

From a cold war frontier city to shattered global city dreams

Berlin is a latecomer to the neoliberal global intercity competition. For a long time the urban and economic development of Berlin was unique due to its physical division and outstanding political status during the Cold War. The show-case function of both city halves (West-Berlin as the "outpost of capitalism" and East-Berlin as the capital of the GDR) allowed for a large public sector and a highly subsidized industrial and wealth-production. When the fall of the Wall brought an abrupt end to decades of geographical isolation and "exceptionalism" (including federal aid and protective measures), local elites had to try to (re)position the city in the national and global arena.

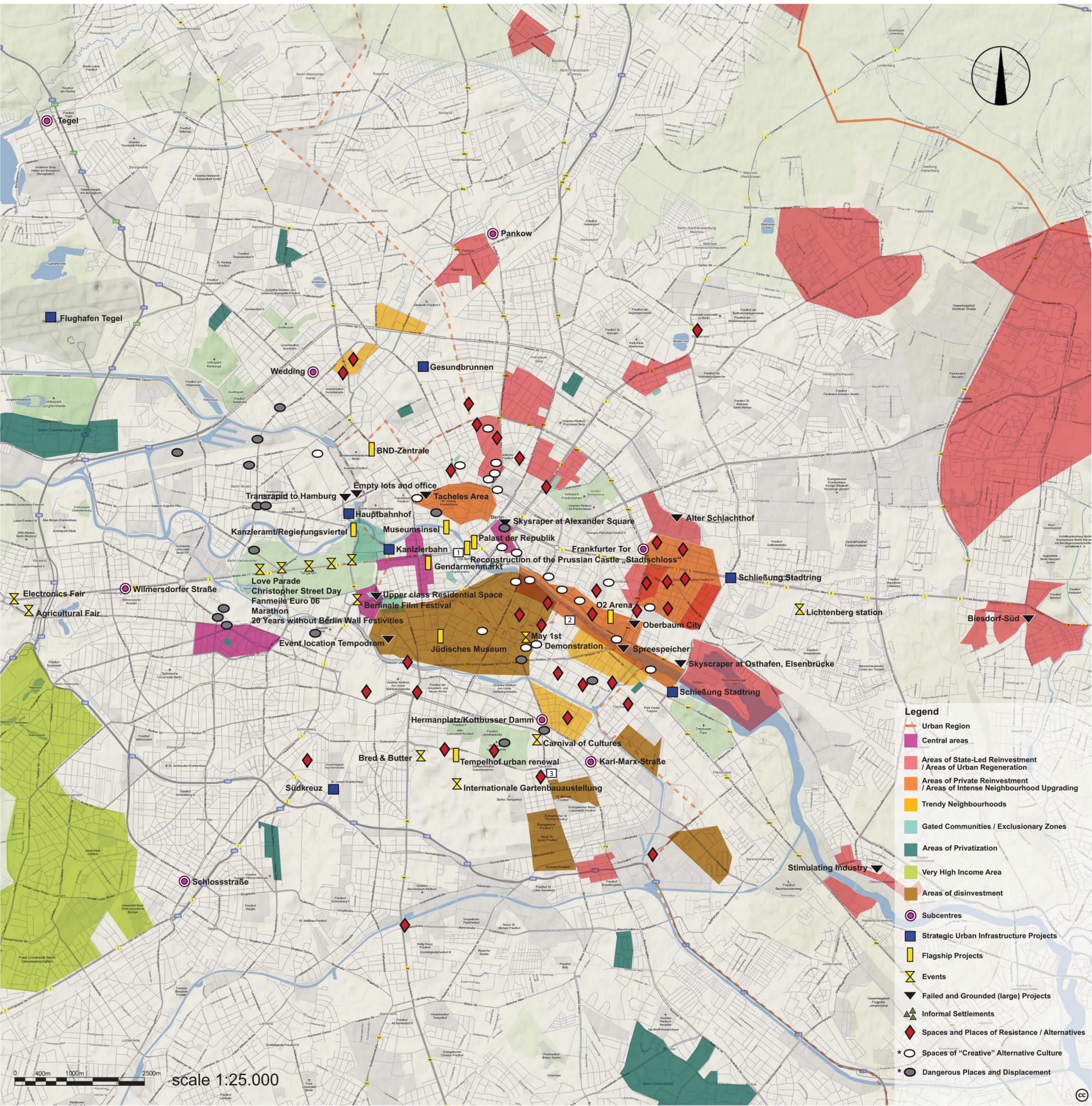
The reunion of West- and East-Berlin produced winners and losers on both sides, and entailed radical socio-economic as well as spatial transformations, leaving the city after a short period of official enthusiasm about its commercial and growth potentials (economic hub and gateway to Central Europe, symbol of national unity, etc.) with major challenges and conflicts. Despite the regained role as an important capital city and an enormous construction

boom in the 1990s, when Berlin became a prime playground for international architects and speculative real estate investment, the economic prospects for large parts of the population remain bleak. Hit by an early (partially homemade) budget deficit (currently at 60 billion Euro) and massive employment losses in both parts of the city, post-wall Berlin has become the capital of poverty. Per capita GDP in the city is some 20 percent below the west German level. Problems of industrial decline, infrastructural decay, high unemployment and new and complex patterns of residential segregation, formerly rather untypical for Berlin, plague many eastern and western districts, both in the inner city and at the periphery.

