial spaces (Ibid). The business will either succeed so that it will not need another *zwischenutzungs* contract, or the area will attract outside investment which will then take over in the area (Maier, 2008). *Zwischennutzung* is a major part of a *quartiermanagement's* strategy for encouraging a presence of creative and cultural industries (Senatsverwaltung, 2008b)

Shaw (2005) notes this about this type of development that uses culture as its focus point “Not only does the attraction of new investors and consumers often require massive state expenditure that does not always achieve the desired result-and is oriented more to the new businesses and tourists than the longer-term locals-but the success of the strategy is premised on increasing land prices and rents, which drives alternative cultural producers further out“ (p. 153). This suggests that while this strategy is likely to prove successful in attracting the type of urban renewal that is the goal of the *quartiermanagement*, it will also serve as a tool for displacing the current residents who are involved in it, which in effect then makes it a tool of gentrification.

None of the businesses that were part of the survey in the Graefe-Kiez area were noted to be a part of *zwischenutzung*, though the reason for this maybe seen in the numbers that were given in the results section concerning the average amount of time of businesses in the neighborhood. With an average of 10.3 years, compared to Reuter's 4, this suggests that the neighborhood has already gone through an establishing period (which almost coincides with the formation of the IGG/Gekko) where it would now be unusual for businesses to need this type of help in this neighborhood, and also that it would be unlikely that the property owners would agree to it. The Senatsverwaltung lists both areas as high in terms of the amount of *zwischenutzung* projects that are present (2008b). It also noted that "in 80% of cases the cultural industries had become established through the QM programme" (Ibid, p.120).

8.4 "Green Consumption"

The hypothesis that there would be a connection between other factors such as the amount of "green" consumption and the levels of participation in governance was also found to be wrong, in that Graefe-Kiez had the same level of participation in meetings, a lower amount of residents active in neighborhood organizations, and also a lower percentage who agreed to the goals and projects in the neighborhood. This was then compared to the levels of renewable energy use (Graefe was higher), the types of transport used (Graefe had more bike users as primary vehicle but more car users than Reuter) as well as shopping local and buying

products labeled bio/öko/fairtrade (51.1% compared to 47.2% in Reuter). Therefore there was no correlation between "green" consumption, what could in this case be seen as indicators for an ecological footprint, and knowledge about or participation in governance and neighborhood organizations.

While there were certain businesses in the neighborhoods that did sell or produce a certain amount of items that could be labeled as bio/öko/fairtrade, there were just as many that didn't sell a thing that could be labeled as such. The businesses did differ on the amount of time they had spent in the neighborhoods. Graefe businesses had an average of 10.3 years, whereas Reuter was only 4. There was a correlation between the amount of time a business had spent in the neighborhood and whether or not they had any participation in the local governance. Graefe Business had a participation rate of 73.3% whereas in Reuter it was 57.1%. However while this does suggest that the businesses are taking an active role in the local community, this may be to rosy of a picture.

When asked whether they agreed with the goals and projects of their respective community governance agencies, around half of the businesses in both neighborhoods were unaware of what the organizations were doing or what their goals were. While the number was slightly higher for Reuter, it is still comes across as alarming that these businesses are taking part by giving money, yet unaware of what they are part of. One business respondent in the Graefe Kiez area noted that while the IGG/Gekko people had approached her for money to be a part of the brochure that this had been the full extent of their communication. The most common reason listed by the businesses in both neighborhoods for being a part of the two organizations was for advertising/networking purposes. The most common desire of businesses from the local governance was that they could do more advertising or help to promote their business.

The reasons behind the participation of the businesses in both neighborhoods shows an interesting side of the community participation in governance; that of the economy. The businesses are thus involved in these things as a way to help promote themselves (the brochures produced by both neighborhoods are seen as good ways to do this). The question remains though as to whether the local businesses are in any way active in other projects that are put on by their respective neighborhoods organizations (other than the events that are a part of Kunst-Reuter). The evidence gathered here suggests that they aren't. The Kiez fest that was mentioned as being a part of the IGG/Gekko's projects is usually a part of the other fitness or art studios in the neighborhood and thus not a part of the stores (which this study focused on).

