Faculty of Humanities

School of Design and the Built Environment

Shifting Neighbourhood Dynamics and Everyday Experiences of Displacement in Kreuzberg, Berlin

Adam Crowe

0000-0001-6757-3813

THIS THESIS IS PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

of

Curtin University

November 2020

Declaration

I hereby declare that:

I. the thesis is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

II. the research is a result of my own independent investigation under the guidance of my supervisory team

III. the research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council's (NHMRC) *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007)*. The proposed study received human research ethics approval from the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (EC00262), Approval Number HRE2017-0522

IV. the thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made

V. this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university

Signature: Adam Joseph Crowe

Date: November 12, 2020

Abstract

This research explores the socio-spatial impacts of shifting housing and neighbourhood dynamics in the gentrifying neighbourhoods of Kreuzberg, Berlin. The locality represents a prime example of an inner-city locality that has been reimagined and transformed by a series of powerful actors including, but not limited to, an increasingly financialised real-estate sector, a tourism industry promoting Kreuzberg as a destination for higher-income groups, and a city-state government embracing and promoting entrepreneurial approaches to urban governance. The scale and intensity of these contextual forces of change, present a suite of challenges to Kreuzberg's remaining long-standing residents who, in spite of mounting pressure, have managed to remain in place. Within this context, this thesis examines the intersecting forces driving urban re-structuring with a focus on the socio-spatial implications of gentrification and tourism growth across residential space.

Through a critical political economy lens, a multi-method bottom-up research design was developed to critically investigate processes of exclusion impacting on long-standing residents. The conceptual framework incorporated a respatialised theory of displacement to consider the cumulative material, sensory and longer temporal dimensions of the process and to identify the various ways displacement can be experienced beyond the momentary event of spatial expulsion. The study combined 26 semi-structured interviews with long-standing residents & key informants, 18 months of participant observation, and a survey of 208 participants attending a weekly neighbourhood event. To complement the qualitative investigation, a document analysis of housing policy, short-term rental (Airbnb) listings, demographic data, as well as a range of grey literature, was used to frame, substantiate and further investigate key themes identified within the qualitative data corpus.

The research findings are presented in four empirical chapters which collectively demonstrate multiple modalities of displacement operating at various scales and intensities. The first chapter explores the shifting housing dynamics of Kreuzberg, interrogating the responses of long-standing residents to a series of regulatory instruments intended to buffer the impact of housing inequality in a locality where 95 per of households reside in social or private rental housing. The focus then shifts to the neighbourhood scale and the experiences of long-standing residents to the influx of wealthier populations and real-estate capital altering the socio-cultural balance and dominant use of neighbourhood space. Thirdly the findings examine the recent expansion of urban tourism in Kreuzberg that has created a complex set of socio-spatial tensions at both the dwelling and neighbourhood scale. Lastly, an in-depth case study on the privatisation and refashioning of *Markthalle Neun* is presented as a way of exploring contestations produced as the neighbourhood market hall transitions along gentrified lines.

A complex interrelationship between classical interpretations of gentrification and urban tourism underscores the contextual forces of change documented in the empirical chapters. Importantly, the research shows how processes of gentrification and touristification coalesce, transforming space and consequently intensifying experiences of displacement. In this regard, the qualitative-driven inquiry illuminates multiple modalities of displacement related to housing expulsion and exclusion, as well as insidious aspects of displacement disclosed through escalating living costs, the disappearance of pivotal neighbourhood resources & meeting places, and the erosion of place-based and deep-rooted social bonds and networks. Collectively, these aspects can contribute to an ongoing sense of loss, dispossession and exclusion from everyday neighbourhood life. At its core, this research contributes to emerging scholarship calling for urban displacement to be understood beyond the spatial practice of out-migration, and as a nuanced, multidimensional process of material and psycho-social impacts rupturing between people and place across varying contexts, scales and temporalities.

Acknowledgements

I respectfully acknowledge the First Nations People as the traditional custodians of the Australian continent and recognise their continuing connection to land, waters and culture. I pay my deepest respects to ancestors and members of their communities, past and present.

I am sincerely thankful for the financial assistance that supported this research through an Australian Government Research Training Program (RTP) Scholarship and a Curtin Research Scholarship (CRS). I am deeply grateful to Shaphan Cox and Amanda Davies for supervising this research and for offering their time, encouragement and critical insights throughout my entire PhD journey. Their knowledge and guidance significantly shaped my approach to this project, for which I will be eternally grateful.

I would like to thank the entire Geography team at Curtin University for inspiring, encouraging and challenging me over the last four years. The ideas presented in this thesis have been clarified and sharpened throughout many thought-provoking conversations both on- and off-campus. I also extend my gratitude to Amity James and Steven Rowley at the AHURI Curtin Research Centre for providing me with the incredible opportunity to participate in cutting edge housing research. A sincere thank you to Karen Crowe, Colin Crowe and Sidar Gummus for reviewing chapter drafts and offering constructive feedback and astute comments. I would also like to thank Christopher Schroder for lending his ArcGIS expertise to assist with the maps presented in this project.

This thesis would not have been possible without the unwavering support of my family and friends. I am honoured to be a part of all of your lives. With deep love and gratitude, I thank Yana Bencheva, who has provided me with more love, support and patience than I can articulate. I could not have completed this thesis without her continual guidance and input throughout all phases of this project, while always encouraging my curiosity and willingly engaging in robust conversations about Kreuzberg and innumerable geographical topics.

I dedicate this thesis to the residents of Kreuzberg who shared their time and experiences with me.

In loving memory of my grandfather, Jim Lewis, who sadly passed away to Covid-19 in November 2020.

May he, and the millions lost due to the pandemic, rest in peace.

Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

Airbnb	Air bed and breakfast
BGB	Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch
CDA	Calculated District Average
CUR	Careful Urban Renewal
CPE	Critical political economy
DE	Germany
HOPE VI	Home-ownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere VI
GFC	Global financial crisis
LCL	Large corporate landlords
LSR	Long standing resident
NUT	New Urban Tourism
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RI	Rent Index
RB	Rent Break
SenStadt	Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen
SES	Socioeconomic status
SFT	Street Food Thursday
STR	Short term rental
UK	United Kingdom
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
USA	United States of America

List of Key German Terms

Amt für Statistik	Office for Statistics, Berlin-Brandenburg
Bahnhof	Train station
Bezirk	City district
Bezirksregion	District region
Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch (BGB)	German Civil Code
Gastarbeiter	Guest migrant worker
Gentrifizierung	Gentrification
Haus	House
Kiez	Neighbourhood
Kiezkultur	Neighbourhood culture
Markthalle Neun	Market Hall Nine
Miete	Rent
Mietpreisbremse	Rent Break (regulation)
Mieterverein	Tenant association
Mietspiegel	Rent index (regulation)
Milieuschutz	Social Composition Protection (regulation)
Nachbar/innen	Neighbour
Nachbarshaft	Neighbourhood community
Nebenkosten	Side or auxiliary costs (trash collection, cleaning of common areas, etc.)
Platz	Place
Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen	Senate Department for Urban Development and Housing
Späti & Spätkauf	All night convenient store
Strasse	Street
U-Bahn	Metro/Subway trainline
Unbefristeter Mietevertrag	Unlimited-term rental contract
Umfassender Sanierung	Comprehensive modernisation
Verdrängung	Displacement
Wohngemeinshaft (WG)	shared housing arrangements
Wohnen	Living
Wohnung	Apartment (single housing unit)
Zweckentfremdungsverbot	Housing Misuse Act (regulation)

Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis sets out to critically examine the shifting housing and neighbourhood dynamics of Kreuzberg, a high-density residential locality of inner-Berlin. Historically, Kreuzberg has been stigmatised as a 'problem area' (Mayer 2013) as one of Berlin's highest proportions of welfare recipients and the centre of Berlin's sizable Turkish and Kurdish diaspora (Hinze 2013). Nowadays, the locality is discoursed as Berlin's 'epicentre of cool' (Dyckhoff 2011) and 'multinational hotspot' (Guthmann 2019). Put differently, Kreuzberg has been repositioned as a place for young, international and so-called 'creative' types (Holm 2013, 181). Accordingly, successive waves of gentrification have reshaped the demographic characteristics of Kreuzberg drawing into close proximity some of Berlin's poorest and wealthiest households (Amt für Statistik 2019). In this regard, the shifting housing dynamics across Kreuzberg are noteworthy. With 95 per cent of the population residing in social or private rental housing, rent increases (upward of 216% since 2010) have pushed many lower socioeconomic households out of Kreuzberg replaced by an increasingly wealthier, transnational population (Amt für Statistik 2019; Bernt et al. 2013; Polat 2018). Parallel to this development and following persistent city branding campaigns (Colomb and Kalandides 2010; Häußermann and Colomb 2003; Holm 2015; Novy and Colomb 2013), tourism growth in Berlin, and Kreuzberg in particular, has increased rapidly.

Collectively, these housing, neighbourhood and tourist developments have become highly charged points of social struggle (Bernt et al. 2013; Blokland et al. 2015; Füller and Michel 2014). The ongoing erosion of housing affordability coupled with incoming populations of a higher socioeconomic status presents a cumulative set of challenges to Kreuzberg's remaining long-standing residents who, in spite of mounting pressure, have managed to remain in place (Hinze 2013; Polat 2018). Taken together, Kreuzberg represents a prime example of an inner-city space that has been reimagined and transformed by a series of powerful actors including, but not limited to, an increasingly financialised real-estate sector, a tourism industry promoting Kreuzberg as a destination for higher-income groups, and a state government embracing and promoting entrepreneurial approaches to urban governance (Colomb and Kalandides 2010; Häußermann and Siebel 2013; Novy and Colomb 2013; Novy 2017). Within this context, this thesis aims to comprehensively examine the intersecting forces driving urban re-structuring with a focus on the socio-spatial implications of gentrification and tourism growth across residential space.

Furthermore, while the relationship between gentrification and residential out-migration is relatively well known, far less attention has been paid to the effects of gentrification for incumbent populations (Elliot-Cooper et al. 2019; Slater 2006; Valli 2015; Zhang and He 2018). In this respect, the arc of this research aims to explore the lived experiences of long-standing residents in gentrifying space. Throughout the inquiry, I consider how a tightening of the housing market affects housing tenure security, availability and affordability. I also investigate how rapid social and commercial changes at the neighbourhood scale intersect with long-

standing residents' relationships to the place they call home. My goal here is to produce a more nuanced account of what daily residential life means for those longer term residents who in spite of the pressures continue living in a neighbourhood that is largely being shaped by the interests and practices of incoming higher socioeconomic status residents, short-term renters and tourists. In taking this approach, I aim to address a gap in gentrification literature that seldom provides empirical analysis sensitive to the everyday experiences of incumbent populations and the related forces enacting less-tangible expressions of urban inequality. At its core, this research contributes to emerging scholarship calling for urban displacement to be understood beyond the momentary spatial practice of out-migration, and as a nuanced, multidimensional process of material and psycho-social impacts rupturing between people and place across varying contexts, scales and temporalities.

1.1. Urban processes of change

Three key processes frame this research project: gentrification, urban tourism and displacement. In this section I foreground the key scholarly discussions related to each process, while identifying the theoretical and empirical gaps which this thesis sets out to address.

Gentrification

The process of gentrification remains at the forefront of critical discussions concerning the changing cultural and economic conditions of the post-industrial city (e.g., Brenner and Theodore 2016; Lees and Phillips 2018; Madden and Marcuse 2016). Despite early theorisations demonstrating conceptual clarity on gentrification as a neighbourhood expression of class inequality (Glass 1964; Marcuse 1985; N. Smith 1979, 1982), in recent years, urban commentators have cast doubt on the adverse effects of a process constitutive of capital-induced urban transformation (e.g., Capps 2019; *The Economist* 2018a; *The Manhattan Institute* 2018; Vigdor 2002, 2010). Correspondingly, academic scholarship on gentrification in relation to the 'politics of method and interpretation' (Atkinson 2015, 373) has also become increasingly polarised, with many urban economists positioning the process as an inherently positive outcome and remedy for impoverished and underinvested neighbourhoods (Brummet and Reed 2019; Freeman and Braconi 2004; McKinnish et al. 2008; Vigdor 2002, 2010). In this regard, the 'positive gentrification' thesis frames the process as a mechanism for lifting house prices, household incomes, and improving neighbourhood infrastructure while omitting the immediate and ongoing social effects.

The methodological approach of positive gentrification research relies predominantly on quantitative data entrenched with an understanding of residential displacement as a momentary action of spatial expulsion. Consequently, a perceived absence of evidence has led to the assertion that gentrification does not inherently displace, and, in turn, largely benefits incumbent lower-socioeconomic households of gentrifying

neighbourhoods (Bryne 2003; Capps 2019; Duany 2001; Freeman and Braconi 2004; McKinnish et al. 2008; Vigdor 2002, 2010). Yet, seeking to measure the extent of gentrification through the ephemeral event of spatial out-migration with minimal consideration of residents' lived-experience with rising house prices, as well as the broader effects of changing neighbourhood conditions, only captures one element of a multifaceted process. Nonetheless, the weight of these studies can have profound implications once amplified through media coverage and integrated into popular discourse and public policy (Newman and Wyly 2006; Peck 2005; Slater 2006).

Critical urban theorists have challenged such perspectives for omitting the political economies of housing (Aalbers and Christophers 2014a, 2014b; Fernandez and Aalbers 2017; Madden and Marcuse 2016); for under-representing the micro-geographies of neighbourhood change (Butcher and Dickens 2016; Cahill 2007; Gonzalez and Waley 2013; K. Shaw and Hagemans 2015; Valli 2015), while negating the fact that few long-standing residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods are typically home-owners (Atkinson 2015; Bernt et al. 2013; Slater 2006; Newman and Wyly 2006). Nonetheless, the positive gentrification thesis has become a drawcard for industry bodies, media entities and policy-makers alike, re-discoursing the term as analogous with revitalisation and regeneration where 'everyone wins' (Capps 2019); a paradoxical departure from the initial conception of gentrification to describe violent class-based dispossession and injustice (Glass 1964; Hartman et al. 1982; Lees et al. 2008; Marcuse 1985). Subsequently, the positive gentrification thesis is routinely used to justify the continual defunding of affordable and social housing programs and increased subsidies and tax incentives for private housing developments among other market-facing ventures (Aalbers 2016; Atkinson 2015; Bernt et al. 2013; Bridge et al. 2012).

Correspondingly, the scale of housing commodification has continued to intensify and expand well beyond local property markets (Aalbers 2016), with many commentators noting the increasing role of the city as an investment strategy and a repository for rent extraction (Fernandez and Aalbers 2017; Harvey 1987, 1989a, 1989b; Madden and Marcuse 2016; Rogers et al. 2018; Slater 2018; Stein 2019). Facilitated through policy mechanisms structured to promote the built environment as an engine for economic growth (Harvey 2012), the rise of the 'real-estate state' (Stein 2019) is indicative of the continual defunding and privatisation of public-owned housing; increasingly liberalised housing markets (Madden and Marcuse 2016; Rogers et al. 2018); and, the expansion of large corporate landlords (LCLs) and multinational institutional investment firms that purchase, trade, and manage sizable proportions of housing stock in cities such as Berlin (Aalbers and Holm 2008; Fields 2019; Fields and Uffer 2016). As transnational real-estate players and private equity firms have become increasingly entrenched in residential housing systems, housing costs are becoming increasingly more expensive for the populations relying on housing for shelter (Aalbers 2016; Fields 2019; Lees and White 2019). At the same time, and in the case of Berlin, housing commodification is a spatially and

socially uneven process, accentuating the linkages between the strategic purchasing patterns of corporate investors and gentrification (Fields and Uffer 2016; Holm 2013; Madden and Marcuse 2016).

For this reason, among others, this research is concerned with the experiences of long-standing residents living in Kreuzberg's gentrifying neighbourhoods (Fields and Uffer 2016). At the same time, the related effects of gentrification on the neighbourhood infrastructure, including commercial resources and amenities, also remain underexplored. Although some researchers have shed insight into this process (e.g., Bridge and Dowling 2001; Hubbard 2016, 2018; Zukin 1991, 1995, 2008), the way in which gentrifying landscapes affect daily residential life for incumbent populations at the neighbourhood scale is less understood.

Urban Tourism

Recent research shows how the expansion of urban tourism beyond the historic core of cities and into residential neighbourhoods shares commonalities with the underlying tenants of gentrification (Cocola-Gant 2016; Gotham 2005; Gurran and Phipps 2017; Janoschka et al. 2014; Lee 2016). Most notably, this emerging scholarship elucidates how an influx of tourists consuming residential space can undermine the host communities' right to the city. Although urban tourism is not a new phenomenon (MacCannell 1976; Meier 1972), recent studies have identified connections between tourism and gentrification, including house and land price inflation (Gotham 2005; Harvey 2012); the conversion of residential housing into Airbnb-style short term rental tourist accommodation (Gurran and Phipps 2017; Schaefer and Braun 2016; Wachsmuth and Weisler 2018); privatisation of public space (Cocola-Gant 2016; Iveson 2007); transformation of neighbourhood resources and amenities (Gonzalez and Waley 2013; K. Shaw and Hagemans 2015); and, broader processes of retail gentrification (Hubbard 2016, 2018; Zukin 1991, 1995, 1998, 2008). In effect, as residential areas become integrated into the Tourist City (Fainstein and Gladstone 1999; Judd and Fainstein 1999; Urry 2011), increased flows of tourism can alter the character and use of entire neighbourhoods following the interests and preferences of transient users (Garcia-Herrera et al. 2007; Gotham 2005; *The Economist* 2018b; Novy and Colomb 2019). As a result, there is growing concern regarding the proliferation of 'unchecked' tourism growth ranging from localised grassroots neighbourhood initiatives (e.g., ABDT 2016; Bizim Kiez 2016; Living in Lisbon 2017) to multilateral organisations (OECD 2016; UNWTO 2018).

Nonetheless, the socio-spatial and socio-cultural implications of urban tourism in residential settings have only recently become an area of scholarly inquiry. Although the relationship between the leisure industry and host communities have been the focus of many critical studies on coastal and rural destinations (Freeman and Cheyne 2008; Tonts and Grieves 2002), the dynamic interplay of host-visitor relationships remains under-represented in urban tourism research. Conversely, the literature has largely focused on the tourist experience and the leisure industry as a driver for economic growth (Ashworth and Kavaratzis 2010;

Ashworth and Page 2011; Maitland 2007). At the same time, the critical literature on gentrification has also rarely explored the corelations between residential displacement and urban development strategies that seek to facilitate and encourage tourism growth (for an exception see Garcia-Herrera et al. 2007; Gotham 2005). As urban tourism has continued to increase at pace across many jurisdictions in recent years (*The Economist* 2018b; UNWTO 2012, 2018), there is an urgent need to consider how these literatures may complement the other and enable greater conceptual clarity for researchers exploring intersecting and overlapping socio-spatial processes of uneven development in the city. In this respect, if tourism adds to, or constitutes a new form of gentrification, to what extent does the leisure industry contribute to residential displacement? This process of 'touristification' (Novy and Colomb 2019) remains underexplored yet poses critical questions to contemporary gentrification theory as well as critical urban theory more broadly. In high-density residential localities such as Kreuzberg, where ongoing gentrification and increased tourism are recognised as a highly charged issues, there is a pressing need to critically engage with these previously siloed literatures in an attempt to develop a deeper comprehension regarding how both processes coalesce and interplay to produce nuanced contextual expressions of neighbourhood change.

Displacement

To recentre the process of socio-spatial inequality inherent to any configuration of gentrification, Slater (2006) and Davison (2008, 2009) implore researchers to critically consider the conceptual underpinnings of gentrification-induced displacement as emphasised by Peter Marcuse (see also Elliot-Cooper, Lees and Hubbard 2019). In addition to immediate effects of gentrification such as housing expulsion, Marcuse (1985) was among the first to clearly accentuate a 'pressure of displacement' that is multidimensional in nature:

> When a family sees the neighbourhood around it changing dramatically, when their friends are leaving the neighbourhood, when the stores they patronise are liquidating and new stores for other clientele are taking their places, and when changes in public facilities, in transportation patterns, and in support services all clearly are making the area less and less livable, then the pressure of displacement already is severe. Its actuality is only a matter of time. Families living under these circumstances may move as soon as they can, rather than wait for the inevitable; nonetheless they are displaced (Marcuse 1985, 207).

Herein, Marcuse (1985) underscores the psychological and longer temporal dimensions of displacement often omitted from analyses on gentrification. Yet, as Marcuse posits, the condition of living in a state of increased displaceability can impact people's livelihoods just as much as the ephemeral event of spatial out-migration. More recently, Davidson (2008, 2009) has extended Marcuse's notion of displacement pressure, incorporating Lefebvre's (1991) 'lived experience of space' to accentuate the multiplicity of place. By conceptualising place as relational and 'lived space' (Davidson 2009; Lefebvre 1991; Massey 1992, 2005; Tuan 1977), the various dimensions of displacement are revealed, denoting the process as a *loss of place* that can be experienced both spatially and psychologically (Atkinson 2015; Fullilove 1996, 2004).

In essence, Davidson is concerned with *why* displacement matters in the first place, elucidating how one's sense of place and construction of home, is much more than the bricks and mortar within which they seek shelter, but also includes the place-based networks forged over time that contribute to one's sense of self (Baxter and Brickell 2014; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Bridge 2002; Fullilove 1996, 2004). In adopting this conceptualisation, the complex dimensions and modalities of displacement are brought to the forefront, providing deeper insight into contestations related to neighbourhoods undergoing transition along socio-economic and socio-cultural lines of exclusion. Correspondingly, there is a need to expand scholarly understandings of displacement, reconceptualising the process as a loss of home which in addition to physical dislocation, may also include 'complex feelings of alienation and estrangement to place' (Atkinson 2015, 374) as ones' neighbourhood transitions along gentrified lines. In short, displacement can be experienced through a range of overlapping displacing pressures impacting on a residents' quality of life even when they continue to reside in the place they call home.

1.2. Research approach

Following the logics of critical urban theory concerned with capitalist modes of reproduction (Aalbers 2016; Brenner 2009; Brenner and Theodore 2016; Marcuse 2010; Meagher 2012), this research seeks to unsettle the growing sentiment that gentrification largely benefits long-standing residents who have retained a foothold in their neighbourhood, as well as the notion that tourism growth is an inherently positive outcome for cities. Accordingly, I critically consider the role these processes and discourses play in reinforcing structural inequalities, reshaping neighbourhoods of lower-socioeconomic status (SES) along varying lines of exclusion. Ultimately my aim is to offer an in-depth understanding of the lived-experiences of gentrification and urban tourism from the perspective of long-standing residents navigating these processes on a daily basis.

A multi-method qualitative-driven approach is used to conduct this research. I incorporate a critical political economy perspective to consider the culture-economy nexus often excluded from traditional political economy frameworks applied to analyses of the city. For Ribera-Fumaz (2009) and Lees et al. (2016), a critical political economy (CPE) framework is useful for interrogating socio-spatial contestations through an examination of the complex power relations embedded within urban processes. While a political-economy framework typically considers 'uneven spatial developments in the cities and the modes of regulation that manage capitalism' (Lees et al. 2016, 6), CPE also places specific emphasis on the socio-cultural dynamics inherently entangled within any discussion regarding structural processes of change (Amin and Thrift 2007; Fincher and Jacobs 1998; Fincher et al. 2016; Ribera-Fumaz 2009; Sommerville 2001; Zukin 1998, 2009). Critiquing the application of political-economy frameworks routinely used to inform housing studies, Lancione (2020, 276) contends that the 'focus on the exchange value of housing can limit our ability to

register what goes on beyond, within, and through it. Actions and struggles that are grounded in housing and home, but that fail to translate immediately into a familiar conceptual framework of capitalist exploitation, can tend to be dismissed as irrelevant; or worse, can be automatically treated as sub-products of the dominant script.' In line with Lancione's critique, a CPE approach is attentive to the micro-geographies of socio-spatial change that exceed exclusive economic frameworks, to also consider the co-constitutive socio-cultural, psycho-social among other non-shelter effects of gentrification.

For several decades, a culture-economic dichotomy divided theoretical explanations of gentrification. On the one hand, many sociologists and cultural researchers viewed the process as a shift in middle-class behaviour and aspirations, underscoring the agency of gentrifiers (Caulfield 1989; Ley 1980, 1986; Rose 1984). On the other hand, political economists and critics of the neoliberal city viewed gentrification as a process underpinned by the movement of capital, not people into previously disinvested areas of the city (Harvey 1978; N. Smith 1979). More recently, however, scholarship has recognised the false opposition between both theoretical explanations (Clark 2005; Slater 2006), with researchers calling for a more open approach to gentrification studies that considers the dynamic interrelationships between agency and structure, culture and economy, among other entangled tenants of gentrification and the urban condition more broadly. In effect, a critical political economy perspective fosters this more fluid and flexible approach, considering the structural processes of change, while also sensitive to the micro-politics of everyday life (Aalbers and Christophers 2014a, 2014b; Lees et al. 2016). In the context of Kreuzberg, this lens enables for the development of a rigorous analysis of socio-spatial inequalities relating to uneven flows of power across inner-urban residential space.

1.3. Aims and objectives

The underlying aims of the research can be expressed through an overarching research question that asks: *How are shifting neighbourhood dynamics shaping place for long-standing residents of Kreuzberg?*

To address this question, I examine the contextual processes of change impacting on long-standing residents which have persistently been raised as key issues over the past decade. Underpinning the investigation is the central aim to give voice to residents, integrating their perspectives and experiences into the critical scholarship on gentrification-induced displacement. To conduct this study, four key objectives guide the inquiry:

Objective 1: Investigate long-standing residents' experiences of urban change

A core aim is to develop a multi-dimensional understanding of the socio-spatial impacts of shifting housing and neighbourhood dynamics in gentrifying neighbourhoods. Much ink has been dedicated to examining

'how' gentrification occurs and 'who' the gentrifiers are. Less attention has focused on displacees, in terms of out-migration, while the experience of incumbent populations that have managed to stay put in gentrifying space is minimal. In this regard, Elliot-Cooper, Hubbard and Lees (2019, 13) stress the need for empirical data that captures the experiences of capital-led urban change from the perspective of long-standing residents in order to better understand 'the processes of un-homing that impact violently on some of our most vulnerable populations.' Accordingly, this research objective seeks to investigate the lived experience of long-standing residents in the gentrifying neighbourhoods of Kreuzberg, Berlin. The experiences and perspectives of residents will provide a view of urban change from below, that may unsettle the position of positive gentrification advocates.

Objective 2: Critically examine the key processes of gentrification and touristification as change agents

The literature demonstrates that although gentrification is a globally recognised process of socio-spatial change, its shape is contingent on local systems, mechanisms, institutions and socio-cultural conditions (Lees 1994; Lees et al. 2016; Maloutas 2012). Put differently, the outcomes and expressions of gentrification will differ depending on local contexts and temporalities. Among other processes, Kreuzberg's rapidly shifting housing system is symptomatic of gentrification. Although Berlin's rent control policies are often celebrated for their design to mitigate housing inequality (Bate 2020; Martin et al. 2017; O'Sullivan 2018), escalating house prices and rents, coupled with the growth of large corporate landlords (LCLs) and transnational institutional investors signify a key point of socio-spatial struggle throughout Kreuzberg. Hence, this objective seeks to interrogate the increasing role of housing as a vehicle for capital accumulation, as well as the effect this poses to the long-standing tenant structure, and by extension the socio-economic and socio-cultural balance of Kreuzberg. This objective will examine the shape of Berlin's housing regulations drawing on statistical and qualitative data in order to better understand the particularities and nuances of Kreuzberg's gentrification process.

In relation to shifting housing dynamics, the growth of urban tourism across Kreuzberg's residential neighbourhoods will be explored in the context of neighbourhood change. Tourism has become a key economic driver for Berlin in recent years, generating over €11.5Billion in revenue during 2017 (Visit Berlin 2017). As Kreuzberg has rapidly transitioned into one of the city's most popular destination for urban tourism crowds (Amt für Statistik 2019), a key component of this research objective examines the surge of tourism and tourist accommodation across residential areas and the related effects regarding the shifting use and functions of neighbourhood space. My interest therefore is to analyse the way in which classical notions of gentrification and urban tourism intersect, overlap and enact change at the household and neighbourhood scale. Correspondingly, the following questions are considered: how does the proliferation of tourism in residential areas intersect with gentrification? How have long-standing residents experienced tourism

growth, and how might increasing tourist flows in residential space intersect with residents' daily routines and practices? What is the role of residential housing amid current phases of tourist expansion? And how might a deeper understanding of tourism expansion across residential space open up new ways of thinking about local housing markets, neighbourhood change, uneven development and subsequently, nuanced forms of socio-spatial inequality?

Objective 3: Identify and explore multiple forms of displacement

As stated, gentrification-induced displacement has largely been defined as the expulsion of low-socioeconomic status residents through the affirmation of dominant modes of spatial reproduction (Glass 1964; Lees et al. 2008; Valli 2015). Yet, the voices and experiences of long-standing residents in gentrifying space remain largely subordinate in gentrification research (Slater 2006). In turn, there is a limited understanding of how long-standing residents have experienced uneven processes of change in the context of their everyday lives. Kern (2016) points out that the lived experiences of residents in gentrifying space are often neglected, while Friedmann (2010, 162) highlights that neighbourhood change is often reduced to 'small and ordinary' and rendered invisible from the structural forces yielding power. In addition to considering the mounting pressures households that can result in spatial out-migration, there is a greater need to consider the material-economic, physical-spatial and socio-cultural forms of exclusion engendered through gentrification that can accumulate feelings of dispossession and loss (Atkinson 2015). Following this conceptual approach to displacement, this research objective will investigate long-standing residents' lived-experiences in relation to contextual forces of change in Kreuzberg. I seek to understand how long-standing residents navigate these transformations, and how residents cope with processes of gentrification and touristification within an everyday context. How might feelings of displacement precipitate beyond the housing scale, and relate to changes in neighbourhood life? As a neighbourhood transitions to meet the needs of incoming, more affluent users, how does this affect long-standing residents' relationship to place? Moreover, how might these changes affect long-standing residents' sense of belonging to place previously regarded as home?

Objective 4: Analyse local-led practices of opposition to dominant modes of land-use change

Gentrification by definition constitutes a process of socio-spatial inequality. While the scale and particularities vary depending on local contexts, agents and forces enacting gentrification are routinely met with various forms of opposition and resistance. Although resistance is a reoccurring theme in the corpus of gentrification literature, research has rarely examined the diversity of strategies as well as the impact of oppositional movements in disrupting and unsettling capital-led land-use change (for an exception see Annunziata and Rivas-Alonso 2018). In this regard, and to complicate narratives positioning gentrification as an all-encompassing, unidirectional process, this fourth research objective aims to explore local-led

opposition to gentrification and touristification. Direct or indirect action that opposes or disrupts processes enacting socio-spatial inequality will be explored throughout the fieldwork. Particular focus is dedicated to a neighbourhood market hall that has become an increasingly contested site of socio-spatial struggle since privatisation in 2013. This research objective seeks to better understand the range and scale of local-led practices of opposition to gentrification and touristification in Kreuzberg. Further, it seeks to explore how local opposition to gentrification can unsettle seemingly hegemonic modes of land-use change.

1.4. Principal methods

The principal methods for addressing these research objectives involved interviews, participant observation, a questionnaire and document review. I conducted in-depth interviews with long-standing residents to gain a bottom-up understanding of the urban processes flowing through Kreuzberg. The primary sample group consisted of 20 residents who had lived in the locality since at least 2009, prior to a property boom which has rapidly accelerated since 2010 (Amt für Statistik 2019). I also interviewed six key informants to supplement resident perspectives and to provided nuanced insight into several key developments explored throughout the fieldwork. Participant observation was also utilised as a key research method, with the purpose to become familiar with the intricacies of neighbourhood rhythms and flows; converse with store owners, people on the street; as well as attending neighbourhood meetings to gain an understanding of multiple positions toward, and the politics of key issues important to local populations. These observations were documented through extensive photography and fieldnotes. I also developed a case study on a neighbourhood market hall called Markthalle Neun which accents some of the broader neighbourhood changes central to this research. It involved participant observation, and a questionnaire to better understand the changing role of the refashioned market hall since privatisation in 2011. Lastly, the method of document review served to complement and to further investigate key themes identified during the fieldwork. This particularly involved reviewing housing and demographic statistics; state housing policy and regulation; an analysis of short-term rental data (Airbnb); local media coverage, among other grey literature.

1.5. Situating Kreuzberg

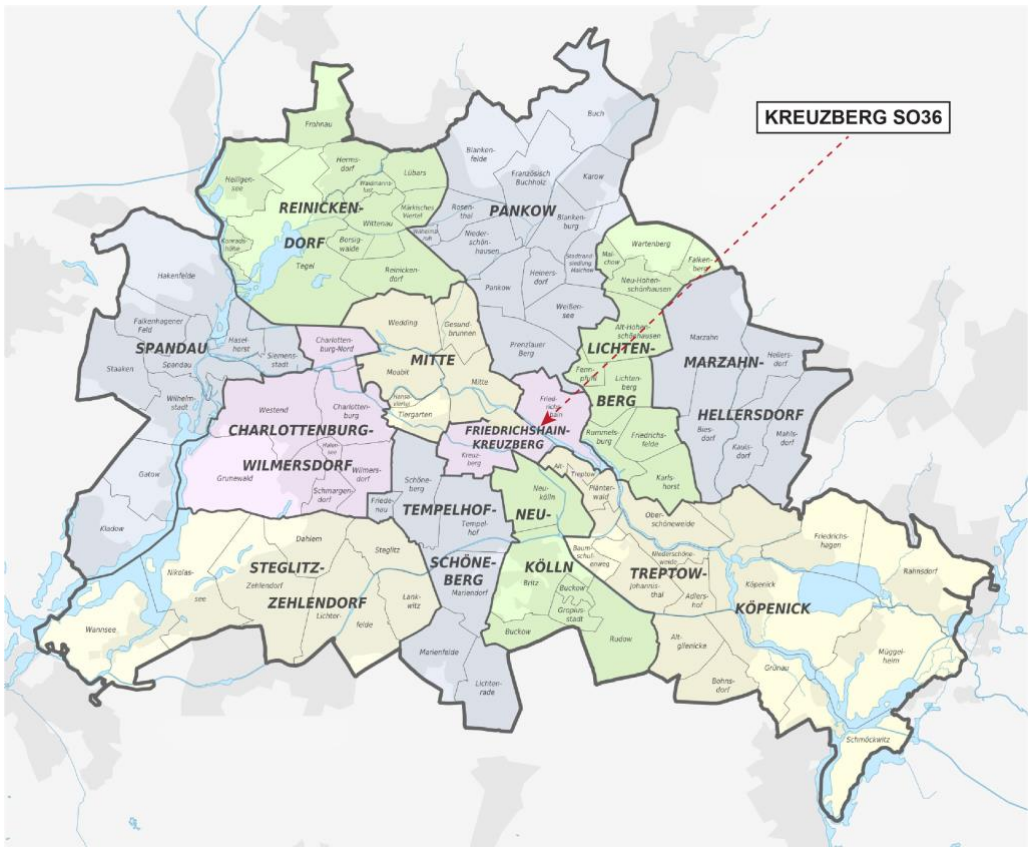
The following section outlines the spatial, demographic and historical geography of Kreuzberg in the context of Berlin. This is important for foregrounding the key housing policies and urban developments that frame the empirical chapters of this research.

Kreuzberg is a 10.3km^2 inner-urban residential locality, situated within the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. With the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, Kreuzberg's relational geography transitioned from being a periphery position at the border of East and West Berlin, to a central urban quarter situated along the Spree

River and the Landwehr Canal. In 2001, and in part of the city-wide reform to halve the number of local government jurisdictions, Kreuzberg merged with the former East Berlin district of Friedrichshain. Although the merge subsequently removed Kreuzberg's administrative autonomy, Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg remain geographically divided by the Spree River and the one bridge that connects the two localities (*Oberbaumbrücke)*, and also culturally fragmented given the contrasting geopolitical positionings during the Cold War imprinted into the respective urban fabrics (Hinze 2013; Vasudevan 2015). To this day, both localities are colloquially perceived as two separate localities, comprised of distinctive cultural, demographic and architectural traits reflective of the previous ideological, social, economic and physical divisions of Germany between 1945 and 1990.

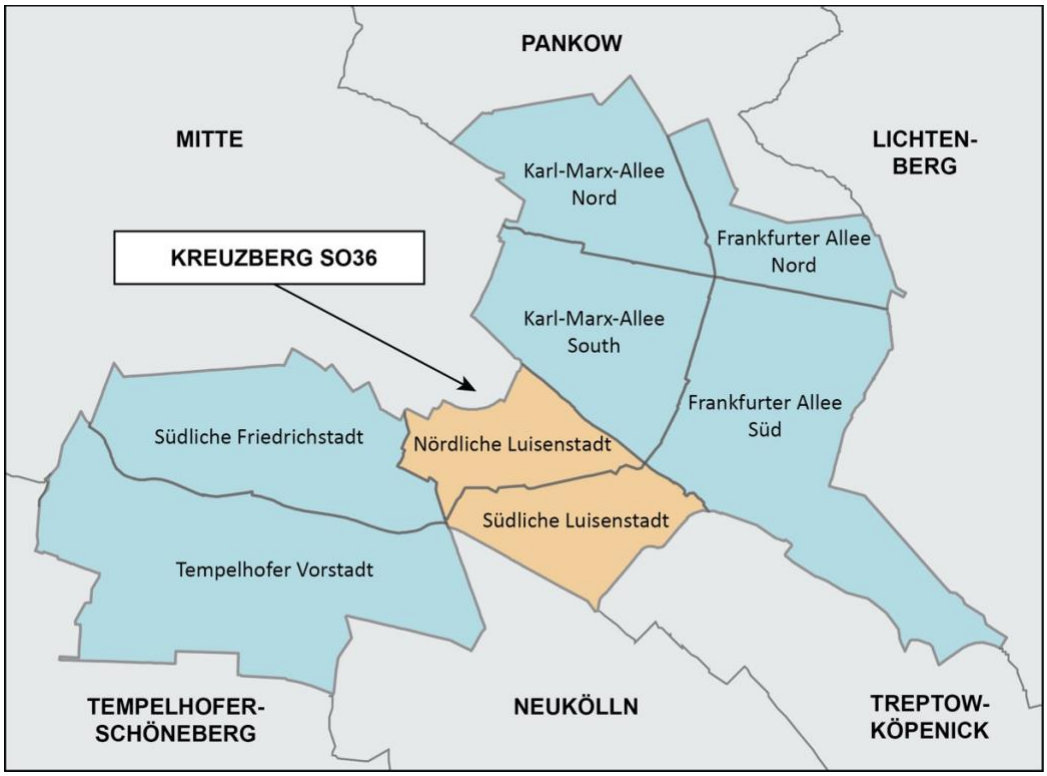
In addition to the diversity of the two districts, the locality of Kreuzberg is also recognised as culturally divided within, with Berliners continuing to refer to two disparate 'Kreuzbergs' (Vasudevan 2015) delineated by the pre-unification postcodes of SO36 (South East) and SW61 (South West). For the sake of clarity, this study focuses on the former SO36 locality of Kreuzberg, referred to herein as Kreuzberg an area formerly enveloped by the Berlin Wall on its west, north and eastern peripheries. Nowadays, the former SO36 locality is comprised of the two district regions of North and South Luisenstadt (*Nordliche und Südlich Luisenstadt)*, as depicted in figure 1.2. Both district regions are constituted by four distinct neighbourhoods or *Kieze;* Oranienplatz, Lausitzer Platz, Wrangelkiez; Reichenberger Strasse (figure 1.3). Important to this research, the German word *Kiez/e* is a colloquial term unique to Berlin that embodies the nuanced character and place-based social networks of a specific neighbourhood (Hinze 2013). For the remainder of this thesis, the former SO36 locality will be referred to as Kreuzberg unless stated otherwise.

Figure 1.1. Districts of Berlin



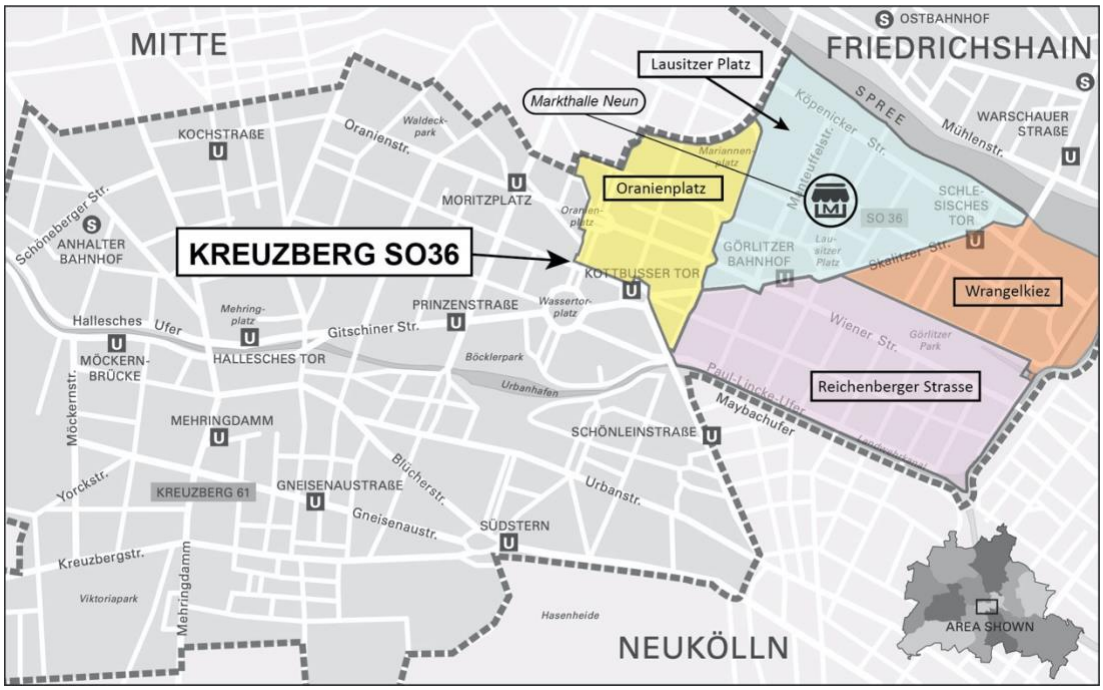
Source: Adapted from Kaye 2018

Figure 1.2. District regions of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg



Source: Author, created using ArcGIS software and Esri Deutschland data

Figure 1.3. Case study neighbourhoods of Kreuzberg



Source: Adapted from Hinze 2013

During the divided years, Kreuzberg became the settlement area for large populations of Turkish and Kurdish migrants participating in West Germany's now-contested 'Guest-worker' (*Gastarbeiter*) program (Hinze 2013; Kaya 2001; MacDougall 2011). Notably, West-Berlin became home to the largest Turkish community outside of Turkey with over 100,000 residents (Kaya 2001), of which almost 30,000 settled within the 10.3km^2 of Kreuzberg (Amt für Statistik 2001). Guest-worker immigration was particularly prominent within the eastern, SO36 partition of Kreuzberg, namely due to swaths of low-cost housing resulting from decades of disinvestment in the built environment (Bernt et al. 2013; Vasudevan 2015). Other inhabitants residing in Kreuzberg during this period, included cohorts characterised as revolutionaries from the 1968 student movement, as well as politically-minded populations fleeing West-Germany's mandatory military service due to West-Berlin not officially belonging to the Federal Republic of Germany (Hinze 2013, 107). Vasudevan contends that Kreuzberg 'was often framed as a "ghetto" populated by anarchists, bohemians, dropouts, punks, intellectuals, students and migrant workers from Turkey' (Vasudevan 2015, 99). Extending the description, Hinze offers the following characterisation of Kreuzberg's socio-cultural trajectory during the divided years:

> The edgy geographical position of Kreuzberg 36 at the center of Berlin and simultaneously at the outskirts of what was the sociopolitical enclave West Berlin spawned significant political and cultural developments. Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, Kreuzberg 36 developed its position as a location of resistance and counterculture. It eventually rose to notorious Germanwide prominence when it became a center of the punk music movement in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Several key developments during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s fundamentally shaped Kreuzberg 36 into what it is today, including the

> impending threat of urban renewal, which made the area affordable for Turkish immigrants and students; its growing counterculture identity, which was spurred on by the consequences of and resistance to urban renewal; and finally the 1968 student protest movement and its successors, which also contributed to Kreuzberg's resistance identity today (Hinze 2013, 117–18).

In the wake of German reunification, Kreuzberg was still perceived and discoursed by local authorities, urban planners, media commenters, and the like as a 'problem area' throughout most of the 1990s and early 2000s (Mayer 2013). At the same time, early phases of gentrification began to emerge, creating new affluent enclaves, often identified through the refurbishment of luxury lofts (Atkinson 2006). Since the 1990s, successive waves of gentrification have continued to displace residents of lower socioeconomic status, including many former-Guestworker cohorts who were pushed to the neighbouring district of Neukölln as well as Berlin's northern district of Wedding (Häußermann and Kapphan 2013; Hinze 2013; Holm 2013).

Nowadays, Kreuzberg continues to be discoursed as an immigrant district with a strong anti-establishment identity (Hinze 2013). However, Kreuzberg's previously stigmatised populations have been appropriated and discursively integrated into state-led efforts to re-brand Berlin (Novy and Colomb 2013), characterising Kreuzberg's heterogeneity and diverse socio-cultural composition as 'alternative and creative' (Visit Berlin 2019). Despite the contestations over this appropriation, Kreuzberg in the contemporary period is routinely touted as 'the prime example for successful multicultural coexistence' (Hinze 2013, xxi-ii). As an example, the text inscribed on the website of Guthmann Real Estate, a leading property industry body, provides an indication into a reimagined and culturally appropriated portrayal of Kreuzberg today:

> Until the turn of the millennium, Kreuzberg still carried its genetic make-up as a working-class quarter. In less than 20 years, the district has undergone fundamental changes and is now one of Berlin's most popular residential areas. A young multinational mix populates the neighbourhood and rules the economy. Properties in Kreuzberg are among the most valuable assets in Berlin […] From the shady and rough underdog to a modern, multinational hotspot […] the development itself is unstoppable. The modern Kreuzberg is international, cosmopolitan, unpretentious. Kreuzberg can look ahead to an excellent future (Guthmann 2019).

Shifting demographics

As of 2019, the 20km^2 of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg was the most densely populated district of Berlin (see table 1.1), comprising a resident population density of 14,338 persons/km^2 (Amt für Statistik 2019). For a point of comparison, Mitte, the central district of Berlin, had a resident population density of 9,750 persons/km^2. According to government statistics, in 2019, the officially registered resident population of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg[1] was almost 290,000, reflecting a 10.5 per cent increase since 2011. Government

[1] Every German citizen or newcomer in Germany is required register with the local District Office (*Bezirksamt*) within 14 days after moving into a new residence according to the Federal Registration Act (*Bundesmeldegesetz*).

data also shows that the average age of the population was 37, lower than the Berlin average of 43, while almost half of the district population was aged between 20 and 40. In terms of household income, 28 per cent of households earned less than €15,600 per annum during 2019, in contrast to 26 per cent of households situated in the highest income bracket, earning more than €40,000 p/a. Conversely, the Berlin-average household income was €24,300 per annum during 2019, illustrating that some of the city's highest and lowest income earners reside in Kreuzberg, reflecting high-income inequality (Amt für Statistik 2011–2019).

Table 1.1. Resident population density by district

Districts of Berlin	Registered residents	Area in km^2	Inhabitants per km^2
Mitte	384,172	39.4 km^2	9,750
Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	289,762	20.2 km^2	14,338
Pankow	407,765	103.2 km^2	3,951
Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf	342,332	64.7 km^2	5,391
Spandau	243,997	91.9 km^2	2,655
Steglitz-Zehlendorf	308,697	102.6 km^2	3,009
Tempelhof-Schöneberg	351,644	53.1 km^2	6,623
Neukölln	329,691	44.9 km^2	7,343
Treptow-Köpenick	271,153	167.7 km^2	1,617
Marzahn-Hellersdorf	268,548	61.8 km^2	4,346
Lichtenberg	291,452	52.1 km^2	5,595
Reinickendorf	265,225	89.3 km^2	2,970
City-state of Berlin	*3,754,418*	*891.1 km^2*	*4,213*

Source: Adapted from Amt für Statistik 2019.

The current socio-economic profile of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg is particularly significant given that more than 34 per cent of households were situated within the lowest income bracket during 2005 compared to only 10 per cent the highest bracket (Amt für Statistik 2005). Although the district unemployment rate has significantly decreased from 25 per cent in 2005, to 8.6 per cent in 2019, over 30 per cent of households remain below the poverty line and receive state-welfare support (Amt für Statistik 2005–2019). The district mayor for Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, recently pointed out that this incidence is particularly prominent for

households with children, reporting that more than 40 per cent of children under 18 in Kreuzberg were living in welfare-recipient households during 2018 (Hermann 2019).

Between 2011 and 2019 the resident migrant population of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg increased from 35.6 per cent to 44.2 per cent as a proportion of the total district population, reflecting over 200 nationalities residing within the district (Amt für Statistik 2011–2019). Meanwhile, demographic research at the district-region scale revealed that the share of inhabitants with a migrant background can exceed well over 80 per cent within several neighbourhoods of Kreuzberg (Ewert and Adalbert 2013). As illustrated in table 1.2, increasing migration flows are reflective of incoming residents arriving from EU-member states, which rose 57.2 per cent between 2011 and 2019 and accounted for 14 per cent of the total district population. Additionally, migrants from the US have almost doubled within the decade, while the population of German-born inhabitants without a migrant background has decreased.