At the same time, some islands of economic growth have been developing, particularly in knowledge-intensive economic activities, tourism and the media industry, but many of the newly created jobs are low-paid and unstable. This development is closely related to the functioning of the city as a highly attractive destination and place of residence for artists and students from around the world,

drawn to Berlin by the relatively low living costs as well as its vibrant cultural and party scene. While this influx of new inhabitants has made the city younger and more "cosmopolitan", the current rent table is already reflecting an upswing in housing costs and new socio-spatial divides in formerly low-income neighborhoods. This conflict has evoked fierce debates about gentrification, but neither the city's once strong progressive social movements nor the current left-wing local government (a coalition of the Social Democratic and the Left Party) have a clear cut and shared vision on what policy interventions are needed and most effective to stop the further displacement of longtime local residents and businesses as well as non-commercial projects.

Germany	357'111Km2	* Inhabitants	81,8 Mio.
Urban Region	892Km2	* Inhabitants	3'443'570



Failed / Flagship Project: Prussian Castle / People's Palace

Purpose	"reconstruction" of the Prussian Castle as the so-called Humboldt-Forum
Location:	Mitte district, Unter den Linden
Dimensions	main area 62.500 m ²
Projets costs	current official budget 550 million Euro
Investors	federal government (470 million) and donations (80 million)
Builder	federal government (or rather a foundation that does not exist yet)
Architects	Franco Stella (and a 60-people planning crew of the Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning)



Description / Reason for this choice / Background / context

There have been 20 years of heated discussion of how Berlin's so-called historical centre (this notion itself a construction of history), located in the former Eastern part of the city, should represent the new status and self-conception of the capital. In the end, this was mainly fought between the faction advocating the continued existence of the "People's Palace" (the former GDR parliament) and the one calling for its demolition to make space for a recreation of the Prussian Castle that stood there until the 1950s. Finally, the supporters of the historical reconstruction of the former seat of Prussian monarchs seem to have won. The People's Palace was demolished in 2008, after the Bundestag voted for the Castle's construction in 2002, and the budget committee gave its approval. The architectural competition is finally over, the team is chosen. The government has proclaimed that the construction of the Castle, named Humboldt-Forum, should start in 2011. This research and exhibition centre "for peace and dialogue among world cultures" is intended to complement the existing Museum Island and will contain parts of the city's libraries, scientific collections of the Humboldt University and above all, the collection of non-western art of the Berlin State Museums, which is mainly an ethnological collection that was largely accumulated under colonial powers. So far, however, only a large lawn and archeological excavations of former basements can be found on the site.

Significance for New Metropolitan Mainstream

The Castle is significant for a certain understanding of Berlin's new political role, its cultural representation and recourse to Prussian cultural and regulatory ideals, as well as the function that urban space and architecture should play therein. It represents the reconstruction or rather invention of a history that is difficult not to describe as based on an ideological winning mentality. Not only have the edifices that represented the one-time sovereignty of the GDR been torn down almost unnoticed by the public – the nearby foreign ministry in 1995, and the Peoples Palace in 2008 – but modernity in general is being delegitimized by the invocation of the 19th century city, easily consumed by today's tourists (within this logic it appears to be no problem that the current federal finance ministry resides in the former Nazi ministry of aviation).

Stakeholders and their interests



The first protagonist to advocate for the Castle's construction was Wilhelm von Boddien who founded the „Association for the Rebuilding of the Berliner Stadtschloss“ in 1993. Over time, the initiative was supported by the federal and local governments, leading German enterprises, and cultural institutions. Although the demolition of the People's Palace was heavily contested, it was not before 2005 that the Alliance for the Palace was founded to campaign for its preservation. Last year a group named Anti-Humboldt came together to publicly scandalize the nation branding, cultural use and recourse to Prussianism by the planned building of the Castle.

Deals

The Castle project was started and substantively put forward by the private initiative of Wilhelm von Boddien, who in 1993 – three years after the palace was closed due to asbestos contamination – founded the above mentioned "Association" and in the same year set up a full-size mock-up of the castle (plastic sheeting on steel framing). After years of offensive advertising, countless exhibitions, several architectural competitions and the financial support of leading enterprises, a committee of "independent" experts finally passed a vote in favour of its construction, that was confirmed by the federal government a year later. The building of the Castle was declared a "national task of the century". Meanwhile the asbestos removal in the palace has been started, to be finished in 2003. In the same year, the Bundestag voted for its demolition. It was though not until two years later – one year after its temporary cultural use that only further contributed to the erosion of its former meaning – that an alliance for its continued existence was founded. The demolition of the palace started the following year.