8.5 Reason for Residency

To come back to the theories put forth by Florida (2003) about why people seek out certain places to live, this study was able to show that for Graefe-Kiez, atmosphere (and with it lifestyle) was the single highest reason for living there followed by location, whereas in Reuter-Kiez it was rent prices that was highest followed by atmosphere. This suggests two things: first that the rent prices in Graefe-Kiez are on the whole too high to be considered an affordable place to live and that through this, it is in a more advanced stage of gentrification.

While Reuter-Kiez did not seem to have as high rents, there was still the perception of a desirable atmosphere and location. Several businesses noted that this area was rumored to be among the up and coming "trendy" areas of Berlin and that this had been taken into account when locating their businesses. The notion that the area is up and coming is also

acknowledged by the Senate (Senatsverwaltung, 2008b). There is also data that shows a clustering of creative and cultural industries in the central parts of the city with a high number of these same industries choosing to locate in a specific architectural type of building: those built in the Wilhelminian era (Ibid). However while architecture may play some role in the location selection of businesses, the Senate notes that rent is the most important reason. At the same time the second most important reason for location was access to public transportation. (Ibid, 112).

There was no correlation between those who choose an area for its location as well as for its atmosphere and the amount of bio/öko/fairtrade goods they purchased that was any higher than those who didn't live in the area for those two reasons. This also suggests that there is no real link between any higher green consumption patterns inside the "creative class."

Pratt (2009 p. 1056) notes that Florida's ideas are "based upon an instrumental use of culture and on consumption strategies alone." This calls into question the notion that a high level of creative class individuals would contribute more than to increasing the share of consumption patterns in the neighborhoods. From a purely economic perspective this would constitute a success in the sense that the business sectors would be experiencing growth. However it does not give any answer as to whether it is sustainable (meaning it is a process that will continue to lead to economic growth) or what it means to other issues in the neighborhood that are also related to sustainability. Therefore at best, for the moment it should be labeled as a temporary phenomenon limited to a particular group of people who can be labeled as a class. Florida (2002) tries to tiptoe around that designation as it suggests that this group is different to those who may be living in the area before they arrive.

It is also possible that when choosing location for a reason of residency, the respondents could have taken transport into account. Both neighborhoods had over 50% of the population using bicycles as a primary means of transportation. In Reuter-kiez only 2.9% used a car as a primary means whereas in Graefe-kiez the number was 11.4%. While there is no secondary data available for Reuter-Kiez as to the use of cars, this data is available for Graefe where it was found by TOPOS (2008) that 12% used the car as their primary form of transportation. 39% of Graefe-Kiez residents owned cars. The data for other neighborhoods in Berlin suggests that this is about average (Ibid). While many individuals then have access to a car, it doesn't mean that it is their primary form of transportation. However respondents were not asked to motivate their choice of transportation and so this data cannot really be analyzed as to whether or not it has any value in the neighborhood's sustainable development.

9. Conclusion

This study has attempted to understand the differences between two forms of governance in urban neighborhoods experiencing urban renewal processes. The most notable thing observed was that while a neighborhood's outer appearance tells a story that can be interpreted in different ways, the reality on the ground can be quite different. That was the case for the two neighborhoods studied here; where often the neighborhood that was expected to have the highest amount of participation turned out to be the opposite from the one chosen from the outset. While there are many different factors for this behavioral pattern, the hypothesis regarding the neighborhood with the higher amount of participation in neighborhood organizations being the one that contained more established residents turned out to be true. This was also true for the businesses in both neighborhoods; the neighborhood with a higher participation rate contained older businesses. With this though it was determined that while participation may reach a certain figure, there was a general lack of knowledge about what the

organizations stood for, even for those who were participating. One possible way to change this lack of information would be for these organizations to engage in more advertising and educational campaigns to include more residents in their programs. The amount of participation suggested a low value for social capital in the neighborhoods which suggests further that there is a low amount of activity compared to the capacities of both areas, this should serve as another reason for encouraging more outreach by the organizations. However if the organizations themselves are to build the trust needed for social capital to grow and work then they must show that their projects will not cause the problems that are associated with gentrification and renewal.

Both neighborhoods showed evidence that the urban renewal strategies are having an effect, the signs of any link between sustainable development and urban renewal are questionable and weak at best as this paper has attempted to show. There was evidence of a high proportion of what Florida (2003) called the “Creative class” in both neighborhoods. However there was no definitive evidence that the presence of such a group of individuals was in itself moving the process of urban renewal forward which calls into question the “creative classes” ability to be a cause for change beyond the economic aspects.