Despite the acceleration in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg's total resident population with a migration background, residents with a Turkish-background decreased by 7.64 per cent during the same period. In this regard, the percentage of residents with a Turkish-background as a proportion the total district migrant population has declined from 30.4 per cent in 2011 to 21.1 per cent in 2019. Notably, the number of migrants with a Turkish-background continued to increase at the city-scale during the same period, albeit gradual (2.51%) (Amt für Statistik 2011, 2015, 2019). These demographic shifts illustrate a re-structuring of the district's socio-cultural composition that are significant to residents of Kreuzberg with a Turkish-migrant background in relation to Berlin's historically racialised geographies (Hinze 2013). Correspondingly, recent research shows that many Turkish-Germans of lower-SES have been physically displaced through gentrification, relocating from Kreuzberg to the outer districts of Neukölln and Wedding (Hinze 2013; Polat 2018).

Table 1.2. Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg resident population by migration background from selected regions

Year	All immigration from abroad	EU countries[2]	USA	Turkey	German (w/o migration background)
2011	96,880	26,739	2,373	29,466	168,481
2015	110,736	35,810	3,424	27,704	167,657
2019	128,017	41,441	4,521	26,993	161,745

Source: Amt für Statistik 2019.

[2] In 2013 the European Union expanded from 27 to 28 member states as Croatia joined the partnership (European Commission 2017). German citizens are not included in this figure.

1.6. Berlin's transitioning housing system

To understand Kreuzberg's contemporary housing conditions, it is essential to consider the broader shifts across Berlin's housing landscape over the past half-century. The housing system has undergone considerable re-structuring in recent decades, transitioning from a heavily state-supported system toward an increasingly market-orientated configuration (Aalbers and Holm 2008; Amt für Statistik 2019). To provide context, housing in Germany, and Berlin in particular, has historically been either subsidised or directly owned by the state. For instance, over 85 per cent of all new housing development in West Berlin between 1952 and 1970 was government-funded, underpinned by the principle of the 'common public interest' (*Gemeinnützigkeit*). Some privately-owned housing was provided by smaller landlords as well as unionised, non-profit housing organisations and housing co-operatives. Following reunification, East Berlin's state-led housing associations were also subsumed into the public-owned housing stock (Fields and Uffer 2016). By 1991, the 19 public-owned housing associations held a collective property portfolio comprising 28 per cent of the city's 1.72 million housing units (SenStadt 2002).

Following the reestablishment of Berlin as Germany's capital, government officials predicted the city would rapidly transition into becoming a key nodal point for the global economy (Uffer 2013) as well as an economic gateway between the former Soviet Union states and western Europe (Krätke 2004). In this regard, the state government anticipated sizeable economic and population growth to follow the political reconfiguration, prompting a large-scale, multimillion-euro state-subsidised housing development program. However, the anticipated rise to top-tier global city status was grossly overestimated. Conversely, the reunification of East and West Germany triggered further economic decline in the former East through rapid de-industrialisation and the wide-spread exodus of more mobile-populations to the wealthier, former-West German states. Correspondingly, many businesses and industries withdrew from Berlin, most notable through the loss of over 150,000 manufacturing jobs between 1991 and 2001 (Krätke 2004). During the same period, the population declined approximately 3 per cent (Amt für Statistik 2010), at a time where city officials had begun investing and preparing for an anticipated population increase of one million (+28%).

Consequently, Berlin entered a state of severe fiscal crisis and by 2003 had accrued a debt of €63Billion and constituted an unemployment rate exceeding 20 per cent (Amt für Statistik 2004; Neate 2014). To reduce the high-debt burden, the state government implement considerable austerity measures, decreasing public expenditure as well as selling off state assets (Büttner 2006). Notably, over 200,000 publicly-owned dwellings were sold on the private real-estate market (Ewert and Adalbert 2013; Krätke 2013), privatising state housing through an *en bloc* transfer to large investment firms which at the time was considered 'the best outcome for the local treasury' (Aalbers 2016).

In effect, entire housing portfolios were sold to large corporate landlords (LCLs), institutional investors and private equity firms as opposed to individuals seeking owner-occupation who represented only 5 per cent of the purchased housing stock (Aalbers and Holm 2008). Herein, the financialisation of Berlin's housing market was operationalised through a combination of government decisions and economic circumstances, creating immediate economies of scale whereby LCLs owned a considerable stake in Berlin's large rental housing portfolio (Aalbers 2016; Fields and Uffer 2016). Moreover, housing portfolios were sold at heavily reduced wholesale prices. Although the purpose of selling municipal assets was to directly address Berlin's debt crisis, the privatisation of over 212,000 housing units only generated €4Billion for the city-state, having a marginal effect on reducing the debt burden. Research also shows that the public-owned housing stock was significantly undervalued, with the average sale price of €20,000 per housing unit (Aalbers 2016) compared to the 2020 market average of €415,000 (Guthmann 2020a).

Researchers note that the wholesale offloading of city-owned housing stock ultimately created a new asset class for international institutional investors (Aalbers 2016; Fields 2019; Fields and Uffer 2016). In turn, a new generation of domestic and international landlords emerged as key players in Berlin's increasingly financialised housing market. Following the state liquidation of public assets, Uffer (2013, 158) describes a 'herd-like movement' of large-scale international investors moving in to purchase housing stock from both the city and small-scale property owners.[3] Holm and Aalbers (2008) found that during this period, investment firms continued to buy as much property as they could to take advantage of the large-scale selling-off of public-owned housing.

More recently, studies show that the major re-structuring of Berlin's housing market during the 2000s have significantly affected the entire role and function of housing in the city (Fields and Uffer 2016; Uffer 2019). In particular, the accelerated growth of multinational investment firms has become a prominent point of concern. In 2019, 43 per cent of all housing purchases were from international buyers (Collins 2020), while 60 per cent of all housing on the private rental market was owned by large corporate landlords (Tagesspiegel 2018). Information on individual property sales is not publicly available, therefore understanding the intricacies of the reconfigured housing landscape remains difficult. However, a recent investigation into the financialisation process of Berlin's housing system conducted by research thinktank group *Correctiv: Research for Society* and German media group *Tagesspiegel* shed important insight into the current housing landscape. In the four-part series entitled 'who owns the city?', the study identified twelve leading domestic

[3] As an example, in 2004, the Goldman Sachs-backed private equity firm Cerberus Capital Management (USA) purchased the formerly public-owned housing association GSW Immobilien GmbH. The subsequent acquisition of 65,000 housing units made the US-based firm Berlin's largest landlord overnight. Within the year, Cerberus purchased an addition 30,000 housing units, raising its housing portfolio to 95,000. In 2013, GSW was then sold to Deutsche Wohnen, a property company founded by the Deutsche Bank in 1998, increasing its housing portfolio to over 100,000 units in Berlin alone (Uffer 2013).

and international property companies that collectively own more than 250,000 housing units in Berlin. The study also shows that of the property firms reviewed, most are publicly-listed companies on the stock exchange and subsidiaries of larger private equity giants such as Blackstone Group. Incidentally, with over USD$136Billion in housing assets, Blackstone Group has been accused by the United Nations as a leading contributor to the global housing crisis through the aggressive 'purchase, sale and operation of real-estate as an alternative asset class' (United Nations 2019). The companies holding the largest housing portfolios in Berlin are listed in table 1.3. Notably, Deutsche Wohnen, a subsidiary company to the Deutsche Bank, constitutes the largest landlord in the German capital.

Table 1.3. Berlin's largest landlords

Property Company	Deutsche Wohnen	Vonovia	ADO Properties	Covivio	Akelius
Location of Headquarters	Germany	Germany	Luxemburg	Germany	Sweden
No. Housing Units	115,612	41,942	22,238	15,700	13,817

Source: Adapted from Correctiv: Research for Society and Tagesspiegel 2018.

Uffer (2013) observed that many investors, who were simply waiting for the market to bounce back before re-selling, have gone to great efforts to avoid investing in the repair and maintenance of housing stock. Subsequently, the replacement of local, small-scale landlords, with Large Corporate Landlords has resulted in reduced maintenance and managerial services, physical deterioration, consequently causing a range of household issues related to health, safety and well-being (Uffer 2013). Moreover, the privatisation and subsequent financialisation of Berlin's housing stock has created a set of spatially uneven inequalities. For instance, investors typically aimed to purchase *Altbau* housing blocks ('old build' or 'period properties') built between the late 19th century and 1920s, in comparison to low-cost post-war builds such as *Plattenbau* ('prefabricated buildings') (see figure 1.4). In turn, inner-urban localities such as Kreuzberg with a high concentration of Altbau housing stock represent significant investment opportunities for speculators (Fields and Uffer 2016).

Figure 1.4. Altbau and Plattenbau housing stock in Kreuzberg. Photographs by A. Crowe 2018

1.7. Kreuzberg's housing landscape

Several key housing policies enacted during the 1980s aimed to ameliorate the en mass displacement of working-class residents from West Berlin's deindustrialising inner-urban localities. Herein, the contextual specificities of Kreuzberg's housing landscape are worth underscoring as they show how a substantial proportion of lower-SES households have retained secure housing tenure in now highly-desirable residential neighbourhoods. The following section outlines the historical trajectory of Kreuzberg's shifting housing conditions, illustrating how the locality's housing market has significantly transformed in spite of policy interventions designed to buffer the impacts of housing inequality produced through privatisation.

Unlike the urban policy programs that led to mass displacement and major socio-spatial transformation within the adjacent districts of former East Berlin (Holm 2013), Kreuzberg's urban development commenced on a new trajectory during the 1980s. In response to ongoing protests and opposition against post-war housing renewal regimes involving the demolition of many historic buildings, in 1982, the West-Berlin government initiated the 'careful urban renewal' (CUR) policy (*behutsame Stadterneuerung*) (SenStadt 2018). This policy comprised a new strategy for urban redevelopment modelled on three core principles to (a) preserve existing buildings; (b) preserve the existing social composition; and, (c) encourage citizen participation in local planning decisions. In contrast to the preceding speculative development models that demolished entire neighbourhoods, under the State-subsidised CUR program, almost 95 per cent of residential dwellings across Kreuzberg were preserved and refurbished to provide a basic or 'simple standard' of housing without displacing sitting tenants (Holm 2013; SenStadt 2018). In combination with the implementation of tenancy regulations to stabilise rent prices, the outcome of CUR enabled some of Berlin's poorest households to maintain tenancy in some of the city's most attractive housing stock. However, the rent caps associated with CUR were limited to a period of 15–25 years. In recent years, expiring rent caps directly associated with the Careful Urban Renewal program subject household to Berlin's general tenancy

laws, paradoxically setting a central precondition of gentrification as concluding rent caps present new opportunities to housings investors (Bergmann and Baumunk 2016; Holm 2013; Holm and Kuhn 2011).

Tenancy regulation and property ownership

As stated, the heritage of Kreuzberg's Careful Urban Renewal policies from the 1980s in combination with the various tenancy regulations outlined have paradoxical effects. On the one hand, previous state intervention measures have ensured a degree of housing security for a significant proportion of Kreuzberg's low-income populations on existing tenancy agreements with low rents (Holm 2013). On the other hand, the rent gap between long-term rental contracts and newly established contracts set at current market values is disproportionally wider than many other districts across Berlin (Amt für Statistik 2019). The resultant rent gap reveals an incentive for property owners and prospective investors to increase rents for households with long-standing rental contracts, bringing them in line with the current Calculated District Average (Rent Index), or if possible, to the considerably higher current asking average. Further, as more than half of Kreuzberg's housing stock remains classified as a 'simple standard' (Amt für Statistik 2019), this presents a promising opportunity for real-estate investment in terms of accelerated asset appreciation through rehabilitation, provided restrictions are not imposed by the District Office in line with state housing regulations.[4]

Importantly, four key housing regulations have been implemented to maintain housing affordability while providing a buffer against housing speculation and commodification practices. These include the Rent Break, Rent Index, Social Composition Protection and the Housing Misuse Act. Further details of the key housing regulations relevant to this research are presented in Appendix 1. Additionally, it is important to note that most rental contracts in Germany are indefinite (*Unbefristeter Mietevertrag*). Landlords can only conclude an unlimited-term rent contract under exceptional circumstances, including (but not limited to) the wish to use the property for themselves; or to carryout major refurbishments to the dwelling. Notably, the transfer of ownership does not conclude the existing rent agreement (BGB §535–584).

Kreuzberg's housing market

In relation to Berlin's housing market dynamics previously outlined, land and property value across Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg has undergone substantial increases since 2010. Notably, the sale price for available land constituted the highest in all of Berlin's twelve districts, increasing from €384/m^2 in 2009 to €4,482/m^2 in 2019 compared to the Berlin average of €946/m^2 (Amt für Statistik 2009, 2019). Correspondingly, property prices increased by 171 per cent between 2010 and 2020. To provide an example,

[4] As of 2019, less than 1 percent of all housing within Kreuzberg is categorised as 'good standard' compared to the Berlin average of 18 per cent. This disparity is in part due to other factors of Kreuzberg's built environment, such as inadequate infrastructure and amenities, limited green space, and a 'below-average reputation and image' (SenStadt 2019).

the average price for a 75m^2 (two-bed & one-living-room) apartment in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg increased from €180,000 to almost €500,000 within the decade, outperforming the 2019 Berlin average of €415,000 (Amt für Statistik 2010–2019; Guthmann 2020a).

Accordingly, rents have significantly escalated across the district, placing immense pressure on a renting population of 95 per cent. For instance, the 2010 district rent average was €5.56/m^2 while the 2020 asking average increased 216 per cent to €17.58/m^2; overtaking Berlin as a whole which also increased over 200 per cent during the same period (Amt für Statistik 2009, 2019). To put these figures into perspective, a 75m^2 three-room apartment would have been rented at approximately €420 per month in 2010, while in 2019 the asking rent for the same sized apartment would have cost approximately €1,300 per month. This increase is significant as over half of Kreuzberg's housing stock is rated 'Simple Standard', thus falling under the lowest quality of housing. Moreover, housing industry data shows that newly constructed housing units in Kreuzberg can capture rents upward of €25/m^2 (Guthmann 2019), which, unlike existing buildings, are not subject to state rent control regulations, such as the Rent Break (see Appendix 1).

A key feature of Kreuzberg's property boom is related to a calculated city-wide housing shortage of over 200,000 housing units as of January 2020 (Guthmann 2020a). The construction of new housing across the city was well below the government target of 20,000 p/a (*Knight Frank* 2019), delivering on average only 7,000 new homes per year (Amt für Statistik 2011–2019). In conjunction with an increasing city-wide population of approximately 42,000 people per annum, available living space is in high demand, promising higher rent-to-price ratios for real-estate investors but placing considerable affordability pressures on tenants. Taken together, the rate and scale of shifting land and property prices across Kreuzberg, coupled with the compounding effects increased urban tourism flows have only exacerbated socio-spatial issues throughout now highly-sought-after residential locality (Polat 2018).

1.8. Thesis structure

The thesis is organised as followed. Chapter 2 discusses the various literatures on gentrification which constitute a key component of the conceptual framework for this research. First, I review the trajectory of gentrification scholarship which has largely been centred within shifting class dynamics of inner-urban housing, namely the succession of lower-SES households by more affluent populations. I then explore the expanding geographies of gentrification, reviewing the literature discussing the relationship between socio-spatial exclusion, changing retailscapes and urban tourism. Chapter 3 builds on the drivers of change identified in Chapter 2, and reviews how displacement has been debated in the literature while also exploring an emerging scholarship concerned with the multiple dimensions of the displacement process. The fourth

chapter outlines the methods used in the research and the methodological approach developed for analysing gentrification-induced displacement.

Chapter 5, 6, 7 and 8 present the empirical findings which are structured in relation to the overarching research themes. Chapter 5 explores a transitioning housing market, drawing into focus the relationship between institutional landlords, rent-intensification and the related experiences of long-standing residents. Chapter 6 directs the focus toward the neighbourhood scale, investigating the effects of Kreuzberg's shifting socio-cultural balance and the changing use of neighbourhood space. Chapter 7 interrogates the interrelationships between tourism in residential neighbourhoods and gentrification. The expansion of urban tourism in Kreuzberg illuminates a complex set of socio-spatial tensions manifesting at both the dwelling and neighbourhood scale. Chapter 8 presents an in-depth case study on a neighbourhood market hall caught at a critical juncture between decline and revival. The transitioning market is symbolic of the various forces enacting change throughout Kreuzberg and the related exclusionary effects impacting on long-standing residents along varied lines of difference.

The underscoring aim of this research is to provide an in-depth understanding of how long-standing residents experience undergoing rapid socio-economic and socio-cultural change. In turn, Chapter 9 critically discusses the core findings from the empirical chapters guided by the typology of displacement developed in Chapter 3. Drawing on the experiences of long-standing residents, I reflect on the multiple dimensions of displacement often omitted from contemporary writings on the gentrification process. This chapter also includes a critical analysis of the political economy of housing in the context of Kreuzberg as well as an examination of the non-shelter implications of capital-driven modes of spatial reproduction. The overall empirical and theoretic contributions of the thesis are brought together in Chapter 10. The final chapter includes an afterword to contextualise the effects of COVID-19 in relation to the research presented in this thesis, which was collected and analysed before the onset of the global pandemic.

Chapter Two: Geographies of Gentrification

This chapter reviews the literature on gentrification, underscoring the political underpinnings and classical interpretations, as well as highlighting the expanding geographies of gentrification in the contemporary era. If gentrification emerged as a post-war phenomenon in London and New York (Atkinson and Bridge 2005), nowadays research on gentrification shows the multiplicity and differing forms, speeds and scales of the process coined as a 'neighbourhood expression of class inequality' (Lees et al. 2008, 80). Notably, the expanding geographies of gentrification have been recognised as an important feature of Kreuzberg's shifting economic, social and cultural landscape. For this reason, my aim in this chapter is to establish a theoretical foundation to guide my research. First, I examine the initial conceptualisations of gentrification, tracing the origins of the term and the varying theories explaining the process. I also review the literature on the changing role of the state within the context of gentrification and the broader political economy of housing. In section two and three, the focus shifts toward two emerging literatures on gentrification that diverge from classical interpretations, interrogating the interrelationships between gentrification, commercial landscapes and urban tourism. Notably, the latter theme brings the literature on gentrification and tourism together, showing how, until recently, these two bodies have largely overlooked the other, yet both contribute significantly to the changing trajectories of the post-industrial city. In bringing together the gentrification and tourism literatures, I aim to develop a critical theoretical framework for my research on Kreuzberg, which in recent years has become a central, yet unplanned tourist destination.

2.1. Residential gentrification

In its most widely understood form, gentrification typically constitutes the transformation of working-class neighbourhoods into revalorised middle-class landscapes, whereby residents of lower-socioeconomic status (SES) are pushed out by more affluent social groups. As first conceptualised by Ruth Glass in 1964, at its core, gentrification constitutes a process of urban transformation deeply rooted in socio-spatial dynamics and uneven flows of capital. However, the discourse on gentrification remains highly political, politicised and politically charged, and thus represents one of the key theoretical and ideological battlegrounds in urban studies (for an example, see Hamnett 2009, 2010 and Slater 2009, 2010). Since Glass's (1964) seminal writings on class-based neighbourhood transitions in London during the 1950s and 1960s, fifty years of theoretical and empirical research has generated an extensive corpus of literature, to the extent that gentrification studies has become recognised as 'a field in its own right' (Lees and Phillips 2018). Although the literature shows how the process has become a central component to the reproduction of capitalism worldwide (N. Smith 1996, 2002), researchers stress that expressions of gentrification are shaped by, and sensitive to, local contexts and temporalities, and therefore vary in different places around the world across a range of spatial scales (Atkinson and Bridge 2005; Hubbard 2016; Lees et al. 2016). Despite the geographical specificities, a

central thread underscoring any contextual variation of gentrification includes the revalorisation of space for more economically and socially powerful users at the expense of disempowered ones (Hackworth 2002; Lees and Phillips 2018; Lefebvre 1991; Slater 2006; N. Smith 1996; Valli 2015). Accordingly, displacement is inherent to any definition of gentrification.

In much of the Anglosphere, the origins of gentrification are connected to earlier phases of abandonment and disinvestment of the inner-urban built environment (Clay 1979; Gale 1979; Glass 1964; Marcuse 1985; N. Smith 1979). As Marcuse (1985, 195) explains 'abandonment arises from a precipitous decline in property values, gentrification from a rapid increase.' In market-facing jurisdictions such as the UK, Canada, Australia and the USA, deindustrialisation coupled with the rapid expansion of suburbanisation often resulted in concentrations of lower-income households and socially marginal groups experiencing prolonged structural unemployment across inner-urban areas (Bridge and Atkinson 2005; Lees et al. 2008; Marcuse 1985; Valentine 2001). Given the exodus of labour, capital and employment opportunities, many central urban neighbourhoods were increasingly deprived of essential resources as well as infrastructure development and maintenance (N. Smith 1979). The resulting 'decline in effective demand' (Marcuse 1985, 197) and subsequent depreciation of housing prices and rents, presented ideal terrain for future rounds of investment.

Early conceptualisations of gentrification centred largely on the actions, practices and behaviours of incoming middle-class rehabilitating housing for personal consumption in underinvested, working-class neighbourhoods across inner-metropolitan areas of the US and UK. For instance, during the 1960s and 1970s, research on lower-income neighbourhoods across London and New York City (NYC) showed a considerable increase of tenurial change from rental to home-ownership, housing refurbishments, and the deregulation of rent control (Clay 1979; Gale 1979; Glass 1964). As capital was reinvested into the built environment, the displacement of lower-income households typically followed through evictions and the removal of affordable housing stock (Clay 1979; Gale 1979; Glass 1964; Ley 1986; N. Smith 1979). In this context, policy-makers and media commentators often lauded the transformation as a euphoric 'urban renaissance' (Davidson 2012; Lefebvre 2003) or a 'back to the city' movement (N. Smith 1979) bringing new life and capital to divested neighbourhoods. At the same time, an emerging generation of sociologists, geographers, among other urban commentators, took a more critical approach to the socio-spatial transformation unfolding, engaging the term gentrification to critically analyse a novel and expanding geography of exclusion produced through the revalorisation of housing in previously disinvested urban space and the commodification of culture. For Glass (1964, xviii), 'once this process of "gentrification" starts in a district it goes on rapidly, until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed.' Glass was critical of Britain's privatisation of public policies and a so-called 'liberation' of town and country planning

through the denationalisation of development rights. In a critique on the emerging neoliberal policy of the time, and the implications for London's working-class, Glass forecast that:

> any district in or near London, however dingy or unfashionable before, is likely to become expensive; and London may quite soon be a city which illustrates the principle of the survival of the fittest—the financially fittest, who can still afford to work and live there (Glass 1964, xix).

At the core of her analysis, Glass predicted with clarity the way in which gentrification constitutes a process of socio-spatial inequality and the adverse effects a deregulated or 'liberalised' housing market would have for the lower-SES populations of London.

Waves of gentrification

Since its conception in 1964, the literature has identified various phases of gentrification, emphasising how the process has expanded, mutated and intensified, taking on a range of forms, and permeating and multiple speeds and scales. In an attempt to chart the phases of gentrification Clay (1979) developed a stage model, which was later revised by Hackworth and Smith (2001), and again by Lees et al. (2008). Nowadays, the stage model typically includes four phases or 'waves' of gentrification and is useful for understanding how gentrification has developed in specific contexts over several decades. However, the stage model has received criticism for being prescriptive, deterministic, and Anglo-American centric (Shin and López-Morales 2018), while also giving the impression of a finality to gentrification, reducing neighbourhood dynamism, fluidity and relationality to three linear phases of ungentrified, gentrifying or gentrified (Kern 2016). Put differently, the stage model assumes a fixed relationship between time and identity.

Phase 1

Underinvested inner-city neighbourhoods became the focus for Glassian house-by-house rehabilitation led by 'risk oblivious' (Clay 1979) middle-class households. In essence, the emergence of gentrification is often demarcated through the sweat equity and private capital of newcomers or 'pioneers' (Hamnett 1973) prepared to take on the 'risk premium' (Skaburskis 2008) and the process is usually well underway before receiving public, media or realtor attention (Clay 1979; Gale 1979). During this phase, researchers note how cultural capital begins to drive local property prices, and lower-income households are successively displaced (Marcuse 1985; N. Smith 1979; Zukin 1982).

Phase 2

Understood as an anchoring phase wherein gentrification becomes more integrated into wider economic and cultural processes (Hackworth and N. Smith 2001). Incoming residents have been identified as becoming increasingly more corporate (Sassen 1991; Wyly and Hammel 2008; Zukin 1987, 1991, 1998) and widespread

political struggle typically results in a pronounced displacement of lower-SES residents. During this phase, the literature noted a rise in urban policy programs that aimed to (1) reimagine the inner-city as a creative and cultural arena to live and do business; (2) invest in flagship developments such as museums, exhibition centres, concert halls; and, (3) reform local political structures and approaches to urban governance to facilitate private investment and development interests (Florida 2002; Harvey 1987, 1989a, 1989b, 2003, 2012; Hubbard 2006; Sassen 1991, 2005, 2014).

Phase 3

Developer and state-led gentrification, as opposed to the early phases of smaller scale, house-by-house, culture-led gentrification. Four core characteristics of this later more 'routinised' (Bridge 2006a) phase of gentrification include: (1) corporate investors and developers becoming the primary agents of gentrification; (2) the state assuming a more prominent and assertive role in facilitating gentrification (e.g., through social mixing policy or laissez-faire subsidies to developers); (3) oppositional movements to gentrification become increasingly marginalised; and, (4) gentrification continues to expand beyond former working-class inner-urban neighbourhoods and into more remote low-income areas with exploitable rent gaps (Hackworth 2002; Hackworth and N. Smith 2001). The literature denotes that as the gentrification cycle develops, displacement of lower-income groups becomes more widespread, impacting on adjacent neighbourhoods and often pushing poorer households to the urban fringe (Atkinson 2015; Harvey 2012; Lees and Phillips 2018). Notably, many first wave or 'pioneer' gentrifiers residing in both owner-occupation or private rental housing vacate the neighbourhood, either dissatisfied with the changing neighbourhood or paradoxically, they too are priced out as housing speculation and commodification intensifies at pace (Aalbers 2016; Bernt et al. 2013).

Phase 4

Illustrates a further level of gentrification, which Lees and Butler (2006, 469) describe as 'super-imposed on an already gentrified neighbourhood.' This phase has been typically identified through largescale financial investment in a neighbourhood wherein high-salaried elites, institutional landlords, private equity firms and financiers invest and store capital in already over-priced property under the predication of extracting high returns through continued market elevation and exponential expansion (Aalbers 2016; Atkinson and Bridge 2005; Harvey 2012; Madden and Marcuse 2016; Rofe 2003). For some commentators, this contemporary phase of gentrification intersects with broader processes of housing commodification whereby local housing stock is becoming increasingly integrated into the portfolios of transnational investment firms (e.g. Aalbers 2016; Fields 2019; Stein 2019).

The literature points out that in many regions, gentrification in its contemporary shape has moved beyond the piecemeal and small-scale actions of individuals that characterised Glass's initial coinage of the term, to

the often corporate- and state-led restratification of underinvested, largely low-income and ethnically diverse neighbourhoods wherein housing has become a primary mechanism for capital accumulation (Brenner and Theodore 2016; Harvey 1989a, 2003, 2012; Lefebvre 1991, 1996; Madden and Marcuse 2016; Slater 2006, 2009; Stabrowski 2014). Importantly, these waves of gentrification are no longer understood in linear US- or Anglo-centric terms, 'but rather as historically situated tendencies that are actively promoted and/or resisted' (Wyly and Hammel 2008, 2646). Recent literature has also pointed out the error in assuming a point of finality can be achieved through a linage of gentrification (Butler and Lees 2006). This is particularly notable in Lees' (2000, 2003) work on 'super-gentrification' whereby neighbourhoods that may have already undergone earlier waves of gentrification are continually in a process of being transformed 'into much more exclusive and expensive enclaves' (Lees 2003, 2487).

2.1.2. Explanations

Between the 1980s and 2000s, explanations of gentrification became a particularly contentious topic within academia, largely due to differing epistemological and methodological underpinnings (see de Haan 2018). One key explanatory approach has concentrated on economic and production-side aspects of gentrification, with a specific focus on shifting housing market dynamics and the structures of capital (N. Smith 1979, 1996). Conversely, consumption-side explanations focused largely on shifting social and cultural relations in the post-industrial city with a particular emphasis on middle-class agency, occupational transformation, consumption patterns, lifestyle choices and housing aspirations (Caulfield 1989, 1994; Hamnett 1991; Ley 1986, 1996; Rose 1984; Zukin 1982, 1987). As gentrification continued to expand in scale, speed and location during the latter half of the 20th Century, so too did the economic-cultural dichotomy attempting to define and explain gentrification in terms of causality. More recently, however, critical scholarship has come to recognise the false opposition created, with Atkinson (2003, 2344) asserting that 'the implied economic and cultural imperatives central to each theory have often been interpreted as a sign of mutual exclusivity, although this is perhaps something of an "overdistinction".'

Extending the critique, Slater (2009, 294) contends that both explanations possess 'analytical and political usage, and that class inequality is at the forefront of any consideration of gentrification'. In short, most critical gentrification research today recognises that both theoretical frameworks are partial abstractions of the broader gentrification process, and neither theoretical perspective is comprehensible of gentrification without the other (Atkinson 2001; Atkinson and Bridge 2005; Clark 1992, 2005; Lees et al. 2008; Lees and Phillips 2018). As Lees and colleagues explain, what were once conceived as stark culture-economic binaries of production and consumption, structure and agency are in fact all part of 'the elephant of gentrification' (2008, xxii). Based on this more open, fluid understanding, the theoretical and empirical work of each explanatory approach remains instructive today. Nonetheless, given the ongoing evolution of gentrification,

the specificities of earlier conceptualisations require continual revision to stay abreast with contemporary urbanism.

Consumption side theory

Consumption-side theories provide explanation into the expansion of middle-class gentrifiers and the reasons underpinning their decisions to seek residence in underinvested, inner-urban neighbourhoods. As the economic imperatives of cities have continued to transition from manufacturing centres to globalising hubs of advanced, specialised services (Sassen 1991, 2005; Short 1989) a rapidly expanding professional workforce was viewed as the core driver of working-class displacement from the inner-city (Hamnett 1991; Ley 1980, 1986, 1994, 1996). From this perspective, gentrification is the consequence of the changing occupational structures related to deindustrialising cities during the 1960s and 1970s (Hamnett 1991, 2003; Ley 1996). Analyses on the formation and consolidation of the middle-class in lower-income neighbourhoods, sought to identify and explain *who* gentrifiers are and their motives for seeking out inner-urban working-class quarters. In Ley's (1996) seminal book *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City,* he identified the prototypical gentrifier as a young adult (under 35); childless; highly-educated; and employed in a mid-to-high-paying professional occupation. Ley observed that the housing and lifestyle aspirations of a so-called 'new middle-class' were increasingly oriented to the inner-city for reasons such as proximity to employment and recreational activities, increased-social diversity compared to the suburbs, and an abundance of amenities. For Ley (1996), among others (Caulfield 1989; Zukin 1982, 1987), gentrification was understood through a unique aesthetic outlook expressed by a 'new cultural class' in favour of the socially heterogeneous, non-conformist inner-city.

Although Ley's (1996) typology has been used extensively to describe, and routinely justify, shifting patterns of contemporary urbanism (Butler 1997; Florida 2002, 2005; Freeman 2005; Freeman and Braconi 2002, 2004; Glaeser 2011; Vigdor 2010), Lees and colleagues (2008), among others, point out the 'gentrifier' is a highly diverse, ambivalent cohort that cannot be reduced to a homogenous group with shared values, ideologies and social positionings. For instance, Rose (1984) observed that many marginally employed women, single parents and LGBTQ+ communities inadvertently participated in gentrification by relocating to the inner-city due to the wider range of support, choice and opportunities on offer compared to suburban or rural landscapes. In a similar vein, Caulfield (1994, xiii) asserted that gentrification represented a 'critical social practice' underscored by efforts 'to resist institutionalised patterns of dominance and suppressed possibility'. In effect, the new 'urban renaissance' (Lefebvre 2003) intersected with cultural shifts of the post-war period through which urban neighbourhoods became increasingly represented as an emancipating social space of diversity, tolerance and cultural sophistication in contrast to the patriarchal, repressive and socially

conservative suburbs (Bondi 1999; Butler 1997; Caulfield 1989, 1994; Ley 1996; Rose 1984; Zukin 1982, 1987, 1991).

While acknowledging the significance of the emancipatory city thesis, scholars have emphasised a paradoxical tension inherent to the celebration of social diversity and liberation experienced by a new middle-class at the expense of long-standing lower-SES residents displaced through the process (Butler 1997; Lees 2000). As Lees (2000, 394) asserts 'by abstractly celebrating formal equality under the law, the rhetoric of the emancipatory city tends to conceal the brutal inequalities of fortune and economic circumstances that are produced through the process of gentrification.' Nonetheless, the pathbreaking work of Rose (1984) and Caulfield (1994) is instructive in the sense that it adds complexity to oversimplified definitions of 'gentrifiers', revealing layers of differentiation and often contradictory social relations imbued within a seemingly uniform cohort of 'gentrifiers' exclusively united through similar housing consumption patterns and purchasing power (Fincher and Jacobs 1998; Kofman 1998; Massey 2005; Pratt and Hanson 1994). In this context, Less and colleagues caution that gentrification research must 'always be careful, then, to focus criticism on the rules and inequalities of *property* and to think very carefully before villainising the individual people who are playing by those rules' (Lees et al. 2008, 74 emphasis in the original).

Production side theory

Conversely, production-side explanations are concerned with the relationship between gentrification and broader processes of spatial and economic restructuring. From this perspective, explanations of gentrification under the logic of the *consumer sovereignty* paradigm (Harvey 1978; N. Smith 1979)—shifting middle-class tastes and values—are viewed as agents, as opposed to the source, of much larger structural shifts within the urban landscape. Responding to scholarship on the 'urban renaissance' and the 'back to the city' movement in jurisdictions such as the UK, US, Canada and Australia (Badecock 1997; Butler 1997; Caulfield 1989, 1994; Clay 1979; Gale 1979; Hamnett 1984; Laska and Spain 1980; Ley 1980; Lipton 1977; Rofe 2003), Neil Smith (1979, 546) argued that gentrification represented a process of capital mobility over social mobility, positing that 'gentrification is a structural product of the land and housing market'. Underpinning his thesis, Smith explained how after a period of divestment and abandonment propelled by the withdrawal of public services, redlining among other forms of ethno-racial spatial segregation (Hinze 2013; Kirkland 2008), urban neighbourhoods are re-established as sites for new rounds of profit generation and capital accumulation; thus creating a powerful incentive for land-use change.

Smith's (1979) seminal work on land and housing market reconfiguration in disinvested neighbourhoods of NYC demonstrated that at its core, gentrification represents the mobility of capital over the mobility of people. Akin to Harvey (1978), Smith examined the creative-destructive process of capital reproduction

throughout the deindustrialising city, noting how the devalorisation of urban land through abandonment and disinvestment, creates strategic terrain for capital accumulation. In the North American context, Smith illustrated the correlation between the mobility patterns of economic capital diverted away from the city to the rapidly expanding suburbs. The subsequent devaluation of inner-city neighbourhoods produced what Smith coined in 1979 the rent-gap.

Smith's (1979) rent gap theory analysed the value disparity between capitalised ground rents[5] (the actual rent captured given the present use of land and property) and the potential ground rent (the maximum possible rent captured if the land and property is put to its highest and best use). Central to the thesis are the powerful contradictions geography creates for capital investment (Harvey 1978, 1989; Lees et al. 2008). For example, Smith (1982, 151) used the term 'locational seesaw' to describe the successive phases of investment, underinvestment and reinvestment in the built environment as capital is shifted across varying geographical terrains 'both creating and destroying its own opportunities for development'. Herein, Smith highlighted how some neighbourhoods are more profitable to redevelop than others, particularly where the rent gaps are wide enough to incentivise significant reinvestment to commence:

> Gentrification occurs when the gap is wide enough that developers can purchase shells cheaply, can pay the builders' costs and profit for rehabilitation, can pay interest on mortgage and construction loans, and can then sell the end product for a sale price that leaves a satisfactory return to the developer. The entire ground rent, or a large portion of it, is now capitalized: the neighbourhood has been "recycled" and begins a new cycle of use (N. Smith 1979, 545).

In essence, Smith's rent gap thesis illustrates the dynamic interplay between geography, time and uneven development under capitalism (Harvey 1989a; N. Smith 1979, 1982, 1996; Slater 2015, 2018). As the rent gap widens following a cycle of depreciation, devalorisation and the 'expropriation of socially created use values' (Slater 2018, 126), lucrative profit opportunities are created for investors, developers, home-buyers among other profit-seeking interest groups.

Following this logic, gentrification through accelerated reinvestment in the city was recognised as a result of decreased ground rents related to deindustrialisation (Marcuse 1985). Harvey (1973, 1978, 1987) asserted that as the procurement of surplus value through manufacturing in the city declined, the possibility for capital accumulation through the built environment increased. In a similar vein, Lefebvre's (1991, 2003) pathbreaking theorisations on the production of urban space noted the increasingly instrumental role of real-estate in capitalist societies. Both authors observed that through processes of over-accumulation in the primary circuit of industrial production, surplus capital is channelled into the secondary circuit, known as

[5] Ground rents are typically defined as the charge that lessors are able to demand for the right to use land and its appurtenances (Blomley 2004).

‘capital switching’ (Harvey 1978; Lefebvre 2003). Thus, urban land and real-estate presents terrain for speculative investment opportunities which enables capital circulation to transition from the sphere of production (manufacturing) to real-estate where significant wealth can be generated through storing capital in property and extracting unearned income (Slater 2015, 2018). In effect, the built environment is increasingly transformed into a repository for rent extraction (Aalbers 2016; Lefebvre 2003; Logan and Molotch 2007; Madden and Marcuse 2016; Slater 2018).

In recent years, however, the literature has noted that devalorisation is not the only precursor for creating exploitable rent gaps, but also the anticipated gains through elevated real-estate value (potential ground rents) in already ‘gentrified’ and affluent neighbourhoods. Indicative of Lees and Butler’s (2006) notion of ‘super-gentrification’, successive rounds of capital investment in gentrifying neighbourhoods, has been observed through luxury housing refurbishments, significant neighbourhood upgrading developments, coupled with increased demand for inner-city housing in undersupplied housing markets (Fields and Uffer 2016; Lees and Phillips 2018; Madden and Marcuse 2016; Stein 2019). In this regard, and as previously stated, it is important to reinforce the limitations of prescriptive gentrification models with an assumed finality while noting the inherent linkages of the cyclical process to local and global politico-economic forces, urban policy frameworks, and the increasing financialisation of local housing markets on a global scale (Aalbers 2016; Fernandez and Aalbers 2017; Madden and Marcuse 2016; Rogers et al. 2018).

Production-side theorists have also been critiqued for their focus on capital and urban economics and have subsequently been accused of promoting determinist and structuralist logics. For instance, Hamnett (1992, 117) criticised production-side models for reducing the agency of individuals to the logics of capital flows and demand. Others have also pointed out that structural-driven analyses render the dynamics of social class to a fixed dichotomy of the middle-class incomer and displaced working-class household (Rose 1984). Benson and Jackson (2018, 67) note how this approach can obfuscate the relationality and fluidity of class and in a sense fails to grasp how gentrification can create and recreate new social positions as well as how struggles over housing can simultaneously enable emergent class alliances and formation (see also Annunziata and Rivas-Alonso 2018; Harvey 2012; Soja 2010). Taken together, Slater asserts that the production-side theory was never designed to provide insight into middle-class actions and behaviours, but rather interrogate the market forces and powerful actors enacting the devaluation and revaluation of the urban landscape and by extension ‘the structural violence visited upon so many working-class people in contexts these days that are usually described as “regenerating” or “revitalising”’(Slater 2015, 132).

The elephant of gentrification

As previously highlighted, most contemporary gentrification scholarship have moved past the production-consumption dichotomy, particularly as siloed frameworks can negate the complex interlinkages between the closure of rent gaps, culture-lifestyle preferences and broader urban shifts related to post-industrial, neoliberalised market economies (Brenner et al. 2012; Harvey 2012; Iveson and Fincher 2012; Lees and Phillips 2018; Slater 2006; Swyngedouw et al. 2002). On the contrary, contemporary literature is often more sensitive to the interplay and overlaps between the production/consumption-side debates, drawing on the benefits of both theorisations, while recognising that socio-spatial inequality is at the fore of *any* explanation, consideration or expression of gentrification (Wyly and Hammel 2008). In essence, the development of a geography of gentrification sensitive to the contextual specificities, particularities and temporalities of the multifaceted and multiscalar process enables greater conceptual clarity into the power relations flowing through and shaping 'place' (Fincher and Jacobs 1998; Jacobs 1998; Massey 2005; Sibley 1995). In this respect, rather than burdensome as some have suggested (Bondi 1999), production and consumption-side analyses provide differing, yet crucially important ways of understanding the multiplicity and multidimensionality of gentrification.

2.1.3. Re-scaling gentrification: Market reconfiguration and the State

In the years following the height of the consumption-production side debates, the literature points out that socio-spatial inequalities have sharpened through the continued rollout of neoliberal urban policy and the dismantling of the regulatory frameworks that buffered lower-SES households from the impacts of gentrification (Atkinson and Bridge 2005; Brenner et al. 2012; Brenner and Theodore 2016; Hackworth and N. Smith 2001; Harvey 2003, 2009, 2012; Lees et al. 2008; Madden and Marcuse 2016; Slater 2006; N. Smith 1996, 2002). In this regard, the connections between gentrification, the state-led liberalisation of market structures and the dismantlement of many state intervention mechanisms are made explicit (Brenner and Theodore 2016; Hackworth and N. Smith 2001; Harvey 1989a, 2009; N. Smith 2002). In particular, Smith (2002) highlights the interrelations between the shifting position of the state from regulator to facilitator of an increasingly speculative housing market and the expansion of gentrification as an urban strategy connected to global economic networks of capital circulation. Others have also critiqued the decisive shift in urban governance from welfare-oriented policies focused on social reproduction toward market-oriented policies focused on capital production and private-market relations (Brenner and Theodore 2016; Harvey 1989a). From this perspective, gentrification represents a healthy real-estate market to many local governments, and has, in turn, become the centrepiece of many city marketing campaigns seeking to attract domestic and foreign investment, as well as wealthier residents, tourists, entrepreneurs, among other cohorts of the consumer city (Harvey 1989a; Hubbard 2006, 2018; Lees et al. 2008).

For Harvey, these new forms of 'flexible accumulation' illustrated a changing form of urban governance from managerialism to entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1978, 1987, 1989a). Correspondingly, gentrification under neoliberal governance has become an urban strategy and solution for economic development and capital accumulation in the city (Brenner and Theodore 2016; Hackworth and N. Smith 2001). In culmination with shifting housing market demands and the consumption practices of the 'new middle-class' (Florida 2002, 2005; Ley 1996), public policy has emerged as a facilitator of gentrification routinely veiled under the discursive framing of 'urban revitalisation', 'urban regeneration', 'urban renewal' (Hackworth and N. Smith 2001; Lees et al. 2008). However, the shift in policy approach toward attracting private investment simultaneously involved the defunding of many state programs related to housing, health, education and other welfare provisions, in addition to the privatisation of public assets and the erosion of affordable housing schemes (Aalbers 2016; Atkinson 2015; Brenner and Theodore 2016). Servicing portfolios of public housing became antithetical to neoliberal principles and has been subsequently sold on the private market *en masse* in many OECD countries (Aalbers 2016; Brenner and Theodore 2016). Put differently, the privatisation and sale of public housing reflected a policy strategy that transferred the role of social welfare into the hands of business and the private sector.

Consequently, over the past several decades, privatisation has led to the widespread demolition of inner-urban public housing and decreased the availability of affordable housing, often resulting in the displacement of many residents from their homes and communities (Bernt et al. 2013; Bridge et al. 2012; Lawson et al. 2018; Lees et al. 2008; Slater 2009; Wyly and Hammel 1999). Many inner-urban neighbourhoods with a lower-income resident structure have increasingly become the battleground of political struggles over housing and restructured urban space favouring entrepreneurialism and privatisation regimes (Atkinson and Bridge 2005; Hackworth and N. Smith 2001; Harvey 1989a; N. Smith 2002). Put differently, gentrification has become embedded into policy-making practices to stimulate economic investment and growth under the depoliticised rhetoric of an often lauded 'urban renaissance' (Florida 2005; Vigdor 2010). This led Porter and K. Shaw (2008) to ask the critical question: *Whose* urban renaissance?, interrogating *who* actually benefits from capital-led urban transformations. Following a similar line of inquiry, Smith (2002, 442) observed how revanchist policy strategies that displace the urban poor are 'explicitly justified in terms of making the city safe for gentrification'. Moreover, as gentrification has become firmly integrated into urban economic growth regimes, the literature draws linkages between the wealth, power and inequality imbued within gentrification processes and the exploitative practices of colonial expansionism (Atkinson and Bridge 2005; Cahill 2007; Jacobs 1998; Kirkland 2008; Polat 2018; Sakizlioğlu 2014; Sakizlioğlu and Uitermark 2014; W.Shaw 2002, 2007).

2.1.4. Commodification of housing: From durable asset to liquid commodity

Market reconfiguration in the form of urban entrepreneurialism (Brenner and Theodore 2016; Hackworth and N. Smith 2001; Harvey 1989a) and the changing role of the state has facilitated the evolution of gentrification from a marginal process in several cities in advanced capitalist societies, toward what Smith (2002) refers to as a 'global urban strategy' playing out in diverse shapes and forms contingent to the contours of local contexts and policies. Similarly, Lees et al. (2008, 167) describe this urban strategy as 'an innovative race to create attractive, novel, and interesting—but also safe and sanitized—playgrounds for the wealthy residents and visitors who work for (or receive interest and dividends from) the institutions of global capital.' Subsequently, as real-estate plays an increasingly important role as a vehicle for capital accumulation, the rent gaps inherent to any gentrifying neighbourhood present a profitable opportunity for domestic and foreign investment capital, while at the same time placing increased pressure on some of the city's most vulnerable populations (Aalbers 2016; Badecock 1989; Fernandez and Aalbers 2017; McKenzie and Atkinson 2019; Madden and Marcuse 2016; N. Smith 1979; Storper and Scott 2016).

In their critique on the increasing role of transnational institutional investors in local housing markets, Madden and Marcuse refer to a process of 'hyper-commodification', positing:

> In today's transnational, digitally enhanced market, housing is becoming ever less an infrastructure for living and ever more an instrument for financial accumulation […] all of the material and legal structures of housing—buildings, land, labor, property rights—are turned into commodities. In the process, the capacity of a building to function as a home becomes secondary. What matters is how a building functions in circuits of economic accumulation. (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 18)

In essence, the authors note how the role of housing for shelter (use-value) is supplanted by its utility as a vehicle for wealth creation (exchange value) appropriated by an increasingly footloose cohort of financiers, bankers, investors, and the like (see also Aalbers 2016; Harvey 2012, 2017; Rogers et al. 2018). For a range of critical urban commentators, a 'hyper-commodification' of housing is described as the outcome of three mutually reinforcing factors of deregulation, financialisation and globalisation (Fernandez and Aalbers 2017; Madden and Marcuse 2016; McKenzie and Atkinson 2019; Rogers et al. 2018; Sassen 2014).

Deregulation of housing

As previously identified, the large-scale privatisation of state-owned or controlled housing coupled with the loosening of restrictions on rent regulations has led to a sizable decrease in low-cost housing in many post-industrial societies (Atkinson 2015; Fields and Uffer 2016; McKenzie and Atkinson 2019). At the same time, the relaxation of regulations associated with mortgage finance enabled a surge in predatory lending, which ultimately affects different social groups unequally (Sassen 2014). The housing market collapse of 2008 is

instructive here, as subprime mortgage lending in the US-led to a financial crisis that devastated low-to-moderate-income households and triggered a global recession (Brenner et al. 2012; Brenner and Theodore 2016). Moreover, the deregulation and decline of public housing and state-controlled housing in many regions across the world has pushed more people into precarious housing tenure, most notable within the private rental market (Atkinson 2015; Madden and Marcuse 2016; Rowley et al. 2016).

Financialisation of housing

Deregulation measures have also increased the power and prominence of profit accumulation agents such as bankers, rentiers among other investment players to appropriate profit from housing through 'buying, selling, financing, owning and speculating' (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 20). Notably, the literature points out that the rise of global mortgage markets has increasingly transformed housing from a 'durable asset' (Lefebvre 2003) into a liquid commodity 'exchanged in a disembodied, electronic realm' (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 20). Rogers and colleagues (2018) point out that in many cases real-estate players may not ever see the physical dwellings that underwrite their profits. For Madden and Marcuse, the nature of housing has radically transformed under financialisation and the prominent role of private equity firms, asserting that 'the real-estate ecosystem is being colonized by large-scale corporate finance' (2016, 21). For instance, the authors estimate that in the wake of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC), multinational private equity firms such as Blackstone, JP Morgan Chase and Colony Capital accumulated over USD$1.5Trillion through the purchasing of foreclosed homes (Madden and Marcuse 2016). Similar findings have been identified in Germany, where a substantial quantity of housing on the private rental market is now owned by large domestic and foreign investment enterprises, such as Deutsche Wohnen, a subsidiary of the Deutsche Bank (Fields 2019; Fields and Uffer 2016).