The whole procedure and decision making was accompanied by political partisanship, cooked feasibility studies, sugar-coated figures and misinformation of the general public. Despite various "generations" of small short lived initiatives coming up again and again no efficacious opposition against the Castle was able to form. As the financing of the project, especially the donation of 80 million promised by the "Association", is still highly uncertain, the public sector will probably have to support the project even more than expected if it should ever be built.

Impacts

The demolition of the People's Palace as a symbol of the once sovereign GDR and especially the creation of the new symbol imitating a former Prussian Castle, that will contain among other things a collection made up of pieces compiled under conditions of colonial power relations is both a political disaster and one of representation. For this invention of a historical centre, invocation of Prussian ideals and mistaking of colonial relations with cosmopolitanism, cultural functions as well as financial support of Berlin local centres are withdrawn. So far, however, as everything else in this city, this project also oscillates between flagship and failure and it is not sure if the current lawn will be replaced in the near future.

Synthesis over all four projects and outlook

In Berlin, the "New Metropolitan Mainstream", understood as a new paradigm of urban development in response to forces of globalization and economization, is much less pronounced than in other cities of similar size. Despite high-flying expectations after reunification and various efforts to promote Berlin as a desirable and innovative commercial location, the new German capital has never achieved the status as a "strategic node of the global economy". Amongst the few economic segments that have evolved positively in the past few years are tourism, the media sector and other so-called "creative industries". Overall, however, the results of most place marketing and entrepreneurial strategies lag far behind what the local elites once hoped for. While other cities might suffer from the recent global economic downturn, it has not been a major shock to most Berliners.

The four chosen case studies are reflecting Berlin's peculiar situation. Many large-scale urban development projects have been planned (and some of them implemented), but there is not

Alternative/ Failed / Flagship Project: Mediaspree Urban Waterfront Development

Purpose	large-scale waterfront and "creative cluster" development
Location:	district Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain
Dimensions	180 ha
Investors	19 large real estate companies and developers as well as local and federal government-owned companies



Description / Reason for this choice / Background / context

Mediaspree is an area of about 180 ha along the River Spree in the eastern part of the inner city that has been historically shaped by industrial sites, transportation infrastructure and, partially, the "death-strip" of the former Berlin Wall. Most of the lots had fallen into disuse and been abandoned. The area has been targeted for a large-scale waterfront development project by the private sector in order to create a "creative district" consisting of high-value housing, offices and spaces of consumption. With the local economy and real-estate stagnating, most planned developments have not yet been realised, due to lack of demand. However, the area has developed into one of the hot-spots of Berlin subculture and nightlife as several distinct temporary users, such as clubs, Wagenburgen (trailer communities), bars as well as social and cultural initiatives have established themselves in the area as so-called "temporary users". The planned development has been heavily contested in recent years, fueled by fears of further displacement and indiscriminate upgrading in the adjacent neighbourhoods. This culminated in a public campaign and a referendum held in 2008 in the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, with 87% voting against the envisioned development.

Significance for New Metropolitan Mainstream

Mediaspree is a prime example of large-scale urban waterfront development in the neoliberal era. The planned urban landscape addresses the needs of international companies and their employees, its development driven by private interests and real-estate speculation, promoted and supported with public funds in a private-public partnership form of urban governance. Positive effects such as jobs or investment are expected to spread, benefiting neighbouring areas. At the same time this kind of development utterly ignores the needs of the local population and the characteristics of the area, replacing grown social structures and grassroots temporary development with a global top-down model that differentiates between those who might work in the area or can afford to remain and those who will have to leave. The protest movement against Mediaspree has to be seen in this context of current urban development conditions. The protests that have arisen are the largest in a series that have gained momentum in the city in recent years and that specifically show the discontent of increasing parts of the population with current conditions of urban development.