The strategies for urban renewal that involve ‘creativity’ are in vogue at the moment. This study found no evidence that suggests that it is anything else than a clever way to encourage gentrification by taking advantage of human capital (the artists and those with businesses that appeal to a certain type of trendy image). The city of Berlin is denying that this is what is taking place but cannot offer any evidence to prove the opposite (Ibid). Evidence from other cities has suggested, and was presented here, that show this type of development tends to drive out those very same people when they prove too successful.

In the case of the quartersmanagement, there is also the question of ulterior motives and the need to ask the question if the project is really going to help in the problems there or create more new ones (gentrification, polarisation of income types, and the potential for a collision between businesses with an interest in neighborhood nightlife vs. older potentially more conservative residents)? Returning to the notion of wicked problem approach, it should be stated that the solutions and approaches taken by the organizations should be analyzed further to better understand their effects on the neighborhood system as a whole. Finally coming back to the notion that social capital must be used to grow it further, there is the issue of what would happen to the projects that the quartersmanagement has paid for should the city decide that they are no longer necessary for the neighborhood. This does not seem to be an issue that would be of relevance to the IGG/GEKKO as it is citizen formed and thus waits on their ideas, wants and needs.

For the moment the regeneration strategies in place are ones that at best adopt a ‘light’ approach to sustainability in regards to improving livability but do either not have the capability to go beyond this or do not feel a need to. Finally it can be concluded that areas like Graefe-Kiez and Reuter-Kiez are likely to continue to experience economic growth, but for how long it can continue in the current gestalt and as to what the consequences of that will be remains a question mark.

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Appendix A

Reuter-Kiez Resident Questionnaire

1. How long have you lived in the neighborhood?
_____ years
2. Why did you move here? (choose one)
a. cheap rent b. family c. central location d. neighborhood atmosphere e. job
3. Is the growing price of rent a problem in this neighborhood? If yes, why?
a. yes b. no c. don't know _____

4. Do you plan on moving away and if so how long from now? Why?
_____ years

5. Do you work in the neighborhood? (circle one)
a. yes b. no
6. Are you active in any neighborhood organizations? (circle one). Please list them.
a. yes b. no

7. Have you ever attended a meeting with quartersmanagement or been a part of any of their programs? (circle one)
a. yes b. no
8. Do you feel that the programs or projects carried out by the IGG reflect your values and wants for the neighborhood?
a. yes b. no c. don't know
9. What is your main system of transport?
a. walking b. bicycle c. car d. other _____ (please explain)
10. With your electricity company, do you use renewable energy companies? Why or why not? (circle one)
a. yes b. no

11. How much of your shopping is done inside the neighborhood?
_____ %
12. How much of your shopping could be qualified as öko/bio/fairtrade?
_____ %
13. How would you rate the quality of life in the neighborhood? Circle one (scale of 1-10. 1=bad 10=perfect)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
14. How could the quality of life in the neighborhood be improved?

Appendix A (cont.)

Graefe-Kiez Resident Questionnaire

1. How long have you lived in the neighborhood?
_____years
2. Why did you move here? (circle one)
a. cheap rent b. family c. central location d. neighborhood atmosphere e. job
3. Is the growing price of rent a problem in the neighborhood? If yes, why?
a. yes b. no c. don't know _____

4. Do you plan on moving away and if so how long from now? Why?
a. yes b. no _____years

5. Do you work in the neighborhood? (circle one)
a. yes b. no
6. Are you aware of or active in any neighborhood organizations? Please list them (circle one)
a. yes b. no

7. Have you ever attended a meeting with IGG or been a part of any of their programs? (circle one)
a. yes b. no
8. Do you feel that the programs or projects carried out by the IGG reflect your values and wants for the neighborhood?
a. yes b. no c. don't know
9. What is your main system of transport?
a. walking b. bicycle c. car d. other _____(please explain)
10. With your electricity company, do you use renewable energy companies? (circle one)
a. yes b. no
11. How much of your shopping is done inside the neighborhood?
_____%
12. How much of your shopping could be qualified as öko/bio/fairtrade?
_____%
13. How would you rate the quality of life in the neighborhood? Circle one (scale of 1-10. 1=bad 10=perfect)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
14. How could the quality of life be improved in the neighborhood?