Globalisation of housing

Compounding the effects of increased deregulation and financialisation is the significant rise of foreign direct investment in local housing markets across the planet since the 1990s (Fernandez and Aalbers 2017; Fields and Uffer 2016; Rogers et al. 2018). In the US alone, foreign direct investment in housing has risen from $2Billion in 1973 to over $78Billion in 2018 (Madden and Marcuse 2016; Rudden 2020). Madden and Marcuse (2016, 21) note that although residential housing is physically fixed in place, it has become 'increasingly dominated by economic networks that are global in scope'. Consequently, as housing is transformed into a global liquid commodity often listed on the stock exchange (Aalbers and Holm 2008), the needs of residents who occupy wealth accumulation assets are becoming increasingly negligible (Fields and Uffer 2016; Madden and Marcuse 2016; Stein 2019). As Brenner and Theodore contend:

> transnational capital is permitted to opt out from supporting local social reproduction, and in which the power of urban citizens to influence the basic conditions of their everyday lives is increasingly eroded (Brenner and Theodore 2016, 61).

Taken together, a hyper-commodified housing market that is global in scope results in many cities becoming increasingly more favourable to powerful and advantaged interest groups while enabling tax avoidance during a period of intense austerity and housing affordability shortfalls (McKenzie and Atkinson 2019; Rogers et al. 2018). As transnational real-estate players have become more entrenched in residential housing systems, housing costs are estimated to become increasingly more expensive (Aalbers 2016; Fields 2019; Lees 2012; Lees and White 2019). At the same time, the localised outcome of continual housing commodification is spatially and socially uneven, accentuating the linkages between the strategic purchasing patterns of corporate investors and gentrification (Fields and Uffer 2016; Holm 2013; Madden and Marcuse 2016). Consequently, as housing is bought under speculative conditions on the premise of elevating a dwelling's highest exchange value, the literature notes that the closing of rent gaps increases the likelihood of housing stress and residential displacement (Badecock 1989; Madden and Marcuse 2016; Marcuse 1985; Slater 2018). Ultimately, an expanding commodification of unregulated housing markets is likely to heighten insecurity for vulnerable households, compounding with other struggles in everyday life, including the psycho-social experiences of precariously housed people in the form of fear, stress, anxiety and disempowerment (Butcher and Dickens 2016; Fullilove 1996, 2004; Madden and Marcuse 2016).

2.1.5. Expanding geographies of gentrification

Since conceptualisation, scholarship on gentrification has expanded and diversified, replacing linear and unidimensional interpretations with a flexible set of approaches sensitive to the contextual, relational, and multiscalar dynamics of the socio-spatial process. In this respect, Davidson and Lees (2005, 2010) propose a targeted yet elastic conceptualisation of the process, contending that underpinning any contemporary definition of gentrification should, in its widest sense, include (1) capital-driven re-structuring of the built environment; (2) increased proportion of higher-income users of space; (3) direct or indirect displacement of long-standing, lower-income residents; and, (4) landscape change.

The first section of this chapter has focused largely on the evolution of gentrification through a political economy of housing. This provides valuable insight into the various ways the process has been conceptualised, analysed, debated and also politicised. However, as scholarship has continued to critically explore and analyse the complexities of gentrification through a range of contexts, spatial scales, and temporalities, new expressions of gentrification have been identified. For instance, beyond the Anglosphere and Western European contexts, expressions of gentrification have been studied in cities across Asia (He

2010; Shin et al. 2016; Zhang and He 2018; Zhong 2016) and South America (Janoschka 2016; Janoschka et al. 2014; Lopez-Morales et al. 2016).

Moreover, retail gentrification (Bridge and Dowling 2001; Gonzalez and Waley 2013; Hubbard 2016, 2018; Zukin 2008) and tourism gentrification (Cocola-Gant 2018a; Gotham 2005; Novy and Colomb 2019; Sequera and Nofre 2018) have been identified as key processes contributing to new forms of socio-spatial inequality in already-gentrifying neighbourhoods. Importantly, both processes play a crucial role in the shifting dynamics of Kreuzberg and therefore are central components of the theoretical framework guiding this thesis. In the following two sections I explore the relationship between gentrification and the commercial landscape, followed by an extensive review of the literature focused on the connections between urban tourism, gentrification and the expanding spheres of socio-spatial exclusion in the post-industrial city.

2.2. Retail gentrification

As I have highlighted, gentrification research has largely focused on the accumulation of capital through revalorisation of underinvested housing and the displacement of incumbent residents by wealthier incoming populations (e.g., Glass 1961; Lees et al. 2008; N. Smith 1979, 1987, 1996). Although inner-urban neighbourhoods often characterised as 'working-class', 'socially marginal', and/or 'immigrant-laden' have long been recognised as socio-cultural terrain sought after by gentrifier-types (Butler 2010; Florida 2002; Ley 1996; Zukin 1991, 1998, 2008, 2011), the ensuing displacing pressures for long-standing residents remain predominantly understood in the context of housing (Hubbard 2018). Conversely, Bridge and Dowling (2001, 94) contend that the gentrification of the neighbourhood infrastructure, or 'retail space' in less-advantaged neighbourhoods has only been 'tangentially or anecdotally considered' while others posit that retail gentrification tends to be analysed as an appendage of residential gentrification (Gonzalez and Waley 2013; Hubbard 2018). Despite critical scholarship recognising that commercial landscapes 'provides a particularly sensitive indicator of the balance of forces in gentrified neighbourhoods' (Bridge and Dowling 2001, 99), the relationship between gentrification-related displacement and the economic upscaling of neighbourhood infrastructure remains underexplored. In this context, retail gentrification warrants closer empirical analysis when investigating the complex set of forces impacting on historically disadvantaged neighbourhoods and the economic and social exclusions produced as neighbourhood retailscapes transform into a 'gentrifying habitus' (Bourdieu 1980; Hubbard 2018).

Accounts of retail gentrification vary depending on the contextual and temporal conditions of the site of analysis. In David Ley's seminal research on the consumption practices of 'the new middle-class' in Vancouver's gentrifying neighbourhoods, he alludes to retail gentrification, describing a process of 'embourgeoisement' as new stores retailing specialised goods and services promoted through niche

marketing offer consumers 'a heightening of experience, the shaping of a lifestyle and an identity around positional goods' (Ley 1996, 302). Building on Ley's initial observations, Bridge and Dowling (2001) developed one of the first extensive studies on retail gentrification through their empirical research on gentrifying neighbourhoods in Sydney. The authors posit that retailscapes function as a central component of the gentrification process through the upscaling of the neighbourhood infrastructure 'that attract people to, and surround, the lifestyles of the gentrifiers' (Bridge and Dowling 2001, 94). Since then, other scholars have also observed how the arrival of new retail capital in gentrifying areas (Zukin 2008), which can be slow and piecemeal (Kern 2016), often displaces local stores and services on which long-standing residents rely (Cahill 2007; Hubbard 2018; K. Shaw and Hagemans 2015).

Although the nature of retail gentrification varies throughout different contextual landscapes (Bridge and Dowling 2001; Kern 2016), the up-scaling of commercial infrastructure in underinvested and often socially marginal neighbourhoods is reflective of distinctive consumption practices and incoming consumer identities that contribute to a reshaping of space in a way that can induce displacement beyond the classical understanding of housing eviction and expulsion (K. Shaw and Hagemans 2015). In an ethnographic study on residents of the Lower East Side of NYC, Cahill (2007, 220) observed how the changing retailscape within on gentrifying neighbourhoods become visible 'in new storefronts that cater to a new clientele and replace familiar bodegas, mom and pop shops, and neighborhood landmarks'. Zukin (2008) applies the term 'new retail capital' to describe incoming businesses associated with retail gentrification which in turn can economically and socially exclude incumbent populations from the transformed consumption infrastructure according to high-status tastes and values. Through the promotion of 'authentic' experiences, distinction and display, 'new retail capital' mark neighbourhoods once perceived as impoverished and blighted as sanitised and safe for middle-class consumption and by extension, ripe for further investment and commodification (Gonzalez and Waley 2013; Hubbard 2018; Zukin 1998, 2008, 2009, 2011). In this regard, retail gentrification signifies a key dimension of urban transformation that can attract mobile capital and people into lower-income neighbourhoods; thus contributing to the broader reshaping of local housing markets (Hubbard 2018) while simultaneously engendering forms of exclusion along class and ethno-racial lines (Gonzalez and Waley 2013; Polat 2018).

2.2.1. Spatial expansion of new retail capital

The onset of retail gentrification has routinely been described as a phase of 'discovery' (Zukin 2008) with the advent of 'hipster businesses' (Hubbard 2018; Maly and Varis 2016) such as boutiques, bars, cafes and restaurants establishing in low-income, often high-immigrant and socially marginal neighbourhoods. For Zukin (2008, 736), this particular form of 'new retail capital' seeks out neighbourhoods that present a perceived 'authentic aura.' In turn, neighbourhoods perceived as 'outside the standard realm of mass

consumption' (Zukin 2008, 736) become discoursed as 'authentic' by taste-makers and taste-seekers alike. In a similar vein, Hubbard identifies early signs of incipient retail gentrification as analogous to 'hipster urbanism', characterised by:

> edgy art galleries, bijou vintage boutiques and shabby-chic coffee shops, "pop-up" outlets that quickly become known as the haunt of the bearded, flannel-shirted trendsetters whose presence serves to discourse certain inner-city districts as both authentic and cool (Hubbard 2018, 298).

Across a range of urban settings, the emergence of new retail capital in gentrifying neighbourhoods has been observed in contrast to long-standing local establishments catering to lower-income and less-mobile residents (Gonzalez and Waley 2013; Hubbard 2016; K. Shaw and Hagemans 2015; Zukin et al. 2009). Zukin and colleagues (2009, 59) describe the commonalities between new retail capital ascending on less-advantaged neighbourhoods, identifying a shared display of distinctive aesthetics and stylistic differences that produce a 'recognisably hip, chic, or trendy atmosphere' which as Shaw and Hagemans (2015, 335) add, is often reinforced by 'their significantly younger clientele'. As new retail capital seizes upon and appropriates 'offbeat elements' of a neighbourhood's sub-culture (Hubbard 2018), alternative consumption space is produced for a wealthier, more mobile clientele (Zukin et al. 2009). Drawing on Neil Smith's (1996) concept of the gentrification frontier, Gonzalez and Waley observed the way in which alternative consumption space, cultivated through new retail capital, attracts taste seekers:

> These pioneers like the feeling of being in a different space not yet colonized by corporate values; they enjoy the fact that they have "discovered" a place that is still not frequented by people like them (i.e. middle and upper classes) (Gonzalez and Waley 2013, 970).

Zukin (2008) observed how an atmosphere of hype and buzz is precipitated around the advent of new retail capital engendering a powerful discourse of neighbourhood change which is often aided through press and social media coverage. The literature notes that as the presence of new retail capital multiplies, the volume of middle-class consumers from outside the neighbourhood increases in their search for distinction, differentiation and 'authentic' experiences (Harvey 2012; Hubbard 2018; Zukin 2008, 2009, 2011). Subsequently, as more exclusive stores offering specialty, niche and customised goods and services gain a foothold in the neighbourhood, the scale of change in transitioning retailscape becomes more palpable to broader middle-class tastes (Bridge and Dowling 2001; K. Shaw and Hagemans 2015). In the process, Hubbard (2018, 397) observed an inverted representation of space, as neighbourhoods once 'characterised as dangerous or sketchy [become] discoursed as authentic, cool and edgy' while simultaneously becoming etched into the 'middle-class cognitive map of the consumer city'.

Several authors have extended the analysis, elucidating a distinction between middle-class gentrifiers and other members of the middle-class (Bridge and Dowling 2001). For Zukin (2008), it is often the particular

consumption practices that unite gentrifiers as opposed to fixed class or ethno-racial social divisions. Nonetheless, the consensus is that as retailscapes transition along gentrified lines, they attract wealthier, more-mobile populations to frequent, as well as seek residence in, neighbourhoods they previously would have ignored or avoided. For Zukin et al. (2009), incoming cohorts of taste-seekers are often willing to overlook a lack of neighbourhood amenities and services, in favour of an 'authentic' spatial imagining, and to some degree the lived experience, of a desired urban lifestyle. Herein, a superficiality of the gentrification process is revealed whereby the perceived 'authentic aura' (Zukin 2008) sought out and then commodified by new retail capital and consumers simultaneously sanitises and erodes spaces of difference, until, as Hubbard notes, 'little trace of its "dirty" background remains' (2018, 299).

2.2.2. Implications for long-standing residents

In North American and European contexts, scholarship has identified both classed and ethno-racialised dimensions to retail gentrification. As 'gritty' inner-urban neighbourhoods are appropriated by new retail capital, including so-called hipster businesses, farmers' markets, and the like, critics note that these alternative consumption spaces allure cohorts of wealthier, often white consumers (Gonzalez and Waley 2013; Hubbard 2018; Maly and Varis 2016; Polat 2018; Zukin 2008; Zukin et al. 2009). For instance, Gonzalez and Waley observed that in recent years, fresh-food market places that have traditionally offered a range of affordable produce essential for lower-SES populations 'are ironically, becoming shop windows for gentrified authenticity even as some of their long-standing traders and shoppers are being displaced' (2013, 965). The authors continue, noting that as traditional markets places are re-branded and transformed into 'niche' or 'specialty' farmers' markets selling regional, organic and artisanal produce, non-white and lower-income populations are often economically and socially excluded from participating. By a similar token, Hubbard (2018, 300–1) observed how retail gentrification encourages the 'in-migration of white hipster and middle-class investors' into neighbourhoods previously discoursed as 'ethnic' , 'gritty' and 'marginal'. Consequently, as neighbourhood retail space is re-discoursed along class and ethno-racial lines, a language of exclusion is produced that suggests 'clear limits to who is perceived to belong' (Hubbard 2018, 302).

As a neighbourhood transitions and becomes discoursed as 'cosmopolitan and cool' (Hubbard 2018) critics observe tight linkages between gentrifying retailscapes, the (re)representation of neighbourhood space and shifts within the real-estate market. Here, processes of retail gentrification and classical gentrification coalesce, as the commodification of the streetscape signals to financiers and real-estate capital that the locality is ripe for investment and revalorisation (Harvey 2012; Hubbard 2018). Zukin et al. (2009, 48), assert that retail gentrification functions to 'stabilize low-income areas' marking the neighborhood as 'safe for commercial investment that will upgrade services and raise rents.'

At the same time, emerging research has found that even small-scale changes to the retailscape toward the 'embourgeoisement' David Ley noted almost three decades ago, can precipitate a range of exclusionary effects beyond issues of housing (Gonzalez and Waley 2013; Hubbard 2018; Polat 2018; K. Shaw and Hagemans 2015; Sibley 1988, 1995; Silver 2007; Zukin 2008). For instance, incumbent populations of gentrifying neighbourhoods can face increased affordability pressures as the positional goods offered by new retail capital are often set at a higher price point that 'clearly deviate from the earlier population's taste and spending power' (K. Shaw and Hagemans 2015, 330). Affordability pressures become particularly strenuous for many long-standing residents as the balance of goods and services offered within the neighbourhood tilts in favour of a wealthier, often transient, clientele. Consequently, many long-standing lower-income residents are left with fewer places affordable to them, that also meet their tastes and needs (K. Shaw and Hagemans 2015; Gonzalez and Waley 2013). As the local neighbourhood infrastructure is reshaped along gentrified lines, compounding forces of socio-economic and socio-cultural exclusion can leave many long-standing residents feeling 'palpably "out of place" in neighbourhoods they traditionally regard as home' (Hubbard 2018, 302). Put differently, long-standing residents can experience retail gentrification as a sense of displacement through compounding shelter and non-shelter pressures.

2.3. Tourism gentrification

Over the past several decades, tourism has expanded in an unprecedented manner as a central component of the city and a key strategy for economic development. During 2012, the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) recorded over one billion tourists crossing international borders, while a review of global travel data indicates that urban tourism has grown at a faster rate than any other form of tourism (Bock 2015; IPK International 2016; UNWTO 2012, 2017). Although the city as a tourist destination is not a new phenomenon, the rate and scale at which tourism has intensified in recent years is emblematic of wider shifts toward entrepreneurial methods of urban governance (Harvey 1989a, 2012) and the rise of urban economic development centred around culture, entertainment, leisure and consumption (Gotham 2005, Hubbard 2006; Novy 2011, 2017; Novy and Colomb 2019; Sequera and Nofre 2018). Correspondingly, it is by no coincidence that urban tourism has expanded well beyond the so-called 'traditional tourist cities' of New York, Rome, Venice, Tokyo, London, Paris, and the like, with studies confirming the driving role of tourism for urban economies across the planet (see Novy and Colomb 2019).

A corpus of literature shows how central areas of cities have been strategically commodified and converted into sites for consumption in which tourism plays a crucial role (Ashworth and Kavaratzis 2010; Ashworth and Page 2011; Harvey 2012; Fainstein and Gladstone 1999; Judd and Fainstein 1999; Maitland 2007, 2010). For instance, to increase visitor flows and compete with other cities, many urban governments have directed much attention, funding and resources toward developing a range of new attractions such as museums,

galleries and other art-oriented ventures, convention centres, sporting and entertainment arenas which are typically accompanied by a clustering of chain retail facilities, bars, cafes and restaurants within the immediate environ (Florida 2005; Harvey 2012). These agglomerations of consumption-oriented space are often discoursed as 'urban entertainment districts' (Hannigan 1998), 'tourist bubbles' (Judd 1999; Maitland 2007, 2008), spaces of 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell 1976; Urry 1990a, 1990b) and 'cultural precincts' (Gotham 2005; Zukin 1991). As various place marketing campaigns thematise key landmarks, architecture, heritage sites, local customs, and other forms of cultural capital, commentators argue that the formation of tourist bubbles in the central city represent 'hyperreal space' (Gotham 2005, 1110) where municipalities and tourist institutions 'adapt, reshape and manipulate images of place' (1110) to target visitors, while often side-lining the needs and rights of local populations.

Despite the recognised stress and pressure tourism can place on local populations, services and infrastructure (Cocola-Gant 2016, 2018a; Gotham 2005; Lee 2016), the potential gains from tourism are particularly attractive to city officials during times of economic uncertainty and often outweigh any externalities (Colomb and Novy 2016; Garau-Vadell et al. 2018; Novy and Colomb 2013, 2019). For instance, Cocola-Gant (2018a) and Sequera and Nofre (2018) postulate that for many post-industrial European cities, tourism has been embraced as a fast policy solution to overcome the negative impacts of the Great Recession[6] (2008–2016). However, from a critical political economy perspective (Ribera-Fumaz 2009; Somerville 2001; Zukin 1995), the transformation of urban space for tourist consumption has raised a series of concerns relating to liveability constraints placed on local populations. For example, the state-led development and promotion of Venice, Italy as a central tourist destination provides an archetype of this approach in effect, with the heritage-listed island-city recording 35 million visitors in 2017 (Nolan and Séraphin 2019). The continual expansion of the tourism industry and the conversion of housing into tourist accommodation has, in turn, led to a 50 per cent reduction in Venice's residential population over the past three decades (Ross 2015). Given the declining population and coupled with increased discontent and disenfranchisement expressed by remaining residents (Hospers 2019), the UNWTO (2018) has called for city officials to take appropriate measures to mitigate the effects of touristification on the quality of life for residents as well as the quality of visitors' experiences. The example shows how policy and planning decisions focused on the commodification of cultural capital can restructure urban space in a way that impinges on residential life while transforming areas of the city into sanitised, or 'Disneyfied' precincts for tourist consumption (Zukin 1991, 2009, 2011). In turn, researchers have noted how these spaces of representation (Lefebvre 1991) offer little resemblance of the former socio-cultural attributes of a locality yet continue

[6] The Great Recession refers to the prolonged economic implications of the 2008 Global Financial Crisis. Many countries within Europe experienced a period of economic stagnation or decline between 2008 and 2016 (Gertler and Gilchrist 2018).

marketing these foregone characteristics of place to tourists for consumption (Bourdieu 1980; Harvey 2012; Zukin 2011).

2.3.1. New Urban Tourism

Beyond the limits of the archetypical tourist precinct or 'tourist bubble' (Judd 1999), tourism growth across inner-urban residential neighbourhoods has emerged as a critical arena of research in recent years. Deviating from the literature on the Tourist City (Judd and Fainstein 1999) chiefly concerned with central tourist hubs (Judd 2003; Fainstein and Gladstone 1999; Hannigan 1998; Harvey 2012), the idiom 'new-urban tourism' (NUT) has been attributed to a nuanced expression of tourism whereby visitors seek out experiences of encounter, consumption and accommodation in residential quarters outside the central tourist precinct (Dirksmeier and Helbrecht 2015; Füller and Michel 2014; Maitland 2010; Novy 2011, 2017; Novy and Sandra 2009). David Harvey (1989a, 2008, 2012) refers to this phenomenon as the commodification of daily urban life for tourist consumption. Although NUT has significantly increased in size and scale in recent years (Novy 2017; UNWTO 2018), this pattern of tourism is not entirely new. For instance, Meier (1972) explored the process in residential neighbourhoods of Munich during the 1970s, while MacCannell's (1973) seminal research on the Leisure Class interrogated a desire expressed by tourists to experience 'back regions' of European cities in the hope to see 'life as it is really lived' (594). Similarly, Zukin (1987, 1991, 2008, 2009, 2011) has conducted extensive analysis on the voyeuristic tendencies of tourists and the search for 'authentic experiences' in residential neighbourhoods across Manhattan and Brooklyn over the past three decades. Nonetheless, with easy access to digital maps, the rise of cheap airline travel, and the proliferation of Airbnb-style travel accommodation platforms promoting the ethos to 'live like a local' (Airbnb 2018), the growth of tourism across inner-urban neighbourhoods has significantly accelerated in recent years (Guttentag 2015; Hubbard 2018; Novy and Colomb 2019).

Extending beyond previous debates attempting to typecast 'who' constitutes the new urban tourist, emerging scholarship is increasingly concerned with the nuanced spatial practices of visitors in relation to the production, reproduction and consumption of everyday residential life (e.g., Cocola-Gant 2016, 2018a; Nofre 2013; Novy and Colomb 2019; Pappalepore et al. 2010; Sequera and Nofre 2018). Commentators describe NUT as a practice where visitors substitute standardised often pre-packaged tourist activities such as bus tours, museums and iconic architectural landmarks for encounters with everyday 'mundane experiences' (Dirksmeier and Helbrecht 2015, 276) in residential neighbourhoods perceived as 'off the beaten track' (Gibson 2010, Lloyd 2006). Similar conceptualisations of NUT highlight the emphasis placed on the search for 'alternative', 'authentic', and 'local', areas that visitors perceive as 'not touristy' (Maitland 2007, 82; see also Maitland 2008, 2010; Zukin 2008, 2011). In an empirical study on London's inner-urban neighbourhoods, Maitland (2007, 83) identified the practice of NUT as those aspiring to 'get to know' the city

through an exploration of neighbourhoods largely devoid of mass tourist crowds in an attempt to simultaneously observe and partake in the 'thrown-togetherness' of everyday urban life (Gustafson 2001; Massey 2005). Maitland's (2007, 83) study identified a cohort of visitors actively avoiding uniform and prescriptive encounters of 'London'—as portrayed in marketing campaigns—with the intention to discover and experience the 'different cities' of London on their own accord. Larson (2008, 28) refers to this phenomenon as 'inhabiting tourism' wherein visitors utilise urban space in very similar, almost indistinguishable, ways to residents; taking on a performative role others have referred to as 'temporary glocal inhabitants' (Sequera and Nofre 2018) or temporary users of space (Cocola-Gant 2018b). However, the spatial repetition of such tourism patterns is not without effects.

2.3.2. The housing market and tourist accommodation

As varying practices of urban tourism have extended well beyond the threshold of designated tourist precincts, an increased demand for tourist accommodation in residential neighbourhoods has presented a nuanced set of housing-related issues. In particular, the rise of Airbnb-style travel accommodation has emerged as a contested topic, posing a series of new challenges and obstacles to local governments, residents and businesses alike (Cocola-Gant 2018a; Gurran 2018; Gurran and Phipps 2017; Gurran et al. 2018; Lee 2016; Schaefer and Braun 2016; Tussyadiah and Pesonen 2015; *The Economist* 2018b; Wachsmuth and Weisler 2018). Despite Airbnb not owning any property, the Californian start-up company has become the world's largest short-term rental (STR) accommodation provider (Airdna 2020; Srnicek 2017) operating across 220 countries and regions and offering over seven million properties (Airbnb 2020b). In contrast, the world's largest hotel chain, Wyndham Worldwide, owned a recorded total of 9,157 properties as of June 2019 (Lock 2019).

Operating through a digital platform network, Airbnb, and other STR firms such as VRBO and HomeAway enable home-owners, property managers and tenants—referred to as 'hosts'—to enter the tourist accommodation sector, renting out a couch, room or entire home to 'guests' according to market demand (Airbnb 2019; Guttentag 2015). Through a business model that uses platform networks to provide a booking service, STR platforms take a percentage of the rent generated from each transaction without ever owning or managing any physical assets (Cockayne 2016; Guttentag 2015). A review of Airbnb's online platform shows four tiers of services offered and the typical mode of delivery: (1) occupants renting out a spare bed or room within their home, remaining present during the stay; (2) occupants renting out their entire home, temporarily vacating the premises during the time of booking; (3) individuals renting out an entire dwelling in which they do not typically reside, with the primary intent to receive revenue from successive property bookings; and, (4) individuals or companies managing multiple listings in a professionalised capacity to receive revenue from successive property bookings. Put differently, only the first two scenarios are indicative

of ‘home-sharing’ in a literal sense (see Botsman 2015; Eckhardt and Bardhi 2015), whereas tier three and four constitute the conversion of residential dwellings into permanent tourist accommodation (Shaefer and Braun 2016; Waschmuth and Weisler 2018).

For tourists, Airbnb-style short-term property letting has become an attractive mode of tourist accommodation for various reasons. Commentators have identified perceived benefits for guests relating to access to residential amenities (full kitchen, washing machine, yards and gardens, etc.); staying in desirable areas outside the central tourist hub; and, potential cost benefits with the average price of overnight stays often lower than hotels (Gurran et al. 2018; Guttentag 2015). Perhaps the most commonly cited attractive quality of Airbnb-style STRs is an enhanced opportunity to encounter local experiences of people and place through direct interaction with hosts, neighbours as well as local businesses, services and resources (Guttentag 2015). This attribute is one of the key marketing tools of Airbnb as evidenced through their campaign slogan ‘live like a local’ (Airbnb 2018).

For hosts, the recognised benefits of renting out living space though STR platforms is discursively centred around low-entry cost into the tourist accommodation market; meeting new people, as well as the ability to earn additional income (Airbnb 2020a; Guttentag 2015). Indeed, reports show that hosts operating ‘entire home’ listings with year-round bookings, can procure considerable rental income, particularly through the management of multiple listings in high-demand localities (Airdna 2020; Inside Airbnb 2020; Schaefer and Braun 2016). To demonstrate the profit-generating capabilities of STRs, in 2017, one Airbnb host reported £11.9Million in rental income from 881 listings across London (Vomiero 2017). In this regard, the rental income capacity of Airbnb-style STRs signifies a departure from the discursive framing of the ‘sharing economy’ or ‘peer-to-peer accommodation’ (Botsman and Rogers 2010; Botsman 2015; Eckhardt and Bardhi 2015; Puschmann and Alt 2016), and instead positions STR platforms within the architecture of ‘platform capitalism’ (Langley and Leyshon 2017; Srnicek 2017) or ‘residential capitalism’ (Gurran et al. 2020).

As property owners and managers can receive much higher rental yields from STR tourist accommodation, rent-seeking platforms have effectively expanded the capacity of capital accumulation within the residential housing system (Gurran et al. 2020). At the same time, the purchasing power of visitors often exceeds that of local residents, placing increased pressure on neighbourhood services while posing additional challenges for residents of neighbourhoods subjected to touristification (Cocola-Gant 2016, 2018b). Accordingly, in cities already experiencing reduced housing affordability and availability, the increase of Airbnb-style STR accommodation can intensify displacing pressures for lower-income groups whose neighbourhoods are often at the forefront of expanding tourism activities, among other urban processes of change (Shaefer and Braun 2016; Waschmuth and Weisler 2018).

2.3.3. Short term rental accommodation and urban governance

Multilateral alliances such as the OECD (2016) and UNWTO (2016, 2017, 2018) recognise that the expansion of unlicensed and ungoverned tourist accommodation throughout residential quarters poses a critical challenge to the governance of many cities. Subsequently, Airbnb-style tourist accommodation has become a point of contention from various stakeholders, including hotel industries; housing rights advocates; neighbourhood initiatives; and, in some cases, local governments. Common issues frequently raised regarding the nature of Airbnb-style accommodation relate to decreased public health and safety standards (Slee 2016); an absence of labour rights and consumer protection laws (Gurran et al. 2020; Lee 2016); racial discrimination (Edelman et al. 2017; Wachsmuth et al. 2018); tax evasion (Wachsmuth and Weisler 2018); and uneven competition with the conventional, regulated tourist accommodation industry (Guttentag 2015; Zervas et al. 2016).

Concerns have also been raised regarding the ability of Airbnb-style STRs to freely penetrate residential neighbourhoods and intensify the process of 'touristification' (Sequera and Nofre 2018) or 'tourism gentrification' (Cocola Gant 2018), among other analogous terms referring to the interplay between tourism, gentrification and urban transformation. Here urban scholarship has identified the implications posed to local housing markets in residential areas that have become popular sites for visitation (Schaefer and Braun 2016; Gurren et al. 2018; Wachsmuth and Weisler 2018). For instance, in Cocola-Gant's (2016) study of Barcelona's inner-districts, where 16.8 per cent of the residential housing stock is permanently listed on Airbnb, rent prices escalated by 18 per cent during 2015 alone (see also Garcia-Lopez et al. 2019). More broadly, research shows that in tight housing markets with low rental vacancies, even small changes in the rental stock for tourist accommodation can significantly affect local house prices and rents, amplifying affordability pressures and subsequently inducing residential displacement (Cocola-Gant 2016; Gotham 2005; Gurran and Phipps 2017; Lee 2016; Schaefer and Braun 2016; Schaefer and Jens 2017; Wachsmuth and Wiesler 2018).

Regulating the practice of short-term letting in residential property is typically pursued at the municipal level (City of Santa Monica 2019; Greenberg 2018; Schaefer and Braun 2016). However, in many cases, attempts to implement regulations have been repealed and deemed unlawful on the grounds of impinging on the property rights of owners (Jefferson-Jones 2015; Gurran et al. 2018; Lee 2016). While in the few cities and regions where policy measures have been implemented, additional challenges arise regarding how local authorities are expected to enforce such regulations (Gurran et al. 2020). This concern is predominantly related to the informal nature of short-term letting practices and the concealment of listing data by leading accommodation platforms such as Airbnb (Airbnb 2019; Airdna 2020; Inside Airbnb 2020). Consequently, local authorities largely rely on hosts to comply with local housing and tax regulations. In turn, recent research found that Airbnb-style STRs have continued to defy local regulations in many cities and regions

(Gurran et al. 2020; Schaefer and Braun 2016), playing a key role in exacerbating the adverse effects of touristification (Cocola-Gant 2016; Garcia-Lopez et al. 2019; Lee 2016; Wachsmuth and Weisler 2018).

Airbnb (2019) and similar platforms have often refuted criticism, claiming that beyond the immediate economic gains for hosts, the spatial distribution of STRs across urban neighbourhoods inject new revenue streams into local communities and businesses as, guests are more likely to partake in activities and utilise the local services and resources within the neighbourhood as opposed to the highly-commercialised tourist precincts and hubs typically situated within the urban core (Gurran and Phipps 2017). Further, the leading home-sharing company contends that STR tourist accommodation does not compete with hotels but expands the tourism industry into new markets (Guttentag 2015). In response to legal-related issues, Airbnb maintains it cannot police users, but relies on both hosts and guests to adhere to local laws and regulations (Airbnb 2019). In 2013, a coalition was formed between Airbnb, HomeAway, TripAdvisor and FlipKey called the Short Term Rental Advocacy Center with the aim to promote the friendly and flexible regulations to short term rental firms, hosts and users (Guttentag 2015).

2.3.4. Gentrification and opposition to ungoverned urban tourism

The increase of tourists, tourist accommodation and tourism-related activities expanding across residential space contributes to a reshaping and shifting balance of the use-value of neighbourhood space, influencing the resources and services on offer, and in some cases, completely transforming the social composition and dominant use and function of residential neighbourhoods. Under such conditions, researchers have identified correlations between urban tourism, gentrification and displacement (Cocola-Gant 2018a, 2018b; Gurran et al. 2018; Novy and Colomb 2019; Wachsmuth and Weisler 2018). Notably, studies have demonstrated the way in which processes of gentrification and touristification often coexist in similar settings, with several researchers identifying how the place promotion characteristics of gentrification also appeal to visitors seeking to experience the 'authentic' city (Zukin 2011), or non-tourist city (Maitland 2007, 2008). For instance, Cocola-Gant (2018a, 283) asserts that 'urban revitalisation strategies have produced new services and amenities catering to middle-class consumers and, in doing so, they have marketed the tourist and the gentrified city at the same time.' The author concludes arguing that 'the proliferation of gentrified landscapes creates tourist-friendly spaces as they provide visitors with sanitised areas, consumption opportunities and a middle-class sense of place' (Cocola-Gant 2018a, 282). Importantly, emerging urban scholarship has identified the way in which processes of gentrification and touristification coalesce, reinforce and feed into each-other (Cocola-Gant 2018a; Garcia-Lopez et al. 2019; Gotham 2005; Gurran et al. 2018; Novy and Colomb 2019). Yet, the way in which gentrification and tourism intersect and interplay across different contexts and temporalities remains underexamined.

As tourism takes on an increasing role in the reshaping of inner-urban residential space, various forms of opposition have emerged focused on addressing the adverse effects of tourism growth on local populations. Multi-focal mobilisations range from small-scale actions raising awareness through the likes of street art, to larger citizen-led coalitions organising petitions, demonstrations and workshops with residents, housing advocations and members of local government. A noteworthy example of the latter includes Barcelona's *Assemblea de Barris per un Turisme Sostenible* (Assembly of Neighbourhoods for a Sustainable Tourism) which campaigns for more democratic governance of urban space centred around (1) the economic model for urban tourism; (2) the unregulated use of residential housing for tourist accommodation; and, (3) the management of ports and cruise ships (ABTS 2016). The neighbourhood initiative is known for reporting and providing assistance to residents evicted from their homes for the use of Airbnb-style STRs (Blanco-Romero et al. 2018). Similarly, the *Morar em Lisboa* (Living in Lisbon) initiative, founded by citizens in 2017, campaigns against the escalation of residential displacement within several neighbourhoods impacted by touristification.

However, as Novy and Colomb (2019) point out, it would be naive to portray all tourist-related social movements as progressive and focused on addressing issues related to social justice. While most forms of social mobilisation concentrate on the role of tourism as a process of uneven spatial reproduction, the literature highlights a distinction between movements contesting tourism as a process of inequality, and fringe groups and individuals projecting hostile behaviour, prejudice, intolerance or other expressions of 'tourist-phobia' toward visitors (Dirksmeier and Helbrecht 2015; Füller and Michel 2014; Sequera and Nofre 2018). Critical commentators have responded to these concerns asserting that while hostile actors must be held accountable, the majority of activist groups take great measures to clarify that their efforts are directed toward unsettling the structural implications of the tourist industry for local populations and businesses as well as the 'lack of governance and regulation' facilitating touristification (Novy and Colomb 2019, 368; see also Cocola-Gant 2016). The authors assert that movements addressing tourism-related issues are nuanced and multifaceted, stressing urban commentators to be wary of minimising and making sweeping assumptions about the diversity of localised initiatives, coalitions and grassroots organisations responding to unchecked tourism growth impacting on long-standing communities, particularly notable in lower-socioeconomic and ethnically diverse neighbourhoods (Edelman et al. 2017; Wachsmuth et al. 2018).

2.4. Chapter conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the critical literature on gentrification, focusing on classical interpretations situated within a political economy of housing, as well as examining the emerging scholarship on retail- and tourism-gentrification. Collectively, these varying literatures of gentrification are critical to my thesis as they conceptually accentuate the key forces of change impacting on Kreuzberg, Berlin. Most notably, I have shown

how the literature on gentrification and urban tourism share many commonalities yet have rarely been discussed together in urban scholarship. In this regard, a central objective of this research is to understand how these varying processes intersect and by extension, contribute to the reshaping of place for long-standing residents. As this chapter has outlined, scholarship on gentrification has provided excellent, in-depth explanations of the process from both consumption and production-side perspectives through a range of scales and contexts. Yet, the way in which residents experience gentrification and urban tourism in their daily lives remains largely under-examined and therefore can obscure the everyday realities of neighbourhood change. Within this context, the following chapter explores the literature on urban displacement in greater depth. The aim of Chapter 3 is to develop conceptual clarity on the multiple dimensions of the displacement processes as well as further establishing a conceptual framework to guide this research project.

Chapter Three: Conceptualising Displacement

A key objective underscoring this research is to develop a deeper understanding of the multifaceted exclusionary effects of gentrification and touristification from the perspective of long-standing residents. As I have highlighted in Chapter 2, the extensive literature on gentrification provides a wide scope on the production (economic) and consumption (cultural) dimensions of class-based population change and capital accumulation by dispossession. Yet, scholarship focusing on the nuanced social and psychological implications of displacement beyond the momentary event of involuntary spatial out-migration remains largely underexplored and underconceptualised (for exception see Atkinson 2015; Butcher and Dickens 2016; Davidson 2008, 2009; Elliot-Cooper et al. 2019; Valli 2015). Vocalising this concern, Slater (2006, 743) stressed 'there is next to nothing published on the experiences of non-gentrifying groups living in the neighbourhoods into which the much-researched cosmopolitan middle-classes are arriving en masse' (see also Slater et al. 2004).

Likewise, in the arena of tourism studies, limited research has devoted attention to the connections between urban tourism and residential displacement (for exception see Cocola-Gant 2016, 2018a; Gotham 2005). Paton (2012) suggests this is largely the outcome of empirical research privileging the voices and experiences of the incoming middle-class, over those struggling to keep a foothold in the neighbourhood. In a similar vein, studies on urban tourism have tended to focus on understanding the motives and aspirations of tourists, while studies on host communities have largely concentrated on the economic benefits in non-urban travel destinations. In recognition of the theoretical and empirical gaps highlighted, this chapter will review the seminal literature on urban displacement; engage with the politically-fuelled debate over the recent claims for 'gentrification without displacement'; and further interrogate the development of gentrification as an urban policy strategy. Lastly, I explore the emerging scholarship pushing beyond the conventional spatial underpinnings of displacement to develop a conceptual framework that includes the underexplored social, psychological and temporal dimensions.

As stated in Chapter 2, gentrification by definition constitutes a form of displacement. In Glass's (1964) seminal critique on the gentry-led socio-spatial re-structuring of inner-London, the subsequent expulsion of lower-income residents among other forms of community upheaval underscored her coinage of gentrification as a novel geography of social exclusion. For Glass (1964, xviii), gentrification displaces 'all or most of the original working-class occupiers' while simultaneously changing the social character of neighbourhood space. Following Glass's initial inquiry, early proponents applied the concept of gentrification to critically unsettle the 'back to the city' thesis largely viewed in the Anglosphere as an antidote to urban abandonment and decay, and by extension, an inherently positive quality of the deindustrialised city (Glass 1964; N. Smith 1979, 1996, 2002). However, instead of benignly revitalising 'blighted' and 'forlorn'

neighbourhoods (Lipton 1977; Sumka 1979), critical gentrification research revealed how the advancement of capital and higher-income earners into lower-socioeconomic communities produced new geographies of exclusion (Lees et al. 2008). In this sense, displacement was conceived as an inherent principle mechanism of gentrification most notably observed through the expulsion of lower-income populations from their place of residence (Glass 1964; Grier and Grier 1978; Marcuse 1985).

In perhaps the broadest conception, Grier and Grier (1978) defined displacement as involuntary out-migration from a dwelling due to external forces beyond the control of the household making it difficult or impossible to remain in place. In other words, displacement constitutes a process that undermines the right to stay put (Lees et al 2008; Marcuse 1985; Newman and Wyly 2006; Slater 2006). Following this notion, scholars argue that the deprivation or dispossession of someone from their home constitutes a 'heinous act of injustice' (D.M. Smith 1994, 152) which impairs one's sense of community, and in extreme cases, can lead to homelessness (Marcuse 1985). Limited research on the psychological implications of displacement suggest that the erosion of neighbourhood communities is 'perhaps the most serious threat to human well-being' (Fullilove 1996, 1520) as the psychological stress related to losing a place of identity (Zhang and He 2018) can lead to cases of depression, among other mental health issues (Desmond 2012).

3.1. Decoupling displacement from gentrification

Displacement is politically controversial and affects urban policy-making and planning decisions across varying geographical contexts. During the 1970s and 1980s, a range of studies sought to measure, examine and explain urban displacement, illustrating the adverse effects of gentrification while providing a resource for political action against the infringement of housing rights and related forms socio-spatial inequality (Hartman et al. 1982; Laska and Spain 1980; Marcuse 1985, 1986; Schill and Nathan 1983; N. Smith and Williams 1986). Very rarely did scholarly research lay claim to positive neighbourhood impacts associated with gentrification, let alone imply it to be the 'saviour' of central city neighbourhoods or to engender an 'urban renaissance' (see Sumka 1979 for an exception). By the mid-2000s, however, a new wave of scholarship emerged challenging earlier academic focus on the adverse effects, purporting on the contrary, that gentrification can largely benefit lower-income neighbourhoods without displacing disadvantaged residents (Freeman 2005; Freeman and Braconi 2002, 2004; McKinnish et al. 2008; Vigdor 2002, 2010). For these quantitative researchers, a numerical absence of displacement was interpreted as no displacement altogether.

From this perspective, doubt was cast on the extent of displacement through gentrification, decoupling displacement as an inherent feature of gentrification, which at times erupted in fierce scholarly debate (cf. Slater 2009, 2010; Hamnett 2009, 2010). As this new perspective on gentrification gained traction in media

and policy discourse, critical researchers observed that the rhetoric around gentrification was drifting away from its socio-political roots concerned with rent-intensification, landlord harassment and the displacement of lower-income populations, toward a discourse that promoted new opportunities for capital accumulation as higher-income households move into underinvested lower-income neighbourhoods. In this regard, Slater (2006, 738) noted popular perspectives and interpretations of gentrifications reduced to 'street-level spectacles, trendy bars and cafes, i-Pods, social diversity and funky clothing outlets.' By a similar token, Peck (2005) identified a series of connections between the de-politicisation of gentrification and the growing 'creative city' rhetoric (see Florida 2002, 2005). Peck and Slater contend that the creative city modelling largely co-opted elements of gentrification and characteristics of gentrifiers to promote the 'image of hip, bohemian, cool, arty tribes, who occupy cool cafes, galleries and cycle paths of formerly disinvested neighbourhoods once lacking in "creativity"' (Slater 2006, 738). By the same manner, Zukin (1995, 28) referred to the softened discursive framing of gentrification as 'pacification by cappuccino', while Peck (2005, 760) responded to the promotion of gentrification in public policy as 'cappuccino urban politics, with plenty of froth.'

3.1.1. Gentrification as urban policy

In an attempt to re-energise critical inquiry into the inequities of gentrification—namely the expulsion of lower-income populations and the erosion of affordable housing—literature anchored in critical urban theory questioned the discourse dismissing or downplaying the extent of displacement. As alluded to in Chapter Two, scholarship identified a correlation between the decoupling of displacement from gentrification and the arrival of more entrepreneurial forms of urban governance to foster capital mobility and growth through the built environment (Brenner and Theodore 2016; Harvey 1989a; Madden and Marcuse 2016; Meagher 2012; Slater 2006; Zhang and He 2018). According to Ley (2016, 274) gentrification has transitioned into 'conscious policy strategy in many cities seeking to reconfigure their urban economies'. This image makeover of gentrification (Davidson 2008) is often observed across many jurisdictions through the prioritisation of home-ownership and exclusive housing markets in formerly working-class neighbourhoods (Atkinson 2015; Lees and Phillips 2018) while the decline in low-rent housing stock is an issue largely rescinding from policy agendas (Atkinson 2000a, 2000b; Bridge et al. 2012; Engels 1999; Parkinson et al. 2019; Yates 2008). Commenting on the waning of gentrification-related displacement from policy consideration in Melbourne, K. Shaw (2008, 193) posited 'most politicians and policy-makers here are so delighted to see property values rising and low-rent land uses removed from the city that they see any critique as an uncharitable detraction from their glory'.

Following a similar trajectory, many lower-income neighbourhoods have become the focus of 'social mixing' policy discoursed as a cure for concentrated poverty (Blomley 2004; Bridge et al. 2012; Fraser and Nelson

2008). In such instances, policies designed to attract and incentivise higher-income earners to move into lower-socioeconomic quarters are often implemented in parallel with the dismantlement of market interventions such as public housing and rent regulations that buffer the impacts of gentrification and other processes of socio-spatial exclusion (Lees 2014; Madden and Marcuse 2016; Newman and Wyly 2006; Phillips 2004; Sibley 1988, 1995; Silver 2007; Wyly and Hammel 1999). In many cases, the state-led demolition of public housing to create 'mixed-income communities' has been orchestrated under the pretence that the arrival of higher income earners will effectively 'lift' poorer members of society out of impoverishment, while increasing neighbourhood desirability (Bridge et al. 2012; Fraser et al. 2012). In this sense, urban redevelopment under the rhetoric of 'social mixing' insinuates that the increased presence of wealthier newcomers will inherently benefit the poor. However, as research has illustrated, such policies paradoxically enact a process where the arrival of higher-income groups stimulate property speculation, displacing long-standing residents of lower-socioeconomic status, while simultaneously reshaping neighbourhood space in favour of a higher-echelon of consumer tastes and values (Bridge et al. 2012; Lees et al. 2008; Lees and White 2019).

The HOPE VI (Home-ownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere) program in the US provides a seminal example of 'social mixing' policy enacted through a social-restratification program. In metropolitan areas across the country, substantial federal grants were provided to local governments to replace public housing complexes with 'mixed-income' dwellings, often halving the quantity of low-income housing prior to redevelopment (Bridge et al. 2012; Wyly and Hammel 1999). Wyly and Hammel's research illustrated that the program's function to incentivise market penetration and middle-class housing development, paradoxically demolished people's homes and displaced the populations the program was purportedly designed to benefit. Commenting on the outcome of HOPE VI across US cities, Gotham (2001, 437) contends that the redevelopment scheme not only displaced, but also excluded the existing low-income residents from the state-subsidised housing redevelopments which were instead made available to middle-income households. More broadly, the literature highlights a range of similar government housing initiatives that have effectively exacerbated displacement of lower-SES cohorts while simultaneously promoting, and in some cases subsidising private development projects under the banner of social mixing and neighbourhood improvement (Bruns-Berentelg 2012; Cheshire 2009; Fraser et al. 2012; Lees and White 2019; K. Shaw 2012).

A key concern associated with 'social mixing' policy, as Blomley points out, is that 'it promises equality in the face of hierarchy' (2004, 99). Yet, as Uitermark et al. (2007, 125) observed, rather than increasing social cohesion, 'contacts between low-income and higher-income households tend to be superficial at best and downright hostile at worst.' For instance, the literature shows how neighbourhoods enduring 'social mixing' policy reflects a one-way process where the arrival of higher-income groups directly and indirectly displaces

the pre-existing, low-income residents, while simultaneously reshaping neighbourhood space along gentrifying lines (Bridge et al. 2012; Lees et al. 2012; Lees and White 2019). N. Smith (2002) has referred to this exclusionary process as 'urban revanchism', justified through a set of policy practices that reclaim the inner-city for the middle-class and the market at the expense of lower-income and often socially marginalised groups (see also Fraser and Nelson 2008; Lees and Hubbard 2018; MacLeod 2002; Mitchell 2003; Purcell 2002, 2013). Likewise, other commentators refer to this strategy as 'gentrification by stealth' (Bridge et al. 2012) whereby market-led urban policies endorse an array of anodyne euphemisms such as 'revitalisation', 'regeneration', 'urban renewal' as a means to enshroud the socioeconomic and ethno-racial connotations of gentrification, while simultaneously eroding affordable housing for less-advantaged populations (Butcher and Dickens 2016; Lees et al. 2008; Philips and Lees 2018; Slater 2006). Smith (2002, 446) described this vocabulary as a 'linguistic anaesthetic' that functions to soften and deflect criticism and resistance to the overtly destructive aspects of gentrification widely-documented in the latter half of the 20th century. In this context, gentrification has been subsumed into the toolkit of neoliberal governance to drive capital-led development in the built environment, while losing its definitive underpinnings as a multifaceted process of social exclusion.

3.1.2. Positive gentrification

Correspondingly, critical research notes that through the promotion of neoliberal-oriented urban policy (social mixing, deregulation and similar policies dismantling the welfare state in favour of privatisation) many exclusionary aspects of gentrification have become increasingly downplayed and overlooked (Beveridge and Naumann 2014; Holm 2013; Slater 2006; Swyngedouw et al. 2002). At the same time, leading economists began asserting that gentrification enacts little to no displacement due to a numerical absence of displacement in residential mobility data. On the contrary, some researchers suggest that the arrival of capital investment and higher-income households into 'formerly forlorn neighbourhoods' (Freeman 2005, 448) has the potential to benefit the pre-existing lower-income households (Vigdor 2002). For Freeman and Vigdor, among others, the notion of displacement is reduced to the brief moment of household turnover, with little consideration of the wider social, economic and longer temporal effects experienced by lower-SES long-standing residents in gentrifying space (Davidson 2009; Sakizlioğlu 2014; Zhang and He 2018). Nonetheless, from this perspective, a perceived lack of out-migration in gentrifying neighbourhoods became the conventional litmus test for displacement (Brummet and Reed 2019; McKinnish et al. 2008).