Stakeholders and their interests

Even though development in the area is very slow and heavily contested, the current Berlin Senate still supports it, on one hand because of lack of better ideas for the area, on the other for fear of losing the reputation as a "stable" partner for the private sector. With public debt at an all-time high the city seeks to sell off the almost 50% of land it still owns in the area. Planning influence in areas already sold is very low as regulations negotiated in urban development treaties give developers exclusive rights of development. Private interests in turn are largely unable to develop profitably and, therefore, either bides their time or seek to evict temporary users that might have negative effects on resale potential. Temporary users and other creative endeavours have been indifferent to the development or are slowly becoming aware of their own role in making the area attractive for real-estate investment. They seek, therefore, other ways of development that will allow them to remain in the area with the general public profiting as well. Finally, there is the general public, whose mobilization in the last months of the public campaign against the project reached unexpected levels. The success of the campaign was based on several current factors: the incorporation of traditional leftist groups as well as temporary users and other "creatives", the decidedly legal approach combined with elements of civil disobedience, the un-dogmatic character concerning media and the political sector, the use of "legal loop-holes" instead of open confrontation as well as a clear goal (winning the referendum). This made the protest movement attractive for many people who were discontent with impacts of current developments, such as gentrification processes and rising rents, but who were not content with "old" forms of political protest. These people who mobilized and who voted against Mediaspree in the referendum and are largely represented by the local initiative "Mediaspree versenken!" found out that by legal means an alternative development is currently only possible with the political will and support of the Berlin government. Effective participation is blocked out by urban governance mechanisms, politically constructed "factual constraints" and the dominance of private property over public interest.

Deals

Development in the area has almost come to a standstill. Some temporary users, with the support of the district government and the public support of the referendum have managed to strike deals with private owners that will allow them to remain until construction will finally take place.

Impacts

Even though there were few changes in the Mediaspree area after the referendum, public awareness has grown concerning the future development of the city. It has also become obvious that this kind of private-sector driven large-scale development is no longer feasible in Berlin and that it is in fact contrary to the interest of local inhabitants. This has helped to open the discussion for other areas designated for development, such as site of the former Tempelhof Airport, and strengthened organizing efforts and anti-gentrification campaigns in various parts of the city. It remains to be seen though if new guidelines for urban development can be established in the future or if the public, after a brief period of awareness, is again lulled into apathy by the public-private piecemeal tactics of promoting "mega-projects" and denying responsibilities for negative effects. Another important lesson learned from the Mediaspree campaign is that a legal and rather conciliatory approach to protest can be successful only as long as the pressure of a feasible public movement is backing citizens' demands, creating pressure on the local government to act.

one outright successful flagship project. Even the New Potsdamer Platz which might be regarded as a marketing success of top-down city planning did not fulfill its economic promises. Just recently, after major federal budget cuts the reconstruction of Berlin's former Prussian Castle (1) in the city centre had to be postponed. And the city's most prestigious urban renewal project after 2000, "Media Spree" (2), has difficulties in attracting enough private investors, partially due to a declining demand for office space, and partially due to a broad protest movement and a public referendum that have slowed down the process of development.

So how does the local government – a coalition of the Social Democrats and the Left Party – deal with this situation? And what are the prospects for progressive urban policies and movements? Does the fact that global capital has more or less bypassed the city open up any opportunities for emancipatory politics? So far, two different official responses to the "failure" of new metropolitan mainstream strategies in Berlin can be

Trendy Neighborhood / Area of Disinvestment: Nord-Neukölln

Location	south-east of inner city districts
Inhabitants	150.000 (79% of children under 15 have a so-called migration background)
Unemployment rate	15%
Social assistance rate	30% (67% of children under 15 live in families on welfare)



Description / Reason for this choice / Background / context

Berlin is the German capital of poverty where 18% of the population receive social assistance. While the mayor Klaus Wowereit infamously claims that Berlin is "poor but sexy", Nord-Neukoelln exemplifies the realities and politics of the former. Traditionally a working-class district, its populace is marked by a wide range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds. With massive deindustrialization since the 1990s many of the local inhabitants lost their jobs, and today Nord-Neukoelln leads the city's poverty statistics. An area of concentrated poverty for many years it is stigmatized in the media, often represented as a "final destination ghetto" where street crime dominates, school teachers capitulate, and migrants establish no-go areas or those much-feared parallel Muslim societies. Politicians call for stronger policing to maintain control. Dominated by these discourses of urban blight and neglect Neukoelln has only recently been identified as a hip-area of Berlin where new bars and galleries open and a new image is developed.

Significance for New Metropolitan Mainstream

Neukoelln exhibits the state of the art of German urban social policy that operates primarily through so-called Quartiersmanagements (QMs) within the federal program "Soziale Stadt" ("social city"), initiated in 1999 and financed by EU, federal and state funding. These neighbourhood management organizations are equipped with little financial means and focus on the mobilisation of social capital in the targeted and defined "needy" neighbourhoods to ensure social-territorial integration. There are 9 QMs in Nord-Neukoelln and in the districts they serve the results are often limited to symbolic up-gradings, new images for problem areas and self-help institutions that rarely address the structural causes of poverty and other social problems. Central to the NMM is the devolution of former welfare state functions and responsibilities: federal and local states no longer invest in social infrastructure but instead actively follow a dual policy of activating self-responsibility and policing of "problematic" populations. Likewise social segregation and impoverishment are not discussed anymore as structural problems of a society but are downloaded to individual local communities. Such territorialization of social problems through QMs often facilitates stigmatization of the poor. In this eroded social city, gentrification becomes the desirable and last remedy for areas of disinvestment.