Appendix A (cont.)

Reuter-Kiez Business Questionnaire

1. How long has your business been located in this neighborhood?
_____years
2. Do you use renewable energy for electricity?
a. yes b. no
3. What percentage of the products you sell can be labeled as bio/öko/fairtrade?
_____%
4. Do you live in the neighborhood?
a. yes b. no
5. Why did you choose this location to open up?

6. Do you participate in any programs related to Quartiersmanagement? Why or why not?
a. yes b. no _____
7. Do you feel that the programs or projects carried out by the Quartiersmanagement reflect your values and wants for the neighborhood?
a. yes b. no c. don't know
8. What could Quartiersmanagement do for the neighborhood that would improve business?

9. What kind of impact does your business have on the neighborhood?

10. How would you rate the quality of life in the neighborhood? Circle one (scale of 1-10, 1=bad 10=perfect).
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
11. How could the quality of life in the neighborhood be improved?

Appendix A (cont.)

Graefe-Kiez Business Questionnaire

1. How long has your business been located in this neighborhood?
_____years
2. Do you use renewable energy for electricity? Why or why not?
a. yes b. no
3. What percentage of the products you sell can be labeled as bio/öko/fairtrade?
_____%
4. Do you live in the neighborhood?
a. yes b. no
5. Why did you choose this location to open up?

6. Do you participate in any programs related to IGG? If yes, why?
a. yes b. no _____
7. What could the IGG do for the neighborhood that would improve business?

8. Do you feel that the programs or projects carried out by the IGG reflect your values and wants for the neighborhood?
a. yes b. no c. don't know
8. What kind of impact does your business have on the neighborhood?

9. How would you rate the quality of life in the neighborhood? Circle one (scale of 1-10, 1=bad 10=perfect).

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
10. How could the quality of life in the neighborhood be improved?

Appendix A

Aron Hendrix, Universität zu Lund, Schweden, Nachbarschaftsbefragung

VIELEN DANK!!!!

1. Wie lange ist Ihr Geschäft/ Laden/ Büro schon in diesem Kiez ansässig?

2. Benutzen Sie Ökostrom (Strom aus erneuerbaren Energiequellen)?

ja nein weiß nicht Bitte begründen Sie Ihre Entscheidung

3. Wie viel Prozent der von Ihnen angebotenen Produkte können als Bio/Fairtrade oder Öko bezeichnet werden?

4. Wohnen Sie hier im Kiez?

ja nein

5. Weshalb haben Sie sich als Geschäftsstandort für diesen Kiez entschieden?

6. Nehmen Sie an Angeboten oder Projekten, die durch die Interessengemeinschaft Graefe-Kiez IGG/GEKKO organisiert werden teil? ja nein Bitte begründen Sie Ihre Entscheidung

7. Entsprechen die Angebote und Projekte des IGG/GEKKO Ihren Wünschen und Bedürfnissen?

ja nein weiß nicht

8. Was könnte das IGG/GEKKO für den Kiez tun, um gleichzeitig Ihr Geschäft/Unternehmen zu fördern?

9. Welche Bedeutung hat Ihr Geschäft/Unternehmen für den Kiez?

10. Wie hoch schätzen Sie die Lebensqualität des Kiez ein? Bitte markieren Sie eine Zahl:

1= sehr schlecht 10= hervorragend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

11. Was müsste getan werden, um die Lebensqualität des Kiezes zu verbessern?

Appendix A (cont.)

Aron Hendrix, Universität zu Lund, Schweden, Nachbarschaftsbefragung

VIELEN DANK!!!!