Within this context, several studies in the US have been particularly instrumental in reshaping dominant discourses on gentrification and casting doubt on the extent of displacement. For instance, Freeman and Braconi (2004, 39) contend 'surprisingly little reliable evidence has been produced' to demonstrate to policy-makers and planners that gentrification displaces disadvantaged residents. While Vigdor (2002, 2010) rejects

the extant volume of critical literature, asserting that it has not 'convincingly' shown that the inherently class-based process of gentrification harms the poor. Although their analyses did indeed identify cases of low-income household displacement, for the authors, the adverse effects of gentrification are eclipsed by the perceived benefits which include increased investment, enhanced tax base, increased property values for homeowners, social mixing, reduced crime rates, as well as improved neighbourhood resources and amenities (Freeman 2005; Freeman and Braconi 2002, 2004; Vigdor 2002, 2010).

Following a similar epistemological logic, drawing on their recent study on the 100 largest cities in the US, Brummet and Reed (2019) gleaned that the benefits of gentrification are 'quantitatively large' for long-standing residents despite their findings revealing that 70 per cent of less-educated renters were displaced (Brummet and Reed 2019, 2–3). Through a statistical analysis of inter-city migratory movement, Freeman and Braconi (2004) infer that less-advantaged households appreciate the associated physical upgrading and neighbourhood improvements through gentrification, 'mak[ing] greater offers to remain in their dwelling units, even if the proportion of their income devoted to rent rises' (51). However, it is worth noting that the authors' inferences on households' motivations were not based on any qualitative research with residents of the study area. Moreover, the study does not consider the relationship between increasing rent burdens and the longer temporal implications of housing stress and displacement pressure. Meanwhile, for residents confronted by gentrification-related housing pressure Vigdor (2002, 173) explicitly advocates for displacement, proposing for a policy response where governments would provide assistance to relocate vulnerable households into 'less expensive residences.' Taken together, these studies, largely anchored in neoclassical urban economics and claiming a lack of quantified displacement in gentrifying neighbourhoods have become popular sources for urban policy-makers searching for 'reliable evidence base' free from anecdotes (Freeman and Braconi 2004, 39).

Oft-quoted studies highlighting the so-called positive aspects of gentrification have strengthened the discursive framing around gentrification as a concerted strategy for urban economic growth which poses few, if any, socio-spatial inequities (Newman and Wyly 2006). To this end, Atkinson (2015) and Slater (2009) note that policy-makers and media coverage often refer to the central arguments of Freeman, Braconi, Vigdor among others to validate the promotion of gentrification and justify the dismantling of housing market interventions. It is worth noting that Freeman and Braconi (2004) as well as Vigdor (2002), have pointed out that welfare provisions, in the form of rent controls and social housing, enhance residential stability and constitute important policy features that alleviate the extent of displacement as local housing prices increase. However, these nuanced aspects of their analyses remain largely omitted from those citing their work to influence policy-making decisions on the dismantling housing market interventions and the direct promotion of gentrification. For instance, *USA Today* published an article in 2005 entitled 'Studies: Gentrification a Boost

For Everyone' based on positive-gentrification literature of Freeman and Braconi (2004) and Vigdor (2002). While Capps (2019) goes as far as to refer to lower-SES long-standing residents as the 'hidden winners of gentrification.' By a similar token, *The Economist* published a provocative article entitled 'In Praise of Gentrification' (2018a) wherein the author reinforces the claim that critics of gentrification are lacking evidence, while the benefits 'go unsung'. Through their review of Freeman and Braconi's (2004) study, the author dismisses the rich literature on class- and race-based inequities precipitated through gentrification, deducing that:

> The introduction of affluent, white residents into poor, minority districts boosts racial and economic integration… Gentrification steers cash into deprived neighbourhoods and brings people into depopulated areas through market forces, all without the necessity of governmental intervention (*The Economist* 2018a).

In response to a growing endorsement of the positive gentrification thesis, a new generation of critical scholarship emerged to address the empirical gap related to the methodological challenges and complexities of researching displacement. Highlighting the limitations in measuring displacement using intra-city migratory metrics alone, some scholars have challenged the methodologies and findings typically used to validate the positive gentrification rhetoric. For instance, Atkinson (2003) points out that displacement is a complicated process to examine and calibrate as it is 'marked out by its near invisibility; where it has happened, no indicators remain' (319). Extending the observation, Newman and Wyly (2006, 27) stress that 'by definition, displaced residents have disappeared from the very places where researchers and census-takers go to look for them.' Furthermore, additional analytic challenges must be considered, particularly as gentrification-related displacement can occur at the household, housing unit and neighbourhood scale (Van Gent 2012). In this regard, analyses of housing and population data are viewed as limited in their capacity to capture the longer temporal struggles, pressures and experiences endured by lower-income residents in the wake of gentrification (Slater 2009; Slater et al. 2004). In turn, Slater (2010, 176), among other critical commentors, have argued for 'a view of displacement from below' which considers the experiences of incumbent residents directly affected by gentrification.

Newman and Wyly's (2006) now instrumental study for contemporary displacement research drew on datasets used to inform Freeman and Braconi's (2004) study. However, the authors also introduced a qualitative component to their methodology which involved interviewing residents and neighbourhood initiatives to elucidate the deepening class polarisation enacted through gentrification and the dismantlement of public housing and affordable market interventions. Their research illustrated three key findings that problematise several of Freeman and Braconi's earlier interpretations: (1) displaced lower-income households would often 'double up' with other households in an attempt to remain within the locality; (2) more than three-quarters of low-income households were paying more than 30 per cent of their

household income on rent, while half spent more than two-thirds on rent; and, (3) many households had developed adaptive or survival tactics to stay in place, including living in sub-standard housing conditions, overcrowded households and sacrificing other living costs such as food, clothing, healthcare, education and mobility to compensate increased rent burdens (Newman and Wyly 2006).

Following similar methodological approaches to displacement research, other studies also revealed cases where lower-SES residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods would make significant compromises, often taking on leases in substandard and often unsanitary private rental conditions in the effort to remain in their neighbourhood (Bernt et al. 2013; DeVerteuil 2011, 2012, 2017; Valli 2015; Wyly et al. 2010). In turn, Newman and Wyly (2006), contend that any attempt to measure displacement using intra-city spatial metrics alone is an inefficient tool for 'testing gentrification.' Further, their mixed-method findings critically challenge understandings of gentrification as a benign process of neighbourhood revitalisation and improvement, while revealing the routinely omitted economic and social pressures endured by lower-SES households as housing markets tighten and welfare provisions are dissolved. In their conclusions, they remark that:

> Underestimating displacement involves high costs for theoretical understanding of neighbourhood change and even higher tolls for poor and working-class residents and the tattered policies in place to give them some protection. Those who are forced to leave gentrifying neighbourhoods are torn from rich local social networks of information and cooperation (the "social capital" much beloved by policy-makers) (Newman and Wyly 2006, 51).

3.2. Dimensions of displacement

Newman and Wyly's (2006) research accentuates the longer temporal dimensions of displacement that need to be considered beyond the momentary event of involuntary out-migration. As increased housing inequality across urban space has prompted a reopening of the displacement debate, several scholars have revised conceptual lenses for examining the process, widening understandings of how long-standing residents are affected by gentrification and how gentrification-related pressures may or may not eventuate in their out-migration from the place they regard as home. Critical analyses on displacement have continued to build on the conceptual clarity and typologies conceived by Peter Marcuse in his seminal 1985 study on displacement in New York. Marcuse noted that initial definitions of displacement typically referred to the event of involuntary out-migration due to external forces beyond the control of the household, yet he also observed several nuanced features of displacement that were processual in nature. In the context of housing, Marcuse, identified four interrelated modalities that capture the spatial dynamics of housing-related displacement including: direct displacement; indirect economic displacement, and exclusionary displacement. Importantly, Marcuse also developed the concept of displacement pressure to emphasise not only the increased financial pressures related to gentrifying housing markets, but also the emotional layers of displacement associated

with a households' perception of wide-spread neighbourhood transformation and the various forms and experiences of dispossession engendered through gentrification (Marcuse 1985). In this sense, displacement is conceptualised beyond the confines of the housing market and household turnover to consider the multiple dimensions of displacing pressures experienced by incumbent populations in gentrifying spaces.

Only recently has critical scholarship on gentrification begun to conceptually explore the longer temporal dimensions of displacement (Kern 2016; Sakizlioğlu 2014; Zhang and He 2018). While much of the literature on gentrification refers to displacement pressure as a form of indirect residential displacement, Davidson's seminal research on displacement (2008, 2009) among others (see Atkinson 2000a, 2000b; Butcher and Dickens 2016; Kern 2016), have contributed to a broader canvasing of the various modalities, spatialities and longer temporal dimensions of gentrification-related displacement, i.e., the process of living under the threat of displacement. Driving this epistemological shift to consider the shelter and non-shelter underpinnings of displacement involves conceptualising place as far more than a neutral backdrop, container or spatial location 'within which social relations develop' (Pratt and Hanson 1994, 25).

Table 3.1 conceptualises the multiple dimensions of displacement identified within the critical literature. My aim is to develop a synthesised typology of the forces underpinning gentrification-related displacement. This is significant for my research as it extends the conceptualisation of displacement beyond the out-migration/staying put binary which has routinely functioned as a litmus test for gentrification by reducing displacement to the action of movement. This respatialised theory of displacement, which includes additional non-shelter forms of exclusions experienced at the neighbourhood scale over time, informs the conceptual framework guiding this research.

Table 3.1. Dimensions of gentrification-related displacement

Mode	Process	Effects
	Direct Displacement	
Physical/Forced	Eviction; coercion via illegal buyouts; utilities cut off	Spatial dislocation through involuntary out-migration
Direct economic	Substantial rent increases beyond a household's capacity to pay	Spatial dislocation through involuntary out-migration
Exclusionary	Prevented from accessing dwellings previously attainable before gentrification	Spatial dislocation and exclusion
	Displacement pressure	
Indirect economic	Increasing affordability pressures from price shadowing/closure of rent gaps	Spatial dislocation; retrenchment endeavours to remain in place; increased housing stress
Involuntary immobility	Involuntary immobility due to housing market pressure and/or defamiliarisation from shifting neighbourhood culture	Remain in place under constraints or risk spatial dislocation; dwelling/household mismatch; psycho-social implications impacting on sense of place, belonging and identity
Community	Familiar populations replaced by incoming, affluent users (dwellers and visitors)	Erosion of place-identity and place-based social networks; social isolation, alienation and exclusion
Neighbourhood resource	Daily needs and tastes no longer met by transitioning neighbourhood infrastructure (shifting consumer culture)	Economic and socials exclusion; travel beyond neighbourhood to obtain essential goods and services
Everyday	Collective set of displacing processes related to a multiplicity of gentrification; housing, neighbourhood, socio-spatial, socio-economic & socio-cultural change	Erosion of place-identity and place-based social networks; social isolation, alienation and exclusion; increased sense of 'out-of-placeness'

Source: Author, adapted from Atkinson (2015); Davidson (2008, 2009); Marcuse (1985); Stabrowski (2014); Valli (2015)

3.2.1. Direct displacement

Perhaps the most widely acknowledged consequence of gentrification is direct displacement. This interpretation is often cited as the most violent form of displacement, and typically refers to the physical and economic forces that make living in a residence difficult or impossible, enacting the involuntary out-migration

from the dwelling (Hartmen et al. 1982; Lees et al. 2008; Marcuse 1985). Scholarship describes the event of direct displacement precipitating through actions of forced eviction, rent contractual termination, substantial rent increases and/or various forms of landlord harassment and intimidation (Hartmen et al. 1982; Marcuse 1985; N. Smith 1996).

In gentrifying neighbourhoods, direct displacement typically occurs in correlation with a reinvestment and upward shift in local housing markets. As the price of land and value increases, so too does the incentive for landlords to the close widening rent gap and capture the highest potential value of their property (N. Smith 1979). In some cases, sizable rent increases are unmanageable for the existing tenant structure, thus triggering their expulsion from the premises. In other cases, the potential value of a dwelling is maximised after a rehabilitation of the physical structure and therefore beyond the current tenant-occupied value (N. Smith 1987; Slater 2016). Herein lies the incentive for landlords to vacate a property, carryout the refurbishment and close the rent gap (Slater 2018). Tenant evictions of this nature have typically transpired through the conclusion of rent agreements through the form of eviction notices (Marcuse 1985). However, in housing markets with tighter state interventions such as rent regulations or unlimited-term rental contracts, the literature highlights a range of techniques and strategies used by landlords to circumnavigate regulations and vacate a dwelling for profit-seeking purposes (Hartmen et al. 1982; Marcuse 1985).

Documented harassment techniques have included cutting off a households' heating and utilities; neglecting repair and maintenance duties; buying out tenants through lump-sum payments; and, in more extreme cases, setting fire to properties to expel tenants and claim insurance pay-outs (see N. Smith 1996). Lees (1994, 208) refers to the various practices of landlord harassment and bribery to force tenants from their homes as 'winkling'. In an ethnographic study on increased housing inequality in London, Lees relayed a case of winkling wherein a landlord took forceful action against a tenant by turning off the electricity, removing their belongings from the property, changing the locks, followed by verbal abuse and physical threats of violence. Madden and Marcuse (2016) recognise that these exploitative tactics actively seek to push lower-SES residents and their culture out of the property and the neighbourhood in order reposition the dwelling in a way to extract higher gains. To sum up, direct displacement equates to forced out-migration.

3.2.2. Indirect economic displacement

Although the momentary action of direct displacement has been widely used as the primary indicator to 'measure' gentrification, Wyly and Newman (2006), among others, have highlighted several limitations to this approach, stressing its conceptual restrictiveness and the need for a deeper consideration of the hidden elements of urban displacement. As Marcuse asserted, 'displacement affects more than those actually displaced at any given moment' (1985, 207). In this sense, beyond the often violent, yet ephemeral event of

forced expulsion, indirect-economic displacement due to a reduction of housing affordability can also occur piecemeal through gradual and incremental rent increases and price shadowing (Atkinson 2002, 2003; Benson and Jackson 2018; Davidson 2008; Madden and Marcuse 2016). Davidson (2008, 2390) refers to this slow burning process as the 'affordability squeeze' whereby a larger proportion of a household's income is subtracted from other living costs in order to cover rent increases (Marcuse 1985).

Freeman and Braconi (2004, 50) noted that in the wake of rising rents and subsequently increased rent burdens, 'gentrification can still exacerbate the housing problems of the poor, even if widespread displacement is not occurring'. This observation complicates their oft-cited central argument that long-standing residents largely benefit from neighbourhood-wide economic upgrading of housing and neighbourhood amenities fostered through gentrification, to the degree that Davidson insists that any proponents of a so-called positive gentrification 'has lost touch with the very meaning of displacement itself' (Davidson 2009, 225). As previously outlined, Newman and Wyly (2006) identified some of the adaptive strategies adopted by long-standing residents, altering living standards in order to remain *in situ* in response to increased economic stress. Moreover, Stabrowski (2014) found that survival practices taken by residents to remain in place often enacted a decreased quality of life, the severity of which varies depending on individual rent agreements, housing conditions and household financial circumstances. Here, the effects of gentrification can heighten the likelihood of spatial relocation eventuating (Marcuse 1985), while also emphasising some of the longer temporal, yet less-perceptible disadvantages of staying put (Atkinson 2015; Davidson 2008; DeVerteuil 2012; Kern 2016; Rerat 2018; Sakizlioğlu 2013; K. Shaw and Hagemans 2015). Indirect-economic displacement complicates quantitative studies that attempt to measure displacement in terms of momentary out-migration, as the number of households experiencing economic displacing pressures are likely to be much larger than represented in household mobility data.

3.2.3. Exclusionary displacement

In direct relation to the reduction of low-cost housing in gentrifying neighbourhoods, Marcuse coined the term exclusionary displacement to describe a process where 'any household is not permitted to move into a dwelling, by a change in conditions which affects that dwelling or its immediate surroundings which […] differs significantly and in a spatially concentrated fashion from changes in the housing market' (1986, 156). Put differently, this conceptualisation demonstrates the neighbourhood-wide implications of gentrification. In turn, exclusionary displacement is evident when a household is excluded from housing it would have previously had access to before gentrification. Significantly, exclusionary displacement was also observed as a consequence of gentrification in Freeman and Braconi's (2004) widely cited study. Although the authors did not explicitly engage with Marcuse's elucidation of the concept, Freeman later reflected on their initial assessment of gentrification-induced rent intensification, stressing the following:

> The results presented here might tempt one to conclude that the lack of widespread displacement means that concerns about the disappearance of affordable housing are overblown. But the fact that lower socioeconomic status households are no longer moving into these neighborhoods implies a diminishing of housing opportunities for some. Households that would have formerly been able to find housing in gentrifying neighborhoods must now search elsewhere (Freeman 2005, 488).

Hamnett (2003) who has been an unlikely proponent of the positive gentrification thesis (see Hamnett 2003, 2009, 2010), importantly noted that for exclusionary displacement retain its explanatory power, the concept must possess a spatial focus and not be extended to critique city-wide housing market change.

3.2.4. Involuntary immobility

Complicating the concept of displacement as a process of housing-related spatial dislocation, research has revealed forms of 'involuntary immobility' (Newman and Wyly 2006; Zhang and He 2018) 'entrapment' (Marcuse 1985) or 'in situ impoverishment' (Van Criekingen 2006, 2009) which often relates to a mismatch between (lower-cost) existing tenure and (higher-cost) current market rents and property values within a spatial area (Slater 2009). This can present a predicament where long-standing residents are financially restricted to their existing residence as the rents or purchase price for available housing in the locality or adjacent neighbourhoods are disproportionately higher; thus, out of reach. Zhang and He (2018) referred to involuntary immobility as a 'hidden form' of gentrification that is important, yet largely absent from urban policy and housing studies. In a study on gentrifying neighbourhoods in Brussels, Van Criekingen (2006, 30) found that lower-SES households were less likely to vacate gentrifying neighbourhoods 'because they are "trapped" in the lowest segment of the private rental housing market.' Similarly, Newman and Wyly (2006) observed that although experiencing significant housing affordability constraints, many lower-SES households in New York City were effectively trapped in heavily gentrifying areas.

Empirical evidence on a household's inability to move in relation to gentrification echoes an earlier critique by Marcuse who stressed 'if a household under pressure of displacement does not choose to move, it is probably because of a lack of alternatives, rather than a lack of pressure' (1985, 214). From this perspective, DeVerteuil notes that households experiencing gentrification-induced entrapment largely complicates the power relations in mobility as well as Hartman's (1984) Right to Stay Put thesis which posits that 'staying put' is inherently positive (2011, 1577). As Annunziata and Rivas–Alonso (2018, 394) assert, the Right to Stay Put movement invokes an oppositional defensive practice to expulsion and other exclusionary forces. However, as Zhang and He (2018) explain, residents choosing to stay put, accepting high rents and often substandard housing, must be perceived as trade-offs to avoid being expelled from the neighbourhood they call home. This consideration of displacement complicates the neoclassical economic perspectives of displacement as a migratory process, where those who manage to stay put will benefit from the neighbourhood effects of

gentrification, while underscoring the significance of place as an integral element to any understanding of displacement (see also Lees and Hubbard 2018).

3.3. Displacement pressure

Peter Marcuse also developed the term displacement pressure to emphasise not only the increased financial pressures related to gentrified housing markets, but also the emotional layers of displacement associated with a households' perception of wide-spread neighbourhood transformation and the varied forms and experiences of dispossession engendered through gentrification (Marcuse 1985). In this sense, displacement is conceptualised beyond the context of the housing market and the momentary event of resident out-migration to consider various dimensions of displacement experienced by incumbent populations in gentrifying spaces as a varying set of pressures experienced over time. Herein, the concept of displacement pressure signposts the multiple dimensions of exclusion that can be experienced through gentrification-induced neighbourhood change.

Only recently has gentrification studies begun to conceptually explore the affective and temporal dimensions of displacement (see Kerns 2016; Sakızlıoğlu 2014; Zhang and He 2018). While much of the literature on gentrification referred to displacement pressure as a form of indirect residential displacement, Davidson's seminal research on displacement (2008, 2009) among others (see Atkinson 2003; Butcher and Dickens 2016), have contributed to a broader canvasing of the various modalities, spatialities and temporalities of gentrification-related displacement. Driving this epistemological shift toward the understandings of displacement is the concept of *place* and thinking of place as far more than 'neutral backdrops' or 'containers within which social relations develop' (Pratt and Hanson 1994, p. 25). In turn and following Slater's (2006) call for a reinvestment in critical perspectives of gentrification, an emerging body of research on urban displacement has pushed the focus beyond the spatial practice of out-migration and produced an expanded typology of displacement to capture its spatial, social and psychological dimensions. Davidson sharpens this critique, arguing that attempts to measure displacement using census tracts only capture a snapshot of one aspect of displacement 'at the time of'; further, if the political, social, cultural and wider economic aspects of neighbourhood change are omitted, it is impossible to capture the entirety and temporality of displacement as a multifaceted process that is place-based in nature. Thus, in addition to its spatial underpinnings, the phenomenological aspects of displacement as a disintegration of people's sense of place have become central to any discussion on displacement (Cocola-Gant 2019; Davidson and Lees 2010; Elliot-Cooper et al. 2019; Zheng and He 2018).

3.3.1. Place and displacement

The significance of place underscores the crux of *why* displacement matters. Perhaps one of the most seminal works on place derives from the scholarship of the late-Doreen Massey (1991, 1992, 1993, 2005) who conceptualised place as a dynamic and multi-layered process, perceived not only as a site, spatial location, or a statistical area but as 'a space of social relations through which people have attached meaning' (1992, 12). For Massey, place is constituted through the 'particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location (nowhere else does this precise mixture occur) and in part of the fact that the meeting of those social relations at that location (their partly happenstance juxtaposition) will in turn produce new social effects' (Massey 1992, 12). Following the work of Fried (1966), Fullilove wrote on the significance of place in relation to the sense of self, which constitutes a 'core element in identity formation' (Fullilove 1996, 1520). She continues, stating that 'place can be understood as the sum of resources and human relationships in a given location. As such, place sets the conditions for human consciousness. It also provides the physical structures within which human relationships unfurl. Place is, on the one hand, the external realities within which people shape their existence and, on the other hand, the object of human thought and action' (1996, 1518).

However, the literature also notes that an individual's place identity is constructed over time, incorporating performativity, everyday practice and the development of social relations within and beyond a spatial locality. As Benson and Jackson (2013, 794) point out 'places are made through repeated everyday interactions and interventions that work both on the neighbourhood and on the individual'. In the context of gentrification, if existing residents are excluded from the place-making practices reshaping their neighbourhood, feelings of displacement can be experienced without spatial dislocation (Davidson 2009; K. Shaw and Hagemans 2015).

Ultimately, a locality will have different meanings for different people, and one's relationship to place is not static. At the same time, Massey (1993, 1994) also identified a contradiction between how localities are represented, coded and socially constructed and how different individuals and social groups conceive them at particular points of time (see also Gustafson 2001). In response to Massey's work on place, critical research has long called for the notion of 'place' to underscore research on displacement (Bammer 1994; Pratt 1998; Pratt and Hanson 1994). During the late 2000s, several researchers of gentrification began to address this call with a sense of seriousness and substantial consideration. Notably, geographer Mark Davidson (2008, 2009) applied a philosophy of space to underscore the 'place' in displacement, thus extending the conventional understanding of a spatialised migration process, to one that recognises displacement as a *loss of place*.

Adopting Lefebvre's (1991) conceptualisation of the trialectic of space: conceived (representations of space); perceived (spatial practice); and, lived (representational space), Davidson (2009) draws on the lived experience of space as experienced by long-standing residents to emphasise the everydayness and sociality of place, contending that any abstraction of displacement as household out-migration, renders 'important aspects of space silenced' (2009, 323). Furthermore, Davidson argues that conceiving displacement purely in spatial terms, dismisses the crux of what makes displacement such an emotionally and socially destructive process: 'obscur[ing] the numerous ways that gentrification can cause the divesting of place' (Davidson 2008, 2389). To illustrate this point, he draws on the space/place dialectic (Taylor 1999) to explain that one can experience displacement in the absence of spatial dislocation while spatial relocation can occur with no lived sense of displacement (Davidson 2009). This approach to researching displacement, conceptualises the process as a loss of place that can be experienced spatially and psychologically over time. From this perspective, reducing the process of displacement to the momentary action of involuntary out-migration from the neighbourhood are at odds with the politics of social space as it simply implies movement (Atkinson 2015; Davidson 2009).

As others have since argued, analyses of displacement in a purely spatial sense obscure the various facets of gentrification that enact the divestment of place, and by extension dismiss the key forces that make displacement such a destructive process for those affected (Atkinson 2015; Sakızlıoğlu 2014; Stabrowski 2014; Valli 2015). The literature shows how gentrification often enacts feelings of alienation and exclusion, in the sense that less-advantaged residents can feel detached from the 'new sense of place' that has developed and continues to transform the neighbourhood according to incoming tastes, practices and values of more economically and socially powerful groups. In this regard, Elliot-Cooper et al. (2019, 13) note that displacement 'can entail forms of slow violence, which render particular neighbourhoods less hospitable and accommodating to established residents, as well as direct and forceful acts of expropriation which the vulnerable and precarious seem least able to cope with'.

Through an examination of the longer temporal dimensions of displacement, Nixon (2011, 2) wrote on mounting displacement pressure as 'a violence that is neither spectacular nor instantaneous, but rather incremental and accretive, its calamitous repercussions playing out across a range of temporal scales'. In an empirical study on low-income residents in gentrifying suburbs of Melbourne and Sydney, Atkinson noted how residents became 'dislocated and isolated by the physical and social changes that took place while still residing in neighbourhoods as they changed' (Atkinson 2015, 373). Incorporating a similar conceptualisation of place and home, Butcher and Dickens (2016, 801) explain that 'displacement is not just the decanting of residents as a result of demolition orders and the pressure of increasing rents, but also occurs as a result of disjunctions in the affective dimensions of belonging that come with urban transformation'. As gentrification

rolls out, the capacity for less-advantaged residents to make place is increasingly diminished. Based on these extended conceptualisations of Marcuse's displacement pressure, recent scholarship has elucidated additional typologies to underscore the nuanced spatial and place-based effects of gentrification experienced by long-standing residents, including community displacement; neighbourhood resource displacement; and, everyday displacement.

3.3.2. Community displacement

Community displacement refers to the changing social balance of a neighbourhood as the proportion of gentrifiers increase and subsequently recast the social governance of the locality (Davidson 2008; Levy 2006; Stabrowski 2014; Valli 2015). The literature notes how incoming gentrifiers typically exert greater economic capital than the long-standing population, and by extension, greater control of the local political apparatus (Butler and Robson 2003; Davidson 2008; Levy 2006). Investigating the asymmetrical power-relations of class-based neighbourhood change, Fraser (2004) asserts that through gentrification, neighbourhood governance becomes increasingly mediated by gentrifiers who often possess a greater capacity to influence and reshape the neighbourhood in their own image, while excluding incumbent populations from both producing and inhabiting a place they call home (Massey 1992, 1993; Massey and Jess 1995; Tuan 1977).

To exemplify this dynamic, I refer to Davidson's (2008) study on the shifting neighbourhood powers structures related to a contested commercial redevelopment scheme in Brentford, London. Davidson observed how the daily needs of incumbent populations were challenged by the organised efforts of new, affluent residents who campaigned to replace the existing commercial structure with a range of upmarket stores, cafes, bars, restaurants and the establishment of an organic farmer's market, thus redefining how neighbourhood space would be used, and who would be included/excluded. This shows that as the gentrification cycle proceeds, daily life for lower-income residents can become increasingly more difficult as many aspects of the long-standing community structure are eroded or displaced. In sum, community displacement relates to the decreased ability for less-advantaged residents to negotiate place through gentrification.

3.3.3. Neighbourhood resource displacement

In direct relation to the political contestations of neighbourhood governance and gentrification, recent research has also discerned a process of neighbourhood resource displacement (Davidson 2008). Largely developed through the expanding literature on retail gentrification, studies have found that the upscaling of neighbourhood resources in gentrifying space often produces exclusionary retailscapes changed beyond recognition, thus affecting the broader neighbourhood dynamics (e.g., Hubbard 2018; Zukin 2008). For instance, Shaw and Hageman (2015) found that the increase of boutiques and upmarket stores in gentrifying

suburbs of inner-Melbourne triggered a reduction in the range of offerings for lower-SES households, while simultaneously reshaping the neighbourhood character toward the interests and preferences of incoming, affluent groups.

In this sense, the process of neighbourhood resource displacement is twofold: First, the pressures of gentrification can result in the closure of local businesses through shifting demands of incoming consumers coupled with increased rents and competition driven by new retail capital (Zukin et al. 2009). Secondly, the erosion of the long-standing commercial infrastructure can be unsettling for residents who lose access to essential resources and services they rely on for everyday life. For Shaw and Hageman (2015, 327), 'if the sources of the familiar—shops, services, meeting places, other people in the neighbourhood, the nature of local social order and governance—become unfamiliar, low-income people may lose their sense of place without the capacity to find a new one. This loss of place can be as distressing as physical relocation.' Research from the UK found that the substitution of long-standing businesses with upmarket and trendy stores impacted on lower-SES residents' already-reduced capacity to consume while threatening their sense of belonging to the neighbourhood (Kennelly and Watts 2012). In this respect, empirical evidence of neighbourhood-resource displacement contradicts the perceived benefits of neighbourhood regeneration frequently touted by city officials and other proponents of positive gentrification. On the contrary, neighbourhood-resource displacement is integrated into a broader totality of displacement, whereby the pressures produced through a gentrifying retailscape that excludes many long-standing residents can contribute to a broader set of displacement pressures.

3.3.4. Everyday displacement

Following Slater's (2006) call for a re-centering of displacement in gentrification studies and supplemented by Davidson's reconceptualisation of displacement as both a spatial and place-based property of gentrification, a new generation of scholarship has emerged to critically investigate the lived experience of displacement. Through a consideration of the varying and modalities and temporalities of displacement, researchers have adopted the terms 'affective displacement' (Butcher and Dickens 2016), 'everyday displacement' (Stabrowski 2014), 'cultural displacement (Cahill 2007) or 'a sense of displacement' (Atkinson 2015; Valli 2015), to consider the exclusionary effects generated by market related processes (housing and commodities), the commodification of culture (Zukin 1989, 1991, 2008), as well as exclusions experienced as a sense of dislocation from aspects of daily life that constitute one's place-identity (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Butcher and Dickens 2016).

For instance, Stabrowski (2014, 808) found that 'everyday displacement is experienced by low-income and working-class residents who remain physically a part of the neighborhood, even as their living conditions,

sense of security, and access to local resources are all being eroded.' Similarly, Valli (2015) traces the psycho-social dimensions of displacement as experienced by African American and Hispanic residents in gentrifying Bushwick, NYC. Through ongoing encounters with affluent, white newcomers, Valli observed how long-standing residents' sense of home is gradual diminished as the neighbourhood is increasingly revalourised and reshaped along exclusionary lines of class and race. Writing on similar junctures of power and privilege, Butcher and Dickens (2016, 802) show how non-gentrifiers feel increasingly 'out of sync' with the shifting neighbourhood culture, which can generate a sense of discomfort, disorientation, dispossession and no longer feeling at home. In this regard, Shaw and Hageman (2015, 339) point out that 'although these residents remain in place, the class remake produces a sense of loss of place: of entitlement to be there and be catered for and, through the reduction in the presence of familiar faces and introduction of many new ones, a loss of place identity.' Collectively, these non-shelter dimensions of displacement contribute to a sense of everyday displacement.

Mindy Fullilove (1996, 2004, 2016), who has written extensively on the connections between residents and their intimate environments, gentrification, and psychological disorder, illuminates the psycho-social dimensions of displacement. In her publication entitled 'the psychiatric implications of displacement: contributions from psychology of place' Fullilove (1996) accentuated how processes of place attachment, familiarity, and place identity are threatened by gentrification. Fullilove (1996, 1516) describes the three processes as follows (1) *place attachment*, which parallels, but is distinct from, attachment to person, is a mutual caretaking bond between person and a beloved place; (2) *familiarity*, the processes by which people develop detailed cognitive knowledge of their environs; and, (3) *place identity*, the extraction of a sense of self based on the places in which one passes through life.

Fullilove's (1996, 2016) research shows how living through gentrification can rupture one's person-place relationships. For instance, place-based social networks are often eroded as the population structure is restratified along gentrified lines, important meeting places either disappear or are appropriated by the arriving affluent users, while familiar places are altered beyond recognition to the long-standing resident structure. Fullilove concludes that as a neighbourhood gentrifies, those who manage to remain often experience psychological effects of a sense of loss (Fullilove 2016). These non-shelter aspects of displacement demonstrate the implications gentrification poses to long-standing residents beyond a political economy of housing (Fincher et al. 2016; Lancione 2020). Further, a conceptualisation of place as *lived space* (Davidson 2009; Lefebvre 1991) reveals how long-standing residents can experience a sense of loss and dispossession to place on a daily-basis without being physically displaced.

3.4. Chapter conclusion

This chapter has brought together the literature on urban displacement to develop a conceptual and empirical understanding of the cumulative material, sensory and longer temporal dimensions enacted through gentrification. Importantly, I have demonstrated how a perceived absence of household turnover in gentrifying areas should not be misinterpreted as an absence of displacement (Atkinson 2000a, 2000b). As several studies have shown, long-standing residents may go to great measures to remain in their home and neighbourhood, adopting a range of adaptive survival strategies that in turn, can decrease their quality of life in other non-shelter ways. However, the review also shows that the longer temporal effects of gentrification for long-standing residents who have managed to stay put is underrepresented in scholarly literature. In particular, the hidden costs of gentrification remain absent from positive gentrification studies that often inform media and policy-makers. Consequently, as the exclusionary effects of gentrification have been minimised or obfuscated from scholarly analysis, the perceived lack of 'reliable evidence' (Freeman and Braconi 2004) of displacement paradoxically reinforces the celebration of gentrification as a central strategy for urban economic growth and development.

At the same time, emerging scholarship has demonstrated how gentrification-related displacement can precipitate through more diffuse and subtle processes of inequality than previously conceived. Notably, the implications of gentrification are not identified at the moment a resident is pressured to vacate their home or neighbourhood. Instead, long-standing residents experience gentrification as incoming market and cultural forces that make it progressively more difficult to continue living in the locality (Cocola-Gant 2018b; Davison and Lees 2010; Lees and Phillips 2018). In this regard, I have shown how displacement extends beyond the event of spatial out-migration, and how overlapping displacing pressures can be experienced on a daily basis, amounting to a sensed loss of place which can pose psychological implications. Importantly, I have also shown how a pressure of displacement does not necessarily eventuate in spatial out-migration. Yet for those experiencing these pressures through pent-up housing stress, community-, neighbourhood resource-, and everyday-displacement, the ruptures between people and place can be just as destructive as neighbourhood expulsion and should therefore be taken seriously a powerful geography of exclusion.

Chapter Four: Methodology

As highlighted in Chapter Two and Three, there is an empirical shortfall in gentrification studies relating to limited critical perspectives considering the experiences of long-standing residents living in neighbourhoods undergoing uneven socio-spatial transformation. Moreover, I have shown how an absence of evidence has been perceived by some as an absence of the displacement process altogether. This pivotal shift in the gentrification narrative evident in media, popular and academic discourse underscores the significance of methodological frameworks guiding research on structural forces of change in the city and the complex yet interrelated social effects. In this regard, the literature review noted an emerging scholarship that approaches gentrification-induced displacement with revised conceptual clarity, employing qualitative, ethnographic research methods with the purpose to examine 'a view of displacement from below' (Slater 2010, 176). Building on this literature, I developed a typology that depicts a respatialised theory of displacement which builds on conceptual framework guiding this study (Table 3.1). To this end, this chapter considers the theoretical and conceptual perspectives outlined in the literature reviews that inform the methodological approach undertaken for this research. Additionally, I explain my positionality in relation to the research and describe the multi-method approach applied to address my research question and objectives. In this chapter, I discuss the approach and design of this study, as well as the research methods used for the collection of data.

4.1. Methodological framework

In Chapter Two, I described a dichotomy that, until recently, dominated theoretical explanations of gentrification. Scholarly debates over the origin of gentrification, and the related theoretical cleavages produced, are reflective of disparate methodological approaches that generated diverse, yet frequently competing understandings of gentrification in the academic literature. For instance, production-side examinations of gentrification have tended to explore the larger-scale dynamics and uneven flows of capital throughout the built environment, conducting quantitative analyses of statistical data, including census reports and housing data (Hackworth 2002; N. Smith 1979, 1996). While quantitative analyses on gentrification are less likely to identify the local nuances and particularities of the everyday city (Hubbard 2006), the work of critical scholars such as Smith (1996, 2002), Hackworth (2002) among others has been pivotal in making sense of broader structural patterns of capital mobility and reproduction in the post-industrial city. This was clearly emphasised in Smith's (1996) thesis of gentrification as a global urban strategy to reappropriate the city for further rounds of capital reinvestment.

Parallel to research centred on the structural developments and land-use change in the city, I have also described how qualitative, ethnographic, and interpretative analyses have often been conducted by

researchers concerned with the consumption-side characteristics of gentrification, focusing on individuals or small groups to examine changing residential preferences and cultural commodification (Caulfield 1989, 1994; Ley 1989, 1996; Rose 1984; Zukin 1982, 1989, 1991, 2008). Interpretative qualitative techniques were frequently employed to investigate the patterns, practices and aspirations of incoming gentrifying residents, often using interviews and participant observation as primary data collection methods (Bridge 2006a, 2000b; Butler and Robson 2003). Using the production-consumption debate as an example clearly demonstrates how methodological choices affect what aspects of gentrification are researched and by extension, the empirical and theoretical contributions generated. Yet, as Lees (1998, 228) argued 'the importance of methodology has seldom been stressed in studies of gentrification', an issue that continues to influence interpretations of the politically charged process (see also Atkinson 2000a, 2000b, 2003; Davidson 2009; Lees and Phillips 2018; Slater 2006).

In Chapter Three, I outlined a range of methodological approaches used to conduct research on urban displacement and the political implications of high-profile studies that have minimised the variety and extent of socio-spatial exclusion in gentrifying neighbourhoods. Importantly, I showed how statistical analyses on intra-city migratory patterns have frequently featured as the prime indicator used to measure gentrification-induced displacement (Brummett and Reed 2019; Freeman and Braconi 2004; Hamnett 2003; Vigdor 2002). Although this methodological approach is useful for demonstrating the level of socio-economic transformation of a particular locality, many argue that analyses seeking to measure the extent of out-migration in gentrifying neighbourhoods arrive too late in the sense that for the affected populations, the damage has already been done (Atkinson 2000a, 2000b, 2003; Crookes 2011; Slater 2006). At the same time, Newman and Wyly's (2006) study revealed how statistical analyses attempting to measure gentrification fail to capture the lived experience of affected lower-income residents and therefore the multifaceted pressures often endured in the attempt to remain in place. In effect, critical literature on displacement highlights the inability to capture the non-migratory economic and social implications of gentrification using methodological approaches designed solely on statistical analyses of housing and demographic change.

Comparatively, I have shown how, in recent years, new conceptual and methodological approaches have challenged singular readings of displacement as an outcome reduced to the moment of household turnover. Most notably, I discussed the concept of displacement pressure as proposed by Marcuse (1985), which has since been reconceptualised and incorporated into the methodological toolkit of contemporary gentrification scholarship. Correspondingly, an increase of in-depth qualitative case studies conducted across various contexts investigating the lived-experiences of those exposed to displacing pressures, and their response to them, have revealed a range of shelter and non-shelter dimensions of displacement. In effect, these emerging scholarships on displacement underscore the significance of qualitative studies conducted

at finer spatial scales to explore, detect and analyse the everyday effects of gentrification typically omitted from conventional studies that have often negated resident voices (see Atkinson 2000a, 2000b, 2003; DeVerteuil 2011, 2012; Elliot-Cooper et al. 2019; Kern 2016; Slater 2006, 2009).

As Slater (2010) contends, a 'bottom-up' qualitative research approach is required to capture the daily life experiences of long-standing residents living in gentrifying space (see also Crookes 2011; Elliot-Cooper et al. 2019). In this regard, the recent work of Atkinson (2015), Valli (2015), Cahill (2007), Stabrowski (2014) and Shaw and Hagemans (2015) is particularly illustrative. The authors have undertaken extensive qualitative fieldwork and interviews with residents subjected to various forms of displacement pressure, examining the socio-cultural and psycho-social dimensions of displacement extending beyond the momentary action of out-migration. Ultimately, their findings demonstrate the significance of methodological approaches developed to garner new insight into the way incumbent populations experience, confront, make sense of, and also resist gentrification.

The conceptual framework outlined in table 3.1 depicts the various displacement pressures identified through my review of the literature. The development of this framework was essential to designing a research approach sensitive to the granular and visceral aspects of gentrification as experienced by residents. In turn, the research has been designed in a way to generate an in-depth understanding of long-standing residents' everyday experiences with multiple types of neighbourhood change. Emerging scholarship shows how accelerated transformations at the neighbourhood scale can foster social alienation and exclusion, yet as this body of research highlights, the implications have rarely been considered in the broader literature (Atkinson 2015; Cahill 2007; Gonzalez and Waley 2013; K. Shaw and Hagemans 2015; Stabrowski 2014; Valli 2015). Furthermore, and as identified in Chapter Two, changes to the retailscape related to gentrification as well as the recent expansion of urban tourism across residential space can significantly alter the entire neighbourhood toward the interests and preferences of incoming groups of higher-income propensity (Gotham 2005; Harvey 2012; Hubbard 2018; Zukin 2008). In this sense, it was imperative to develop a methodological approach sensitive to the subtleties and nuances of everyday neighbourhood life, considering the implications of socio-spatial change beyond the household scale, and taking seriously the covert and less-tangible social inequalities enacted through processes of gentrification and tourism rarely considered in academic and grey literature.

4.2. Researcher positionality

Before discussing the methods used to conduct this research, it is worth explaining how I came to select Kreuzberg as a site for analysis, the development of the study and my position in the research. I first moved to Neukölln, Berlin from Perth, Australia in November 2010 for musical and personal motivations. Although

I have frequently returned to Australia for performance and academic purposes, I have maintained the status of 'registered resident' in the German capital since my arrival. In 2015, I completed my Honours' dissertation in Geography on contested urban space in Kreuzberg. Through an exploration of the commodification of non-commissioned street art by city officials and the real-estate industry, the research examined how local opposition movements challenged urban development projects that appropriated sub-culture for capital gains. Throughout the qualitative inquiry, I became attuned to the polarising theoretical and empirical debates surrounding gentrification across Kreuzberg more broadly. Moreover, I was increasingly interested in the way a process previously understood as an expression of class inequality (Glass 1964) had, in turn, become integrated into the policy-making toolkit for urban development in formerly impoverished localities such as Kreuzberg (Bernt et al. 2013; Polat 2018). During my Honour's project, I learned about the significant role of Kreuzberg as a crucial site for demonstration and resistance against various forms of social injustice. As opposition to accelerated housing commodification became an increasingly visible feature of the neighbourhood landscape, the need to interrogate how state-intervention measures initially structured to protect tenants had become largely ineffective became increasingly apparent.

Correspondingly, the scale and speed of neighbourhood change and the related pressures placed on vulnerable populations that continued to reside in Kreuzberg illustrated a salient, yet under-researched issue. Although I had only lived in Berlin for five years, it was clearly evident that the existing neighbourhood infrastructure of Kreuzberg was rapidly disappearing, replaced by a landscape of incoming hospitality and retail establishments offering high-end, niche offerings. Consequently, neighbourhood resources and amenities important to long-standing populations were continually supplanted by newer establishments oriented toward a more affluent clientele of residents and tourists. Ultimately the effects of gentrification and tourism began to re-characterise the urban landscape, with rising rents, increasing party tourism, and the rapid transformation of local resources, facilities and services collectively impacting on daily residential life in Kreuzberg (Bernt et al. 2013; Novy 2017; Füller and Michel 2014). As these processes continued to feature in media and popular discourse as highly charged issues for long-standing residents, the socio-spatial implications became the focal point driving the design and development of my PhD research.

During my Honours degree, exposure to the nuances and localised particularities of Kreuzberg's gentrification provoked a series of questions concerning how long-standing residents are affected by structural forces of change beyond the widely understood process of direct displacement. As one's neighbourhood undergoes rapid transformation and commodification, what does it mean for the everyday life of residents who have managed, or are struggling to remain in a locality they define as home? How is gentrification experienced by incumbent populations, and how does it affect daily residential life? As I began to develop my PhD research proposal, I continued to explore the wealth of material on Kreuzberg's history,

demography as well as the politics that have, and continue to, shape the socio-spatial landscape. I also began attending community meetings and neighbourhood events, forging connections with a diversity of local residents and activists involved in housing and welfare advocacy initiatives. During these encounters, however, I became increasingly aware of my position in a research project focused on resident experiences with neighbourhood change, particularly concerning my complicity in Berlin's gentrification process. For instance, following David Ley's (1996) gentrifier typology, I was aware that I met many of the typical characteristics; bearing the embodied features of a white, straight, male from an affluent Anglophone settler society, engaged in local music scenes while pursuing a career in academia. And although my income as a post-graduate student situates me in a lower-income bracket, it would be naive to omit the fact that my income capacity is statistically likely to increase once qualified.

The fact that I could be perceived as an agent of the gentrification process put me in a complicated position which required continual critical reflection and consideration of my positionality in qualitative social research (Billo and Hiemstra 2013). For instance, I was aware that long-standing residents might be suspicious and reluctant to participate in the study. In particular, I was concerned that during the interviews, participants may not talk as openly with me about their experiences of neighbourhood change or may modify their responses if they perceived me as another incomer contributing to a set of processes inflicting socio-spatial change. I therefore went to great effort to explain my motivations for conducting research in Kreuzberg and clarify the overarching aims of the project. Moreover, the fact that I interacted with community members in the German language[7] significantly helped to build rapport with prospective interview participants.

For clarity, the role of English-speaking 'expats' in Berlin—often perceived as unconcerned about learning German—has become a point of contention across the city, particularly as it can exclude many non-English speaking residents from new job opportunities as well as patronising establishments where English functions as the Lingua Franca. As an example, the Health Minister from Angela Merkel's CDU government contends that English has superseded German as the primary language spoken in many inner-urban neighbourhoods across Berlin, creating a spatially territorialised 'parallel society' of 'elitist hipsters' who exclude non-English speakers (Spahn cited in Burack 2017; Spahn 2017). This is particularly divisionary for older residents as well as Kreuzberg's large Turkish-migrant background population, many of whom do not possess English language capabilities (Hinze 2013; Kaya 2001). Hence, communicating with prospective participants in German helped to distance me from popular narratives concerning English-speakers and, in turn, often motivated people to participate in the study. In short, my positionality underscores how researchers are inherently embedded

[7] Upon moving to Berlin, I attended language school for eighteen months, achieving B2 level German proficiency in 2011. I have since been employed in positions where German proficiency was required.

within the social worlds and societal structures under investigation and therefore cannot be conceived of as impartial outsiders detached or removed from the research process (Billo and Hiemstra 2013; Cope 2002; Dowling 2016). In this regard, I disclose that I am not a neutral observer in this research; instead, I recognise my position, the underlying power dimensions at play and I have made stringent efforts throughout the research to routinely critically reflect on my own positionality.

4.3. Research design and methods

As outlined, a central pillar of this research is to address a recognised gap in gentrification literature regarding the absence of resident voices, and the various pressures encountered as one's neighbourhood is largely reshaped by more affluent and powerful users of space (Davidson and Lees 2005, 2010; Stabrowski 2014). For this reason, a qualitative case-orientated research approach was designed to explore the lived-experience of social-spatial change from the perspective of long-standing residents within a single site of analysis. The value of qualitative case study research is well recognised in academia as a useful methodological approach to examine the issues and problems related to social phenomena from multiple perspectives within the context of the environment in which they occur (Baxter 2016; Clark et al. 2007; Creswell 1998; Gerring 2004; Flyvbjerg 2006; Muir 2015; Saldana 2011; Yin 2018). For Baxter (2016, 144), case study research has the ability to produce 'deep, concrete explanations of social phenomena that are attentive to a variety of contextual influences at various scales.' In turn, a case study approach was selected to investigate the under-explored and under-theorised social phenomena of urban displacement beyond the ephemeral event of involuntary out-migration (Atkinson 2015; Baxter 2016; Davidson 2008, 2009).

Importantly, the literature stresses that findings generated through qualitative case-oriented research must be recognised as case-specific and cannot be generalised or transplanted to justify events occurring in other spatial and temporal sites (Baxter 2016; Lees et al. 2016; Muir 2015). Despite this acknowledgement, case-orientated research has continually been refuted by some for the supposed lack of generalisability offered in a statistical sense (Baxter 2016; Muir 2015). However, Baxter and Elyes (1997) posit that claims about generalisability should rarely be made in qualitative research as the knowledge produced is largely idiographic as opposed to nomothetic. Put differently, the qualitative case study is valuable in terms of particularisation rather than generalisation, exploring and accounting for the multiple realities within each individual case rather than discovering or testing general scientific laws (Gregory et al. 2016, 368 & 502). Therefore, qualitative case study research seeks to produce context-dependent knowledge that is credible and transferable, as opposed to generalisable which is more commonly reserved for quantitative research seeking 'external validity' (Baxter 2016, 142). Moreover, the literature shows how the rich descriptions and meticulous documentation associated with qualitative case study research can produce valuable, and often unanticipated context-specific findings, adding nuance, depth and complexity to social phenomena, without

claiming to be representative of the phenomena under analysis (Baxter 2016; Flyvbjerg 2006; Muir 2015). In effect, case study research carried out using strategically selected data collection methods, enables credibility and trustworthiness to materialise, while identifying parallels, patterns and themes found in other case studies and the literature more broadly.