Stakeholders and their interests

The city administration aims to stabilize social problems by using QMs that "activate" social networks of semi-state, religious and ethnic organisations, private actors and businesses. Overall the work of QMs is characterized by piece-meal approaches that speak volumes about the helplessness of social policy actors. The respective sub local QMs operate under harsh conditions of limited resources and temporary and competitive contracts. With contradictory political goals it is difficult to generalize about the effects, but the projects tend to veer between stabilizing and empowering (e.g. local project "Kiezmütter" empowering migrant women), stigmatization of the poor and impulses to generate improvements impulses geared towards middle class interests – the latter a policy concealed as "social mixing". Together with local businesses and real estate owners the QMs welcome gentrification as a means for positive social change. The local administration and mayor are typically pro local business. Furthermore they are quite innovative in generating new policing strategies for social control that differentiate between "appropriate" and "bad" social conducts to protect the interests of both traditional and new residents (e.g. Taskforce Okerstrasse). Last but not least, specific parts of Nord-Neukoelln are becoming increasingly attractive for many students, who are trying to escape rising rents of gentrifying neighbouring districts. They benefit from cheap housing and from "creative" opportunities which are partially offered by QMs.

Deals

With little money involved there are few deals to be found. A specific means to lure new residents-developers into the area are agreements for temporary uses of vacant shops which are offered to artists and creative start-up enterprises. QMs and private organizations make these deals with the support of City. Some of the local projects of the left do partially co-operate with QMs, too. Large housing corporations are also involved; they aim to prevent vacancies and thus negotiate for urban improvements with the City. They also benefit from the stabilisation of residential stock generated by social welfare payments.

Impacts

After Prenzlauer Berg, Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg, the adjacent Nord-Neukoelln is the next inner-city area that will be gentrified. Still in the pioneering phase with some pockets of gentrification, to date few people have been displaced. While the political and legal conditions have been made favourable for gentrification the specific local social mix and overall economic recession are more constraining and the process is likely to be stretched over years. For the time being the low rents serve to stabilize a remaining area of concentrated (ethnic) poverty in the city. Nevertheless, the direction of urban development is clearly geared towards middle-class interests whereas issues of rising rents, affordability and the right to the central city for the poor are neglected. The program of "Soziale Stadt" will continue and so will the internal struggles over relative and specific institutional fixes. But substantial reallocations of resources are not expected and thus social needs of the poor will not be met. Rather "Soziale Stadt" serves to legitimate the state demonstrating that it reacts to social crises – but only to crises. Local activists in Nord-Neukoelln discuss gentrification but they have not yet found adequate responses to the many new facets of the management of the poor. Generally, the left struggles with this aspect of neo-liberal urban restructuring and remains somewhat stuck in front of the ever more debatable option to defend these last and precarious vestiges of the welfare state.

observed. First, capitalizing on Berlin's lively alternative cultural scenes as well as on the city's high-potential self-entrepreneurship, and branding Berlin as an urban laboratory for innovation and creativity. While this might foster processes of inner city gentrification and the commodification of sub-cultural activities, it may also allow some grassroots initiatives to flourish to an extent unknown in other metropolises. The second response by the local authorities is the strengthening of policies and programs that deal with social exclusion. Contrary to the city's shining image as a "hip and tolerant metropolis", Berlin has also developed into a testing ground for new governance strategies and instruments to manage and control the urban poor in Germany such as different forms of community policing, workforce programs, neighborhood management (3), or the peripheralization of poverty (4).

The success of oppositional movements to challenge these control strategies and the marketing of Berlin as "poor, but sexy" has been mixed. Berlin's alternative and leftist scene is still relatively strong in numbers and visibility. Since unification there

Area of Disinvestment: Hellersdorf

Purpose	North-eastern border of Berlin
Inhabitants	72.600 (20% of all children under 15 have a so-called migration background)
Dimensions	2,979 ha (42.9 people per ha)
Unemployment rate	16%
Social assistance rate	23% (45% of all children under 15 live in families on welfare, in some areas more than 75%)



Description / Reason for this choice / Background / context

Hellersdorf, a locality in the district of Mahlzahn-Hellersdorf, is part of a belt of vast prefabricated housing estates, which form the largest agglomeration of this type of industrially produced housing in Central Europe. Completed in the 1980s, these estates at the eastern rim of Berlin were part of the attempt of the then socialist government to solve the emerging housing crisis. Their architecture and urban design catered to the needs of a society with full employment and collective forms of education and recreational activities. But even back in the GDR, these estates were already criticized for being "mono-functional dormitory-towns" due to their low residential qualities and a lack of cultural and social services (except for children). After reunification, these structural deficits were reinforced by radical societal and economic transformations, leading to massive unemployment and an unexpected demographic decline, followed by the shutdown of facilities for children and young people such as child care centers or youth clubs. The development of already planned infrastructural projects came to an halt, while private or non-profit social services remain limited and shopping and recreational opportunities are considered insufficient and of little attraction. 10 percent of the population of Hellersdorf has left since 1990, about 8 percent of all housing units are vacant, in some areas up to 20 percent.