1. Wie lange ist Ihr Geschäft/ Laden/ Büro schon in diesem Kiez ansässig?

2. Benutzen Sie Ökostrom (Strom aus erneuerbaren Energiequellen)?

ja nein weiß nicht Bitte begründen Sie Ihre Entscheidung

3. Wie viel Prozent der von Ihnen angebotenen Produkte können als Bio/Fairtrade oder Öko bezeichnet werden?

4. Wohnen Sie hier im Kiez?

ja nein

5. Weshalb haben Sie sich als Geschäftsstandort für diesen Kiez entschieden?

6. Nehmen Sie an Angeboten oder Projekten, die durch das Quartiersmanagements organisiert werden teil?

ja nein Bitte begründen Sie Ihre Entscheidung

7. Entsprechen die Angebote und Projekte des Quartiersmanagement Ihren Wünschen und Bedürfnissen?

ja nein weiß nicht

8. Was könnte das Quartiersmanagement für den Kiez tun, um gleichzeitig Ihr Geschäft/Unternehmen zu fördern?

9. Welche Bedeutung hat Ihr Geschäft/Unternehmen für den Kiez?

10. Wie hoch schätzen Sie die Lebensqualität des Kiez ein? Bitte markieren Sie eine Zahl:

1= sehr schlecht 10= hervorragend

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

11. Was müsste getan werden, um die Lebensqualität des Kiezes zu verbessern?

Appendix A (cont.)

Aron Hendrix, Universität zu Lund, Schweden, Nachbarschaftsbefragung

VIELEN DANK!!!!

1. Wie lange wohnen Sie schon in diesem Kiez?

2. Benutzen Sie Ökostrom (Strom aus erneuerbaren Energiequellen)?

ja nein weiß nicht Bitte begründen Sie Ihre Entscheidung

3. Weshalb wohnen Sie hier? (Mehrfachnennungen möglich)

preiswerte Mieten Familie Lage Atmosphäre Arbeit

4. Planen Sie von Ihr wegzuziehen? Falls ja, wann und weshalb?

ja nein Wann? -----

5. Ist Ihr Job/ Ihre Arbeitstätte in dieser Nachbarschaft?

ja
 nein bin momentan arbeitssuchend Student Rentner sonstiges

6. Nehmen Sie an aktiv an Nachbarschaftsorganisationen teil? Falls ja, welche?

ja nein -----

7. Haben Sie jemals an einem Treffen des Quartiersmanagements teilgenommen?

ja nein

8. Entsprechen die Angebote und Projekte des Quartiersmanagements Ihren Wünschen und Bedürfnissen?

ja nein weiß nicht

9. Wie bewegen Sie sich hauptsächlich fort? Bei Mehrfachnennung bitte mit Zahl kennzeichnen (1., 2., 3.)

zu Fuß Fahrrad Auto BVG sonstige -----

10. Wie viel Prozent Ihrer täglichen Einkäufe erledigen Sie innerhalb des Kiezes? -----

11. Wie viel Prozent der Produkte, die Sie kaufen sind bio/öko- oder fairtrade? -----

12. Wie hoch schätzen Sie die Lebensqualität des Kiez ein? Bitte markieren Sie eine Zahl:

1= sehr schlecht 10= hervorragend 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