To investigate and analyse the complex, contradictory and multidimensional socio-spatial dynamics of Kreuzberg, the case study approach guiding this research was engaged through the geographic scales of house and neighbourhood (Chapter 5, 6 & 7). Exploring gentrification, urban tourism and displacement from distinct yet overlapping spatial units of dwelling and neighbourhood was selected with the aim to reveal a nuanced and complex set of local impacts not always considered in gentrification research. For instance, considering long-standing residents' experiences with a shifting commercial neighbourhood infrastructure illuminated findings not typically included in the wider literature on urban displacement. In this regard, an additional sub-case study was developed on Markthalle Neun (Chapter 8), a fresh food market hall located in the Lausitzer Platz neighbourhood for the purpose of examining a specific set of urban contestations unfolding during the research phase. The district market hall was identified as a key local actor perceived by many as an engine of gentrification. Hence, the *Markthalle Neun* sub-case provides a unique opportunity to empirically investigate a concentrated example of various social tensions reverberating throughout Kreuzberg at the neighbourhood scale. This sub-case study was identified as a contested neighbourhood space during prolonged participant observation in the field, which will be elaborated on in the following section. Ultimately, research findings from a qualitative case-study on a locality such as Kreuzberg could highlight particular details, patterns and themes that elaborate and refine theoretical understandings of long-standing residents' experiences with multiple types of neighbourhood change (Elliot-Cooper et al. 2019).

The remainder of this chapter describes the research methods that were used to collect data and critically analyse the research aims and objectives within the context of the case study area. Fieldwork was conducted over a 20 month period between February 2018 and October 2019. The research methods were carefully selected to produce an extensive and diverse data corpus that would enable careful examination of the research aims and objectives. Conducting in-depth interviews with long-standing residents constitutes the primary data source informing the research. Given the dearth of empirical accounts of long-standing residents in gentrification literature (Elliot-Cooper et al. 2019; Slater 2006), using interviews as the primary data collection technique was determined the most appropriate way to garner critical insight into residents' lived experiences of neighbourhood change. The method of participant observation was developed with the aim to become attuned to the daily flows and patterns of Kreuzberg, to meet and become acquainted with community members, to recruit potential interview participants, and develop a nuanced perspective of the particularities and micro-politics of daily life within the case study area. I also conducted a questionnaire with

208 people attending Markthalle Neun to complement the qualitative investigation of the market hall. Lastly, the research method of document review served as a crucial form of data collection, generating auxiliary contextualising information relevant to the study while also substantiating data generated through interviews, participant observation and the questionnaire. This multi-method approach to data collection was designed to gain deep, context-dependent insights from multiple perspectives in the field in order to address the central research question and objectives.

4.3.1. Interviews

A substantial volume of the qualitative data used to investigate the research aims and objectives in this thesis was collected through 26 in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Twenty interviews were conducted with a cohort referred to as *long-standing residents* (LSRs), and six interviews with a cohort referred to as *key-informants*. The significance of interviews in qualitative research is widely acknowledged (Baxter and Eyles 1997; Braun and Clarke 2006; Campbell et al. 2013; Clark et al. 2015; Dowling et al. 2016; Dunn 2016; Saldana 2011; Valentine 1997). As Dowling et al. (2016, 679) posit 'in a broadly hermeneutic tradition, interviews are used in understanding interpretations, experiences and spatialities of social life.' For this research, an open, semi-structured approach to interviewing was selected as an appropriate research technique to enable participants to express in their own terms, their experiences, attitudes, practices and understandings in relation to the research aims and central research themes. For Baxter and colleagues, semi-structured interviews enable 'the researcher to probe deeply, uncover new clues, open up new dimensions of a problem, and secure vivid, inclusive accounts based on personal experience' (1992, 215). Accordingly, semi-structured interviews can generate an empirically rich dataset that illuminates how complex social relations intersect with structural forces of change, providing nuanced insight into the politics of everyday life (Massey 1992, 1993; Massey and Jess 1995; Patton 1990; Pratt 1998; Pratt and Hanson 1994). In the context of this research, interviewing long-standing residents provided unique insights into the lives of those who are often overlooked in gentrification literature (Slater 2006). Interviews with key informants were used to provide additional support and perspective to the central themes identified by long-standing residents. The grounded knowledge and expertise of key informants revealed new leads and sources to consider for further investigation. The datasets gathered from the two interview cohorts were integral to the corroboration, explanation and expansion of information generated through the literature reviews and other data collection methods employed in this research.

Participant sampling and recruitment

I refer to long-standing residents (LSRs) as inhabitants who have lived in Kreuzberg for most of their adult life, as well as those who secured housing tenure in Kreuzberg prior to the recent housing property boom

(2010–present). Applying terms such as ‘long-standing residents’, as well as ‘tourists’, ‘gentrifiers’ and ‘newcomers’ are sensitive categories to define and ultimately do not capture the fluidity, layers of differentiation and often contradictory social relations of reality (Fincher and Jacobs 1998; Massey 2005; Valli 2015). As an example, it became clear during the interviews that several participants could be considered early wave or 'pioneer' gentrifiers (Smith 1996), identifiable not through income capacity, but through cultural predilection. While acknowledging the shortcomings of this methodological decision, generating simplified categorical terms to discuss complex social relations is often necessary when conducting qualitative research (Braun and Clarke 2006; Elliot-Cooper et al. 2019; Saldana 2011).

Among the 20 interviews with long-standing residents, eleven self-identified as German, four self-identified as Turkish-German and five identified as non-German who had been living in Kreuzberg for 8–53 years. Participants ranged between 25 and 72 years of age, with a median participant age of 40.5; slightly higher than the Kreuzberg average of 38 (Amt für Statistik 2019). Of the 20 participants, eight identified as female and twelve as male, therefore, it is important to note that the gender diversity of the interview cohort is slightly skewed toward males. While most participants indicated they were of lower-socio-economic status, the job titles and education status of several younger participants suggest a potential transition to higher-income brackets over the duration of the life course (e.g., P5 & P6). Notably, the job title and suggested earning capacity of one participant (P13), positioned him within a moderate-to-middle socioeconomic status. Table 4.1 identifies all residents interviewed for this study according to age, gender, place of birth, employment status, mode of housing tenure and time living in Kreuzberg. To ensure confidentiality, an acronym has been assigned to all participants. These acronyms are used throughout the remainder of the thesis.

Table 4.1. Interviewed long-standing residents and assigned acronym

Acronym (Participant#)	Age	Gender	Place of birth	Employment	Status of Residence	Years residing in Kreuzberg
P1	41	Female	Berlin, DE	Retail employee	Renter	20
P2	44	Male	Hessen, DE	Graphic designer	Renter	21
P3	44	Female	NYC, USA	High-school teacher	Renter	10
P4	33	Male	Berlin, DE	Healthcare worker	Renter	12
P5	29	Male	Leipzig, DE	Post-grad student	Renter	8
P6	30	Male	Berlin, DE	IT analyst	Renter	9
P7	60	Male	Berlin, DE	Drink store owner	Renter	28
P8	72	Male	Berlin, DE	Retired	Renter	72
P9	71	Female	Zurich, CH	Retired	Renter	53
P10	60	Male	Tyrol, AT	Sheet-metal fabricator	Renter	37
P11	48	Male	Berlin, DE	Record-store owner	Renter	48
P12	37	Male	Berlin, DE	Shoe-repair store owner	Renter	37
P13	40	Male	Arnhem, NL	Logistics administrator	Renter	13
P14	34	Female	Berlin, DE	Local-NGO employee	Renter	9
P15	54	Female	Würzburg, DE	Community worker	Renter	18
P16	29	Male	Berlin, DE	Hospitality employee	Renter	8
P17	25	Female	Berlin, DE	Retail employee	Renter	22
P18	55	Male	Berlin, DE	Carpenter	Renter	31
P19	27	Female	Berlin, DE	Hospitality employee	Renter	8
P20	30	Female	Athens, GR	Media sector employee	Renter	8

The second set of interviews were conducted with a cohort referred to as *Key Informants* as exemplified in Table 4.2. Key informants were selected due to their insider knowledge related to the central themes of the research. This group included two community activists, one of whom is an employee of the Senate Department for Urban Development and Housing (*Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen*). I also interviewed a member of a local public housing management organisation in Kreuzberg (*Quartiersmanagement Mariannenplatz*). In addition, three interviews were conducted with business owners related to the sub-case on Markthalle Neun, including a co-owner of the market hall, a business owner affiliated with the daily operations of the market, and a former market stall-operator who currently runs a small independent business directly across the street from Markthalle Neun. Participants recruited as key informants were selected through a criterion sampling approach due to the unique position each hold within the socio-spatial dimensions of Kreuzberg. Social relationships established throughout the fieldwork and participant observation assisted in recruiting and conducting key informant interviews. The data generated from these interviews provided nuanced insight into how changing neighbourhood conditions are perceived

differently. Moreover, the perspectives of key informants served to corroborate, complement and also complicate information collect through the resident interviews.

Table 4.2. Key informants and assigned acronym

Acronym (Key Informant#)	Description of key informant
K1	Co-owner and operator of Markthalle Neun
K2	Local business owner affiliated with Markthalle Neun
K3	Community activist involved in housing and welfare advocacy campaigns
K4	Community activist & representative of the Department for Development and Housing
K5	Representative of Mariannenplatz public housing management organisation
K6	Long-term shop keeper and former-Markthalle Neun stall-operator

All interview participants were recruited and conducted during the early phases of fieldwork in 2018. After several months of participant observation, paying particular attention to the social and temporal rhythms of the streetscapes and surrounding public spaces across the four neighbourhoods (*Kieze*) of Oranienplatz, Lausitzer Platz, Wrangelkiez; Reichenberger Strasse, I became familiar with many long-standing residents, some of whom were recruited as interview participants. In acknowledging the power relations, and potential power imbalances between researcher and interest group (Dowling 2016), building rapport was a critically reflexive process through which connections were made with prospective participants, establishing a dialogue without giving the impression of endorsing and promoting their views and perspectives.

At the same time, an effort was made to maintain a degree of researcher independence. As Muir (2015) warns, building rapport can lead to a false sense of comradery between the researcher and the research participant, creating ethical concerns as it can be perceived that the researcher has misled or exploited the participant in order to extract information. For this reason, a reflexive journal was maintained to document the recruitment process, while frequent dialogue with my supervisory team made it possible to navigate this 'ethical minefield' (Muir 2015, 118). Although long-standing residents were selected as the central interest group for addressing the research aims and objectives, it is important to acknowledge that other stakeholders connected to the research arena were not included in the study. Their perspectives, experiences and construction of socio-spatial phenomena are also significant (Baxter and Eyles 1997). However, given that the primary aim of the research is to better understand the lived experience of long-standing residents, interviews were not conducted with stakeholders such as tourists, new residents, housing industry bodies, institutional landlords or representatives of local government, for example.

During the fieldwork, a combination of purposeful sampling strategies was utilised to recruit potential interview candidates. This sampling approach was identified as a suitable way to collect a diverse range of

rich, in-depth accounts that illuminate central aspects related to the research aims and objectives (Stratford and Bradshaw 2016). Unlike probability sampling typically suited for large-scale quantitative studies, Patton (1990, 169) argues that the value of purposeful sampling lies in selecting 'information-rich cases' with the aim to produce datasets offering credibility, not representativeness. While quantitative research approaches may seek to objectively measure a standardised sample group to determine cause and effect and deliver generalisable results, information-rich qualitative cases aim to produce a data corpus concerning context-specific issues of central importance to the research. In turn, purposeful sampling is useful for qualitative studies aiming to account for experience, perspective and multiple readings of reality, whereby patterns can be identified and synthesised in order to excavate contextual meaning reflective of the phenomena in question (Braun and Clarke 2006; Creswell 1998; Patton 1990, 2002; Saldana 2011; Stratford and Bradshaw 2016).

Following Patton's (1990) definition, a combination of purposeful sampling strategies was adopted to recruit participants, including criterion sampling (selecting participants according to their status as long-standing residents); snowball sampling (participants suggesting other long-standing residents for recruitment); opportunistic sampling (remaining flexible and willing to follow new and unanticipated leads during fieldwork); and, purposeful random sampling (selecting participants at random provided they fit the underlying criteria of long-standing resident and resided within the case study area). Although there is ground to argue the value in expanding these parameters to perhaps include newer residents into the interview cohort, following Stratford and Bradshaw (2016), the decision was made to focus on a specific target group—long-standing residents—to produce an in-depth understanding of their experiences related to the temporal-spatial-social dimensions of multiple types of neighbourhood change (Lefebvre 1991; Soja 1996). Interviews were conducted until a level of theoretical saturation had been reached (Dunn 2016; Glaser and Strauss 1967). This was determined when differing perspectives and experiences related to the research themes and sub-themes began to repeat to the point where no further contradictory evidence was revealed. Interview participants all resided within the four neighbourhoods of Kreuzberg identified in figure 1.2. Participants' exact place of residence was not disclosed in respect to privacy and ethical protocol.

Designing and conducting interviews

The interviews were designed to excavate the views and experiences of long-standing residents concerning multiple types of neighbourhood change and in turn, how relating urban processes impacted residential life at both the dwelling and neighbourhood scale. Politically charged terms such as gentrification, displacement, touristification were intentionally excluded from the interview questions in order to mitigate unwitting bias or preconceived notions of key urban processes which could potentially modify responses, distort the data sets and ultimately compromise the analysis. Instead, questions were framed using a more open-ended and

flexible approach, organised into four broad themes central to the research aims; housing conditions, neighbourhood life, neighbourhood tourism, and Markthalle Neun. The semi-structured nature of the interviews facilitated the possibility for a conversation-driven dialogue to develop between the participant and myself while enabling the participant to take a lead of the discussion and speak openly about neighbourhood issues of salience to them that I may have otherwise overlooked. Notably, participants routinely stated that their primary concerns were related to rent intensification, the actions of real-estate players, increased tourism growth and the rapidly changing direction of the entire neighbourhood.

Interview participants were approached and recruited in German and provided with the option to conduct the interview in German or English. All participants were provided with an overview of the study, information on their rights and assured complete anonymity before the interview commenced. Verbal consent was obtained from all interview participants. Although the six key informants consented to making their identities known, I have attempted to secure their anonymity when appropriate. The interviews were conducted at a location and time chosen by each participant. The interviews ranged between 45 and 90 minutes in duration and were audio-recorded with the participants' consent. The digitally recorded interviews were later transcribed verbatim and stored on the designated R-Drive as required by Curtin University's Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC). Of the 26 interviews, ten were conducted in German. The transcripts were translated into English and proofed by a native-speaking German with an MA in Germanic Linguistics. In a discussion on the significance of transcribing interviews in full, Saldana (2011, 45) submits, 'some methodologists feel that the transcription process is analysis; others state that transcription is a vital warm-up for more in-depth analytic work.' In turn, Saldana advocates researchers to transcribe interview data in full as the process, although exhaustive, produces a level of cognitive intimacy with the data which enriches the quality of data analysis. In adopting Saldana's (2011) approach, the time spent transcribing and translating the interviews in full was an arduous yet irreplaceably constructive task.

Thematic analysis of interview data

Once transcribed, all data were entered into NVivo software, where a qualitative coding schema was developed in preparation for analysis. The coding schema was guided in part by the conceptual framework identified in Chapter Two and Three. However, in recognising that all data are important (Baxter and Eyles 1997), all interview material was coded in order to consider patterns or sub-themes that fell outside the framework identified in the literature. In this regard, a deductive and inductive approach was used to organise, code, analyse and interpret the interview data. Deductive in the sense that commonalities were identified between interview data and the existing literature, and inductive as all data was coded regardless of whether they aligned with the core pillars of the conceptual framework.

As Saldana (2011) and Campbell et al. (2013) contend, deductive and inductive approaches are not mutually exclusive and adopting a combination of both approaches can increase analytic rigour in qualitative research. Yet, these authors note that despite its utility for making sense of complex and often contradictory social phenomena lacking extant research, the deductive-inductive dialectic is frequently overlooked by qualitative researchers using interviews as a core data collection technique (Campbell et al. 2013; Cope 2002, 2016; Lombard et al. 2002; Saldana 2011). For this research, applying an inductive and deductive approach to data organisation, coding, analysis and interpretation was an invaluable procedure that led to the discovery of patterns and themes I had not anticipated, and in turn, enriched the quality of the data analysis.

Although there is no prescribed or standardised formula for analysing qualitative data, many researchers have touted the benefits of utilising a systematic approach to organise and synthesise raw data in preparation to present findings to and beyond the interpretive community (Braun and Clarke 2006; Campbell et al. 2013; Cope 2016; Saldana 2011). For this research, Braun and Clarke's (2006) conceptualisation of thematic analysis was identified as a suitable approach for systematically organising, analysing and interpreting the data corpus. Braun and Clark (2006) contend that thematic analysis is a tool that can be utilised across multiple qualitative research methods to search and identify themes or patterns within and across a collection of datasets (see also Clark et al. 2015). Following their approach, all themes and patterns identified were assigned an analytic code representing a unit of meaning extracted from the data. Analytic codes were then grouped into 'coding families.' As an example, the codes 'excessive noise', 'mobility disruptions' and 'anti-social behaviour' were developed within the broader coding family of 'tourism and daily life', deriving from the set of pressures described by residents in relation to the research theme of 'urban tourism' in Kreuzberg.

The iterative procedure of coding data was continually refined and adjusted in order to increase clarity, capture nuanced meaning within the data, and enhance coding reliability. This typically involved cautiously dropping or merging underdeveloped or overly complicated codes until all data had been thematically integrated into the coding schema. Continual refinement of the coding schema effectively tightened the quality of codes and code families while reducing the chance for coding errors (Braun and Clark 2006; Campbell et al. 2013; Saldana 2011). Once developed, codes and code families were then analysed within the context of the core research themes, which later evolved into the four findings chapters centred around *housing conditions, neighbourhood life, neighbourhood tourism* and *Markthalle Neun*. Ultimately, the coding procedure became an integral organisational and analytical strategy for making sense of and interpreting the research findings.

4.3.2. Participant observation

Participant observation was used as a data collection technique to further develop the overall shape and direction of the empirical research. Typically involving sustained and in-depth involvement with the lifeworlds of local communities (Duncan and Duncan 2004), the literature shows how data gathered through participant observation can illuminate social particularities and idiosyncrasies not always captured in more controlled and formalised data collection methods (Baxter and Eyles 1997; Cox 2018; Dowling et al. 2016; Kearns 2016). Moreover, researchers contend that in comparison to conventional methods that can generate 'performance or constructed narratives' (Dowling et al. 2016, 683) or 'remove the researcher from the "flow" of everyday life in both time and space' (Evans 1988, 203), participant observation is a valuable research method as it can 'foster less hierarchical interaction with participants' (Cope 2016, 374). As a key method of ethnographic research (Cox 2018; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Kearns 2016), the practice of participant observation enabled me to obtain a level of intimacy with, and knowledge of the case study area I would not have otherwise achieved, generating a nuanced, bottom-up perspective of the ebb and flow of spatio-temporal activities and minutiae of everyday life in Kreuzberg (Dowling et al. 2016; Kearns 2016).

Being situated in the field for a prolonged period enabled me to become attuned with the local rhythms, cultures and sub-cultures, social patterns and urban routines while forging connections with a diversity of people. Notably, participant observation was utilised as an effective tool to assist in developing a deeper understanding of the localised particularities of gentrification and tourism within Kreuzberg, and the multiple ways in which urban processes are experienced, interpreted and made sense of by residents, visitors and business owners. Observations were carried out across multiple sites within the case study area of Kreuzberg. Key sites often included public spaces, such as neighbourhood parks, streets and squares; pseudo-public spaces (Valentine 2001), such as the market hall, metro stations, building fronts; neighbourhood meetings, workshops and events; and, local and city-wide political demonstrations related to housing issues. As gentrification and tourism have been identified as increasingly prominent points of neighbourhood stress across Kreuzberg in recent years (Füller and Michel 2014; Novy 2017; Polat 2018), residents have become more organised in hosting discussions, meetings, workshops among other events to identify ways to unsettle forces of change impacting on everyday residential life. Participant observation into these neighbourhood initiatives provided a crucial source of information, particularly as residents would often share experiences and collectively discuss issues concerning lower-SES populations impacted by neighbourhood change.

Throughout my observations, I continued to photo document a wide range of ephemeral artefacts located at the neighbourhood scale, including graffiti, flyers, stickers, posters, for example. For Markwell (2000), self-employed or self-directed photography is an under-utilised yet effective form of observation that can contribute to a better understanding of the importance of place to people. Observation via photo

documentation provided a conduit to capture visual and symbolic aspects of neighbourhood tension within the context of the research aims and objectives. This observation technique was particularly effective for investigating objective four, as many localised forms of opposition to processes such as housing commodification and tourism were identified through visible inscriptions across the built environment, namely through politically-fused graffiti and posters. In effect, photo documentation enhanced my understanding of the contestations and tensions flowing through Kreuzberg, cataloguing visual expressions of opposition that would not have been captured through other data collection methods (Markwell 2000).

Similarly, the repetitive activity of being entrenched in daily neighbourhood life over an 18-month period presented an opportunity to build rapport with local members of the community. Ultimately, the practice of participant observation created the chance for encounter and a pathway to engage in opportunistic conversations, establish dialogue and gain trust with members of local communities, enabling many resident interviews to materialise. For instance, on-going participant observation contributed to building rapport and confidence with residents and local business owners alike, who, over time were more receptive to sharing information about issues pertinent to the research. In removing the formalities of conventional interviews, these forms of improvised encounter (Baxter and Eyles 1997) became an integral strategy for gaining a wide range of insider knowledge of the particularities and nuances of neighbourhood issues. In addition to generating an immense amount of qualitative information on daily residential life in Kreuzberg, participant observation illuminated particular sites, locations and events to investigate further. For example, it was during prolonged engagement within the Lausitzer Platz neighbourhood that I became familiar with Markthalle Neun and the local contestations surrounding the recent privatisation and the implications for lower-SES populations. Prior to spending time within the market hall and speaking to stall-operators as well as residents passing through, I was unaware of the importance of Markthalle Neun to residents of the Lausitzer Platz neighbourhood, not only as a key source of daily food products but also as a crucial site for social reproduction.

To document these observations, extensive fieldnotes were taken, detailing various social encounters and the temporal rhythms of daily life during my time spent in the field (Lefebvre 2004; Massey et al. 1999). Observations were recorded using a field journal, which was then re-typed into a Word document and then systematically archived within the greater data corpus. Fieldnotes did not only include my observations but also involved documenting critical reflections on my experience of *being there* and my role and position as a social researcher. Fieldnotes were treated as invaluable research data, featuring as an important referent for informing the types of interview questions and the topics to discuss, and ultimately contributing to the overall shape of this thesis, guiding the thematic organisation and adding descriptive framing to complement the wider data corpus.

4.3.3. Questionnaire

Between March and October 2018, I conducted a questionnaire with 208 participants during the weekly *Streetfood Thursday* event held in Markthalle Neun. Data collected from the questionnaire responds to all four research objectives in unique ways. As McGuirk and O'Neill (2016, 246) contend, 'questionnaires are useful for gathering original data about people, their behaviour, experiences and social interactions, attitudes and opinions, and awareness of events.' Similarly, Flyvbjerg (2006, 241) posits that questionnaires can be utilised as a tool for 'understanding the degree to which certain phenomena are present in a given group or how they vary across cases.' For this research, the intention of the questionnaire was to capture a demographic pulse of the visitors to the market hall, generating a nuanced data set relevant to the case study on Markthalle Neun and the complex neighbourhood dynamics of Kreuzberg more broadly. During the short, two-minute survey, participants were asked a series of quantitative and qualitative questions related to the market hall, tourism and the neighbourhood. In contrast to the other qualitative methods used in this study, the data collected from the questionnaire sought to capture a breadth of experiences, perspectives and positions, rather than in-depth qualitative inquiry. For McGuirk and O'Neill, although questionnaires primarily produce 'superficial coverage', the data generated can be useful for 'identifying regularities and differences and highlighting incidents and trends' (2016, 270). Following this logic, the questionnaire conducted at Markthalle Neun was structured to supplement and enrich the qualitative inquiry, specifically in terms of illuminating nuanced themes that could be analysed in relation to the interview data, while also serving to corroborate or complicate the perspectives of long-standing residents.

In terms of conducting the questionnaire, I visited Markthalle Neun most Thursday evenings during the *Streetfood Thursday* event over the course of six months. The event commences at 5pm, traders typically stop serving food and drinks at 10pm, and patrons are required to vacate the market hall around 10.30pm–11pm. After several initial visits to the event, it became evident that some residents would strategically arrive at the hall early in the evening 'to beat the tourists' as one questionnaire participant noted. In consideration of the fluidity and temporality of social space (Lefebvre 2003; Massey et al. 1999), I would systematically rotate the time of the evening to conduct the questionnaire with the intention to capture a more diverse set of responses from residents and tourists.

In order to recruit questionnaire participants, I adopted an opportunistic sampling strategy (Patton 1990), inviting individuals who appeared approachable to participate in a two-minute survey on *market halls* and *neighbourhood spaces*. Candidates were provided with a research participant information sheet and gave verbal consent to their involvement in the research before commencing the electronic questionnaire. The questionnaire remained anonymous, and questions did not call for personal information that could be used

to identify participants. Rather than setting out to evaluate a stratified sample group, the approach aimed to capture a snapshot of the clientele attending the market hall during the weekly event.

To clarify my use of the term approachable, I refer to any individual in the market hall that appeared ready to engage in conversation. For instance, an individual sitting in a booth within a large group of people, preoccupied in eating, drinking and conversation was rarely approached as a potential participant. Whereas, individuals walking around the market hall in smaller groups were more frequently invited to participate due to appearing less likely to be disturbed or inconvenienced by the request and, in turn, more receptive to participating in the questionnaire. At no point during the interaction with questionnaire participants did I mention gentrification, displacement, or other politically charged terms that could skew, modify or minimise their responses to the questions. Instead, the aim of the questionnaire was to enable participants to openly express their personal perspectives and experiences.

Using Qualtrics software to design and conduct the questionnaire, questions were tailored to appropriately capture the response of two generalised cohorts visiting the market hall; residents and tourists. Questions designed for residents aimed to garner insight concerning their relationship with Markthalle Neun, to identify how long they have lived in Berlin and the district in which they reside, and to reflect on key neighbourhood issues important to them. Whereas participants who identified as tourists were asked questions related to the type of tourist accommodation used, their discovery of Markthalle Neun and what attracted them to patronise the *Streetfood Thursday* event. All participants were asked a series of demographic questions related to age, usual place of residence, accommodation type and location by district, nationality, time spent in Berlin, as well as a set of questions structured to elicit responses relating to perceptions about the dominant use of the market hall, the clientele and descriptions of atmosphere and visitor experience. The overall design of the questionnaire aimed to develop a deeper understanding of the role of Markthalle Neun in the neighbourhood, in terms of who frequents the *Streetfood Thursday* event, how Markthalle Neun is conceived, perceived and experienced by visitors, what form of accommodation is used by patrons, and where patrons typically reside and/or are staying while they are in Berlin. These questions were designed to prompt a series of responses that provide further insight into the changing nature of the market hall in relation to the broader socio-spatial dynamics of Kreuzberg.

4.3.4. Document review

The review of a range of documents related to Kreuzberg's past and present was employed to provide additional context and historic insight relevant to the study. As posited by Bowen (2009), the examination of documents can be used to expand empirical knowledge, produce meaning and develop a wider comprehension of the phenomenon, related themes, and provide broader context. In combination with the

multi-method approach and the triangulation of primary data (Baxter 2016), document review provided complementary evidence to substantiate, complicate and add nuance to accounts elicited from the qualitative data collected through the interviews, observations and questionnaire (Bowen 2009).

Throughout the findings chapters, information from the document review was used to contextualise and supplement the collected primary data through. The types of documents reviewed included: government documents (census data[8], reports and legislation); housing market data (including short-term holiday rentals); media publications (print and online); as well as a range of websites, blogs among other online platforms used to disseminate information relevant to the research. These data substantially helped to contextualise the structural forces driving multiple types of neighbourhood change across Kreuzberg. For example, an in-depth review of Berlins' housing policies in relation to census and housing market data illustrated the extent of housing issues impacting on long-standing residents from a statistical perspective.

Contextualising these data with the lived experiences of interview participants revealed the complexity of Kreuzberg's socio-spatial dynamics in nuanced ways that greatly contributed to addressing the research objectives. Furthermore, comparing and contrasting information disseminated by government, industry and media bodies with the accounts, perspectives and experiences of residents provided a pathway toward bridging the gap between how the city is conceived by policy-makers and other influential actors and how it is both perceived and lived by inhabitants (Hubbard 2006; Jacobs 1961; Lefebvre 1991). The document review was an ongoing process, commencing during the initial phase of writing the research proposal and continuing through the post-fieldwork phase in order to build nuance and complexity to the qualitative data collected.

In relation to the short-term holiday rentals in Kreuzberg, data on Airbnb, the world's leading home-sharing platform (*Forbes* 2019), was analysed using the data scraping services offered by the consultancy firm Airdna. Obtaining the data directly from Airbnb would have ultimately been the most preferred method for understanding the use of the platform and short-term rental accommodation (STR) more generally. However, Airbnb has continued to conceal a locality's STR listing data (Gurran et al. 2018; Slee 2016), despite several government agencies filing court cases requesting greater transparency from the dominant short-term rental platform (see Dolmetsch and Carville 2020). In turn, listing data was generated courtesy of Airdna, who has been recognised for providing the most accurate Airbnb data sourced by a third-party (Wachsmuth and

[8] Since the 2001 district merging, census data on Kreuzberg is collated at the district scale of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. This presented several complications for analysis, specifically regarding the contrasting political division during the Cold War which continues to characterise the socio-spatial landscape of each formerly independent district. As an example, prior to 1990, Friedrichshain was a borough of East Berlin, while Kreuzberg, a borough of West Berlin. Both districts significantly varied in socio-demographics, Friedrichshain maintained a population base of East-German's and attracted immigrant populations from locations such as North Vietnam and the USSR (Amt für Statistik 2001). In contrast and as previously mentioned, Kreuzberg became home to a large Turkish population, among other guest-worker migrant groups from West Asia producing a very different socio-cultural landscape (Hinze 2013; Kaya 2001). Against this socio-historic context, extensive efforts were made to consider these factors throughout this research.

Weisler 2018). The material obtained through Airdna was invaluable, providing aggregated listing data throughout the 96 district-regions of Berlin. Airdna offers data in the form of Microsoft Excel documents, including the geo-references of all housing units listed on Airbnb's web-portal. The data was then analysed to locate the spatial distribution of Airbnb listings throughout Kreuzberg, including the monthly and annual revenue generated by individual users (Ch. 7). The analysis of the case study area required collating data from the eight district regions (*Bezirksregion*) that constitute the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (see figure 1.2).

4.4. Chapter conclusion

As I have outlined, the weight of this research is deeply qualitative in design. In this chapter, I have detailed the overall methodological approach, the research design and the selected data collection methods I have utilised to carry out research to inform this study. In consideration of the research gaps identified within the literature on urban displacement, various methods have been carefully selected as suitable tools to examine the under-explored aspects of the multiple dimensions of displacement. In particular, interviews with long-standing residents regarding their experiences of changing housing and neighbourhood conditions will provide nuanced insight into the daily realities of living in gentrifying space. This is an important research space with which to engage in order to unsettle perspectives that discursively position gentrification as an inherently positive process of urban economic growth and development. In turn, the multi-method approach has enabled me to collect data offering a range of perspectives, experiences and information on the core issues underpinning this research. I have also discussed my own positionality as a social researcher and resident of Berlin, acknowledging that I am not a neutral actor, but also integrated into the research. The thesis now turns to the substantive chapters where I present my findings following the key themes of housing, neighbourhood, tourism and a case study on Markthalle Neun. I commence the empirical analysis through an exploration of Kreuzberg's shifting housing dynamics from the perspective of long-standing reside.

Chapter Five: Shifting Housing Dynamics

This chapter explores the dynamics of Kreuzberg's shifting housing market. The chapter commences focusing on the various forces contributing to housing market pressure in Kreuzberg. Drawing on interview materials, government documents, housing data, among other resources, I show how long-standing residents have perceived and experienced the changing role of property ownership in recent years. I also examine the contradictory effects of regulatory measures that have secured housing affordability for a share of the population, while also creating the mould for considerable rent disparities to form between housing of comparable quality, determined by the maturity of the tenancy agreement. In particular, I investigate how the disparity between older, rent-controlled tenancy contracts, and newer contracts set at current market rates has produced a substantial rent gap. Importantly, I interrogate the strategies employed by property owners to close this rent gaps and realise the 'best and highest use' of housing according to market logics (Madden and Marcuse 2016). At the same time, fieldwork findings reveal some of the small-scale actions that seek to unsettle rent-seeking actions of property investors. Lastly, the chapter examines the exclusionary effects of housing market change from the perspective of long-standing residents. Using the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Three to guide the empirical analysis, a contextual narrative is developed around long-standing residents' housing experiences to illuminate several key forms of displacement in process.

5.1. Housing market pressure

Throughout the qualitative inquiry, interview participants shared a diverse range of responses to Kreuzberg's transitioning housing system. Particular concern was raised regarding the reduction in affordable housing and the related neighbourhood effects. When asked about the drivers of increased housing pressure, most participants pinpointed their concerns to the compounding actions of large institutional landlords, an influx of affluent newcomers attracted to Kreuzberg's cultural characteristics, as well as the function of housing regulations and policies designed to preserve housing affordability (see Ch. 1). In addition, many participants also attributed Kreuzberg's increased popularity as a tourist destination as a contributing factor feeding into a tightening residential housing system and land-use change more broadly, a theme to which I return in Chapter Seven.

In relation to the expanding housing portfolios of investment firms, such as the large corporate landlords (LCLs) identified in Chapter One, many participants expressed concern toward the strategies used by property owners to maximise rental yields. In effect, participant accounts provide insight into how changing housing market forces have affected residents. A familiar response to housing affordability pressures was characterised by a participant:

> The rents are going up, neighbourhoods are changing, it's hard to find affordable flats. I think there are two factors coming together: One is urbanisation, people tend to move more into cities, and therefore space is becoming rarer. On the other hand, property is being used to make big profits through speculation. And so both in combination are putting a lot of pressure on people who live in urban areas both financially and also socially because this effects social dynamics and directions within Kreuzberg (P4: male, 33, healthcare worker).

Although the population of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg has increased by 24,401 (10.49%) since 2011, the number of new housing construction remains minimal with only 25 residential building completions across the case study area between 2015 and 2018 (Guthmann 2019). A public housing manager explained that the shortfall of new housing construction is one of the city's 'biggest problems' contributing to the current housing crisis (K5). Indeed, official calculations confirm that Berlin requires over 200,000 new housing units to meet the needs of the current population (Amt für Statistik 2019). The chronic under supply of housing coupled with the increased popularity of Kreuzberg among wealthier groups were identified as key points of contention among long-standing residents:

> With Kreuzberg becoming more and more attractive for everyone I think this increases the demand. It's all over the news that the city doesn't have enough flats. I mean it's really difficult to find flats right now. I also think the real-estate players have been really aggressive with the prices too. The demand is so high that they can push for the highest price legally allowed which is out of the tenant's control (P6: male, 30, IT worker).

Recent reports show that escalated property prices and rents, coupled with reduced availability has placed immense pressure on Berlin's entire residential housing system (Berlin.de 2019a; IBB 2018). However, according to state housing data, rents across the city have increased disproportionately between 2010 and 2019. Nowadays, the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg represents the second most expensive district in the city after Mitte, Berlin's historic core (Amt für Statistik 2011–2019). Participants emphasised the extent of the recent rent intensification and the challenges for maintaining housing tenure and remaining within the area:

> The current housing situation is a catastrophe. The trend over the past years continues and people are being pushed to their limits. People I know are really affected by the increasing house prices and are being separated from their homes. I would say every second or third person within my friend circle or circle of acquaintances is affected by the housing issue […] On average, the apartments advertised to rent are way too expensive for what you actually get. But somehow you have no choice but to pay it because the competition for an apartment is so extreme (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

> I think we are more scared than before. Before you were able to live peacefully and did not have to worry about housing. Now housing is an everyday topic. You have to constantly think about the future "can I still live where I want to live, and if I don't want to live there, do I have the option to move somewhere else? Would I even find an apartment somewhere else?" That has become extremely difficult. There is a lot of

> fear for repression. The rent is of course really expensive now. And as the middle-class takes over the neighbourhood, everything is going to continue to be more and more expensive. It used to be easy to live in Kreuzberg. Not at all today […] Never in my life have I thought that I would have to be so concerned about my living conditions (P15: female, 54, community worker).

In contrast to rising concerns of displacement, many participants stressed that until recently, housing in Kreuzberg was affordable and accessible to lower-SES households:

> Even up until 2010 you would look in the real-estate magazines, "ahh apartment in Muskauerstrasse 55m^2 for €300." You'd go to the house viewing and you'd be alone. You won't be standing in a 30-person line that snakes all the way down the staircase. It was easy to find an apartment. But today it is hopeless. You will stand with 30-60 people waiting to view the apartment for 2-3 hours. You used to pay 25% of your income… maximum 30% of your income for housing including heating and electricity. But everything changed (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

Similar perspectives were shared on the reduction of housing affordability across Kreuzberg, and the related implications to resident well-being:

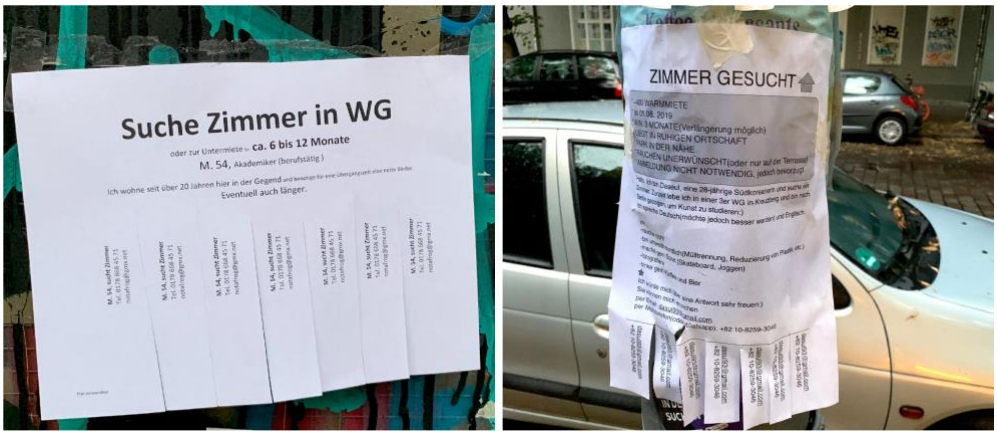
> I'd say it's a disaster […] I have heard first-hand from so many people that they were looking for a flat or something. But it never really… how do I say it… they are going through a really tough time trying to find something that suits them. Most of them go through really shitty situations while they were spending months looking for something, where they would sleep on people's couches, or crash on someone else's floor just to be able to be close to Kreuzberg until they can find somewhere to live (P16: male, 29, hospitality worker).

The participant describes attempts made by residents trying to avoid being physically displaced from the district:

> You would always see flyers hanging in the street posted by families who are desperately trying to find something. There were even some people who were willing to pay a lot of money, and if they could afford it, they would make a proposition [to the landlord] to pay, I don't know, over €1000 per month to stay in a really small flat (P16).

Correspondingly, figure 5.1 depicts two flyers posted in multiple locations throughout the Lausitzer Platz neighbourhood of Kreuzberg. The authors of both were searching for a bedroom to sublet for a maximum of €400 per month. The flyer description in the left picture was written by a 54-year old male who noted that he has 'lived in the area for over 20 years' (translation Crowe 2019).

Figure 5.1. Apartment-seeking flyers across Kreuzberg, 2018–2019. Photographs by A. Crowe



Participants also explained the effects of higher-income groups willing to pay premium rents to reside in Kreuzberg. Within their descriptions, a paradox of the gentrification cycle is illuminated whereby newcomers committing to disproportionally high rents, consequently, exacerbates the displacement of Kreuzberg's long-standing social milieu who represent the now-sought-after socio-cultural dynamism:

> The problem is that Kreuzberg used to be a border district that was cheap and not very popular, but now after the reunification Kreuzberg is centrally located and all those who once lived here and shaped the character of Kreuzberg are driven out. The newcomers dream of the wild, left-leaning Kreuzberg and do not understand that if they pay €500 or more for a room, they actively destroy the once "wild" Kreuzberg (P1: female, 41, retail worker).

In a similar vein, participants commented on the growing popularity of Kreuzberg among more affluent groups:

> One reason for many people coming here is due to the perceived hype and the portrayed lifestyle[…] But the people moving here for this attraction try to recreate this idea of Kreuzberg in their own way, usually at a much higher level, or they want to create something completely new (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

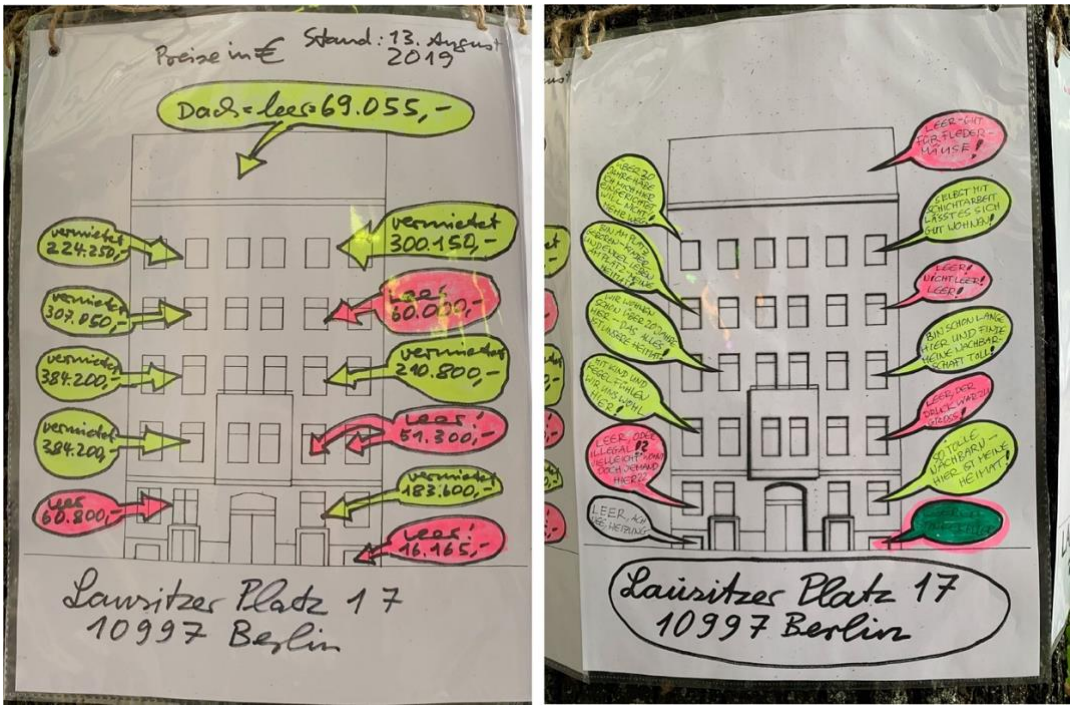
> Now the bankers and investors not only want to buy Kreuzberg, but they want to live here. That's the sign that something is wrong here. A lot of them don't live here permanently, like I said earlier, but they all like to have an apartment here which they can visit when they want […] There are so many empty apartments in Kreuzberg, that are only there for superfluous appearances for these types of people. It lets them say to people "I live in Kreuzberg, and I know Kreuzberg" (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

Frustrations against vacant apartments in Kreuzberg and Berlin have been expressed as a highly charged issue among residents, tenancy associations and neighbourhood initiatives. During my fieldwork, I captured a series of visual displays outside a building in the Lausitzer Platz neighbourhood whereby residents had identified several apartments that had been vacant for a prolonged period. The displays identified in figure 5.2 represent the residents' building, with each coloured text balloon depicting the recent sale price for each

apartment while indicating that six of the thirteen apartments have been dormant for many years. figure 5.3 reads 'People live here, we are not assets' and figure 5.4 depicts the front window of one the vacant apartments. The scrolling text displayed in the neon light board reads 'Apartments To-Go? – Not Here!' and 'Housing is not Commodity!' (translation Crowe 2019). According to a tenant, the purpose of the activity was to raise awareness about housing commodification throughout the neighbourhood, while exposing the illegal practices of property owners regarding untenanted dwellings.[9] Bernt and colleagues (2013) identified similar cases across Berlin where landlords strategically vacate entire apartment blocks in preparation for revalorisation through extensive refurbishment. Similarly, in a qualitative study on landlord practices in Berlin, a housing portfolio manager described the financial incentives for investors to vacate an entire dwelling:

> Best is of course, if the whole estate is emptied. We had a vacancy rate between 30 and 50 percent. And of course, we would have preferred to boot out everyone, but that is of course not possible. Then you have to deal with the retired and the alcoholics, which makes the situation more complex (Director of a real-estate investment fund cited in Uffer 2013, 162).

Figure 5.2. Symbolic resistance to housing commodification at Lausitzer Platz, July 2019. Photographs by A. Crowe



[9] Given the severe housing shortage across Berlin, dwellings strategically left vacant for more than three months is a prosecutable offense according to §2 item 1 of the Housing Misuse Act (Gesetze Berlin 2018).

Figure 5.3. 'People live here, we are not assets!' at Lausitzer Platz, July 2019. Photograph by A. Crowe

Figure 5.4. 'Apartments To-Go? – Not Here!' at Lausitzer Platz, July 2019. Photograph by A. Crowe

5.1.1. Housing speculation and commodification

A pattern identified throughout participant descriptions is that investment firms have played a fundamental role in exacerbating Kreuzberg's gentrification process. As Kreuzberg has become discoursed as an 'up-and-coming' housing market with properties representing some of 'the most valuable assets in Berlin' (Guthmann 2019), the increased action of investors buying, renovating and selling housing portfolios was recognised as a key driver of rent intensification:

> The problem is that many investors have discovered Berlin and compete to mess up the prices. Real estate prices and rents are constantly rising, and more and more rental apartments are being bought and converted into privately owned and used property. Tenants that have been here for decades then have to move out for modernization (P1: female, 41, retail worker).

The presence of large-scale property investment firms in Kreuzberg, colloquially referred to as 'mega-landlords' and 'rent sharks' (*Tagesspiegel* 2019) emerged *en masse* during the mid-2000s (Fields and Uffer 2016; Holm 2016). As profiled in Chapter One, the mid-2000s reflect a turbulent period following Berlin's reunification, involving wide-scale housing privatisation that has subsequently made a lasting impression on participants:

> Especially at that time [2005-2006] the prices in Berlin were so low, so if you were paid well because it's a foreign company, you have money to spare. In the beginning, there were many individuals who were lucky and bought apartments. They were there at the right time. After that, the way I saw it, you had the bigger realty companies buying out the smaller companies, and then you have the big conglomerates who own large chunks of property in Berlin. They then pushed the prices higher (P13: male, 40, logistics administrator).

Accentuating the dynamics of economies of scale (Aalbers 2016; Stein 2019), many participants also noted the increasing role of large and often international investors in Kreuzberg's housing system. One resident recalls how property investors would scope neighbourhoods for potential speculation opportunities:

> Investors used to drive through the streets here, look for suitable properties, get the telephone number from the property managers and put in an offer to buy the property. Then all the tenants would have their contracts terminated and would have to sign new contracts under new conditions. Usually you would receive this information per post stating "the property has been purchased by a new owner, with the change in ownership you the tenant are required to sign a new rent contract." You have the option to sign the new contract or you will need to move out. Through this process Berlin no longer belongs to Berliners. Or Germans for that matter. In Kreuzberg, the properties belong to British, French, Turkish investors. Entire streets have been purchased (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

The presence of international investors was a theme permeating the interviews:

> You hear it over and over again… "who is the owner of this apartment block? Oh, it's someone from Portugal, or Saudi Arabia, or Indonesia." They are business-people who buy apartments around the world in order to make profit from them (P4: male, 33, healthcare worker).

A participant described the recent purchasing of a building by an international investor and the implications for a local clothing store-owner:

> The lady who has the fashion shop over there, *UKO*, I think her contract is for another 4–5 years, but the building was bought by an Irish investor and she already has the eviction notice. She can stay until her

> contract expires, but she already knows that she is being kicked out of there. They [the investor] don't have to explain why, they just do it (P11: male, 48, record-store owner).

The impact of property speculation described by participants is illustrative of Hackworth and Smith's (2001) third wave gentrification flowing through Kreuzberg. As entire apartment blocks are bought and sold by larger property companies, the accompanying transitions can place considerable financial and emotional pressure on the long-standing tenant structure. As participants have indicated, a change in property ownership can lead to renewal of rent contracts set at higher rents, or in worse cases the termination of leases. Further, increasing rents fuelled by speculative action, has significantly reduced housing affordability in Kreuzberg, increasing the calculated district average (CDA) as per the Rent Index and ultimately undermining the ability for many long-standing residents to remain in the district.

In response to increasing speculative action in Kreuzberg, various forms of action groups and resistances were identified during fieldwork across the district. For instance, figure 5.5*A* depicts graffiti on the front entrance of an apartment complex on Wienerstrasse, which reads 'Landlord fuck off'. Tenants residing in the building in figure 5.5*B* have decorated the façade with a range of messages, with the centrepiece reading 'We're all Staying', a frequently used expression in Germany to resist housing repression (Vasudevan 2015). Additional forms of visual opposition to housing commodification are made explicit in figure 5.5*C*, depicting a rendition of the boardgame Monopoly, showing local neighbourhoods of Kreuzberg symbolically resisting gentrification and figure 5.5*D* which shows a banner hanging from the fourth floor window of an apartment prompting readers with the question 'Who Owns the City?'