While some inner city neighborhoods in Berlin have experienced processes of social stabilization and even improvements since 2005 due to government programs and private investments the concentration of poor households in the large housing estates in Marzahn-Hellersdorf has increased. In some neighborhoods the share of children and teenagers in families living on social assistance is higher than 70 percent, and more economically disadvantaged families are moving into the area because of the comparatively low rents and the large stock of social housing that can be used for the accommodation of welfare recipients. Since 1990 more than 20,000 emigrants from Russia (of German origin) have been settled here, amounting to 10 percent of the local population.

Significance for New Metropolitan Mainstream



Hellersdorf is an example for the „peripheralization“ of poverty through reinforced segregation and public policies that misuse large housing estates with vacancies as a "dumping site" for those households and families that have to make room for the gentrification of inner city areas. These policies that widen the "wealth and supply gap" between the center and the outskirts and amplify structural disadvantages, are typical for the neoliberal reordering of the urban landscape. The high concentration of poor households in these peripheral large urban housing estates is not cushioned by any meaningful government programs. Public investments into the local infrastructure remain modest, at best, and are not followed by private investments.

Stakeholders and their interests

The most important actors and organized interest groups in Hellersdorf – besides the local administration and the housing companies (most of them in communal ownership) – are community organizations and groups of local residents of which many date back to old GDR structures. Not surprisingly, with the change of paradigms from "Socialist" to "Capitalist City" and because of the difficult social conditions, the district Hellersdorf-Mahlzahn is Berlin's stronghold of the "Left Party", that is part of the current state government coalition. Most of the neighborhood initiatives have close links to this party, derived amongst others from the Socialist Unity Party of the GDR.

Deals

Since 1991, Mahlzahn-Hellersdorf has been a target area for several urban renewal programs, aiming at the urbanisation and revitalisation of the large housing estates. But most of the public strategies, focussed on the improvement of the district's image, the betterment of the local infrastructure and the letability of apartments owned by the big housing companies, have failed. In the 1990s, a university campus was moved from West-Berlin to Hellersdorf, and the newly created business center "Helle Mitte" was hailed as a "model for the successful integration of the large housing estates". Almost ten years later, most shops are vacant or are rent out to discounters. Most students continue to live in the trendy inner city neighborhoods. After modest public investment in residential buildings and the public infrastructure, no private investors followed. Buildings with about 4,000 apartments out of the public housing stock were demolished in order to rebalance the housing market. Most likely, only the private owners in the area will benefit from these efforts to stabilize the rents.

Impacts

In the 1990s, the hot spots of urban poverty in Berlin were concentrated in the inner city districts. In the course of upgrading and gentrification processes during the past decade, however, large housing estates at the periphery with affordable rents have come to serve as „reservoirs“ for those who cannot afford to stay in the center. The result is a spatial shift of social problems. Urban activists and movements have not confronted yet these emerging new structures of social exclusion. While anti-gentrification-campaigns in the inner city districts tend to demolish the large housing estates in East-Berlin as „wastelands“, local resident groups and Left Party organizations are mostly concerned about the image of Hellersdorf and have not found strategies so far to build new and effective alliances. Both ways, the new spatial and social peripheries of the city remain politically marginalized.

has been considerable protest and resistance against some of the large-scale development projects, the privatization of public infrastructure and the commercialization of urban life. At the same time, many alternative projects have lost their political edge, while other milieus are very much focused on protecting "their own territories" such as formerly squatted houses or particular neighborhoods. Whether new political initiatives will be able to bring together a broader spectrum of people affected by recent processes of urban restructuring and rising impoverishment has to be seen.

Discussing the "New Metropolitan Mainstream" we need to consider not only the successful "urban renaissance" in many city regions, but also the economic failure of many urban development strategies, and how this might shape and explain the different approaches, perspectives and demands of local urban social movements.

1) Urban Region

The city of Berlin covers a total area of 892 km² for a population of around 3.5 million. The border still matches – apart from a few minor territorial swaps between West- and East-Germany – by and large the one of 1920, when suburban cities, villages, and estates around Berlin were incorporated by the Greater Berlin Act. Berlin was divided from 1945 to 1989, with the wall being built in 1961. Today, it comprises of 12 boroughs. In 1996 the state governments of Berlin and the surrounding Brandenburg attempted to merge, which was rejected by a referendum. The notion of the Metropolitan Region Berlin-Brandenburg, sometimes named Capital region, is still pushed forward, though with no clearly specified spatial limits, sometimes comprising of both states, sometimes only of Berlin and its close surroundings.