13. Wie könnte Ihrer Meinung nach die Lebensqualität hier im Kiez verbessert werden?

Appendix B

Reuter Bürger

Gend.	Age G.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
F	20-40	2,0	j	PM,L,A,Ar	n	j	n	n	j	bi,bvg	80	50	7
F	20-40	11,0	n	PM,L	n	n	n	n	wn	f,bi	100	80	8
M	20-40	2,0	n	PM	n	j	n	n	n	f,bvg,bi	100	20	7
F	20-40	12,0	n	A,Ar	n	j	n	n	wn	f,a	90	90	7
M	20-40	15,0	n	Prop. Owner	j	n	n	n	n	a,bvg	15	60	7
M	40+	6,0	j	PM	j	j	j	n	n	bi	80	60	10
M	40+	50,0	n	F	j	n	n	n	j	bi,f	50	50	4
F	20-40	2,5	n	PM	n	n	n	n	wn	bi	0	5	7
M	20-40	17,0	n	PM	n	n	n	n	wn	bi	90	18	6
M	20-40	1,0	n	PM,A	n	j	n	n	wn	bi,a,bvg	100	40	9
F	40+	6,0	j	PM	n	n	n	n	wn	bi,a	80	100	5
F	20-40	1,0	j	PM,L,A,Ar	j	j	n	n	wn	bi	90	50	9
F	20-40	1,5	j	PM,L,A	n	n	j	n	wn	bi,bvg	80	40	8
M	20-40	8,0	n	PM,L,A	j	n	n	n	wn	f,bvg	0	40	6
F	20-40	8,0	n	PM,L,A	n	n	n	n	n	bvg,bi,f	80	40	7
F	20-40	1,0	wn	PM	j	as	n	n	wn	f	100	30	4
M	40+	14,0	n	Ar	j	j	j	n	wn	bvg	100	0	3
M	20-40	5,5	j	PM,L	n	n	n	n	j	f,bvg,a	60	35	8
F	20-40	10,0	n	PM,F,L,A	j	n	n	n	wn	f,a,bi,bvg	10	70	7
F	20-40	1,0	wn	PM,L,A	n	n(s)	n	n	wn	bi,bvg,f	100	10	9
F	20-40	2,0	j	PM,L,A	n	n(s)	n	n	wn	bi,bvg	90	70	8
M	20-40	10,0	n	PM,L	n	n	n	n	wn	bi,f,bvg	15	50	9
M	20-40	19,0	j	A	n	n	n	n	wn	f,bi,bvg	100	50	8
M	40+	8,0	j	PM,A	n	j	n	n	j	bvg,bi,f	50	95	8
F	40+	1,5	j	PM,A	n	j	n	n	wn	bi,a	100	100	9
F	20-40	4,0	j	L,A	n	n	n	n	wn	bi,f,bvg	90	50	7
F	20-40	2,0	j	L,A	n	n(s)	n	n	wn	bi	90	30	7
F	20-40	1,0	j	L	n	n	n	n	j	bi,f,bvg	80	50	7
M	20-40	8,0	n	PM,L,A	n	j	j	j	j	bi,f (same)	60	20	8
F	20-40	1,0	n	PM,A	maybe	n	n	n	j	bvg,f	100	50	6
M	20-40	2,0	n	F,L,A	n	as	n	n	wn	f,bvg	100	40	10
F	20-40	30,0	n	PM,F	maybe	as	n	n	wn	f,bvg	90	7,5	5
M	40+	25,0	n	PM,A	n	n	j	n	j	bi,f	80	50	8
F	40+	12,0	n	L,A,Ar	n	j	n	n	j	bi,a	80	50	8
F	20-40	2,0	j	L,A,Ar	n	n(s)	n	n	wn	bvg,bi,f	90	50	8

Appendix B (cont.)

Gräfe Burger

Gend	Age G.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
F	20-40	4	j	PM,L,A,Ar	n	n	n	n	wn	bi,f	90	50	7
F	40+	18	n	L,A	n	j	n	j	j	bi,f	90	60	8
M	40+	1	j	L,A	n	n(as)	n	n	wn	bi,f	60	5	7,5
M	20-40	4,5	j	PM,L,A	n	j	n	n	wn	bi,f	80	20	8,5
M	40+	8	n	F,L	j	j	n	n	wn	bi,f,bvg	100	5	8
M	20-40	4	j	A	n	n	n	n	j	bi,f	90	90	6
F	40+	32	j	A	n	j	j	n	j	bi,f,bvg	5	70	8
F	20-40	10	j	L,A	n	n	n	n	wn	f,a,bi,bvg	100	50	9
F	20-40	10	n	L,A	n	n	n	n	wn	bi	90	80	9
M	20-40	3	j	L,A	j	n	j	n	j	bi,f,bvg	90	20	8
M	20-40	2	n	F,L,A	n	n	n	n	wn	bi,a	100	40	8
F	20-40	2	n	F,L,A	n	n	j	n	wn	bi,f,bvg	100	80	10
M	40+	30	n	PM,F,L,A,Ar	n	j	n	n	wn	a,bi	90	90	8
F	40+	1	j	none	j	n	n	n	wn	bi,bvg,f	80	100	8
F	20-40	6	j	L,A	n	n(as)	n	n	j	f,bi	90	60	8
F	20-40	2	j	PM,L,A	j	s	n	n	j	f,bi,bvg	95	80	8
M	20-40	1	n	L,A	n	n	n	n	j	bi,f,bvg	80	70	10
M	20-40	1,5	n	L	j	j	n	n	wn	f,bi,a	80	15	7
M	20-40	5	j	PM,F,L,A	n	j	n	n	wn	bi,f,bvg	90	35	8
F	20-40	3	n	L,A	n	n	n	n	wn	bi,a	50	60	8
M	20-40	25	j	L,A	n	n(son)	n	n	wn	f,a,bi	100	70	9
M	20-40	2	j	L,A	n	n	n	n	wn	bvg,bi	90	25	8
F	20-40	3	j	L,A	n	n	n	n	n	bi,bvg	80	50	8
F	20-40	8	wn	L,A	n	n	n	n	wn	bi	80	20	9
F	40+	28	n	F,A	n	n	n	n	wn	a	80	20	10
F	20-40	2	j	PM,A	n	n	n	n	wn	bvg,f,bi	80	30	6
F	20-40	2	wn	L,A	n	n	n	n	wn	f,bi,a,bvg	80	80	9
F	20-40	2	n	PM	j	n	n	n	wn	a	80	20	8
F	20-40	1	j	L,A	n	n	n	n	wn	bi	80	80	8
M	20-40	3	j	F,L	n	n	n	n	wn	bi,bvg	100	60	3
M	20-40	29	j	A	n	j	n	n	wn	bi,f,bvg	95	50	6
M	20-40	12	j	PM,F,L,A	n	s	n	n	wn	bvg,f,bi	90	50	7
F	20-40	3	wn	L,A	j	n	n	n	wn	a,bi	91	65	8
M	20-40	5	n	F,L,A	n	n	j	n	wn	bvg,bi,f	90	50	9
M	20-40	1	n	F,A	n	n	n	n	wn	f,bi,bvg	60	40	5