Figure 5.5. Visual forms of opposition to housing commodification, Kreuzberg, 2018–2019. Photographs by A. Crowe

5.1.2. New rental contracts

As detailed in Chapter One, several housing policies and regulations have been implemented to limit housing commodification and aggressive rent-seeking practices, and by extension mitigate housing inequality

(SenStadt 2019). However, recent studies have highlighted the various ways in which property owners can circumnavigate existing market interventions (Bernt et al. 2013; Fields and Uffer 2016; Uffer 2013, 2014). One key strategy identified includes the initiation of new rental contracts to increase returns on property investments (Uffer 2013). According to government records, tenancy agreements in Kreuzberg set before the property boom of 2010 often ranged from €3–€7/m^2 depending on the physical condition of the building (Amt für Statistik 2008-2019). Under the Rent Break regulation, rents are restricted from increasing more that 15 per cent every three years (BGB §556). As an example, a tenant paying €4/m^2 for a housing unit in 2010 would have received a rent increase up to a maximum of €6/m^2 in 2019. However if the rental contract was terminated and a new contract established according to the 2019 current asking rents, the landlord could capture rents of €13–€14/m^2 for the same housing unit, effectively closing a rent gap of €7–€8/m^2. Moreover, if the dwelling underwent refurbishment between tenancies, the landlord could capture rents upward of €19/m^2 reflecting an estimated rent gap of 220 per cent between existing and potential ground rents (N. Smith 1979; Slater 2018). In this scenario, the incentive for property owners to increase the exchange value on their investments through the establishment of new rent contracts is significant.

A review of government records, housing industry literature and interview material revealed three key actions through which rent gaps are closed as new rent contracts are established: (1) a tenant vacating the dwelling; (2) the exchange in property ownership; and, (3) modifications made to the dwelling that classify as a 'comprehensive modernisation'[10]. In many cases, a combination of all three action can occur simultaneously.

As longer-established tenants vacate a dwelling, new prices are set. Participants shared their knowledge and experiences of the situation:

> One thing I see is the high fluctuation of people, which in turn means new contracts are constantly being produced. With every new contract you are legally allowed as a landlord to increase the rent on a property. Naturally landlords are using this opportunity (P6: male, 30, IT worker).

> When we ended our contract in our old apartment, we were paying €684 per month for 68m^2. The new tenant moving in now pays €1,050 plus €150 for electricity which was previously included in our contract. This is double the rent! So, when the city says rent can only rise up to 10% in order to protect tenants, [referring to the Rent Index] it's really not the reality of the situation. We saw it happen first hand… I'm the witness (P12: male, 37, cobbler).

The example provided reveals a paradox of the rent-related housing regulations. In particular, the Rent Index which restricts rents from exceeding the calculated district average (CDA) by 10 per cent, as well as the Rent

[10] According to BGB (§556f) a 'comprehensive modernisation' refers to cases where the refurbishment investment exceeds more than a third of the cost for a comparable new apartment.

Break designed to limit rent increases to a maximum of 15 per cent every three years (BGB §556). As previously outlined, both regulatory measures are structured to restrict existing rents from fluctuating in correlation to market trends and forces. Yet, a cleavage is revealed in relation the sizable proportion of low-income tenants on older rent agreements set prior to Kreuzberg's recent property market boom which remain significantly lower compared to the most current CDA. In turn, when a long-standing tenant vacates an apartment, the dwelling can be reappraised before reletting in line with the most current CDA, thus closing a rent gap. As the closure of rent gaps has been recognised as a desirable outcome for investors who purchased property during the housing boom (Holm 2013), the speed and scale at which this has been achieved has considerably reduced housing affordability across Kreuzberg (Fields and Uffer 2016). In effect, housing policy can be manipulated and used as a strategy to dismantle low-rent housing. As the proportion of low-rent housing rapidly declines, the Rent Index mechanism, which informs rents for new tenancy agreements across the district, is continually raised.

In a similar manner, the renewal of existing rent contracts following a change in property ownership can enable landlords to increase rents. As illustrated in the previous example, for long-standing residents on below-district average rents, a renewed rent contract can result in sizable rent spikes. Participants reflected on this process in the context of changing property ownership and the related implications for housing tenure:

> A lot of people had to move out because the flats were sold to new investors, and if you had to make a new rental contract, all the tenants would have to pay a few hundred bucks more, or even pay double the price. Where I live, I have a feeling that there is no control at all and this is really confusing (P16: male, 29, hospitality worker).

> I know so many people just here in the Eisenbahn, Pückler, Muskauer streets who had to move due to their buildings being sold. [Friend 1] had to move, [friend 2] had to move, so many friends had to move solely due to their property being purchased by speculators (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

As the median sale price of property in Kreuzberg has increased 171 per cent since 2010 (Amt für Statistik 2019), investing in an overheated housing market incentivises new owners to recapture value through increased rental yields (Madden and Marcuse 2016). Given Kreuzberg's speculative housing climate, residing in an apartment complex that has recently exchanged ownership can trigger emotional stress for tenants in anticipation of subsequent rent increases. A participant expressed feelings of anxiety after his building was purchased by *Akelius* a Swedish property investment firm and Berlin's sixth largest landlord [11]:

[11] As outlined in Chapter One, *Akelius Residential Property AB* has accumulated approximately 14,000 residential properties across Berlin.

> I feel it every day. You expect a letter from the new owners every day that some renovation will occur or that you will simply be kicked out. The pressure is there every day. Three years ago, a new owner, *Akelius* property group from Sweden bought our apartment complex (P2: male, 44, graphic designer).

5.1.3. Comprehensive modernisations

In relation to the previous actions identified as techniques to circumvent market interventions and maximise the exchange value of property, the strategy of 'comprehensive modernisation' (*umfassender Sanierung*) has been recognised as a key mechanism to increase rental yields (Fields and Uffer 2016; Holm 2013; Tagesspiegel 2018). For clarity, a comprehensive modernisation refers to housing refurbishment amounting to at least a third of the cost of a comparable new building (BGB §556f). Importantly, following refurbishment, the Tenancy Law Amendment Act excludes the first incoming tenant from the security of the Rent Break and Rent Index (Berlin.de 2015a). In turn, rents are set according to current market demands, upward of €19/m^2 according to 2019 housing data (Guthmann 2019). Examples of the comprehensive modernisation mechanism in effect were described by participants:

> You have this so-called Rent Break but one way to get around this regulation is to renovate the whole flat. And then you can completely raise the price of the rent, so some people have to pay €500 more per month than they should. This is how landlords get away with charging tenants a lot more for rent (P5: male, 29, post-grad student).

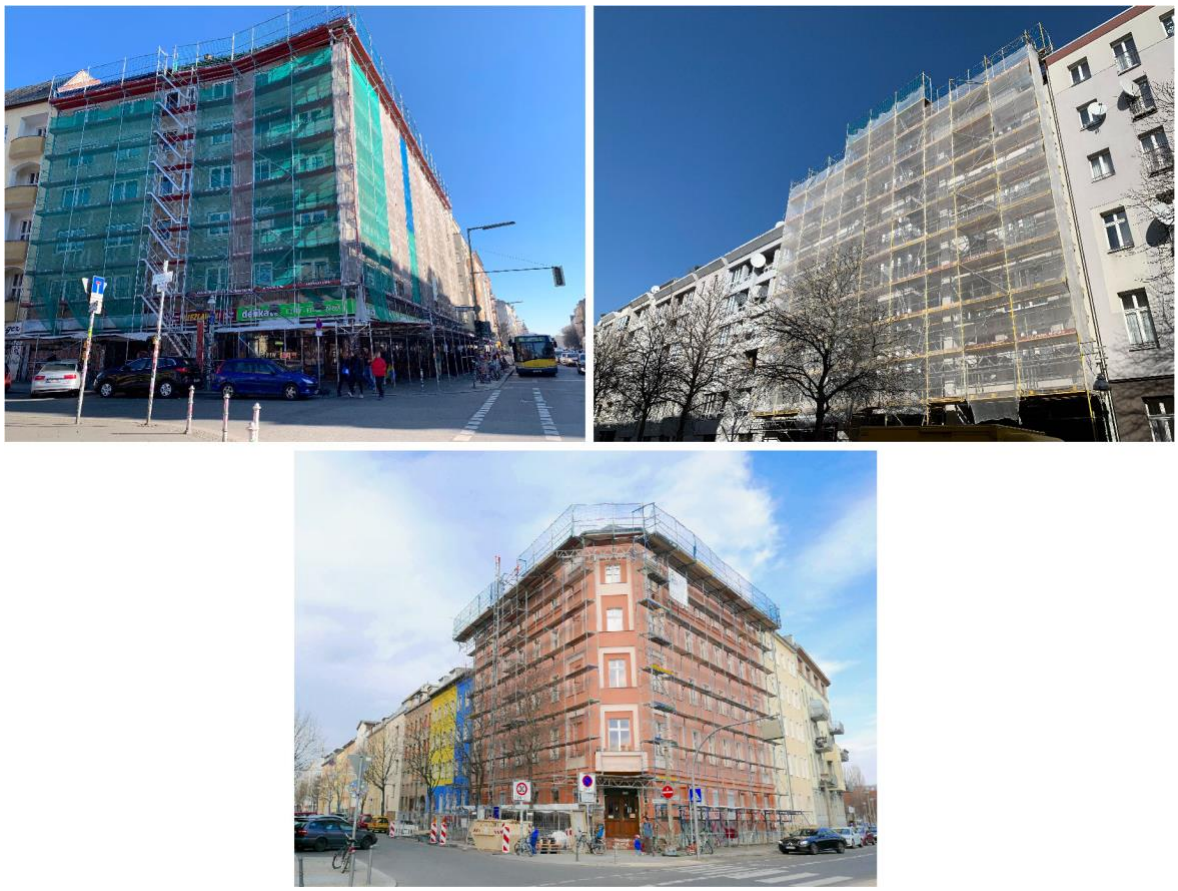
> Today there is a completely different housing situation, a completely different lease structure. Our apartment here 80m^2. It is quite cheap as we pay €400 per month [€5/m^2]. And every time someone moves out of a place like this, the apartment is not relisted on the market, but is first fundamentally renovated and modernised. Then the apartment that cost €400 before the modernisation, is then listed for €1,000–€1,200. The top floor apartment which was just modernised is being rented for €2,000. Or the one on [neighbour X] side is now rented for €1,300. So then the rents go up a lot. There is a new owner now, and the rental system is very different to before. It used to be a family-owned building, like many of the old buildings in this district. But then they became a speculation object (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

Many participants shared similar scenarios whereby modernisation measures were implemented to substantially increase rents. A participant described the lived experience of the process unfolding in his apartment and the subsequent challenges of potentially having to relocate:

> I would want to stay in Kreuzberg, but it would cost me three times my current rent. If I were to move out of my apartment, they would send a bunch of Polish [*sic*] construction workers into it for a month. After that the landlord would offer the flat for €20/m^2 per month cold. 20 bucks! There are currently two empty flats in our complex at the moment, one directly below me and one in the side wing. The one in the side

wing is 32m^2 for €700 per month cold, plus €150 side costs[12]. Are you kidding me? But that's how it pushes the rent prices. 20 bucks per square metre (P2: male, 44, graphic designer).

Figure 5.6. Typical scene of modernisation measures across Kreuzberg, 2018–2019. Photographs by A. Crowe



The general pattern revealed throughout the interviews is that property owners feel confident in utilising modernisation as tool to bypass regulations and impose significant rental increases. From the perspective of those searching for housing, a participant shared her experience moving into a recently modernised apartment and her impression of the strategy used to capture higher rents in a competitive housing market:

> We pay €1,030 a month for 64m^2. After speaking to some of the residents who live in our building, they told us that previously, our apartment wasn't in great condition. The floors were pretty bad, and the heating was really old, so I think it was in need of repair, but the old tenant was paying €400 per month in rent. And so now it is fresh inside, but I would also say that it's very basic. The landlord installed cheap wooden floors which you can mark with your fingernail. Yeah it's been painted white and that's nice, but other than that, it's not fancy at all. I would definitely not call it a "renovated apartment". It still has the old double-door windows, so the heating is really expensive. And there was no kitchen in the apartment when we moved in despite there being a law to supply tenants with access to a stove, oven and running water. But that right

[12] Side costs (*Nebenkosten*) are additional costs tenants must pay for rubbish collection, weekly cleaning, shared energy costs in communal spaces and general maintenance and upkeep of the building, for example.

> was denied to us even after we spoke to the property manager about it. They basically said to us "well you either take the apartment as is, or we give it to someone else" (P20: female, 30, media sector worker).

Three interrelated issues underscore the participant's response: (1) the difficulty in finding affordable housing; (2) the implied rent increase of 157 per cent after a seemingly basic yet necessary refurbishment (from €6.25/m^2 to €16/m^2); and, (3) the asymmetrical power dynamic between tenant and property owner. In reference to federal tenancy regulations (BGB §559), the modifications made to the dwelling are suggestive of the general upkeep and maintenance of a property required by an owner as opposed to a 'comprehensive modernisation'. Therefore, within the parameters of the Rent Index, the participant's rent should not exceed 10 per cent of the calculated district average[13]. In seeking to verify that the refurbishment measures legally qualify as a 'comprehensive modernisation' the participant explained that she was denied access to information regarding the construction costs. This scenario raises concern regarding how 'comprehensive modernisations' and the subsequent rents incurred are calculated and authenticated. In an attempt to dispute the lack of transparency, the participant described the limited options available to seek assistance and clarification:

> We pay almost triple what the [Rent Index] states the rent average should be for our area. We have had no help there from the policies. We actually joined the Berliner Mieterverein [a tenant association] and they were really helpful in the beginning in terms of drafting letters to send to the property managers about the price of the rent. But because we didn't join the Mieterverein within the first three months of moving into our new place, we are not eligible to be represented by them in court as they won't handle the court fees. So, we would have to pay them ourselves and it's really expensive. Our landlord is a multi-millionaire and owns property all over the world. We technically have the option to take him to court and contest our high rent prices, but we don't have that kind of money to spend on lawyers (P20: female, 30, media sector worker).

The participant's experience is reflective of a broader set of issues relating to housing rehabilitation and the uneven power dynamics between property owners and tenants. Despite having an option to contest the particularities of the participant's case in court, limited access to financial resources can prevent tenants from taking action against more-powerful actors, ultimately undermining a tenant's legal right to just housing (Harvey 2012; Madden and Marcuse 2016). To illustrate the legal costs involved to contest a housing dispute, the Berliner-Mieterverein (2019), one of the city's most prominent tenant associations state on their website that members with tenant insurance would incur a minimum court fee of €1,200. If the tenant's case is unsuccessful, the tenant's fee amounts to €1,955 and in cases where further evidence must be collected, an additional €1,500–€3,000 will be charged (Berliner Mieterverein 2019).

[13] The calculated district average for Kreuzberg during 2017 was €7.5/m^2 according to the Amt für Statistik (2019).

In addition to refurbishments occurring during the interim period between a tenant vacating a dwelling and the commencement of a new tenancy agreement, several participants also described modernisation efforts occurring during tenancy. According to German rent law (BGB §556), existing tenancies are protected under the Rent Break from incurring substantial rent increases after any form of housing modification. However, many participants provided examples that suggest the Rent Break has not been observed and comprehensive modernisations have led to the expulsion of tenants unable to afford the subsequent rent hikes. For instance, a participant provided an account of this mechanism in effect referring to a friend who was recently displaced from Kreuzberg:

> In one instance the landlord came up with a new rental contract. They said "hey we have to renovate the bathroom" and then all of a sudden the rent became much more expensive and my friend started to struggle. In the end they just couldn't afford it, so they had to move out and find somewhere else to live. They couldn't find anything in the area they could afford. They ended up moving further away (P16: male, 29, hospitality worker).

In this context, most participants emphasised that residential apartments are frequently modernised and re-listed as pseudo luxury living spaces in order to capture high rents. Participants explained how the modernisation strategy can be initiated:

> I have an old rent contract, protected under the Rent Break […] Last year there was water damage in my living room which meant replacing the floor and heating pipes. So now, in the eyes of the law, this three-room apartment has one renovated room and because of the awful German Housing politics, the landlord can circumnavigate the rent break and charge renovated prices. But there is a big difference between general upkeep and maintenance [Instandsetzung] of a property and a renovation [Sanierung]. The speculators are clever, they know how to suck every penny they possibly can from a property. They're heartless (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

> You have residents, many parents of my friends and also my own mother who lives here [pointing at a building on Skalitzerstrasse], who are really affected by the buying and selling of apartment complexes. Because of the introduction of luxury renovations, those with old rental contracts are either forced to pay the top rate or forced out of their homes. Affordable housing is disappearing as the apartments are being modernised whereby new rent prices are being set at a very high price. It is actually… the people who have lived here for a very long time are having to leave the district because they cannot afford it anymore. The have been scattered across the city in search for a more affordable place to live (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

Furthermore, in recognising the ambiguities concerning the general upkeep & maintenance of a dwelling and a comprehensive modernisation, evidence suggests that many tenants opt to live in substandard conditions with the aim to avoid the substantial rent increases associated with modernisations. A conversation with a resident revealed a tension playing out within his tenant community regarding the need for general upkeep & maintenance of the building:

> Well to be honest, I was hoping that this house would be renovated. It's a very old building, at least 100 years old and it hasn't been modernised. Many tenants still have oven and coal heating systems and the insulation is terrible. Even with the heating on in winter you can't get warm […] Many of the tenants are paying €2–€5 per square metre. These are very old Berlin rent prices. I'm not a capitalist, but it would be nice if we could come to a compromise where our building is renovated but our rents don't skyrocket through the roof to €18 per square metre (personal communication with resident on Eisenbahnstrasse, May 7, 2018).

The pattern identified throughout the interviews and participant observation suggests that many tenants are hesitant to raise concerns to property owners about inadequate or under-performing housing either directly or via tenant associations, as they fear it could initiate the comprehensive modernisation process. In this regard, a complication arises whereby the extent of the rehabilitation carried out in dwellings can vary significantly. As indicated, although dwellings may only receive minor modifications that reflect general upkeep and maintenance measures, in many cases, these dwellings are relisted at premium rents and categorised as comprehensively modernised apartments. In this regard, the Berlin Senate claims that the Federal Government has not clearly outlined the specificities of 'comprehensive modernisation', 'luxury refurbishment' and the 'general upkeep and maintenance' of housing in the private rental sector (Berlin.de 2019). As a lawyer for Haus und Grund Deutschland remarked 'the terms are not defined by law' (Berlin.de 2019a). Consequently, without clear legal definitions, the elusive regulatory frameworks have enabled property owners to use modernisations as a mechanism to circumnavigate housing regulations and capture premium rents disproportionately higher than the district average.

5.1.4. Housing policy and regulations

As outlined in Chapter One, international literature often celebrates Germany's housing policies in their design to mitigate housing inequality (Bate 2020; Martin et al. 2017; O'Sullivan 2018). Yet, the qualitative inquiry has illuminated several caveats of Berlin's regulatory instruments which can pose serious implications for housing tenure. Notably, the majority of participants contended that the government housing policies have been largely ineffective against opportunistic rent-seeking practices of property owners whose actions are reflective of longitudinal inequalities entrenched within the contested housing system of Kreuzberg, and Berlin more broadly. A general sense of dissatisfaction toward the government's ability to enforce regulations and ensure housing security was frequently expressed:

> The Rental Price Brake just does not work. Landlords simply carry out pseudo-renovations or rent a place out as "furnished", then they can circumnavigate the law and demand almost any price they want (P1: female, 41, retail worker).

> I'm not satisfied at all with the current rent protection laws (laughter). I would like to see an actual rent regulation implemented and monitored so that the regular worker can actually afford to live in his or her

> neighbourhood. At the moment a person with a regular income can't even think about finding an apartment in Kreuzberg. It doesn't matter if you've lived here your entire life. You have no chance […] You don't see these policies helping residents, you only see the victims (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

> At the end of the day, there are still too many loopholes for every property owner […] You as the tenant cannot do anything because there is a clause in some paragraph that voids your argument, and then the landlord keeps fighting till you lose (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

Statements like these reflect the attitudes of many participants. In relation to the power disparities between tenants and large realty investors, a participant formerly employed as an urban planner expressed his concern with housing policies and the difficulties experienced by tenants seeking to challenge a landlord suspected in violation of the law:

> The Rent Break is a political instrument, but I do not know if it's effective at all. Essentially, it's a bubble of bubbles… a bubble of hot air that does not live up to the name. It assumes that the tenant can prove to the State when their landlord is asking for too much rent (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

The participant continued, explaining:

> This construct should be reversed in my opinion. The landlords who demand rents that are much higher than the calculated district average, should be subjected to providing adequate reasoning to the State. It shouldn't be the tenant that is subjected to providing the proof to the State. This practice alone, makes the Rent Break quite absurd. And what complicates things, is that newly built apartments do not fall within the Rent Break or Rent Index regulations. So together, these pseudo rent laws only help to increase the rent level. Therefore, the Rent Index and Rent Break become joke policies. They are indeed not working at all (P8).

Participants frequently expressed feeling powerless to contest or challenge the actions of property owners on the grounds of housing policy infringement:

> I think the policies are an absolute joke. They all have these fancy names and I know I sound super pessimistic, but they don't do anything at all. They look nice on paper but the Rent Index or the Rent Break didn't do anything for us. And I think it's the same for a lot of people if you look at the huge increases in rent prices over the past few years […] So I personally don't think the rent laws are very good for tenants (P20: female, 30, media sector worker).

Echoing a similar frustration and discontent with the current rent laws, a participant highlighted the socio-spatial implications along the lines of class-based demographic change:

> The regulations are not effective at all. The housing market is designed in a way that doesn't provide any real protection for residents anymore. In the past, there was a lot more social housing where poorer people could live, but they've privatised most of them. This means, the city is at fault for this. I know that this is "just the way it is" but if it continues on like this, the displacement will continue through the outer districts […] Berlin will be a city only for the rich (P12: male, 37, cobbler).

The perspectives and experiences shared by interview participants raise concern regarding the effectiveness of government regulations and the power imbalance tilted toward corporate real-estate players. However, contrary to the general pattern of criticism toward Berlin's housing policy, one of the twenty participants expressed satisfaction with tenant rights, drawing on broader global housing trends to justify his reasoning while critically acknowledging his position in society:

> Well compared to other cities, yes. I think it's ok. Just for the record, we [participant and his family] are in a position where it's ok with the rental prices. Where we live right now, compared to Holland for example it's still cheap. It's just that the difference between what rent was like a few years ago and now has risen rapidly… I think that I'm ok in the way tenants are being treated in Berlin. I think in Berlin we have quite a lot of rights. Not saying that it's all good (P13: male, 40, logistics administrator).

Drawing on a similar theme, several participants expressed concern regarding Berlin's lower property prices relative to other global capitals:

> Since Berlin is still relatively cheap in comparison to London or Paris for example, the prices will continue to rise. And I don't see any governments really trying to deal with the speculation. They have a huge problem (P2: male, 44, graphic designer).

> If you talk to people from other metropolitan areas they will still say "oh come on, Berlin is still so cheap". So as a Berliner, I feel that yes, we are not yet facing the high prices other cities are already facing, if you compare it to other cities such as London, or Paris, or maybe a North American metropolitan city like New York […] Sometimes I'm afraid that if you put all of that into perspective and compare it to Berlin's prices, there is still so much more pressure to come to the individual tenant and to the people of this city (P4: male, 33, healthcare worker).

5.2. Expressions of displacement

So far, I have illustrated some of the key forces producing housing market pressure across Kreuzberg. The findings show how increased housing demand, an influx of newcomers of a higher-socioeconomic status, the speculative practices of property owners as well as ineffective regulatory instruments compound and represent a contemporary expression of Kreuzberg's gentrification process. Given the unprecedented market changes impacting property prices and rents, the remainder of this chapter draws on interview material to examine how long-standing residents have experienced Kreuzberg's transforming housing system. The findings are presented following the conceptual framework outlined in Chapter Three, emphasising the various modes of displacement experienced at the housing scale.

5.2.1. Modalities of out-migration

As demonstrated in the literature reviews, the conventional understanding of displacement typically refers to the involuntary out-migration of a tenant from their place of residence. This form of direct displacement

has long been recognised through physically forced evictions as well as the action of vacating one's home following substantial rent increases (Davidson 2008; Hartman et al. 1982; Marcuse 1985, 2015). Davidson (2008) refers to the latter event as direct economic displacement, while also identifying a process of indirect-economic displacement whereby a household experiences an 'affordability squeeze' yet makes various financial sacrifices to remain in place.

Forced evictions

Following Hartman et al. (1982), I refer to eviction as the action of being forced to leave a residence without the opportunity to remain. Direct displacement by forced eviction was a frequent event across Berlin between the 1960s to 1990s, an era Holm (2006) refers to as Berlin's Post-Fordist Urban Renewal. However, as previously discussed, Kreuzberg's unique Careful Urban Renewal (CUR) program prevented wide-spread evictions from occurring, effectively enabling a significant proportion of lower-SES households to remain in secure housing tenure. However, as many rent caps associated with CUR have expired in recent years, numerous cases of tenant evictions have been reported under suspicious circumstances (see Bizim Kiez 2019a). A participant explained how ongoing tenant harassment has become a tool to forcefully and unlawfully evict residents:

> Landlords have been known to do some really shitty things. We have some friends that lived just down the street. She lived in a [share] apartment and the landlord had been trying for years to get them out, and in the end he did it by cutting the heating one winter. They were just like "ok you win, we're out". But it was wild as there were other tenants in the complex that had small children. I don't know how they got away with it (P3: female, 44, school teacher).

Participants also provided accounts of forced eviction through a method of coercion, whereby landlords would offer tenants a sum of money to vacate the dwelling:

> There are people who are offered €10,000 to €15,000 to move out. These people are only renters, so many take the offer. Unfortunately, this happens a lot (P12: male, 37, cobbler).

Although the participant's observation suggest that tenants are given a choice to accept or decline the buy-out offer, others provide examples of illegal buy-outs that are non-negotiable, revealing a more explicit power imbalance between landlord and tenant:

> All the existing tenants were offered €5,000 each under the condition that they would move out. This type of strategy happens all over Berlin. And it's predominately by foreign investors […] You can refuse to take the money, but you will be driven out no matter what. You would have a group of three large men knocking at your door every day. I'm not joking. This happened to my son in the apartment he was living in on Muskauerstrasse six years ago. Around this time, it was a huge theme (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

> We received a letter from our current landlord stating that we must move out of the apartment by February 2018. It asked us to confirm that we agree to the request and we will then receive a five-figure sum of money in the low end. They put up some reasons that I can't quite remember, but it wasn't an option to stay (P6: male, 30, IT worker).

In a follow-up question regarding the experience of being bought out of his home, the participant described the status of the dwelling following the eviction:

> We sometimes pass by our old apartment to check on the status, but they haven't started renovating it yet. So, the February [2018] deadline they gave us was seven months ago and they haven't yet touched the building. We did notice that there is no-longer anyone living there. We knew this would happen when we got the letter. The apartments on the lower levels at the back of the building were used to house homeless people and some apartments at the front of the building were part of a caring facility and housed people with disabilities. These apartments were also empty when we visited and for me this was really disturbing. We saw first-hand people being affected by this process in the worst possible way. With the planned renovations, there's no way the landlord will allocate apartments to look after these people again. I'm not sure where these tenants moved to [...] but I'm sure it won't be in the same neighbourhood. This is unfortunate, as I know many of these people had lived there for a very long time (P6: male, 30, IT worker).

Participant descriptions demonstrate forms of harassment and intimidation used by some property owners to evict tenants from their homes. In spite of the aforementioned housing regulations designed to protect tenants and preserve the social composition of Kreuzberg, participant experiences and observations offer insight into how direct displacement through forced expulsion continues to unfold in the city. Beyond questions surrounding the legality of the buy-out methods used to vacate tenants from dwellings, a power imbalance is made explicit whereby property owners possess the resources and leverage to force long-standing residents from their homes.

Direct economic- and indirect economic-displacement

In addition to processes of forced expulsion through forms of tenant harassment and coercion, participant descriptions show how increased financial pressure placed on households following substantial rent spikes constitutes a second facet of direct displacement. Notably, the interview material revealed the longer temporal dimensions of economic-triggered displacement. For instance, in addition to many residents having vacated the neighbourhood as they could not afford rent increases, the qualitative inquiry also shows how residents living in housing stress[14] make financial sacrifices in other arenas of life in order to stay put. Participants reflected on the rapid escalation of rents and increased housing costs bestowed on themselves, friends and neighbours:

[14] Housing stress is typically defined when housing costs exceed more than 30% of the household income and the household is in the lower 40% of the income distribution (Rowley and Ong 2012).

> The people who have lived here for a very long time are having to leave the district because they cannot afford it anymore. The have been scattered across the city in search for a more affordable place to live (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

> I have stories of people that moved outside of the city just because it was too expensive to keep paying their rent. They couldn't afford or didn't want to pay €800 per month to live in the city anymore. I have a friend who is in his late 30s who moved out to Rudow [an outer Berlin locality] because his rent was increased and couldn't afford to pay it (P20: female, 30, media sector worker).

A participant commented on how he has perceived rising rents impacting the socio-spatial dynamics of the locality:

> The rise in housing prices displaced many people. It feels like over fifty per cent of the indigenous population of Kreuzberg has been pushed out due to the increasing rental prices. I don't think the statistics are actually that high, but it certainly feels that way (P7: male, 60, drink-store owner).

The general pattern identified throughout the interview material indicates that of the long-standing residents, older cohorts, those on lower incomes, as well as established migrant communities from Germany's contested Guestworker program are among the most at-risk groups to direct displacement. This dynamic embodies a common characteristic of the gentrification narrative wherein one's capability to resist gentrification varies considerably depending not only on socio-economic status but also one's position in society (Davidson 2008; Lees et al. 2008). A participant reflected on how he has witnessed the rising rents effect various social groups:

> Here in Kreuzberg, so many of my good friends have had to move away. Turkish, Arabic, and original Berliners […] They had lived here in Kreuzberg for over 30 years until they were forced to move out and move away because of the extreme rent increases. There is no chance anymore to actually live in a reasonable apartment for reasonable money (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

The participant also shared the experiences of friends within the age of retirement who have struggled to maintain housing tenure on the state pension:

> I know two people who have nothing left. They had to move into social housing a few years ago. They lived in the same apartment for over 30 years and then the complex was bought out by a rich West German. They couldn't afford the rent increase, and they couldn't find another apartment in Berlin which they could afford with their pensions. This is just one story of thousands who have experienced this issue. It's inhumane, completely inhumane […] I've lost so many good friends from this district who had to move out simply because they couldn't afford to pay the ridiculously high rent increases (P10).

Watching friends and family members undergo direct displacement was a familiar theme in the interviews. Moreover, participant descriptions illustrate how the economic and cultural forces of gentrification not only

affect those expelled from the neighbourhood, but also the remaining populations who experience an erosion of place-based social networks that contribute to their sense of home:

> It's not easy to find somewhere new to live. It also changes the daily routine. And if you live in an area, and you have your friends there, having to leave is really hard. I remember when I was still working in the bar, someone I hadn't seen for half a year came in and I said, "I haven't seen you in while" and he said "yeah I had to move away to Wedding or Neukölln"[15] so yeah, it really tears people apart (P16: male, 29, hospitality worker).

As all research participants were registered residents of Kreuzberg during the time of fieldwork, the perspective of displacees have not been captured in this thesis. However, one participant, shared her plans to vacate her dwelling and Kreuzberg in the near future due to housing affordability constraints and also living space limitations:

> I can no longer afford Kreuzberg. My apartment in Kreuzberg is a one-room apartment in the backyard of the complex, but that's where I started. I love Kreuzberg, but I also need space and light to live. So I am moving to Treptow, where I will have more space for less money (P1: female, 41, retail worker).

The participant's explanation for leaving Kreuzberg illuminates the longer temporal significance of economic-triggered displacement. Although the event of spatial expulsion can often occur quickly, through forced evictions or substantial rent increases beyond the tenant's ability to pay, increased economic and social hardships endured by households in gentrifying neighbourhoods make explicit the more insidious facets of the displacement process that can build over time. For the participants of this research, the creeping threat of involuntary out-migration was identified as a considerable point of concern. Amplified through recurring narratives of direct displacement across Kreuzberg, the threat of substantial rent increases has created a climate of fear and housing insecurity among many long-standing residents:

> Every three years when it's legal with the regulated changes, the landlord can raise my rent until I'm not able to afford it anymore. And that's a threat and it is something I have to live with every day (P11: male, 48, record-store owner).

> I pay €4.90/m^2 but they [the landlord] could rent this apartment out for €13–€14/m^2 if they could make a new contract. At that price, I would have to move out. But do you think I would find an apartment in Kreuzberg that I could afford with my €1,400 monthly income? There's not a chance I would find anything. I would have to move to Lichterfelde or Rudow [two outer localities of Berlin] (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

Increased housing market pressure poses serious implications to Kreuzberg's low-income tenant structure, whereby almost 50 per cent of household incomes earn less than €24,000 per annum (Amt für Statistik 2019).

[15] Participant is referring to two outer districts of Berlin.

5.2.2. Exclusionary displacement

Although similarities cut across varying modalities of displacement (Davidson 2008, 2009), it is important to highlight a distinction between economic-triggered displacement and exclusionary displacement. Following Marcuse (1985) and Davidson's (2008) definition, exclusionary displacement describes a setting where a household is excluded from housing it would have previously had access to before gentrification. To put it differently, a tenant pressured to vacate their home due to rent increases is reflective of direct economic displacement, whereas a household unable to enter or re-locate within a neighbourhood they previously would have had access to is indicative of exclusionary displacement:

> If people decide to move into a bigger apartment as their life's circumstances change, they often end up having to leave their community and Kiez they've been living in for sometimes even decades because they can't afford the current market price. Hence why so many Berliners are forced to move further away from the city centre (P19: female, 27, hospitality worker).

As increased rents make it unaffordable for many residents to relocate within Kreuzberg, participants reflected on the exclusionary process in effect:

> I know a few people that now look for apartments towards the outskirts again due to the high prices. This is the first time that I've heard of people moving out of the inner-city again. I know of 3–4 examples of people moving to Lichtenberg already, which is considered outside of the inner-city (P6: male, 30, IT worker).

Participant explained how former-residents of Kreuzberg would often rationalise their expulsion from the inner-city:

> You can see that people are being driven out of the centre and that they have to live somewhere else, like outside the ring which was an absolute no-go when I started living in Berlin. But now I'm hearing that a lot of people are moving way outside the ring to take advantage of more affordable housing. "Well if I find anything at all, that would be great... it's not even that bad out here" and so on... Yeah, it's not really where I'd want to live if everything you do and need is in the city. But people can't really afford it anymore (P16: male, 29, hospitality worker).

In a similar manner, a public housing manager related a set of issues often encountered by lower-income families in relation to rent intensification and exclusionary displacement:

> This presents an extremely complex challenge. Especially if you live in an apartment here [Kreuzberg] with kids, because when your kids turn 18, those five young adults need to find a place to live. But because Kreuzberg has become so expensive to live so quickly, these kids have no chance. They try to move to the outer districts of the city, or Brandenburg [neighbouring state] where it is cheaper, but this is complicated depending on where you work or study. Many try to move to other cities to study, but this doesn't include everyone. The other alternative is that the parents must leave in order to be closer to their children, or be able to support them financially during the transition into adulthood. What also happens is the young adults

> move in together with their siblings or their cousins. While this may work financially, it leads to overcrowding and doesn't provide them with a good quality of life (K5).

5.2.3. Involuntary immobility

In direct relation to housing market change and residential out-migration, the term involuntary immobility (Newman and Wyly 2006) or entrapment (Marcuse 1985) represents a nuanced dynamic of gentrification impacting on long-standing residents. As a consequence of district- and city-wide rent intensification, cases of involuntary immobility demonstrate how long-standing residents respond to increased housing pressure in various ways. Indicative of exclusionary displacement, the rapid price increase of new rent listings has restricted many long-standing residents from moving elsewhere within the district should they wish to. In turn, the qualitative inquiry revealed how involuntary immobility can constitute a paradoxical dynamic whereby many long-standing residents feel they are denied the opportunity to vacate their current dwelling and relocate to more suitable accommodation in Kreuzberg according to their housing needs. The interview materials also revealing the preventative-action taken, coping strategies and trade-offs employed by residents to avoid out-migration from a locality they define as home. Participants accentuated how this complex process can manifest:

> We wanted to move apartments, but we were basically stuck. We couldn't find an apartment even close to the same price. At that time, we would have had to downsize one-third which wasn't an option. But now it is probably impossible to find something again that we could afford (P14: female, 34, NGO worker).

> Berlin used to be, you don't like living somewhere, no problem, you move to another place. Before… in the thirteen years that I've been living here, I've moved six times. It was like every two years, oh it's fine, I'll get a new place somewhere else. And now you see that people are getting stuck in their place, whether they like it or not but it's just not possible anymore to easily move apartments (P13: male, 40, logistics administrator).

As the asking rents for new tenancy contracts have increased by 216 per cent in Kreuzberg since 2010 (Amt für Statistik 2019), this has created a housing landscape reflecting a vast disparity between rent prices depending not only on the location or quality of the building, but also on the period in which a rental agreement was initiated. For clarity, most Kreuzberg tenants holding pre-2010 fixed term rental agreements are paying considerably less rent per square metre compared to the 2019 average asking rent of €13–€14m^2, with some paying as little as €2–5/m^2 according to several participants. For example, two participants, an elderly couple (P8 and P9) secured their unlimited-term rental contract in 1978. Although they have received incremental rent increases in accordance with housing regulation, in 2018 their rent was set at €5/m^2 for an 80m^2 street-facing apartment at Lausitzer Platz. Similarly, P10 who initiated a unlimited-term rental contract in 1981 was paying €4.90/m^2 in 2018. Conversely, a neighbouring resident (P20), who moved into the same building as P10 in 2017, indicated she was paying €16m^2 for a 64m^2 apartment, illustrating that P20

disproportionately pays 226 per cent more in rent compared to her immediate neighbour (P10). In turn, sizable disparities between neighbouring dwellings have created a climate whereby many long-standing residents endeavour to keep possession of older rental contracts with rents often set well-below the Calculated District Average (CDA), despite the dwelling no longer meeting their current housing aspirations and needs. Put differently, older rental contracts are regarded as valuable assets.

In this context, more than half of the participants shared experiences and observations relating to involuntary immobility. Some described that despite wanting to vacate their current dwelling for various reasons, they feel compelled to remain *in situ* as there are few opportunities to find affordable housing suited to their financial and household requirements. This pattern was most frequently expressed in relation to shifting family dynamics:

> Over the past few years I've seen different expressions of how the increasing property prices affect Berliners. For one, long term renters in Kreuzberg with an unlimited lease, they arrange their lives around their apartment. Meaning even though they have a two-room apartment, rather than moving out when a couple gets children, they're much more likely to raise their child or even children in the same apartment they lived in before they had children (P19: female, 27, hospitality worker).

One participant reflected on friends experiencing a form of involuntary immobility which has implications on the well-being of the entire family:

> Friends of ours have two kids and they live near Görlitzer Park. They live on the fifth floor, with no elevator in a two-room apartment[16]. It's way too small with two children. They don't want to move too far away from the neighbourhood but for them it's not possible. Not even that it would only be too expensive, but people tend to hold onto their apartments now. So, there are very few available apartments to rent. There's no more free space (P13: male, 40, logistics administrator).

Subsequently, in order to maintain affordable rents and remain in the locality, many long-standing residents may compromise living standards and quality, choosing to remain in dwellings that are unsuitable to their household needs (see also Holm 2013). The participant continued, disclosing that he also faced this dilemma, as he and his wife plan to have a second child in the coming years:

> We would only take a new apartment if someone we know moves out, and the landlord agrees that we can take over the contract without raising the rent too much. We are looking to expand, going from a three-room apartment to a four-room apartment but it's going to be really difficult. Already trying to find another three-room apartment is going to be really difficult (P13).

[16] A two-room apartment in Berlin includes two-rooms, one bathroom and a kitchen—there is no additional living room.

Participant experiences illuminate a paradox of the current housing landscape. On the one hand, expanding families may opt to raise children in inappropriately sized dwellings in order to remain in their neighbourhood and maintain housing affordability. On the other, empty nesters on older rent agreements have very little incentive to downsize, as securing a smaller apartment in Kreuzberg in the current housing climate could cost the same, if not more rent than their larger three-to-five-room apartment (P9 & P10). These life-cycle characteristics illuminate a housing mismatch as limited residential living space is ineffectively utilise, exacerbating Kreuzberg's housing shortage and impacting many residents searching for larger apartments to accommodate their expanding families:

> We have three kids to look after. Kids need room and we need room. So, we gotta live somewhere. But looking right now, I would get less than half the living space for the same rent. So, we have to stay here, or we move far away to the suburbs but then I have a long way to go for work. All of this gives me a headache (P11: male, 48, record-store owner).

Embedded within the participant's response, two modalities of displacement are revealed. Firstly, a form of involuntary immobility is identified as the participant and his family made an economic and spatial decision to remain in an apartment that is inappropriately suited to their family structure. It is evident the family has made a compromise between living space and housing affordability in order to avoid exclusionary displacement. Secondly, the sense of frustration resonating throughout his descriptions, illustrates a building pressure of displacement. Reflecting on the hypothetical event of spatial relocation, the participant asserted:

> It would change everything. The kids have their social networks here, and they go to a certain school that we chose in the neighbourhood because we like it. I try not to think about it because it's so disturbing actually (P11).

In a similar vein, several participants expressed a strong desire to remain in their place of residence underpinned by a mounting fear of direct displacement:

> I worry. I worry a lot. We don't talk about it often because we're like "let's not think about it" but we have no idea what we'll do if our situation changes. When we moved into this flat, we said "OK, we're here till we die because we'll never find rent like this anywhere else" (P3: female, 44, school teacher).

Throughout the descriptions and accounts of involuntary immobility a pattern emerges whereby long-standing residents may choose to live in substandard conditions in order to remain in the neighbourhood. This action signifies the trade-offs made to remain *in situ*, demonstrating the significance of spatial location beyond the context of the dwelling, emphasising long-standing residents' attachments to place, such as place-based social networks and relationships across the neighbourhood.

In contrast to participants expressing a strong desire to remain in their neighbourhood, one participant revealed an outcome of gentrification that complicates the Right to Stay Put thesis as inherently positive (Hartman et al. 1982). Despite having lived in Kreuzberg for most of his adult life, the participant illustrates how feeling increasingly alienated by changes at the neighbourhood scale can impact on daily residential life:

> Well you used to have the opportunity to move if the noise was getting too much. Today you don't have that opportunity. You're forced to stay in your flat because you won't find anything else you can afford. That's the point. This impacts people's stress level—it rises and rises and rises. On the one hand, after 16 years, I'd love to move to a new flat and make a change with my life. On the other hand, if I quit my current flat, I'm risking to be homeless (P2: male, 44, graphic designer).

The broader implications of neighbourhood change will be discussed in greater depth in the subsequent empirical chapters. However, underscoring the participant's experience is that displacement is not only disclosed through a political economy of housing, but is also influenced by non-shelter factors that can render one to feel increasingly out-of-place.

5.3. Chapter conclusion

In gentrifying neighbourhoods such as Kreuzberg, where housing is in high demand and incoming populations are willing to pay exorbitant rents, the pressures of displacement experienced by existing residents is heightened. This chapter has presented insight into the lived-experience of long-standing residents in Kreuzberg's housing landscape, and how issues related to housing affordability have placed many households under considerable economic and social stress. Through an examination of housing speculation and commodification and the regulatory measures structured to mitigate housing inequality, a complex conjuncture is revealed. Given the loopholes identified in Berlin's housing policies, many apartment buildings in need of rehabilitation can undergo minor modifications labelled as 'comprehensive modernisation' in order to yield premium rents disproportionately higher than the district averages. The general trend indicates that as rental agreements are terminated, renewed or created, rents are raised above the financial capabilities of Kreuzberg's long-standing population. In turn, the rent-seeking actions of property owners described can result in direct displacement through forced evictions and increased economic pressure. At the same time, the findings also reveal some of the less obvious forms of exclusion such as indirect-economic displacement, exclusionary displacement and involuntary immobility. Importantly, the interview materials show how various dimensions of displacement often overlap and can be experienced in simultaneity. The subsequent chapters will continue to explore the nuances of gentrification-induced displacement, paying particular attention to the multifaceted ways in which neighbourhood effects intersect with and extend beyond the housing scale.

Chapter Six: Shifting Neighbourhood Dynamics

As identified in chapters two and three, the effects of gentrification extend beyond a political economy of housing, impacting on the socio-spatial and socio-cultural dimensions of entire neighbourhoods in various ways (Atkinson 2015; Elliot-Cooper et al. 2019; Davidson 2008, 2009; Marcuse 1985, 2015; K. Shaw and Hagemans 2015; Valli 2015; Zukin et al. 2009). Drawing on the experiences and perspectives of research participants, this chapter examines gentrification-related change in the context of everyday resident life in Kreuzberg; the intersect between changing resident populations; a transitioning neighbourhood infrastructure; and, a recasting of the dominant use and function of neighbourhood space. First, I explore participants' understandings of neighbourhood change and the multifaceted social tensions produced as more affluent groups influence the trajectory of Kreuzberg's urban fabric. Second, I consider the interrelationships between the up-scaling of commercial establishments and the divesting of long-standing neighbourhood resources, drawing on interview materials to accentuate the implications of a rapidly transitioning local commercial infrastructure. Lastly, I bring the related experiences together to examine how neighbourhood scale change can enact various dimensions of community stress, dispossession and exclusion, in effect, illuminating non-shelter aspects of displacement.

6.1. Socio-spatial transformations

The following section seeks to explore the socio-spatial dynamics that have shaped Kreuzberg over the past fifty years. Participant accounts of Kreuzberg during Berlin's divided years illustrate the emergence of gentrification following the fall of the Berlin Wall. Although it is impossible to capture and accentuate the dynamic and multiple social worlds that constitute Kreuzberg, drawing on particular aspects and representations the locality's historic trajectory from the perspective of residents provides some insight into social and economic forces shaping the contemporary landscape. This section also shows how shifts in the dominant social practices and activities across the neighbourhood can affect, and ultimately alter the way in which long-standing residents use and perceive their neighbourhood. Particular emphasis is devoted to the role of language as a powerful indicator of neighbourhood change.

6.1.1. In the shadow of the Wall

Participants aged 55 and above provided first-hand accounts of living in Kreuzberg during a period of urban abandonment and disinvestment disclosed through population decline and increased political instability between East and West Berlin (Bernt et al. 2013; MacDougall 2011; Vasudevan 2015). Within their descriptions, participants also emphasised the contested immigration politics of former-West Germany, particularly noting the marginalisation of migrants (Hinze 2013; Kaya 2001; Polat 2018) and the stigmatisation of Kreuzberg as an 'ethnic enclave' (Kaya 2001, 17) and an archetype of inner-urban dystopia:

> Kreuzberg was a [geographical] enclave that the police could blockade in an emergency [restrict district mobility]. That was Kreuzberg, it was very different, it was a "bad district". For anyone who didn't live in Kreuzberg, we were all seen as the bad ones back here, living in fort Kreuzberg (P9: female, 71, pensioner).

> I have lived here since 1969. I used to live on Muskauerstrasse around the corner, so of course, I have experienced many changes. I have seen how much the neighbourhood was actually written off, old buildings that no one wanted to have were simply neglected and left vacant. The state moved more so-called foreign workers or Guestworkers from Turkey into this area, and the neighbourhood became really disreputable. This was the largest Turkish-populated city after Istanbul, outside Turkey, and combining many new inhabitants and a struggling economy, Kreuzberg became a very depraved district (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

> In the 1980s, Kreuzberg was the last quarter. No one wanted to move here. This is not a joke, there were really some streets that were not lit, it was dark every night, and all the Turkish families were pushed into this district. This is another terrible part of Berlin's history […] This created a horrible situation where the Guestworkers became second class citizens. The Turks live with the Turks, the Arabs live with Arabs and Germany looks at them as a second-class society. This was over five decades ago and still in Berlin the children of the Guestworkers are treated as second class citizens (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

To exemplify the mainstream German discourse surrounding West-Berlin's Guestworker populations, figure 6.1 depicts an article published in the broadsheet newspaper *Der Spiegel* under the heading 'The Turks are coming—save yourself if you can' (1973, 24). Throughout the article, migrant workers are characterised as 'a new underclass and sub-proletariat' transforming Kreuzberg into a 'Turkish Ghetto' and 'little Harlem' while positing claims such as 'every second Berliner wants nothing to do with them' and 'every seventh wants them to live in a separate residential area' (*Der Spiegel* 1973, 28 translation Crowe).