2 + 3) Central Areas and Subcenters

The map shows Berlin's two old central business areas: Kurfürstendamm in the western and Alexanderplatz in the eastern part of the city. Since reunification two complementary central areas have developed: Potsdamer Platz and Friedrichstrasse. Because of its history, Berlin does not have a distinct center, but is a polycentric city where various towns and villages morphed. The east-west division further accelerated this dual center development and the importance of subcenters. There are 9 main subcenters as defined by the "Urban Development Plan for Centres 2020". Starting in 1990s, however, attempts were made to strengthen and restructure a united inner-city area, from the city west to the so-called historical center in the former east.

4) Trendy Neighborhoods

Overall, Berlin is a marketed and conceived as a very trendy city, with many hip scenes in various inner city areas. In the 1990s, most trend-setting clubs, art galleries and projects chose the inner city quarters of East Berlin as their favored location, but by now large parts of Mitte, Prenzlauer Berg and Friedrichshain are already gentrified and too expensive for low-income artists and students. Therefore, the areas we marked as "trendy" in the map are all located in the western part of the city and just in a pioneering phase of gentrification: Kreuzberg's SO36, that has been a hotspot for alternative culture since the 1970s; and parts of the poor working-class and migrant quarters: northern Neukölln (Kreuzkölln) and recently Wedding. All three areas are subject of media campaigns and increasingly listed in the tourist guides.

5) Gated Communities / Exclusionary Zones

As a traditional tenants' city (homeownership is only 13%), Berlin has little tradition of residential gating, and entire gated communities do not exist. The residential areas of the inner city are largely shaped by pre-war inner city tenement buildings and post-war public housing estates which aimed at "broad stratum of society". Twenty years after reunification, however, the social situation, image and the residing milieu have won importance in characterizing the neighborhoods. There are some market-based rental exclusions, i.e. in West-Berlin's traditional upper class residential areas which are mostly found in the green suburbs. In inner city areas it is only in a few spots, either in largely gentrified areas or formerly vacant plots, where luxury housing projects, targeting higher-income groups and promoting exclusive living, have been established.

6) Very High Income Areas

The map indicates Berlin's areas with the highest purchasing power. According to a study of the "Society of consumption research" Berliners in average have less money at their disposal as the general German citizen (that is indexed with 100). There are, however, significant regional differences in wealth. Whereas the entire inner city and all but two of the former Eastern districts lie beyond the national average, parts the outer districts of former West Berlin – Steglitz, Dahlem, Zehlendorf, Kladow in the Southwest and Frohnau in the North – are indexed with 128 and more. There is only one district – Zehlendorf-Steglitz – that as a whole lies above the federal average.

7) Areas of Privatization

The process of privatization of public goods and areas started under specific conditions in the former East, respective the former Western part of the city. In East Berlin, the transfer from state to private property has been ensured and pushed by a variety of treaties and legal instruments (e.g. the „Old Debt Assistance Law“). Starting in the late 1990s, the local government sold large parts of the communal housing stock of former West-Berlin and significant amounts of city-owned property to international private investors. There is, however, growing resistance of residents and local campaigns against the privatization and commodification of public services and housing.

8 + 9) Areas of Private and State-Led Reinvestment

In Berlin, private and state-led reinvestment programs are usually deeply interlocked. In the map we highlighted the focal areas of reinvestment which we differentiated accordingly to the respective degree of state (co)financing. These include the mainly state financed redevelopment programs ("Sanierungsgebiete", the main German urban renewal program addressing decaying building structure), programs of urban renewal ("Stadtumbau", a program addressing vacancies in residential estates) and development areas ("Entwicklungsgebiete", a program for the development of brownfields). As the focal points of mainly private led reinvestment we identified the redevelopment of the former eastern city centre: the overall housing renewal in Prenzlauer Berg and Mitte; and the entire redevelopment of retail and office spaces in Mitte.

10) Areas of Disinvestment

As areas of disinvestment we defined residential areas with a particular high concentration of poor households and a lack of public and private investments. (We did not include brownfields such as former industrial or military premises.) While in the 1990s the inner city districts were the hot spots of social and economic problems, uneven gentrification processes in the recent years resulted in a spatial shift of comparative disadvantages, with large housing estates in the peripheral urban areas such as Spandau (West-Berlin) and Marzahn-Hellersdorf (East-Berlin) experiencing the brunt of growing poverty and structural unemployment. Today, more than 50 percent of all neighborhoods with an extreme concentration of child poverty are located in these peripheral areas.

11) Informal Settlements

There are no informal settlements in Berlin.