Appendix B (cont.)

Reuter Geschäft

Gend	Age G.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
M	20-40	1	wn	not appl.	n	no a.	j	wn	-	-	4	w,p
F	20-40	1	n	20 (ft)	j	local	j(adv)	j	w	meet place	7	v,s
F	40+	2	wn	0	j	-	n	wn	-	-	7	-
M	20-40	2	n	10	j	local	j(ad,n)	j	sheet!	n,k	8	sc,m
F	20-40	1	j	15	j	local	n	n	sheet	too new	7	m
M	20-40	3	n	75	n	Rutli	j(so)	j	-	wichtig	7	nix
F	20-40	1	n	0	j	L,A,PM	j	wn	adv,b	wichtig	7	m
F	20-40	1,5	j	30	j	sheet	j(ad,n)	wn	sheet	a, local p	7	sheet
M	20-40	5,5	wn	not appl.	j	-	n	wn	-	-	6	young people
F	40+	26	j	2	j	inh.	n	j	info	kiezladen	8	-
F	20-40	3	j	50	j	sheet	j	wn	-	-	5	-
M	20-40	1	j	100(used clothing)	j	PM,Ent	n	wn	?	change	8	bars
M	20-40	1	n	0	j	zufall	n	wn	-	-	6	-
M	40+	7	j	0	j	local	j(adv)	j	adv	artist local	8	bike pats

Appendix B (cont.)

Graefe Geschäft

Gend	Age G.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
M	40+	13	n	5	n	location	n(time)	wn	?	specialty good	6	int.,k,locational
M	20-40	6	n	0	j	Lage	j	n	-	gut	10	M, sauberkeit
F	40+	15	n	0	j	local	j	wn	-	-	8	M
M	40+	49	n	3	n	avail.	n(time)	wn	no need	specialty good	7	-
F	40+	5	j	100	j	like it	j	j	-	-	8	less cars, less M
M	40+	3	j	50	j	K	j	wn	Christmas market	Kulturort	8	School issues
M	40+	14	n	0	j	sheet	j	j	media	sheet	8	sheet
F	40+	18	j	second hand	j	local	n(time)	wn	nix	atm	10	nix
F	40+	12	j	50	n	Z+M	j	j	nix	zugpferd	8	integration,reklame
M	20-40	2	n	3	j	location	j	j,n	sheet	sheet	7	sauberkeit,grun,longeropeningtimes
M	40+	5	j	10	j	Lage,wohnqualitat	j	j	gemeinsame werbung	-	10	-
F	40+	1	wn	0	n	-	j	-	wn	-	8	-
M	40+	8	n	5	n	-	j	wn	-	-	7	bike issues
F	40+	2	j	100	j	-	n(time)	wn	ok	nice store	9	alles prima
F	20-40	1	n	0	n	interessante nachbarshscaft	j(werb)	j	sheet	sheet	7	sauberkeit