Figure 6.1. 'The Turks are coming: Save yourself if you can' Source: *Der Spiegel* July 30, 1973

Türkische Arbeiter in der Bundesrepublik: „Wenn das so weitergeht, ersaufen wir einfach"

„Die Türken kommen – rette sich, wer kann"

During the 1970s and 1980s, Kreuzberg was widely recognised as an epicentre for political demonstrations and rallies for issues related to social justice which often resulted in violent crashes between police and

protesters (Holm 2006, 2013; Kaya 2013; Vasudevan 2015). In response to state-led urban renewal schemes which involved the large-scale demolition of entire housing blocks (Holm 2013), squatters and activists occupied swaths of housing across Kreuzberg as a form of symbolic protest[17] (Vasudevan 2015). Indicative of these events, terms such as 'violent', 'chaotic' and 'wild' were frequently invoked throughout the interviews to describe the political and economic instability of this era. A participant provided insight into the political tension from the perspective of his place of residence at Lausitzer Platz:

> On the opposite side from here, the whole area around the Lausitzer Platz was occupied in the 1980s. These were the years of the demonstrations and the occupying movement, and the street battles as well. We saw the street battles in front of our house, in front of our balcony. One time the police barricades were burned (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

Participants explained that vexed representations of Kreuzberg continued following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. For instance, several participants noted that throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, Kreuzberg was routinely discoursed as an 'ethnic ghetto' and the 'the ass end of West Berlin' (P2: male, 44, graphic designer). At the same time, participant responses often invoked early signs of gentrification, using adjectives such as 'artistic', 'creative' and 'cool' to describe Kreuzberg's transitioning neighbourhoods during the immediate post-Wall period:

> Everyone was looking for an apartment in Prenzlauer Berg. Kreuzberg was totally avoided. Nobody wanted to live here. And that's why it was easier to get an apartment. And then things suddenly shifted. At some point Kreuzberg became mega-hip, the hotspot of hipness, along with Friedrichshain. Before that, only Friedrichshain was hip. But then it was Kreuzberg's turn. And everything around the Eisenbahnstrasse and at Lausitzer Platz became the cool area (P15: female, 54, community worker).

> I lived in New York during gentrification in the 1990s […]. One of the things that really helped me settle into the neighbourhood [Reichenberger Kiez] is that it reminds me of my old neighbourhood before gentrification happened (P3: female, 44, school teacher).

While these interpretations of Kreuzberg during the 1990s and early 2000s are indicative of first wave gentrification, reflections on the current period were more closely aligned with third wave gentrification (Hackworth and N. Smith 2001). Notable indicators included remarks on an influx of wealthier international populations, considerable price increases for housing and everyday goods, as well as an upscaling of the commercial landscapes. Participants also reflected on a changing socio-cultural character of Kreuzberg, tilted

[17] Ongoing protests and opposition against post-war renewal regimes involving the demolition of entire neighbourhoods led to the development of the 'careful urban renewal' (CUR) program (*behutsame Stadterneuerung*) structured to preserve the existing built and social environment of Kreuzberg (SenStadt 2018).

in a direction that is less heterogeneous and more consumption-oriented. A self-identified Turkish-German provided an interpretation of Kreuzberg's shifting trajectory:

> The neighbourhood has changed a great deal. Today, it is no longer Germany. Earlier it was, but Kreuzberg is a part of the city that over time has transitioned away from being part of Germany. It has moved away from being a part of German society, towards the direction of England and other rich countries […] Also, with the tenants and the types of businesses here now it is no longer Berlin. The multicultural Berlin is gone, and an extreme capitalistic system has replaced it which has destroyed everything (P12: male, 37, cobbler).

In a similar vein, many participants were of the opinion that affluent newcomers are increasingly seeking out Kreuzberg as an ideal place for partying and consuming:

> Today, people don't come to Kreuzberg because they are outcasted by the rest of Berlin, they come here to spend money, and do the same types of activities you can do in any other part of Berlin. Drink alcohol in expensive bars, drink expensive coffee, and eat overpriced food, and it's destroying the heart of Kreuzberg (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

The participant continued:

> I am not trying to be offensive, but through their presence, the new residents are destroying Kreuzberg, they are ending the communication, accepting really high rents, all in all they are destroying the Kiez culture and the Kiez connections (P10).

Several prominent commonalities cut across participant responses. Notably, all participants referred to Kreuzberg, until recently, as a divested, ethnically diverse, low-income residential district. The general consensus was that prior to 2010, Kreuzberg was continually discoursed as an urban environment unpalatable to mainstream conventions and expectations of German society. However, reflecting on changes within the last ten years, participants consistently described Kreuzberg as an increasingly challenging place to live for lower-SES populations in relation to both escalating living costs and socio-cultural shifts toward a consumption-centric landscape (Hubbard 2018; Zukin 2008).

6.1.2. Transitioning social structure

In addition to a recognised influx of wealthier residents, the interview materials highlighted a symbiotic relationship between tourism growth in Kreuzberg's residential neighbourhoods and changes to the social structure. Although participants expressed difficulty differentiating between tourists and an increasing population of transnational residents (Amt für Statistik 2019), a complex constellation of issues and tensions were revealed in relation to processes of socio-spatial restratification. In particular, all participants noted that the changing social composition of Kreuzberg has involved the direct displacement of many long-standing residents:

> The population isn't that diverse anymore. You can see that the poorer people have had to move out. And more upper-middle-class people are moving in. You can really feel it. You can even see it when you walk through the streets in Kreuzberg (P2: male, 44, graphic designer).

In particular, residents of a Turkish-migrant background and older residents were frequently identified as social cohorts vulnerable to spatial dislocation in relation to increasing housing pressure and neighbourhood change:

> I have noticed that many people have moved away, and what came after were younger people everywhere. It was not the grandma anymore, or the Turkish families who live here. What has changed is that there are so many young people who come here to start families. There are an infinite number of children now. For the past ten years, I have never seen so many children here (P9: female, 71, pensioner).

> If you're looking for genuine Kreuzbergers [Kreuzberg born], they are usually over 50 or older and have an old rent contract. Also, there are fewer and fewer people with Turkish backgrounds. What you mostly find are property-buying academics or young people from other countries who spend a fortune on rent to call themselves a Kreuzberger (P1: female, 41, retail worker).

The relationship between successive waves of gentrification and a perceived decrease in socio-cultural diversity was also observed by non-German participants who moved to Kreuzberg prior to the property boom of 2010:

> The other thing that has changed, and I'm probably a part of this as well, is that younger people are coming in who are not from the Kiez and living here. Maybe what I mean is that the Kiez has become a bit more white, and maybe a bit more boring because of this (P13: male, 40, logistics administrator).

> I don't feel that Kreuzberg is as multicultural anymore. I mean, you used to see the Turkish, Arabic, German cultures, and then a smaller mix of other cultures all existing together here in Kreuzberg. But I feel like that's changed a lot recently. I feel like Kreuzberg feels more like Mitte or Prenzlauer Berg now [referring to affluent areas of Berlin]. They're for the richer people, and I find that nothing really exciting happens there—just shopping and eating (P20: female, 30, media sector worker).

To this end, some participants expressed resentment to affluent groups moving into Kreuzberg on the grounds of fuelling housing stress, displacing long-standing residents while simultaneously rupturing place-based social bonds and networks. In addition to rent intensification, a participant shared her intention to move away from Kreuzberg due to also feeling alienated from the dominant use and function of the neighbourhood nowadays:

> I'm moving out of the district. Kreuzberg has not only become too expensive, but also stressful. If you live here, you pay a lot and you have to be young and hip all the time (P1: female, 41, retail worker).

Perceptions of incoming residents varied however, and most participants acknowledged that a complex composition of individuals cannot be reduced to a homogenous social group with shared values, agendas and positionalities. Nonetheless, indicative of statistical data on resident populations (Amt für Statistik 2019; Guthmann 2020a), the international, transient and temporary nature of incoming populations was identified as a key driver of neighbourhood change. In a joint interview, an elderly couple shared their understanding of newer residents, perceived as long-term tourists:

> Most of the people moving into the area are tourists (P9: female, 71, pensioner).

> Yes, the new residents are tourists. These are the tourists who want to come here to live in Kreuzberg (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

Echoing a similar perception, a participant shared his views on the reasons underpinning the influx of younger, transnational populations moving to inner-Berlin localities such as Kreuzberg:

> People move for short periods of time, say 1–2 years, a lot of people from big cities, mid-sized cities and even tiny villages from all over Germany and the world. More and more people in their early 20s. Berlin had this image of being a crazy, vibrant city. There is a lot going on here that is very different to the rest of Germany. So that attracts a lot of young people here (P6: male, 30, IT worker).

A participant provided a partial explanation for the short-term nature of some incoming international residents:

> I was talking to a friend from New York and she told me that actually there are a lot of New Yorkers coming to Berlin. She said that there are people moving here who are able to work remotely. She gave me some examples of friends who work for magazines and in academia, and because Berlin is so much cheaper than New York at this moment, it's so cheap for them to be here. Some are worried about their politics, and they actually say that Berlin reminds them of the way New York was twenty years ago. So, they say it's a nice place at the moment, it's so thriving and creative and whatever (P5: male, 29, post-grad student).

As Kreuzberg's demographic profile continues to shift, and given the increase of international and affluent populations now residing in the locality (Amt für Statistik 2011–2019) participants described some of the social tensions developing between long-standing residents and wealthier newcomers:

> I did though [*sic*] unfortunately see changes in my neighbourhood that I do not like and can't even tolerate sometimes. I have recognised an increasing amount of new white, western residents who consider themselves to be very woke and trendy, but actually behave often subliminally racist (P19: female, 27, hospitality worker).

> The new neighbour who moved into the luxury rooftop apartment above me is a rude and obnoxious man who only speaks English. I can also speak English, so it's not a language barrier issue. But I often greet him when I'm doing my job as the in-house caretaker, but he sticks his nose high in the air and ignores my

> existence. He sees me as the farmer and himself as the lord. I'm always friendly and nice, you know I want to keep this side job. He has nothing to do with Kreuzberg. No connection to the Kreuzberg mentality. It's because of people like this that I begin to feel uncomfortable in the Kiez. The original Kreuzbergers are decreasing in numbers, and more and more people like this British neighbour are moving in (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

The participant continued, reflecting on the longitudinal migration patterns that have contributed to the shape of Kreuzberg's social-cultural composition:

> In the past, people used to move to Kreuzberg from West Germany to escape the military conscription, as West Berlin was physically and politically detached from West Germany. So, you had a lot of young people moving here to study who wanted to escape military conscription. I would say 90 per cent of students moving to West Berlin were fleeing military conscription. People didn't move to Berlin because it was beautiful (laughter). It was often for political reasons. So, this aspect, in combination with the foreign communities, artists and other cohorts living here created the culture that people are coming here to purchase today (P10).

In an attempt to explain the motivations driving wealthier types to Kreuzberg, a participant postulated:

> one reason for many people coming here is due to the perceived hype and the portrayed lifestyle here in Kreuzberg. But the people moving here for this attraction try to recreate this idea of Kreuzberg in their own way, usually at a much higher level, or they want to create something completely new (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

Underscoring participant descriptions on the recent influx of wealthier residents offers a sense of disenfranchisement experienced by incumbent populations in addition to sharpening polarisation along socio-economic and socio-cultural lines of difference. Beyond participant accounts, frustration and resentment toward affluent newcomers were frequently observed during fieldwork through iconographic messages dispersed across Kreuzberg's built environment (see figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2. Anti-gentrification graffiti across Kreuzberg, March-December 2018. Photograph by. A. Crowe

There is a complexity to the inscriptions in the figures above worth discussing in relation to a process of 'othering', as well as the underlying xenophobic implications in some anti-gentrification discourse. For instance, the term 'Schwabe' (top left image) has frequently been used to isolate and discriminate against incoming residents from the south-west German state of Baden-Württemberg, who for several decades have been characterised as key agents of Berlin's gentrification (Bernt et al. 2013). Further, and as identified in Chapter Two, the term 'Yuppies' (Young Urban Professionals), has long been deployed as a form of defensive positioning in opposition to the influx of middle-class into working-class neighbourhoods (Lees et al. 2008; Short 1989; Valentine 2001).

6.1.3. Civic codes and practices

All participants emphasised a relationship between incoming affluent residents, increased tourism and changes to the dominant use of neighbourhood space. Increased noise and large-crowds related to late-night partying and social congregations in residential quarters were identified as a prominent point of contention.

Consequently, some residents have begun to alter their daily practices and routines to account for busy periods. Moreover for residents living above or within close proximity to newly-opened hospitality establishments, participants emphasised the challenges of habitation and dwelling. As one participant put it 'my neighbourhood has become too crowded and loud. You have to decide whether you'll stay or go' (P1: female, 41, retail worker). In a similar manner, several participants expressed feelings of frustration regarding the increased popularity of Kreuzberg as a destination for event-seekers and party-goers and the related implications for everyday residential life:

> You walk out the door and you're somehow directly in the chaos. Everywhere you look is full of people. As soon as you walk out the door, you're dodging people, whether you're going grocery shopping or to a cafe, everywhere is so overcrowded now. You are always hoping that you will find a place to sit, or that you won't have to wait in a gigantic line to pay for your groceries. You're asking yourself, is now a good time to go somewhere? (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

> Kreuzberg became really, really overcrowded […] I think the real change started 6-7 years ago when Kreuzberg became quite popular. You could see it on the weekends with all the tourists, especially at Oranienstrasse, and that was the beginning (P2: male, 44, graphic designer).

The participant continued, describing his experiences and encounters with a transitioning socio-spatial landscape:

> It [Kreuzberg] became more aggressive. The atmosphere on the street became more aggressive. It became more like "the elbow society" (P2).

Figure 6.3. Typical street scene in the residential neighbourhood of Lausitzer Platz. Corner of Eisenbahnstrasse and Muskauerstrasse, 7.30pm Friday, June 21, 2019. Photograph by A. Crowe

Noise-related disturbances in residential streets has become a source of stress and frustration for many residents. In particular, participants attributed noise increases to the recent influx of bars, restaurants, cafes and commercial establishments of the like. In response, many residential bars often display notices, instructing customers to respect neighbouring residents, behave appropriately and keep the noise down, as depicted in figure 6.4. However, given that hospitality establishments have continued to mushroom throughout low-traffic residential streets, the associated behaviour of party-goers and event-seekers has become an increasingly contentious issue:

> Kreuzberg was previously only a residential area. There was no entertainment area, it was a residential area. There were a few pubs here and there, but in general it was relatively quiet. The only nightlife was in Oranienstrasse. You could go there if you wanted *Ali Gali* [referring to nightlife entertainment]. But around here, it was quiet (P15: female, 54, community worker).

The participant continued, describing a shift in popular perceptions of Kreuzberg as a party district and the subsequent implications for residents:

> It sucks. There are just too many people. Way too many. And it's become really loud at night. They want to party, and that makes sense. When I was younger, and I flew to Paris, I also wanted to have fun in the evening. I understand it. But people want to party, and they think "this is Kreuzberg" and that everything goes, everything is allowed. But there are people that live and work here, Kreuzberg is not just for people who want to party. It's really bad for the normal people that live here. It's become very difficult. I'm repeating myself, I'm sorry (P15).

Figure 6.4. 'Respect our neighbours' at Mariannenplatz, Kreuzberg, February 2019. Photographs by A. Crowe

Descriptions on the source of excessive noise often included large congregations of people outside convenient stores, street corners, public squares, and the like, as well as large walking tours throughout residential areas. Participants stressed that in most cases, the consumption of alcohol increased the likelihood for neighbourhood disturbances. For a point of reference, it is worth highlighting that street drinking is legal in Germany, and as explained in *Der Spiegel* (2006), a major German media outlet 'the right to drink in public is considered as natural as the right to vote.' Accordingly, social drinking in public space is customary in Berlin, and alcohol can be readily purchased at grocery stores, supermarkets and from 24-hour convenient stores colloquially referred to as *Spätkaufs*, or *Spätis* (translated to late stores or all-night stores). Spätkaufs are a prominent feature of Berlin's commercial infrastructure, and in Kreuzberg it can be difficult to walk further than 100 metres without passing one. Figure 6.5 provides an example of outdoor drinking, depicting a medium-sized congregation of approximately 50 young adults, socialising outside a Spätkauf on a Wednesday evening in July 2018. The Spätkauf is located at the corner of Eisenbahn and Wrangel Street, a relatively low-traffic residential quarter located in Kreuzberg's Lausitzer Platz neighbourhood. Given that Spanish was the sole language spoken and that most of the group were sporting backpacks, it may be inferred that the group were visiting Kreuzberg as tourists.

Figure 6.5. Spanish-speaking crowd socialising at the corner Eisenbahnstrasse and Wrangelstrasse, 9pm Wednesday July 18, 2018. Photograph by A. Crowe

In relation to concerns of excessive noise and large-crowds, many participants also emphasised an increase in anti-social behaviour throughout the locality such as breaking glass bottles and public urination, while describing the effect this can have on residential life. Many participants associated increased neighbourhood disturbances of this nature with the increased presence of tourism in Kreuzberg, a phenomenon to which I return in Chapter Seven.

6.1.4. Vernacular landscapes

Throughout the fieldwork, it became clear that an increase of languages other than German, Turkish and Kurdish had become a point of contention across Kreuzberg. The majority of participants described a considerable increase in English, as well as Spanish, Italian, French and Russian languages spoken in the locality since 2010. In particular, the growing dominance of the English language was consistently cited as a powerful driver of socio-spatial tension. For instance, a participant claimed that the increase in English spoken in Kreuzberg had 'changed rapidly on a big scale' (P13), another conveyed that it had 'spun out of control' (P17), while other participants reflected on an increasing expectation placed on residents to speak English in daily exchange as 'overwhelming' and 'just too much' (P15). Importantly, most participants stressed that they were well-accustomed to a multi-lingual landscape across the locality, where in addition to German, the Turkish and Kurdish languages have constituted an inherent feature of Kreuzberg since the 1960s (Hinze 2013; Kaya 2001). However, a distinction was made whereby the rise of English, as well as other language groups has engendered new lines of division over the past five-to-ten years.

It is worth stressing that participants did not reveal prejudice toward people speaking foreign languages in general, but still expressed a sense of frustration, disenfranchisement, and tension concerning the complex power dimensions relating to the emergence of English as a prominent Lingua Franca:

> In my neighbourhood, in the Gräferstrasse Kiez, I go to have a burger and I can't order in German. Is that good or is that bad? I don't know. I think it's weird. You used to tell… you take the refugee debate for example, the government expects everyone to become German, to learn the language and to become part of the culture. But then it's ok for every American, Australian or English person to move here, maybe they open a micro-brewery or whatever, or they come into my shop and want me to sell their stuff and I'm supposed to speak English with them? I think that's weird. I don't mind talking in English with you, but I do think it's weird when I go in my own neighbourhood and I can't order my own burger in German because it's really cool to speak English. But if I would say something against it, I would be considered a racist German. That's weird (P11: male, 48, record-store owner).

Shifts in the vernacular landscape were also observed to have implications for Kreuzberg's historically marginalised populations:

> Kreuzberg was actually a German-Turkish neighbourhood in the 1960s, 70s, 80s, and we now have a lot of English-speaking, Spanish-speaking, Italian-speaking, French-speaking people here who we did not have before. Today, the Turkish accents are pushed into private spaces, they are no longer as present as they were in the seventies. When you opened your windows during the seventies, Turkish music and oriental [*sic*] music was everywhere. It always sounded great outside. Mariannenplatz was busy, with women who used to knit, using colourful wool, and being very loud. But back then it was all very harmonious, very peaceful (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

Although experiences with, and attitudes toward, linguistic changes in Kreuzberg varied between participants, feelings of exclusion were often expressed, particularly concerning an increased pressure to converse in English to carry out day-to-day activities:

> Hearing foreign languages on the street doesn't bother me at all, in fact I find it beautiful to hear so many people speaking different languages. Like I said I grew up here being influenced by different languages which I really enjoy. However, what I find irritating is when it's demanded of me to speak English. For example, when I go into a bar or cafe in Kreuzberg today and order something, often the staff can't understand me because they can't speak German. I can speak English, but when this demand is set by the staff member to the customer, well, that's cold and unwelcoming […] I am always ready and willing to help people out when they are struggling to speak to me in German and I am happy to switch to English. But if from the outset they put forth this demanding attitude that says "English only" then, hey, sorry, I can't be bothered with you or your business purely based on the principle (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

In a similar manner, a participant provided an example of how shifting linguistic expectations in the neighbourhood can also affect residents employed in local hospitality, retail and service sectors:

> Previously you would mostly hear German, Turkish or Kurdish on the streets. All the guys from the Spätis [convenient stores] for example were mostly Turkish or Kurdish. But more and more you see more tourists, so you start hearing a lot more English all of a sudden, you could also see that a lot of people were really forced into it [referring to shop keepers and businesses needing to speak English with customers] … That's what I saw every day. And working in a bar of course, you see it a lot. I actually stopped talking German at work and would serve everyone in English because the probability of the guests being English speakers, or should I say non-German speakers was very high. I started working in the bar around 2012-2013, and even then, there was a presence of non-German speakers, but it increased a lot over the past few years (P16: male, 29, hospitality worker).

Ceasing to speak German in the workplace is suggestive of a broader shift in the social landscape whereby English is becoming a more dominant mode of communication in Kreuzberg, particularly within the hospitality, retail and service sectors. At the same time, participants explained how new lines of division have emerged through the perceived formation of exclusive and segregated language-based communities:

> Today I would say there is actually a new Kiez culture. But to feel welcome, you need to speak Russian, Spanish, French or English […] now you need to speak a minimum of three languages to live here, which makes one feel foreign. I am a foreigner, I'm originally from Austria, but now I really feel detached from what's going on in Kreuzberg. The communication is awful. Everyone sticks to their groups, the Spanish with the Spanish, the Italians with the Italians, and with this you can feel tension (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

By way of contrast, and echoing a previous point (P16), a participant provided an explanation that complicates assumptions regarding the extent of native English speakers in Kreuzberg:

> The average tourist speaks better English than German so that's why you hear more […] I notice English mostly spoken as a second language. So, you'll hear them speaking their own language and then when they

> speak to people who they think are locals on the street they will switch to English (P13: male, 40, logistics administrator).

Commenting on linguistic-related tensions, the participant of Dutch-origin noted:

> I still think that, especially for Germans, and especially even more for Berliners is that they tend to be negative about a lot of things. And also, be very negative about the fact that people speak English. Whereas I think it is more of an insecurity, maybe because they don't speak English that well and maybe they feel left out. But for the rest I think it's amazing that all these people from all over the world come together and find a common language and are able to talk to each other (P13: male, 40, logistics administrator).

While most participants were empathetic toward the presence of foreign languages in the district, the decreased ability to converse in German in an everyday setting, coupled with a rising expectation to speak English was articulated as an exclusionary facet of neighbourhood change. To this end, the overall rise of non-German, -Turkish and -Kurdish speakers in Kreuzberg illustrates a nuanced and localised expression of gentrification often omitted from the English-language academic literature.

6.2. Neighbourhood resources, services and amenities

In correlation to the shifting social relations discussed, considerable change to Kreuzberg's commercial infrastructure was identified as a highly-charged issue for long-standing residents. Drawing on interview materials and statistical data collected by neighbourhood initiatives such as Bizim Kiez (2015, 2019a), the suggestion is that many neighbourhood resources, services, and facilities utilised by residents on a day-to-day basis including, but certainly not limited to, greengrocers, drug stores, hardware stores, kindergartens, bakeries, social clubs and the like, have been (and continue to be) replaced by an incoming range of establishments described as expensive, hip, trendy, fancy and 'all the same' (P18: male, 55, carpenter). Participants noted that the characteristics and semblance of incoming establishments illustrate a form of commercial upscaling, or 'new retail capital' (Zukin et al. 2009), offering more niche, boutique, higher-priced goods, and typically catering to, and patronised by, seemingly wealthier, younger and transnational populations. Conversely to the arrival of new establishments, the range of goods and services for facilitating daily life (including their related price point) has been reduced, placing additional financial hardship on many lower-SES households.

6.2.1. Incoming neighbourhood establishments

All participants described a significant shift in neighbourhood facilities, resources and services throughout Kreuzberg. For example, a participant expressed that there has been a 'drastic shift in the hospitality sector' (P7: male, 60, drink-store owner) while another described the commercial offerings in Kreuzberg as 'changing to high-class food places' (P6: male, 30, IT worker). The general consensus points to a re-structuring of the

commercial infrastructure that offers a greater proportion of high-end goods and services, with a concentrated focus on aesthetics and global trends (Hubbard 2018; Zukin 2008). At the same time, participants explained that a considerable proportion of long-standing businesses have had to close, many of which catered to the needs of lower-SES populations. As commercial leases are not granted the same degree of tenancy protection as residential leases (BGB §313), the closure of many long-standing businesses is often linked to considerable rent hikes correlating with escalating land and property prices (Bernt et al. 2013; Bizim Kiez 2019a):

> The population structure here in Kreuzberg has shifted so much. Now you have good earners moving into the entire neighbourhood and the types of businesses that have opened up were unthinkable in the past. Earlier they would have even been protested against (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

> If you walk through the streets, all the shops have changed and been replaced by much more expensive places. All these shops where you can buy nice Italian food, pricey kitchen utensils, you have more and more of these types of shops (P5: male, 29, post-grad student).

In addition to descriptions of the type of establishments opening in Kreuzberg, participant responses also signalled to the broader socio-economic and socio-cultural implications of outgoing, long-standing businesses:

> The amount of Turkish bakeries has come down and amount of fancy coffee shops has gone up (P13: male, 40, logistics administrator).

> Down the street toward the Markthalle Neun, on the left side there is now a very chic café with a coffee roastery inside. We have never been in there. I want to go in there, but I've never been inside, because the coffee is too expensive. Previously, that was a very big stationery store (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

> The stores and businesses that I really cherish are having to close. Then they are replaced by new businesses that say they will follow a similar concept to the previous business, but will be much more expensive. They will also try to make it really modern like I don't know, following whatever fashionable food and drink is trendy right now, like "super fair trade." I don't want to jump into the pros & cons on this topic, but it shocks you a bit and the huge price increases really irritate me. I wouldn't say that it's a positive for the Kiez to have to pay €3.50 for a coffee in these new places. And so, I simply refuse to go into these places. Why should I do that? I won't support them. I prefer to stick to the few businesses, and the few people who have been able to stay in the Kiez. So, a segregation has developed (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

By a similar token, a participant who moved to Berlin in 2000 from Athens, Greece provided further insight into the direction of Kreuzberg's commercial transformation:

> I don't want to use the word fancy, but Kreuzberg used to be a little more rough and rugged. The bars were smokie and filled with random second-hand furniture, and no-one seemed to really care how it looked, you just went into a place, had a drink and socialised. But now everything is really... really... fancy is the wrong word, I mean some places are fancy, but what I really mean is that everything has to have this specific look

> now. It has to be trendy, from the walls, to the lights, to the furniture, everything has to be a certain way. An example would be the typical café with exposed brick, or the use of polished concrete, and all the drinks are so special. Do you know what I mean? It's not just "a beer", it's an IPA craft beer from this specific region using special ingredients, and all these specific types of long-drinks with these fancy ingredients. It's the same with food too. Everything's so specific, niche, and expensive now (P20: female, 30, media sector worker).

A participant described a correlation between the rise of aestheticized, bespoke establishments offering high-priced goods, while also identifying a presence of transnational urban entrepreneurialism:

> So yeah that was about three years ago when I really started to notice that. Everyone was like "woah. OK. It's gold digging time" and some did get rich, but some didn't. I think if you really target tourists then it might work, but if you think "I will open up a nice café and I'll have the best coffee from Brazil because I'm from Brazil", then you kind of target locals. But we chose our coffee place long ago… I'd give them a chance if it's something I actually needed. But if they sell pies, if they sell Brazilian coffee, if they sell New Deli Yoga sandwiches [name of a café on Falkensteinerstrasse], three types of new Asian restaurants when we already have three Asian restaurants that we rotate between, Spätis selling beer for €2.50–€3.50!! you need to be really careful what you pick there [for clarity, the average 500ml beer costs €0.90–€1.50]. It's all stuff I don't need, you know? (P14: female, 34, NGO worker).

The general consensus was that the neighbourhood infrastructure has undergone an increase of specialty, niche, exclusive businesses that cater toward more affluent, transnational populations while offering a more specialised range of goods and services with a higher price point.

6.2.2. Outgoing neighbourhood establishments

In relation to incoming establishments, an underlying theme of the interview materials emphasised the disappearance of long-standing businesses and the adverse effects for Kreuzberg's lower-SES populations:

> In Lausitzer Platz there used to be more fresh fruit and vegetable stores, but they are gone and have been replaced by restaurants, fast food places and bars with cocktails for €5 (P15: female, 54, community worker).

> All our restaurants are gone, and you now have many expensive ones instead. And with this you noticed how the income structure has changed. It's not only people from Zehlendorf [an affluent Berlin district] who come here to eat here at the Spanish restaurant, but also people who live here in this neighbourhood, or in the vicinity, who have moved here and can afford to go to expensive restaurants. It is not great for us, we also did not find it that fancy. Yes, so now you have places like that coffee shop there at the market hall or the stalls in it. For example, a Spanish woman, a very nice woman, sells a small thing, a little tart that tastes very good, but it's €2.50! That's far too much for me. I can't afford that. I'll go to Aldi instead and buy an apple tart for 60 cents (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

> When I lived in Görlitzerstrasse, there was this bar called *Mehr* it was an old-school punk rock bar. If you had low income you could even buy cans of beer for 50 Pfennig [≈ €0.25]. Now there is a very, very hip

> Italian restaurant in there. I mean the food is good and the people are nice, no problem with them, but it's strange you know? It's completely changed (P2: male, 44, graphic designer).

Almost all participants provided first-hand accounts of businesses and services important to them that have since closed and been replaced by establishments that offer more expensive goods and services:

> Our kindergarten was pushed out then the sushi bar moved in immediately after (P14: female, 34, NGO worker).

> Now you have a lot more streetfood and fast food places, some nicer restaurants, you get new clothing stores, second-hand and vintage stores. You also have a lot more stores for kids and babies, so you could really see that there were a lot more younger families moving there changing up the whole area […] you can see that the old-timers from Kreuzberg didn't really need these stores. Maybe every now and then you came across someone that thought it was a positive for the neighbourhood, but for most of the older residents, they don't care about these new places. They don't care about a baby store, or a new streetfood place, they didn't really need that (P16: male, 29, hospitality worker).

> There are less and less tradespeople and services, and there are no trade shops. They are all gone. Twenty years ago, you would find it all; plumbing stores, office supplies, key cutters, hardware stores, small carpentry shops, paint shops, and the list goes on. But as the rent doubles, or triples, all of these services can't afford to stay here. There is nothing left here. One tailor, one cobbler and that's it (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

Incidentally, the cobbler referred to by P10 also participated in this research. Reflecting on economic and cultural changes since his Turkish-born parents established the family shoe-repair business in 1970, the cobbler noted:

> Many old businesses have been evicted, really old businesses. Today people barely notice the work being done in old businesses like this, the people briefly glance in the store window and then keep walking on. But our shop still exists! This isn't a space rented out by artists with lots of people coming and going, but our shop is still here (P12: male, 37, cobbler).

Similar concerns regarding the changing direction of Kreuzberg's commercial, social and cultural fabric underpinned the corpus of the interview material.

6.2.3. The importance of neighbourhood infrastructure

So far, this section has highlighted the characteristics of incoming and outgoing neighbourhood establishments, while also alluding to the implications of a disappearing commercial infrastructure important to lower-SES residents. In addition to providing essential goods and services, many participants expressed that long-standing businesses often served a secondary function as a neighbourhood anchor, cultivating and sustaining place-based social bonds and networks. Yet, as long-established businesses are continually priced

out of the neighbourhood, these familiar sites for social interaction also disappear. In contrast, according to most participants, incoming businesses have created a much more anonymous, consumer-driven atmosphere throughout Kreuzberg which reflect the changing demographics. In this regard, newer establishments were often perceived as a point of neighbourhood tension:

> I wouldn't just say that every new store is dumb and not go in, that is definitely not true. In general, I'm very curious as to what's opening […] but if something new opens and it looks really fancy, I simply refuse to go in the business. I guess I have two perspectives towards new businesses. One side is very open to checking out new places, but if the new place doesn't look like something I'd be into, if there are too many people sitting there that look like carbon copies of each other, or if the service staff only speak English, then I don't want anything to do with it. So, I mean this as an example, that I think transfers to the types of new stores opening (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

> I don't avoid any streets or something like that. But I realise that for my tastes, the choice isn't there anymore… All the new stuff doesn't attract me. I've seen that a couple times, I don't need another one of these places with fancy lights, marble tables and rustic finishings. It just gets boring (P2: male, 44, graphic designer).

Although most participants were critical of incoming establishments in relation to the type of goods and services provided, the price-point, the general aesthetics of the premises and the business model, one participant described a more complicated dimension of the transitioning commercial infrastructure:

> The places where social interaction happens, so bars and such… well their guests have changed. We had a couple of bars which were really diverse with painters, or hand workers [tradespeople]… basically they were places where the German workforce would get a beer after a hard day's work. This has changed. Now they are more focused on young people, kind of like the Neukölln bar kind of type [referring to a gentrifying district adjacent to Kreuzberg]. Also, some young people like the experience of going to the old scruffy bar, kind of like a social tourism thing, but some establishments went out of business and the new owners now have this modern approach to running a bar. But I can't really judge them because I find that I enjoy these newer bars more, and I use them. So, I guess I'm also part of this gentrification aspect to the changes I'm talking about (P4: male, 33, healthcare worker).

A participant reflected on the relationship between foregone neighbourhood structures and defamiliarisation:

> There used to be an *Edeka* supermarket for over 30 years at the corner of Reichenbergerstrasse and Forsterstrasse. That was a really a nice shop because if you were short on money or you didn't have money you could let them know and pay them another time. They knew you, they knew you lived in the neighbourhood and that you're not going to vanish. And that was absolutely possible. But this was gentrified by a homeopathic shop now that sells Australian soaps (P2: male, 44, graphic designer).

The aforementioned cosmetic store that replaced the supermarket has been perceived as emblematic of gentrification in the Reichenbergerstrasse neighbourhood and has repeatedly been subjected to visual forms

of political protest and opposition due to the threat its presence represents. As depicted in figure 6.6, the graffiti at the storefront reads 'Aesop and Google[18] symbolise displacement' and an arrowhead directed at the glass door of the storefront reads 'Break in here!'

Figure 6.6. Anti-gentrification graffiti on Reichenbergerstrasse, July 2018. Photograph by A. Crowe

The general consensus is that the old-neighbourhood infrastructure has largely been supplanted by incoming establishments, which as articulated by participants, are typically geared toward the needs of both transient populations and incoming residents with greater purchasing power. In effect, the transforming commercial landscape was observed to have had a compounding impact on long-standing residents through the loss of important and familiar businesses offering everyday goods and catering to other, often lower-income clientele, as well as the exclusionary nature of many incoming establishments along socio-economic and socio-cultural lines.

[18] In reference to the proposal to establish a Google campus in Kreuzberg

6.2.4. Struggles to remain *in situ*

The empirical evidence has shown how Kreuzberg commercial landscape is changing. Correspondingly, local forms of opposition to processes of neighbourhood-resource displacement are multiscalar and have manifested in various ways. Speaking from the perspective of a Kreuzberg resident and business owner, a participant explained that five neighbouring businesses on Oranienstrasse, one of Kreuzberg's central commercial nodes (see fig. 1.3), were evicted in 2018 after either receiving considerable rent increases or where the property owner simply refused to renew the lease altogether. The participant explained that unlike residential tenants who are afforded greater legal protection against eviction, for commercial tenants, property owners 'don't have to explain why, they just do it' (P11: male, 48, record-store owner). In this context, figure 6.7 depict a small-scale campaign protesting the planned eviction of *Oranien Spätkauf,* a long-standing convenient store located on Oranienstrasse. The business owner constructed a visitation platform in a parking bay in front of the store to draw attention to the dubious actions of the landlord, while providing a history of the 25-year old business and its importance to the local community and neighbourhood structure (fig. 6.7*A*). As captured in figure 6.7*B* and 6.7*C* the makeshift platform presents detailed information on the eviction tactics of the property owner, a plethora of messages from neighbours and customers in support of the business, as well as letters from local government representatives committed to contesting the eviction.

Figure 6.7. Anti-displacement campaign at Oranien Spätkauf on Oranienstrasse, July 2019. Photographed by A. Crowe

In relation to the intensifying displacement of long-standing neighbourhood businesses across Kreuzberg (Bizim Kiez 2019a), similar examples of resistance were observed during fieldwork. For instance, in October 2017, 35 businesses located on Oranienstrasse formed a neighbourhood alliance referred to as ORA35 to campaign against property speculation and the ongoing eviction of long-standing commercial businesses[19]. Bizim-Kiez, a local neighbourhood initiative focused on housing equality and community welfare, assisted in the organisation and mobilisation of ORA35, using their existing platform to provide and disseminate information about the speculative action of landlords that pose significant implications to the long-standing commercial infrastructure:

> Oranienstrasse is the beating heart of Kreuzberg 36, with more than 100 small shops ranging from tailors, bookshops, bicycle shops, pubs, restaurants and Spätis, to cultural and social facilities offering locals and tourists a wide range of alternative goods and services. For some time, investors and property owners have been trying to profit from the attractive neighbourhood that has grown over decades. Large real-estate financiers such as *Deutsche Investment* are buying up entire rows of buildings and immediately terminated the commercial businesses' rent contracts. New lettings up to €40/m^2 are demanded, which hardly any current commercial tenant can afford (Bizim Kiez in Perdoni 2017).

A central feature of the campaign involved the coordinated covering of store fronts along Oranienstrasse as a symbol of protest against the impeding rent hikes and evictions faced by many business owners (fig. 6.8.)

Figure 6.8. ORA 35 Campaign: Covering of Coretex Records on Oranienstrasse, October 2017

Source: The Guardian 2017.

[19] For clarity, ORA35 refers to the 35 participating businesses on Oranienstrasse

Commenting on the initiative and the strategy of covering up the store front windows, the owner of the record store depicted in figure 6.8 explained 'this is what the street will look like if everybody goes out of business' (P11). The ORA35 campaign called on local politicians and the Department for Urban Development and Housing to take effective steps to increase the protection for commercial tenants against speculative behaviour of investors and property owners seeking to profit at the expense of the local community. At the time of writing, the state government has indicated plans to establish a Federal Council initiative to discuss issues related to commercial leases and displacement (Berlin.de 2019a; SenStadt 2019).

6.3. Transforming neighbourhoods and place-based social networks

The previous sections have outlined the broader demographic and commercial changes reshaping Kreuzberg. Throughout the interview material, participants also provided insight into the emotional effects of multiple types of neighbourhood change in relation to a growing sense of defamiliarisation, a decrease in conviviality and, in several cases, a detachment from the locality they define as home (see also Blokland and Schultze 2017). This final section draws on participants' accounts of everyday life in Kreuzberg to examine the broader implications of gentrification at the neighbourhood scale, providing insight into the displacing effects experienced by residents who have managed to stay *in situ* despite increasing pressures to leave. Feelings of loss and defamiliarisation underpinned many participants' responses to the ongoing neighbourhood effects of Kreuzberg's gentrification process.

Participants described the social implications of a disappearing commercial infrastructure and the effect this can have on ones' relationship to the neighbourhood:

> Everything in the neighbourhood has changed. The optics have changed in terms of the buildings and the streets, the quality of living has changed, the small businesses that offer specialised services have disappeared—even for something really simply you have to travel to the neighbouring districts of Kreuzberg to find it (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

> The integrity of the neighbourhood is a bit lost. For example, five years ago there used to be a supermarket near me which was like a hotspot for social interaction. It was one of the only supermarkets in the area, and everyone was meeting there. You would find people with less money & people with more money, people who were educated & less educated, young & old—which is actually a big thing in Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain, you don't see older people in the neighbourhood anymore [...] So this is what I mean with the integrity of the neighbourhood, you knew each other, and although you might not be best friends with everyone, there was a feeling of belonging, or a feeling of connection. Now that the supermarket has been removed, I would say those feelings aren't there anymore. As I said, the people living here have changed, and although I get along well with them too there is much more of an anonymous atmosphere (P4: male, 33, healthcare worker).

The disappearance of familiar sites that have cultivated and sustained place-based social bonds and networks was frequently relayed by participants. In addition to losing familiar establishments that facilitated social interaction, participant responses also demonstrated the effect ongoing residential out-migration has had on daily, chance encounters whereby information and neighbourhood updates were often exchanged between residents. Notably, all participants described a gradual disappearance of social encounter and social exchange:

> The Kiez is becoming anonymous and the village-like community, where you used to know all the retailers and people, is disappearing because the businesses and the residents can no longer afford to live and work in the Kiez anymore […] what is nice, or was nice, was the opportunity to randomly meet up with people outside on the street. Even if it's just a quick "hey, how you doing? Let's meet sometime soon." It used to always be like this, but it's pretty much gone now. You're denied this opportunity as everyone has had to move, so these interactions on the street are very rare (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

> You don't see the old neighbourhood anymore. It's not that they are gone, or dead but you don't see them anymore. I don't know why. The diversity when I moved here was much more present. The social diversity was much higher. You had everyone from high-earning artists, to low budget workers (P2: male, 44, graphic designer).

The participant continued to explain a general loss of familiarity, revealing a sense of detachment and dejection from the neighbourhood as it transitions along gentrified lines:

> In general, things are not that personal anymore. The small village atmosphere that the Kiez had is gone. The neighbourhood has changed completely […] I'm thinking about moving away. Because it's not the Kreuzberg I used to live in. It sounds a bit like "in the old days…" you know, it's stupid. Life is always changing. But the speed it changes at the moment, especially over here, appears to me like it's too fast. And the relaxed atmosphere that made it possible to have a free mind to do your stuff, whatever that is, earning your income without the fear of becoming homeless, or evicted or whatever… the possibility isn't there anymore (P2: male, 44, graphic designer).

In terms of an increased sense of defamiliarisation with the neighbourhood, participants revealed a sense of loss as place-based social networks have continued to erode. Moreover, participants expressed concern for their own ability to remain in Kreuzberg, expressing a sense of increased instability whereby physical displacement seems to be an inevitable outcome. The following excerpts illuminate the psycho-social implications of eroding place-based social networks while also revealing the concern expressed regarding the event of spatial out-migration:

> Loneliness. Complete loneliness and loss. A very huge loss. The daily customs and habits, the people, the acquaintances, and all the friendships I built are disappearing. Here, I used to walk down the street and greet ten people in three minutes because I knew the community. If I went shopping without money, the store would say "Hey [P10], come back tomorrow to pay." There was trust because they knew me. Turks, Arabs, Germans, no difference was made here. I know this as I'm also a foreigner. "What will I do if I am no

> longer able to live in Kreuzberg?" this is unfortunately a very common question residents have to ask themselves today. People are afraid. What would I do?... No… I can't even think about it [the participant takes a few moments to compose himself]. If I had to leave, it would feel like a part of my life is ending (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

> If you ask me as a native Berliner "where can you move to? Where can you move to when your business has to close?" If I can't keep my business, and I can't keep my apartment, *where* should I go? Today it just doesn't make sense anymore (P12: male, 37, cobbler, emphasis added).

Throughout the interviews, a general sense of loss and frustration was expressed concerning the disappearance of close friends, family and familiar faces from the neighbourhood. For some, emotionally charged feelings of distress and uncertainty regarding their own ability to remain in the area without their support networks have increased in correlation to the scale and speed of Kreuzberg's gentrification.

6.4. Chapter conclusion

In addition to the social and financial hardships endured related to recent rounds of rent intensification (Ch.5), this chapter has illuminated various displacing effects related to shifting social and commercial compositions of Kreuzberg. Transforming civic codes and practices were identified as a central theme of contention at the neighbourhood scale. In particular, excessive late-night noise, party tourism, mobility disruptions, anti-social behaviour, and the increasing dominance of the English language as the Lingua Franca were observed as key stressors that affect how long-standing residents perceive and use neighbourhood space. Notably, many participants explained that they actively avoid particular areas at a particular time of day and/or day of the week. While others avoid certain parts of their neighbourhood entirely as they feel out-of-place or excluded from the sets of activities practised by wealthier crowds of tourists and newcomers.

Meanwhile, shifts in the commercial landscape, largely perceived as targeting and attracting more affluent, younger, mobile and transient consumers can have a compounding impact for long-standing residents. On the one hand, the influx of new, higher-end establishments has often occurred at the expense of long-standing businesses selling everyday goods and catering to other clienteles, particularity lower-SES groups. On the other, the semblance and character of new places, and the type and price of goods offered can trigger feelings of exclusion for lower-SES residents as well as other clienteles. Taken together, the empirical data has provided insight into the more visceral dimensions of displacement beyond the physical action of spatial out-migration. The gradual, and often piece-meal disintegration of place-based social bonds, relationships and networks through successive processes of gentrification can pose adverse effects to long-standing residents beyond economic pressures related to housing market change, eliciting feelings of isolation, alienation and a general sense of loss from the neighbourhood they define as home.

Chapter Seven: Tourism Expansion in Residential Neighbourhoods

If the emphasis of chapters Five and Six built on the classical understandings of gentrification (Atkinson and Bridge 2005; Glass 1964; Hackworth and N. Smith 2001; Ley 1996; Marcuse 1985; N. Smith 1979; Zukin 1982, 1989), Chapter Seven focuses on the nuanced intersect between gentrification and tourism in the post-industrial city. While several studies have examined the role of urban tourism in neighbourhood change (e.g., Gotham 2005; Cocola-Gant 2016; Novy and Colomb 2019), the interrelationships between residents, tourism, and the emergence of less-conventional forms of tourism accommodation in residential neighbourhoods remain largely underexplored. In this respect, the aim of this chapter is to investigate long-standing residents' experience with tourism growth, focusing on daily interactions with tourist crowds, the role of tourism and the commercial landscape, as well as the intersect between Airbnb-style short term rental accommodation, residential housing and everyday life in Kreuzberg.[20]

7.1. Tourism in Kreuzberg

All participants registered a sizable increase of tourism in Kreuzberg. The consensus was that the scale and intensity of tourists, tourist accommodation and tourist-related activities across the locality has significantly accelerated since the turn of the century. The general thrust of the interview materials correlates with government statistical data which demonstrate an upward trend in guests and overnight stays in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg in recent years (see figure 7.1). By way of contrast, participants remembered the 1990s and the early 2000s as a time when Kreuzberg was represented as economically depressed and a socially-marginal locality of widespread impoverishment, which deterred many city tourists from entering the district. Their perceptions are reflective of state statistical data demonstrating a local unemployment rate of 25.2 percent in 2001 (Amt für Statistik 2002) and disproportionately high crime rates compared to other districts throughout the 1990s and 2000s (Amt für Statistik 2019). Critical scholarship, however, has taken issue with the narratives of fear constructed throughout media discourse at the time for stigmatising, demonising and fostering prejudice against Kreuzberg's large migrant, working-class and squatting populations (Hinze 2013; Kaya 2001; MacDougall 2011; Polat 2018; Vasudevan 2015). In this respect, several participants provided descriptions of small-scale voyeuristic tourism across Kreuzberg's residential neighbourhoods, noting an emerging interest in the everyday urban scene during the late 1990s and early 2000s:

[20] Data on tourist accommodation is presented at the district level of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg in accordance with the spatial scales used to demographic census and housing data (Ch.1). Tourism data at the sub-district level of Kreuzberg is provided whenever possible.

> In former times after the Wall opening, but also before all the tourists started coming here, tour buses would pass around Lausitzer Platz so that the city tourists can see the "scary Kreuzberg" (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

Several participants shared similar accounts of tourists being escorted through Kreuzberg in tour buses shortly after the Berlin Wall came down, while also relating a tension between tourists and local residents that is indicative of the long-standing anti-capitalist movements (Vasudevan 2015) within the locality:

> Back in the days when Kreuzberg was still the wild-Kreuzberg. If any tourist bus came into the district they would be hit with stones (P11: male, 48, record-store owner).

> There were occasionally clashes between the buses and residents. As tour buses would regularly drive up and down the street, some of the residents would come out onto their balconies with water buckets. And there was always a lot of shouting. Since then there have always been protests to keep the tourist crowds away from Kreuzberg (P9: female, 71, pensioner).

However, as the city of Berlin became a more popular destination for tourism, participants explained that the presence of tourists in residential areas of Kreuzberg also became a prominent feature of the daily landscape:

> Back then, the tourists drove in and quickly drove out. Today's situation has changed a lot with tourists, particularly because of Markthalle Neun, but also the restaurants and of course the overall attractiveness of the district and the nightlife that arrived (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

Similar observations were frequently registered by participants suggesting an increase of tourists seeking out local, everyday experiences, and a perceived 'authentic aura' connected to selective particularities of Kreuzberg's multifaceted and contested history (Hubbard 2016, 2018; Novy 2017; Zukin 1991, 2008; Zukin et al. 2009). Participants also noted a shift toward tourists seeking accommodation in residential housing, as opposed to hotels, hostels and other conventional forms of accommodation predominately located in Berlin's designated tourist precincts. In terms of pinpointing these shifting tourism trends, the general pattern identified is that the presence of tourists in Kreuzberg's neighbourhoods markedly increased from 2010 onwards:

> This is something fairly recent. It's 2018… I would say over the last 10 years. But within the last five years it has really spun out of control (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

> You can definitely see this on the weekends. Especially if you have some time to sit outside and just watch the street, you can also see the changes in the types of people coming here (P2: male, 44, graphic designer).