12) Flagship Projects

As flagship projects we selected two different types of projects: large-scale urban development projects that aim to strengthen Berlin's reputation as the reunited new old capital of Germany (New Potsdamer Platz, Government District, Friedrichstraße, Humboldt Forum and the planned reconstruction of the City Palace), and those projects that try to promote the city's potential as one of Europe's "leading marketplaces of knowledge, research and high-technology" (science-university complex Adlershof, Center for Molecular Medicine Berlin-Buch). The latter projects like Adlershof follow a particular "postindustrial" growth and development strategy (support of innovative businesses, services and research clusters at the periphery of the city), while most of the typical "reunification projects" are located at specific historic sites in the "new urban centre" of Berlin (including many infrastructure projects, cf. category 13 infrastructure).

13) Strategic Urban Infrastructure Projects

Due to the former east-west division of the city, post-wall Berlin had a large demand for improvement in urban infrastructure. Alongside expansion and modernization of suburban railways (S-Bahn) – including commercialization of former railways for retail and office developments at major hubs – the most important project in public transport is the new central station in the government district. But overall, the planning was and is guided by the concept of a car-friendly city highlighted by the ongoing yet disputed plans for highway extensions (A100). The city favors mega-projects that are to underline Berlin's reputed status as a "coming global city". This is clearly visible with the enlargement of East Berlin's airport Berlin-Schönefeld into an international air traffic hub for which the city's two other airports are/will be closed down.

14) Important Events and Festivals

Due to Berlin's specific structural economic weaknesses, the "festivalisation of urban policy" has played an even more prominent role here in attracting new inhabitants and visitors than in many other cities. We identified two different categories of events and festivals which are most relevant for Berlin: events, that have their origins in subcultural as well as political movements, milieu and settings, and "created" events, which are the result of concerted and competitive urban marketing strategies. The "Love Parade", started in Berlin in 1989 by a few underground DJs, the Christopher Street Day Parade, the Berlin Carnival of Cultures, and the May Day celebrations and riots in Kreuzberg represent the first category. Some of formerly rather small and local festivities with subversive elements turned into mass events.

15) Failed and Grounded Projects

As failed projects we categorized privately or state planned flagship projects, real estate projects, events and infrastructures that have failed in the sense that events were cancelled, physical structure (or significant parts of it) not built, uses not (fully) realized or costs not amortized as expected. The largest project in Berlin that was inhibited partially due to movement protests was the application for the Olympic Games 2000 which failed in 1993 after an intensive "NOlympia"-campaign. Yet despite the presence of a comparatively large leftist movement in Berlin, ever since most projects failed due to two main causes that are characteristic for Berlin: first, the financial restraints resulting from large budget deficits, and second the not particularly thriving real estate market in the city with little economic growth and a large quantity of vacant office spaces especially during the 1990s and early 2000s.

16) Spaces and Places of Resistance / Alternatives

Berlin is characterized by a very fragmented and differentiated alternative and radical left political scene, which is mostly active in the inner city areas. In the map we distinguished between non-spatial actions, campaigns and mobilizations (yellow flames) and place bound resistant and alternative projects (red flames). Particularly the latter build heavily on the legacy of past urban struggles. While there were two large squatting periods – one during the 1980s in the former West, and one in the East following unification – today one will find few to none examples of resistance in form of squatting due to the current hostile political climate and swift police raids squats. The legalized, rent-paying squats and other projects from the past are still important today – the line, however, between places of resistance and those we categorized as alternative (cf. category 14) is blurred and not easy to draw.

17) Others I: Spaces of "Creative" Alternative Culture

Compared to other cities that are globally influencing hubs for cultural production and consumption, Berlin's cultural scenes are still dominated by subculture or even subversive countercultures. These scenes brand the city as a hot spot for alternative youth tourism, the so-called "easy jet set" (after the low budget carrier "easy jet"). Most of alternative venues – six of them are listed under the 100 most important clubs worldwide – are run by owners who started in the illegal phase of Berlin's techno culture shortly after unification. Even today, many events are noncommercial and/or take place in public spaces. This particular mix of wild club scenes, that function as cultural laboratories, and the low degree of commodification make up Berlin's attractiveness for creative economies. Urban policy started to recognize this importance and partially fosters these scenes by supporting temporary use agreements.

18) Others II: Dangerous Places and Displacement

Overall, Berlin is a city with visible and generally tolerated scenes of marginalized people in central spaces despite a new policing strategy that was introduced in 1992: By declaring streets, squares or parks "dangerous places" according to the "General Law on Safety and Order" the police grants itself special powers of ID checks without suspicion, random search of bags or the issuing of sending-offs. The designation of such places by the local police departments is based on statistics on drug use, prostitution or violations of special laws for foreigners – the targeting of suspects thus often follows racial profiling. Whereas in the mid-1990s most of those places were located in the former East, now all but two of the 17 "dangerous places" can be found in the former West.