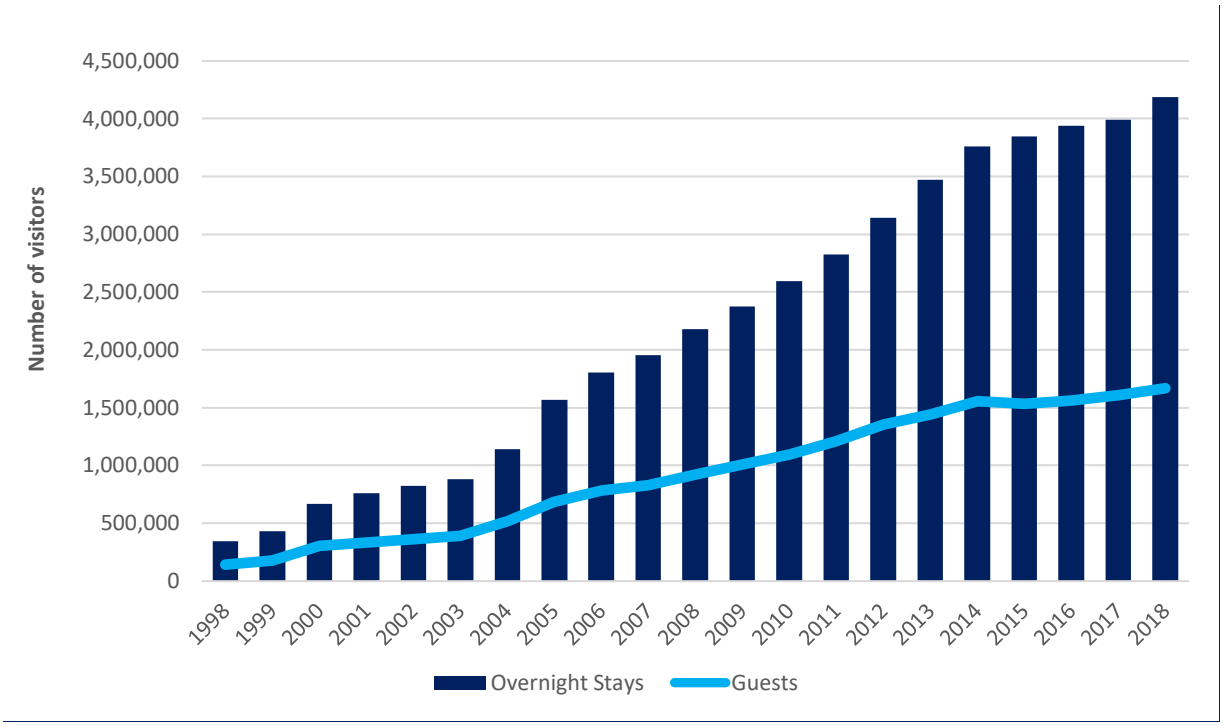
Figure 7.1 indicates both the annual number of guests and overnight stays officially recorded in the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg between 1998 and 2018. According to government statistics, the number of

overnight stays in the residential district increased twelvefold between 1998 and 2018, from 347,523 to 4,185,545. Government tourism data captures conventional forms of accommodation, categorised by hotels, inns, guesthouses and other forms of licensed accommodation such as youth hostels, training homes, nursing, sanatoriums and commercially registered holiday homes (Berlin.de 2019b; Statistische Ämter Des Bundes und Der Länder 2019). Notably, government tourism accommodation records do not reflect overnight stays or the quantity of guests using short term rental accommodation listed on digital platforms such as Airbnb or HomeAway. The figures also do not account for visitors spending time in Kreuzberg while seeking lodging elsewhere in the city.

Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg was the only district of Berlin's twelve that recorded a doubling of overnight stays between 2008 and 2018 (Amt für Statistik 2019). Only the districts of Mitte and Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf[21] recorded higher numbers of annual overnight stays (fig. 7.2). However, unlike Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, the districts of Mitte and Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf feature a well-developed tourist infrastructure to cater to a high-frequency of visitors, including hotels, increased public amenities and facilities, within close proximity to recognised tourist sites such as Alexanderplatz, Breitscheidplatz, or the theatre district at Postdamerplatz (Statistische Ämter Des Bundes und Der Länder 2019).

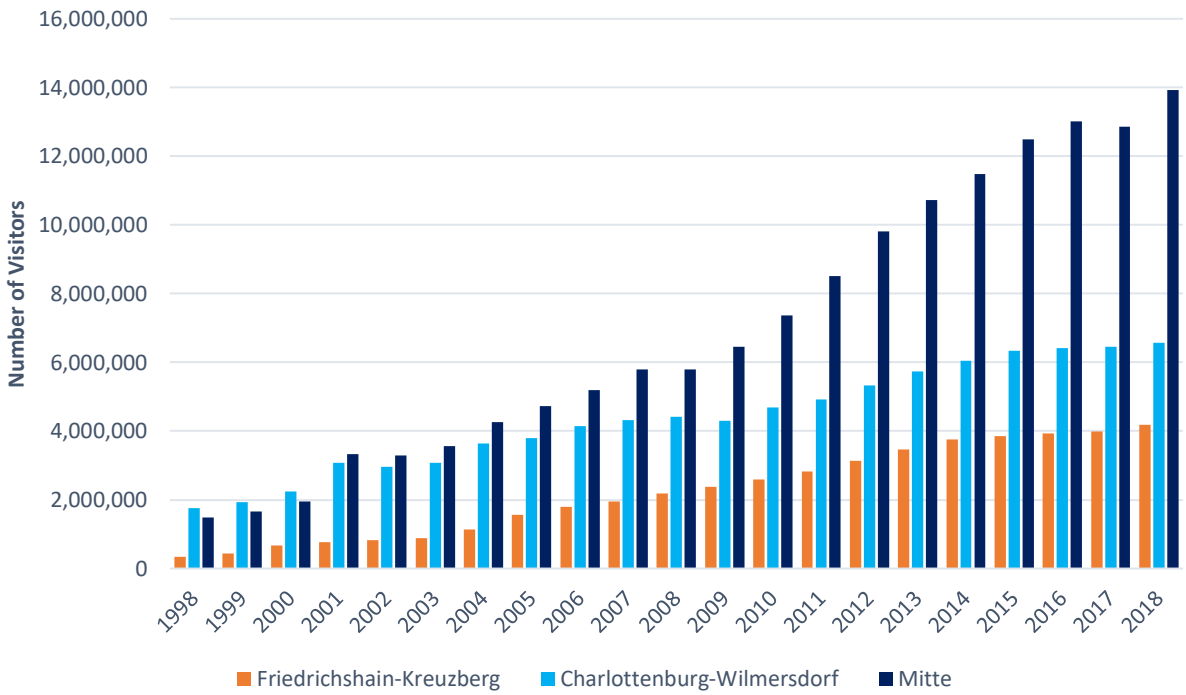
21 Both districts have long been recognised as official tourist destinations. For instance, Mitte features Berlin's historic core and theatre district at Potsdamerplatz. While Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf which transitioned into the central city of West Berlin during the divided years, is often characterised by the Berlin Zoo, Ku'Damm and the well-frequented Tauentzienstrasse, a major up-scale shopping boulevard that rivals Mitte's Friedrichstrasse in terms of luxury retail and gastronomy (Häusserman 1997, 1999; O'Sullivan 2019).

Figure 7.1. Annual number of recorded visitors and overnight stays in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, 1998–2018



Source: Adapted from Statistische Ämter Des Bundes und Der Länder 2019.

Figure 7.2. Number of overnight stays by most visited districts



Source: Adapted from Amt für Statistik 2019.

The absence of planned infrastructure to facilitate the significant increase of tourists in Kreuzberg was expressed as a central issue by many participants, particularly concerning the additional pressure tourism placed on the existing neighbourhood structure and composition:

> The number of tourists has continuously been growing every year. And from Thursday to Sunday, the streets are overwhelmed by tourists. Completely overwhelmed and each year the numbers grow larger. I make an effort not to go outside when I know the tourists are going to be outside the door (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

> In the past, you would notice the tourists when you went to Ku'Damm [a central entertainment boulevard in Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf]. You'd notice them around there in the subway with cameras, but once you left Ku'Damm, even after Wittenberg Platz it would get quieter at each station on your way back to Kreuzberg. But today it's totally different, it's actually the other way around. I mean there are still lots of tourists in Ku'Damm but there are tourists everywhere in Kreuzberg now! (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

> Such a huge change has come because of the tourism, a change that was very quick and focused around the evening. The evenings are about the partying, but also Kreuzberg has become a place you "must do," somewhere you "have to be," you "must experience it," so that it validates your trip to Berlin (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

As residential neighbourhoods have become increasingly integrated into the urban tourist experience (Novy and Colomb 2019), the acceleration of tourism in Kreuzberg was met with a sense of confusion and astonishment by many participants:

> I have no idea why all sorts of young people from across the world find Kreuzberg so attractive today. I think it's madness. Suddenly there are so many people coming here from Japan, Australia, all over the world really. But why? I really don't know (P7: male, 60, drink-store owner).

Offering a nuanced reflection, one participant described a duality relating to an increased interaction between tourists and residents:

> In a positive way you become more open to speak to strangers and communicate with people from other countries. On the other hand, of course, tourists are always a pain in the ass for residents. They're loud, they are playing around at night, they come with their rolling suitcases and ring the wrong doorbell, and stuff like that (P16: male, 29, hospitality worker).

Reflections on the perceived behaviour of tourists overlap with themes outlined in Chapter Six, particularly excessive late-night noise and other forms of anti-social behaviour at odds with residential living. Taken together, a sense of frustration underpinned participant descriptions regarding tourism and daily life in residential neighbourhoods.

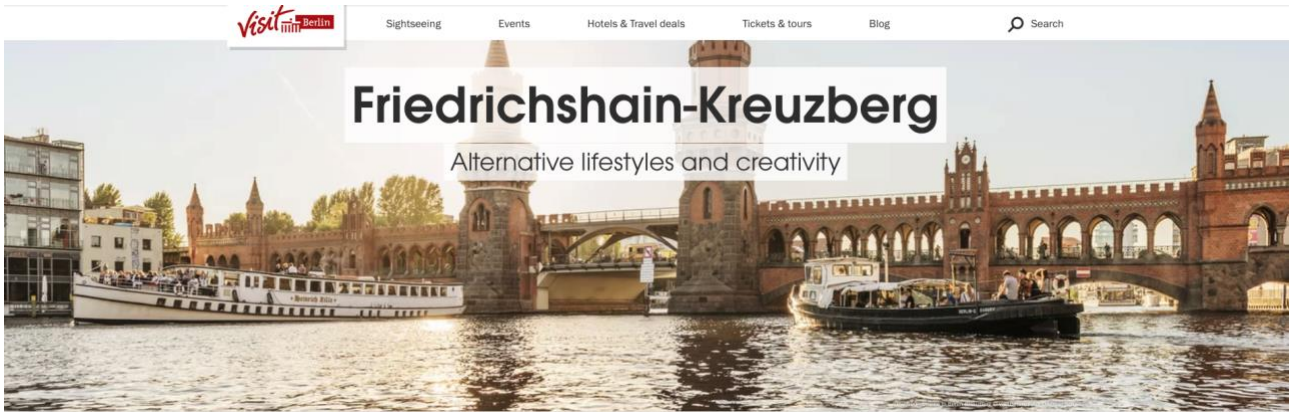
7.1.1. What attracts tourists to residential neighbourhoods?

Participants provided insight into what they believe has driven tourists to the district. Many indicated that over the past decade, selective representations of Kreuzberg have been used to position the district as a distinct site for tourist consumption. In particular, participants emphasised the various place-marketing campaigns and city boosterism discourses that have constructed particular narratives and spatial imaginings of Kreuzberg. For instance, the state-government's online portal *Visit Berlin* (see figure 7.3) promotes Kreuzberg's 'alternative lifestyles and creativity', describing the locality as:

> not just the coolest in Berlin, but the hippest location in the entire universe. Kreuzberg has long been famed for its diverse cultural life, its experimental alternative lifestyles and the powerful spell it exercises on young people from across Germany (Visit Berlin 2019).

In a similar manner, travel literature, websites, blogs, online advertising, social media, and home-sharing platforms, among other information sources, also exhibit selective descriptions of Kreuzberg's socio-cultural characteristics, while providing information on accommodation, transportation as well as perceived 'places of interest' typically including locations to eat, drink, shop, party, and the like. As the travel platform Tripadvisor (2019) note, Kreuzberg's 'socially alternative population' is a 'must see'. While the travel start-up *Culture Trip* (Darroux 2019) describes Kreuzberg as 'the perfect Kiez (neighbourhood) in which to begin discovering the German capital' constituting 'a perfect blend of hipster cafés and urban grit' while highlighting a range of 'authentic eateries' where tourist can experience 'a taste of Istanbul'. The examples provided should be understood as partial. Nonetheless, they provide a window into the broader representations of Kreuzberg as a destination for tourists.

Figure 7.3. Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg: Alternative lifestyles and creativity



Source: VisitBerlin.de 2019.

In this context, participants described the effect of selective representations of Kreuzberg, particularly those framing the locality as a place of difference and distinction for visitors to experience and consume:

> The tourists now have us listed in their guidebooks. Now Kreuzberg's origin has changed. As a citizen of Kreuzberg who has lived here for a long time, I would say the image of Kreuzberg is an illusion. Today it is an illusion, but it was once in fact real. Back then people were doing their own thing, it was very unhip, more alternative. Genuinely alternative. Not mass marketed, constructed alternative, but really alternative. And that's what made it unique. There were many small shops, the people had done something themselves, it was somehow in solidarity. And now it's all curated. Now it's quite obvious that Kreuzberg is popular because it is "hip", but it's curated, manufactured or unauthentic hipness. Of course, the visitors coming to Berlin don't recognise this. What they see is an illusion (P15: female, 54, community worker).

> Kreuzberg became a party zone and that also was attributed to the fact that Berlin was easily accessible, with cheap flights on EasyJet, cheap hotels and accommodation. Kreuzberg became an "excursion mile", and a party destination that was easy to afford. The cocktails were low price, the food was, and still is, very cheap compared to other locations and this has made Berlin very attractive (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

Most participants attributed the allure of Kreuzberg to selective features of the district's cultural and historic characteristics, echoes of Kreuzberg's 'edgy and wild reputation' (P18: male, 55, carpenter)[22] from previous eras, as well as an expanding consumption infrastructure, namely neighbourhood bars, cafes and restaurants:

> Kreuzberg definitely has always been attracting people because of its nice bars. I also think tourism has increased since the re-opening of the Markthalle Neun […]. It is the whole underground sub-cultures, the roughness, the music scenes, the artistic scenes basically. Yeah of course, people come here a lot for history, but it's not for just one typical type of history (P13: male, 40, logistics administrator).

A participant provided a nuanced understanding as to what draws tourists to Kreuzberg, suggesting that niche and unique cultural establishments offer an alternative set of experiences compared to large-scale tourist sites in Mitte:

> They are looking for something different. Tourists that come to Kreuzberg want to have a particular experience—hanging out in a bar, maybe going to some club […] I think Kreuzberg still attracts a certain type of tourist who actually knows about some of the subcultures or who specifically go to places such as the famous record store Coretex, or the SO36 venue or other traditional cultural places. I don't know… I didn't see these Mitte tourists coming here (P5: male, 29, post-grad student).

When asked to explain the stereotypical tourist visiting Mitte, (Berlin's historic central core), the participant elaborated, listing some of Berlin's key sites and tourist attractions:

> People who come to Berlin and want to see Brandenberger Gate, the Berlin Wall, go do some shopping, maybe go to the Adidas flagship store in Ku'damm. These kinds of people (P5).

---

[22] As an example, during the 1970s, the US military would often conduct live-fire 'urban military exercises' throughout residential areas of Kreuzberg (Vasudevan 2015). Further, during the 1980s and 1990s, Kreuzberg was recognised as West-Germany's epicentre for anti-capitalist protests and demonstrations, frequently erupting in violent clashes between police (Hinze 2013; MacDougall 2011).

Similar delineations were accentuated by several participants who attempted to distinguish between visitors attracted to Berlin's historic core, and a more elusive cohort of travellers who seek out an array of interests located in residential neighbourhoods:

> Tourists in these areas [referring to neighbourhoods of Kreuzberg] are looking for "realness" whatever that is […] people are looking for some locality. In terms of everything. So not only food, but also buildings that look different, not only looking for the clean spots but maybe some graffiti, and stuff like that. However, I don't think tourists want to talk with or get into conversations with the locals, but they want to observe the people, like in a zoo basically—how's this animal living here, and what's their neighbourhood like (P6: male, 30, IT worker).

While such descriptions were common, not all participants agreed with the notion of tourists visiting residential neighbourhoods as inherently different to conventional forms of central-city tourism, a critique also identified in the literature (Novy and Colomb 2019; Valentine 2001, 2008). Excluding the locational differences between the type of sites visited by tourists, participants identified a range of overlapping characteristics between neighbourhood tourists and those frequenting the historic core:

> There are not so many differences between the tourists who come to Kreuzberg compared to those who go to see the main tourist sites of Berlin. I think there are a lot of similarities. You have groups of people walking around taking photos of the Markthalle Neun, someone pointing their finger at it saying "so here we have the Markthalle Neun, and here we have the Lausitzer Platz." There were even these big tourist coaches driving through the streets here, showing tourists around. I was laughing the first time I saw this, I thought "what the hell is going on? What is this huge coach doing here in my street?" It parked up and it was just full of tourists looking around and talking photos. So in that regard, I think there are quite a lot of similarities, and I think Kreuzberg now feels more like a tourist hotspot (P16: male, 29, hospitality worker).

Difficulties delineating between elusive forms of neighbourhood tourism and more conventional, well-known, mono-functional forms of central-city tourism is indicative of the broader complications of defining tourists and social groups in general (Blickham et al. 2014; Dirksmeier and Helbrecht 2015; Fincher and Jacobs 1998). Nonetheless, for most participants, a loosely defined, yet fluid cohort of tourists has been identified as visitors who venture beyond the limits of Berlin's demarcated historic core of Mitte as well as Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf in search of local and everyday experiences within residential areas such as the neighbourhoods of Kreuzberg.

7.1.2. Identifying tourists

Participant descriptions suggest that although an increased presence of tourism in Kreuzberg is unmistakable, it is increasingly difficult to clearly distinguish between tourists and residents due to both cohorts often exhibiting similar behaviours, practices and consumption patterns within neighbourhoods. Similar observations were made regarding shifting linguistic patterns identified in Chapter Six. Irrespectively,

several key indicators were shared by participants that signify an amplified presence of tourists in residential neighbourhoods. The towing of wheeled suitcases *(Rollkoffer)* through residential streets, was frequently cited:

> You can hear it with all the rolling suitcases on the walkway. There is a nickname, the Rollkoffer-Kreuzberger which actually described it perfectly (laughter). The EasyJetter that comes over [referring to a budget European airline] (P2: male, 44, graphic designer).

> Every day you hear and see the Rollkoffers. It is an epidemic (P1: female, 41, retail worker).

> You can hear the tourists from our window with their Rollkoffers, it's very obvious. But you can bare it. Sometimes it's really fierce, but not all the time (P9: female, 71, pensioner).

Participant responses also revealed a creeping normalisation of large-scale tourism in Kreuzberg, confirming that tourism constitutes a prominent feature of the locality's contemporary socio-spatial fabric. For instance, a participant revealed that although tourism-related soundscapes are regularly audible from within his home, he downplayed the disturbance, acknowledging that it can be more intense in other parts of the neighbourhood:

> I don't have too many tourists in my area. I mean they are here, I can hear them all the time going from one place to another with their Rollkoffers. You can hear it when we have our windows open and you hear ten people walking by, all with their Rollkoffers "de de de de de" [imitating the sound of a suitcase pulled along the cobblestones] (P4: male, 33, healthcare worker).

Additional indicators described by participants included groups of people walking back and forth through residential streets with maps, drink bottles, cameras, shopping bags and backpacks; large congregations outside of Spätkaufs and other pseudo-public spaces (as depicted in figure 6.5); crowds on rented city bicycles, among other characterisations.

Participants also described sensing the presence of tourists in the locality through the particularities of people's behaviours, practices, languages, dress codes, consumption patterns, spatial movements, and also the time-of-day and frequency by which they were perceived to occur. In some cases, it is clear that tourist-related transformations in Kreuzberg are challenging, and perhaps redefining the dominant use and function of inner-urban residential neighbourhoods in the post-industrial city. For instance, a participant described her motivations for rearranging her apartment, relocating her bedroom into a smaller room at the back-end of the dwelling to escape the late-night noise of party-goers:

> So many tourists come here for Berlin's famous club life, but they behave like actual pigs, smashing bottles, thinking they're super funny, and being so loud and disrespectful no matter what time of day or night. I used to live in that apartment there in the front bedroom [pointing at the apartment complex on the corner

> of Lausitzerplatz and Skalitzerstrasse]. But I ended up moving into the tiny bedroom at the back end of the apartment because of the excessive noise from the street. Every day and night, 24/7 there were people drinking and partying on the street. Don't get me wrong, I also like to go out, and I do go out, but you can't come to a residential district and just party on the streets at two in the morning while you're getting absolutely wasted and screaming at each other. That is extremely ignorant and disrespectful to the people that live here (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

Complicating descriptions of assumed performative codes, a participant stressed that in an international city such as Berlin residents and tourists, particularly in gentrifying neighbourhoods, often embody similar behaviours, practices, languages and consumption patterns:

> There is so much English spoken on the streets today, but you can't tell if the speakers live here or are visiting. If the tourist goes [to Kreuzberg], it's not the usual selfie stick tourist [...] It's hard to distinguish between the tourists who explore the side streets and the residents who live in those same neighbourhoods (P6: male, 30, IT worker).

> It's hard to tell who is and isn't a tourist. I mean if people hear me speaking Greek on the street, they would obviously assume that I am also a tourist as they wouldn't know that I've lived here for eighteen years and that I am resident. However, sometimes it can be quite obvious that someone is a tourist. For example, tourists often walk around in huge groups together maybe speaking one particular language. And tourist activities in the neighbourhood are usually a little bit different to residents, but not always. For example, you can spot tourists taking photos around the area, they can also cluster together on rented bikes in huge packs. That can be really frustrating and dangerous (P20: female, 30, media sector worker).

Participant responses have illuminated an entangled relationship between seemingly fixed categorisations of tourists and residents while also highlighting several stereotypes at work. Nonetheless, the findings also suggest that the presence, actions and performance of tourists in residential spaces has had a significant, and continuing effect on the socio-spatial characteristics and composition of Kreuzberg.

7.1.3. Tourism and the commercial infrastructure

As highlighted in Chapter Six, participants often made a connection between the changing commercial infrastructure and tourism growth. The general pattern identified suggests that increased neighbourhood tourism has contributed to the upscaling and particularisation of many commercial establishments, often at the expense of long-standing residents, in particular, establishments critical to residents of a lower-socio-economic status. Shaw and Hagemans (2015) contend that when neighbourhoods become more desirable to wealthier cohorts of residents and visitors with greater purchasing power, the related transformations can lead to long-standing residents questioning their right to be there. As neighbourhood tourism becomes increasingly recognised as a dominant feature of the social-fabric, the authors observed an inversion whereby long-standing residents '[start] to see their neighbourhood as a tourist area in which they are the guests' (K. Shaw and Hagemans 2015, 334). Echoing the inference, many participants suggested that Kreuzberg's

commercial infrastructure has been reoriented toward the tastes and aesthetic preferences of tourists over long-standing residents:

> Tourism affects the district in so many different ways. But essentially all the ground-floor property on the main streets within the district now belong to hospitality and nightlife businesses. These are obviously for the tourists (P7: male, 60, drink-store owner).

> More stores opened in the area because of the increase in tourism. Different types of stores that you wouldn't normally expect. Like the Berlin made perfume store on Lausitzer Platz, I don't think they opened that with the intention to sell to local residents, they are really special items. Or take the new liquorice shop for example. When you need to pay rent and wages by selling liquorice, you are setting up your store in a place where you believe there is a lot going on. I think it was very strategic of them to locate here, mainly because of Markthalle Neun (P15).

In addition to the increase of establishments offering specialised, niche goods primarily catering to wealthier residents and transient populations, participants also described a process of homogenisation transpiring through the multiplication of establishments offering similar goods and services, particularly in hospitality. The driver of this was frequently attributed to establishments opening to meet an accelerated demand driven by tourists, but also wealthier incoming residents (see Chapter 5 & 6). A participant reflected on the relationship between neighbourhood tourism and hospitality establishments:

> What changed since then [pre-2010] is the economic offer around the Kiez. For example, there are definitely a few Asian restaurants that are easy to pick out because they kind of have the same menu, but some of them definitely charge €1–2 more per meal than others. It's very obvious that they're just targeting tourists and no one else. Falkensteinstrasse would be a good example, with a few restaurants where basically no locals would go because you'd know cheaper alternatives (P14: female, 34, NGO worker).

The views of participants were indicative of commentary posited by housing and welfare advocacy groups, such as the Kreuzberg neighbourhood initiative *Bizim Kiez:*

> There is a great deal of new store-openings sweeping over Wrangelkiez which have washed away nearly all the shops providing daily needs […] The new restaurants require large "special outdoor areas" that are generously sold off by the local government to landlords for small monthly fees. Entire streets and footpaths are now strangled by tables and chairs. Not only are these public spaces snapped up and occupied by ruthless profiteers [referring to landlords], but it is preferable to rent to restaurants and cafés, since the higher commercial rents factor in the maximum use of public space. The image of the neighborhood has been transformed into a landscape of unbridled tourism. Neighborhood life is being crushed (Bizim Kiez 2015).

The relationship between tourism and the reorientation of the commercial landscape was frequently raised as a central point of contention. However, some participants who operate businesses explained several benefits to an increasing proportion of transient populations in Kreuzberg:

> As I'm running a shop, I can't complain because we sell to a lot of random walk-ins. They don't know what this store is, they read somewhere that Oranienstrasse is cool, they walk by, they come inside and look around, and some of them grab a souvenir shirt I guess because our shirts have "Kreuzberg" printed on them. I guess almost 60 per cent of my customer base are now walk-ins. It used to be way different. It used to be people with a map trying to find the secret record store (P11: male, 48, record-store owner).

To emphasise the omnipresence of tourism in Kreuzberg, the interview with the record store owner which took place on a street-bench directly outside the entrance was interrupted by a group of eight tourists from Genova, Italy. Approaching us in English, the group kindly asked for directions to *Voo Store,* an upmarket fashion boutique on Oranienstrasse as well as the *East Side Gallery* located at the Kreuzberg partition of the former-Berlin Wall. As the group moved on, the participant reflected on the encounter and explained that it is Kreuzberg's uniqueness and diversity pulling tourists to the locality en masse:

> Aren't we the people that make this district special? Aren't we the reason why that group of Italian tourists are coming here? They're here because of us. Not like we are in a zoo, but if my store was a Starbucks or like all those chain stores where the city looks the same… well you wouldn't even have to travel anymore (P11).

Several participants expressed similar examples of the synergistic relationships between tourists and Kreuzberg's commercial landscape. As previously identified, some businesses benefit from the increased comings and goings of transient populations. In some cases, cultural institutions important to residents have become increasingly dependent on tourism:

> Tief Grund, Wilde Renate, About Blank [listing long-established venues for cinema, entertainment, live music and nightclubs], these types of places are getting bigger. But I think without tourists these places wouldn't exist. So the tourism changed the neighbourhood by enabling these kinds of cultural projects and institutions to stay in business (P4: male, 33, healthcare worker).

Yet, the consumption patterns of tourists across Kreuzberg are selective, and often concentrated to hospitality, retail, entertainment among other branches of the leisure industry. From the perspective of a shoe-repair storeowner, one participant describes the limited effect tourism has for non-leisure related businesses:

> The tourists have their selected routes. But this doesn't benefit all businesses. Tourists have strict routes, they stay only on these routes […] On these holy routes… tell me if I'm exaggerating… Say there's a group from New York, they tend not to leave the comfort of their group, and you get the feeling that if the group leader wants to go into a place, then they will all follow. So this actually doesn't do anything for many smaller businesses (P12: male, 37, cobbler).

As many newer businesses have opened that cater to the tastes of transient populations, the resulting shifts in the commercial landscape have simultaneously led to the closure of many long-standing businesses that serviced the needs of residents.

7.1.4. Tourism and daily life

In addition to the influence of tourism on the neighbourhood infrastructure, participants also related the effects of increased neighbourhood tourism in the context of everyday life. Throughout participant descriptions on tourism, several overlapping themes were revealed which have previously been explored in Chapter Six, specifically, regarding excessive noise, disruptive behaviour and large, transient crowds in residential areas. To avoid repetition, this section will limit re-introducing content previously discussed.

Tensions between residents and tourists were frequently expressed in relation to the practices and behaviours of tourists clashing with the everyday rhythms and routines of long-standing residents, particularly regarding mobility disruptions:

> Tourism in residential areas is a problem. In Kreuzberg you have massive amounts of tourists everywhere. There are tourists on tour buses, beer-bikes, Segways, and also on bicycles. I am a cyclist, and when the tourists are on the bike paths, the streets, or worse on the footpath in their massive convoys it's so frustrating as every path is blocked. Every person that actually lives and works in this neighbourhood is somehow affected by the tourists, due to their sheer numbers and different agenda to residents (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

> I have a two-minute bike ride to work along the East Side Gallery [Berlin Wall] and everyday it's the same. Tourists again, "ding, ding, ding" [imitating the sound of a bike bell], "get out of the way!" and so on. I have to ride really cautiously every day on my way to and from work primarily because of the tourists (P6: male, 30, IT worker).

Some, participants described how they have adapted or grown accustomed to disruptive elements of tourism. An example of this is evident in the following excerpt, whereby the participant also draws a connection between tourism, increased housing prices and displacement pressure:

> In the night it gets very busy and noisy at all the places that have chairs and tables outside, but we don't let it bother us. I know that this impacts us and our neighbourhood, because in fact, as I said, it leads to the high-priced life and leads to the high-priced rents. That is certainly not great, but fortunately we are still here (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

While other participant experiences indicate the varying scales of tourism-related disruption based on the frequency of encounter:

> If you have an apartment facing the street front it is troublesome. It's much busier, much louder, and a lot more action, it is no longer a residential area but rather it has become an "experience area", such as Disneyland, but without admission. Only the tenants pay for it (P15: female, 54, community worker).

Illustrating the significance of tourist-related disturbances, figure 7.4 demonstrates a banner fixed along the footpath on Adalbertstrasse, Kreuzberg, urging tourists to consider local residents. Initiated by an unknown source, the text states in German and English 'your toilet = our front door' and 'your party = our night… respect the neighbours!'

Figure 7.4. 'Respect the neighbours' Adalbertstrasse, Kreuzberg. Photograph by Crowe 2019

Following the theme of tourist-related disturbances, one participant explained how concentrated tourism activities can alter the way residents utilise neighbourhood space:

> I have a friend that lives over there at Admiralsbrücke [Admiral Bridge]. He's lived there for a long time as he was born here in Kreuzberg, he went to school here, and now he's in the flat below his parent's where he grew up. So, it's right near Admiralsbrücke where there's this big thing where tourists congregate there to drink beer, play guitar, hangout… and neighbours would complain because it's just too loud. There is also a documentary about this place, with old grandmas sitting there and calling the police because there are too many international people there. I don't know when it started, but it really became a thing to hangout on this bridge […] my friend would be in his flat and say "woah I don't hang out at Admiralsbrücke anymore because it's just too crowded" (P5: male, 29, post-grad student).

Figure 7.5 depicts a group of people socialising on the Admiralsbrücke during a late September evening in 2017. A variety of languages were identified during fieldwork observations, including German, English and

Spanish. The Admiralsbrücke has been featured as one of Berlin's 'top-ten hipster hotspots' in the online magazine *Berliner Akzente* (2017). Similarly, *Qiez Magazine*, describe the bridge 'the perfect setting for a few philosophical hours at the Landwehrkanal [canal] and in the heart of the hippest district of the city' (Mändlen 2019 translation Crowe).

Figure 7.5. Socialising at Admiralsbrücke. 8pm Wednesday September 20, 2017. Photograph by A. Crowe

According to participants, the residents of Kreuzberg are also subsumed into the tourist experience. As previously outlined, participants described how tourists can 'flood' residential streets, walking in large crowds, disrupting vehicular and foot traffic while taking photographs. In this respect, several participants shared their encounters with tourists whereby they were unwillingly photographed in public spaces, leaving some to feel as if they were 'living in a zoo' (P16). Reflecting on being photographed and subjected to the tourist gaze (Urry 1990a; Urry and Larsen 2011), two participants explained:

> You also notice that you as a resident become a point of interest to tourists "oh look here is a resident" and it's seriously exhausting. I don't want people to be gawking at me every day, I live here. I live my life and don't need to stare and gawk at all the people I see on the street (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

> It weirds you out. People looking at you through a camera lens is very different to people looking at you in person. They don't really try to interact with you (P16: male, 29, hospitality worker).

The general consensus is that tourist-related disruptions can affect the well-being of many long-standing residents. Subsequently the increase of tourism in Kreuzberg and the disruptive effects identified have become a point of contention that is visible throughout the material landscape. In particular, visual responses to Kreuzberg's touristification are often made explicit through various forms of iconography. Posters, fliers, stickers and laminated placards were identified as a frequently-used medium to convey direct messages to tourists. Many were printed in English and attempted to communicate the destructive aspects of tourism in residential neighbourhoods, as shown in the three signs fixed to the entrance of an Oranienstrasse apartment complex and an anaesthesiologist's office in figure 7.6.[23]

Figure 7.6. Iconographic message to tourists at Oranienstrasse 2019. Photographs by A. Crowe

[23] The term *Touris* depicted in 7.7 is a common abbreviation for tourists which as Grube notes 'is used by Berlin residents as well as in the media in a mocking or derogatory manner' (2019, 233).

Figure 7.7. 'When I grow up, I want to be a tourist' Manteuffelstrasse 2018. Photograph by A. Crowe

In addition, more impromptu messages directed toward tourists were frequently identified via graffiti on buildings and objects throughout Kreuzberg where satirical statements and graphics were often conveyed, as illustrated in figure 7.7 captured on Manteuffelstrasse which translates to 'when I grow up, I want to be a tourist'. Notably, several displays of anti-tourist graffiti embodied xenophobic undertones (also see Dirksmeier et al. 2015; Füller and Michel 2014; Grube 2019), as exemplified in figure 7.8 captured on the residential streets of Reichenbergerstrasse, Muskauerstrasse and Görlitzerstrasse. In these examples, tourists are subjected to forms of prejudice and hostility whereby they are explicitly told to 'fuck off' and to 'die'.

Figure 7.8. Anti-tourist graffiti Reichenbergerstr. & Muskauerstr. 2019. Photographs by A. Crowe

Meanwhile, daily interaction with tourism was routinely expressed as a point of frustration, disruption and contention by participants. Correspondingly, several participants indicated they had made alterations to their everyday practices and routines to avoid competing with tourists for space:

> I'm smart enough not to go grocery shopping during times when the tourists are out in the masses. For example, I will never go to the Aldi in Markthalle Neun on Thursday or on Saturday […] Certainly, the U-Bahn [metro trainline] is wild when large groups of tourists are riding. But you learn to know what times the train will be full of tourists and you try your best to avoid travelling at these times […] There are tourists everywhere in Kreuzberg and I think a lot of people, well at least all the people I know, they do what they can to run their errands at times when there will be less tourists about (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

While many participants described similar strategies to mitigate tourism-related disruptions, such as avoiding particular places at particular times, increased tourist crowds have led some long-standing residents to consider exiting Kreuzberg:

> My day-to-day life is completely interrupted by tourists. I often have thoughts about moving away because of this issue. In the last few years I have be driving around Lichtenberg [an outer district of Berlin] and thinking that I could maybe move there. I don't really want to move, but it is so busy and loud here all the time now… Every day you have to walk through hundreds of different people through the street, in the evenings the streets become a party. It really gets to me. It was once a residential area, where you simply lived, went grocery shopping, and it was calm. But now it is a constant event. When you work all day and come home, it's nice to have a bit of calmness. But now, even if you want to go to the supermarket, it feels like something is going on, there's always more and more people doing things on the streets, the streets are always so full, and this disturbs me. Perhaps the younger people think this is fantastic, I'm not sure. But I live here too (P15: female, 54, community worker).

The findings show how the growth of tourism in Kreuzberg have triggered adverse effects for long-standing residents in the context of daily life. Tourism-related disruptions can encourage residents to alter their daily routines and practices. In some cases, feelings of alienation and exclusion precipitated through increased tourism activity, can pressure residents to permanently vacate the neighbourhood.

7.2. Tourist accommodation in Kreuzberg

Beyond conventional forms of tourist accommodation such as hotels and hostels, emerging literature shows how residential housing has also become integrated into an expanding tourist accommodation market (Cocola-Gant 2016; Cocola-Gant and Gago 2019; Gurran and Phipps 2018; Lee 2016; Schaefer and Braun 2016; Wachsmuth et al. 2018). Largely facilitated through online home-sharing platforms such as Airbnb, the qualitative inquiry reveals how the proliferation of short-term rental accommodation (STR) across Kreuzberg can impact on everyday residential life in various ways. For instance, it was observed that a high turn-over of guests seeking accommodation in residential neighbourhoods has altered the socio-cultural balance of Kreuzberg. As elucidated in the previous section, the general rise of tourism in densely populated residential neighbourhoods has contributed to increased competition over public resources and neighbourhood infrastructure, exacerbating social tensions and forms of exclusion. Correspondingly, as the flexible nature of STRs presents property owners with new opportunities to increase rental yields, long-standing residents are concerned with the way in which tourism accommodation feeds into broader processes of housing commodification in Kreuzberg. Given the reduced availability and affordability of housing for long-term tenurial occupation (Chapter 5), the relationship between STRs and residential displacement is brought into question. This section explores the relationship, drawing on STR data acquired by the property consultancy group *Airdna*, interview materials, fieldwork data and a range of grey literature to garner a better understanding of the local complexities to short-term rental accommodation in Kreuzberg.

7.2.1. Short-term rental accommodation and residential housing

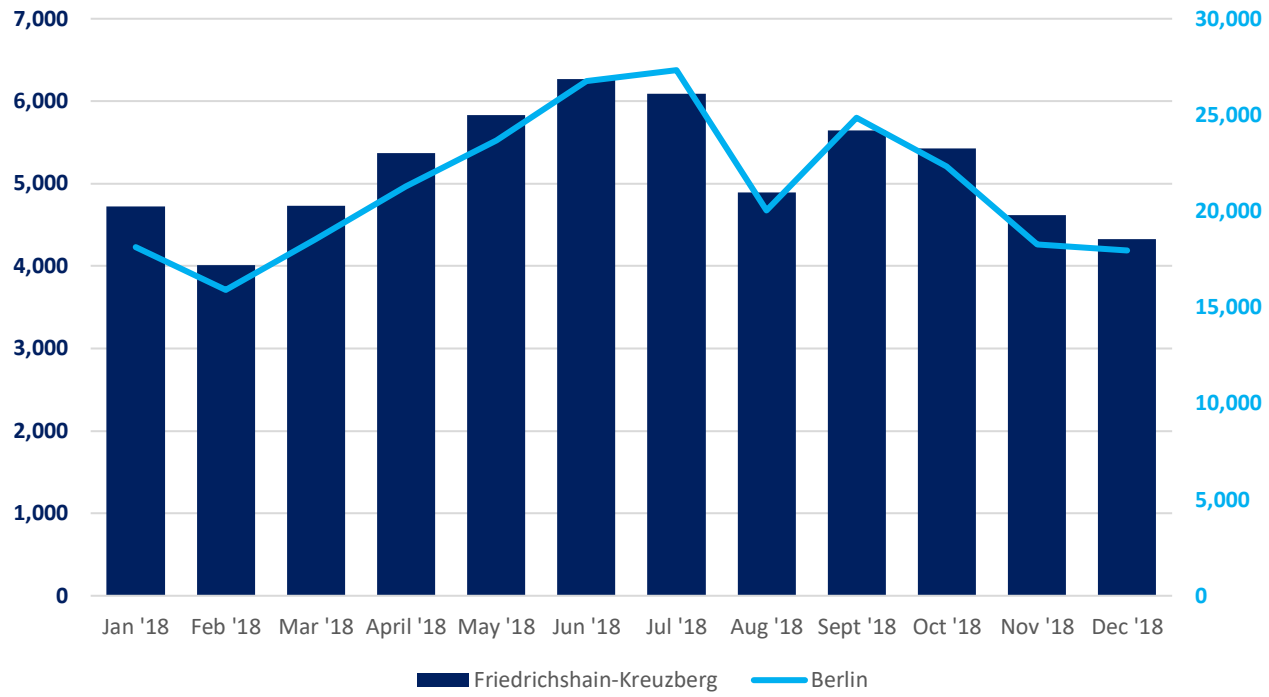
With an estimated six million listings worldwide, Airbnb has become the genericised term[24] used to describe short term rental accommodation negotiated through online home-sharing platforms (Airbnb 2019; Gurran et al. 2018; Skowronnek et al. 2015; Slee 2016; Wachsmuth and Weisler 2018). Despite the global recognition of Airbnb as a dominant player in the contemporary travel sector (*Forbes* 2019), specific details about accommodation listings, hosts, revenue, occupancy rates, and the like, remain concealed by the IPO-listed home-sharing platform (Airbnb 2019). Subsequently, Airbnb-style STR data is not sufficiently reflected in government statistics on tourist accommodation in Berlin (DWIF & Humboldt-Innovation 2017; Statistische Ämter Des Bundes und Der Länder 2019). However, several independent bodies have developed methodologies to scrape data from the online platforms of leading facilitators of Airbnb-style short-term rental accommodation.

For this research, data scraping services offered by Airdna, a market research and property consultancy firm, were acquired to access more detailed information on STRs in Berlin. Although Airdna is recognized as a leading market researcher providing data on short term rentals (Consumer Data Research Centre 2020; Tagesspiegel 2018), at the time of research, Airdna only offered data on Airbnb listings. According to Airdna's website, approximately 80 per cent of all short-term rental listings in Berlin were offered through Airbnb during 2018 and 2019, with the remainder listed on other home-sharing platforms such as HomeAway, Windmu, 9Flats and Booking.com (Airdna 2019). In this respect, it is therefore important to acknowledge that the STR data presented in this chapter is limited and does not claim to represent all short-term rental listings in Berlin.

Figure 7.9 demonstrates the monthly number of STR bookings in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and also Berlin during 2018. The Airdna-generated data shows that of the 255,024 STR bookings across Berlin's twelve districts throughout the year, almost one quarter (61,926) were located in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg.

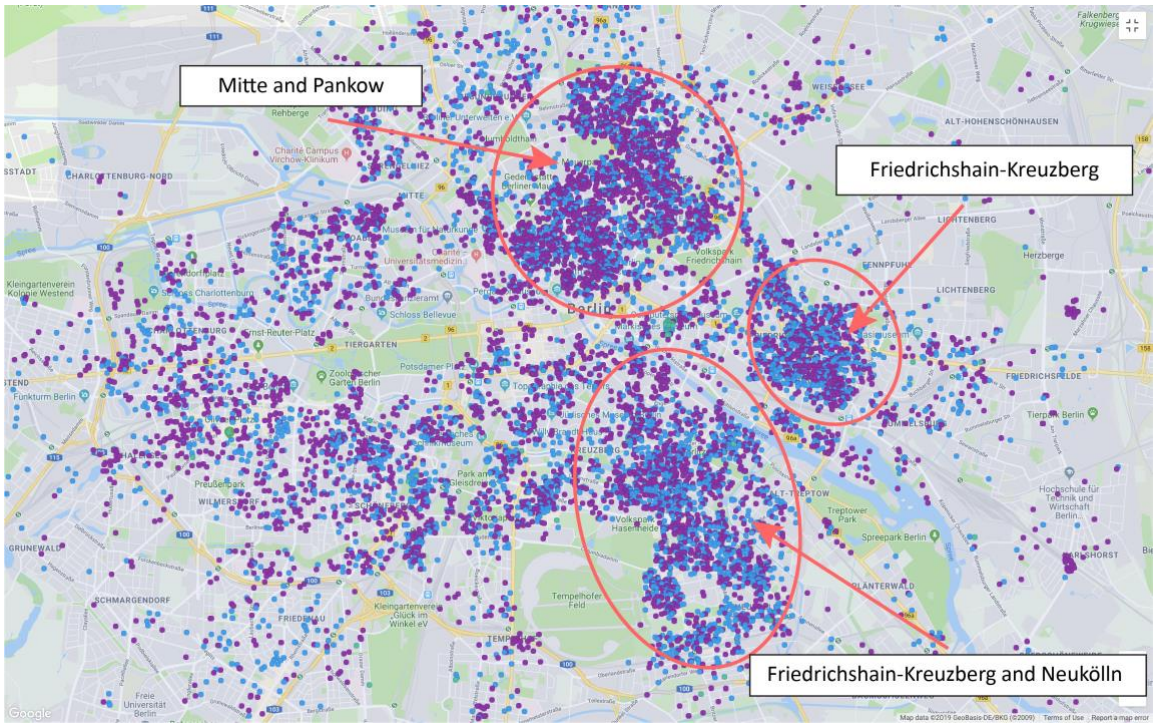
[24] The association was also evident in the descriptions of all participants when referring to short term rental accommodation.

Figure 7.9. Total number of STR bookings in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and Berlin in 2018



Source: Author, adapted from Airdna listing data

Figure 7.10. Spatial distribution of short-term rental units across Berlin 2018

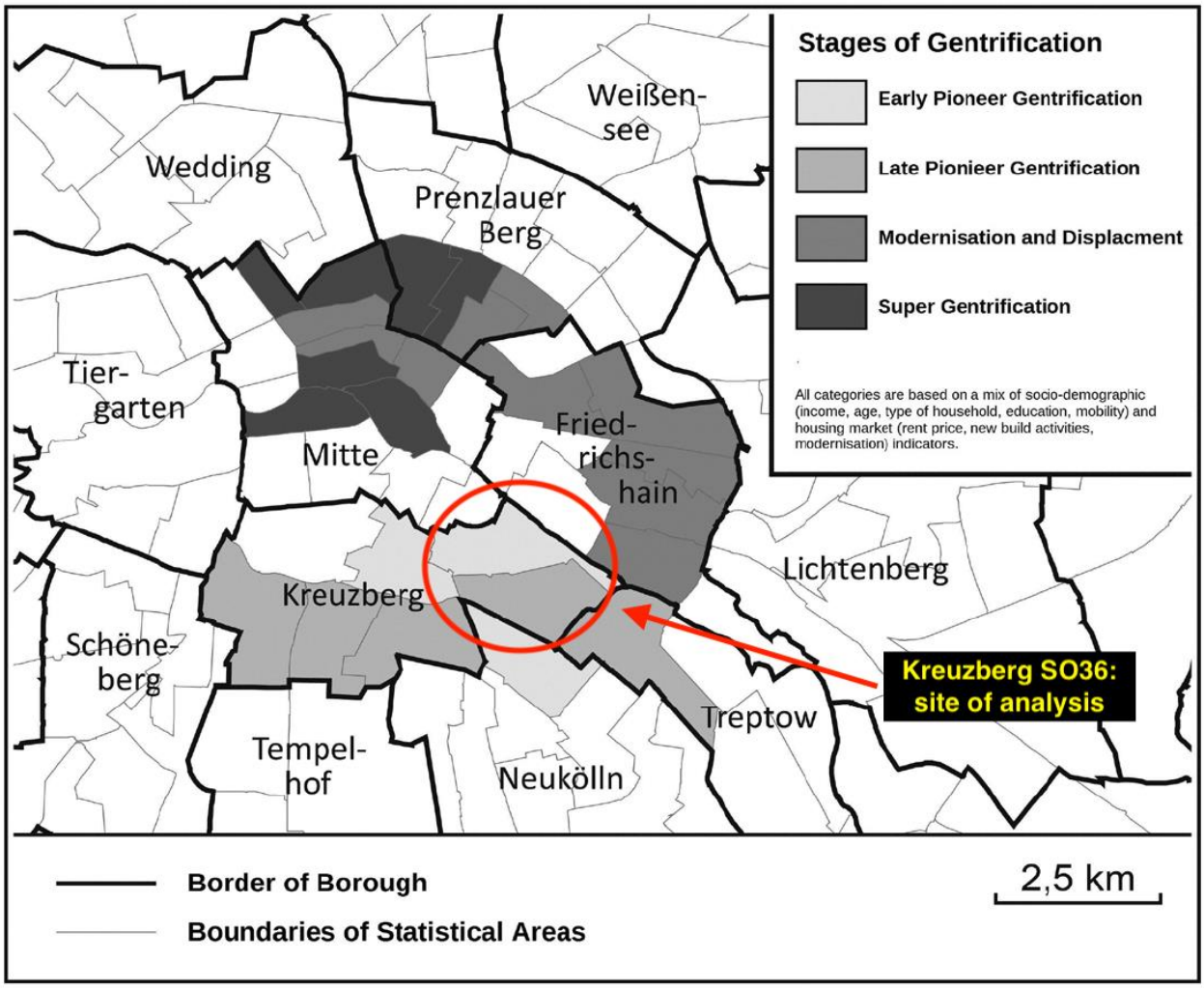


Source: Author, adapted from Airdna listing data

Figure 7.10 depicts the spatial distribution of STR units across the city during 2018. As demonstrated, active STR units were highly concentrated within three major cluster areas across the districts of Mitte, Pankow,

Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and Neukölln (refer to figure 1.1 for clear demarcation of district boundaries). It is worth noting the correlation between the spatial clustering of STR listings (fig. 7.10) and the stages of gentrification flowing through Berlin as identified by social geographer Andrej Holm (fig. 7.11).

Figure 7.11. Berlin's Stages of Gentrification



Source: Adapted from Holm 2013.

Table 7.1 shows Airbnb listing data for 2018 in comparison to the total quantity of residential housing units in both Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and Berlin. The calculated housing deficit refers to the under-supply of residential housing as recognised by the Senate Department for Urban Development and Housing (SenStadt 2018). The data demonstrates that an estimated 22,118 short-term rental units accommodated guests in Berlin during 2018, of which 41 per cent (9,205) were entire home listings (airdna.co 2018). These figures suggest that of the 1.93 million housing units in Berlin (Amt für Statistik 2018a, 2018b), 1 in 85 were listed on a home-sharing platform at some point during 2018. Notably, entire home listings, particularly those with high occupancy rates indicate that residential housing has been indefinitely removed from the long-term

rental market for tourist accommodation (see Skowronnek et al. 2015; Slee 2016; Wachsmuth and Weisler 2018).

Table 7.1. Housing stock, housing deficit and Airbnb listings for Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and Berlin

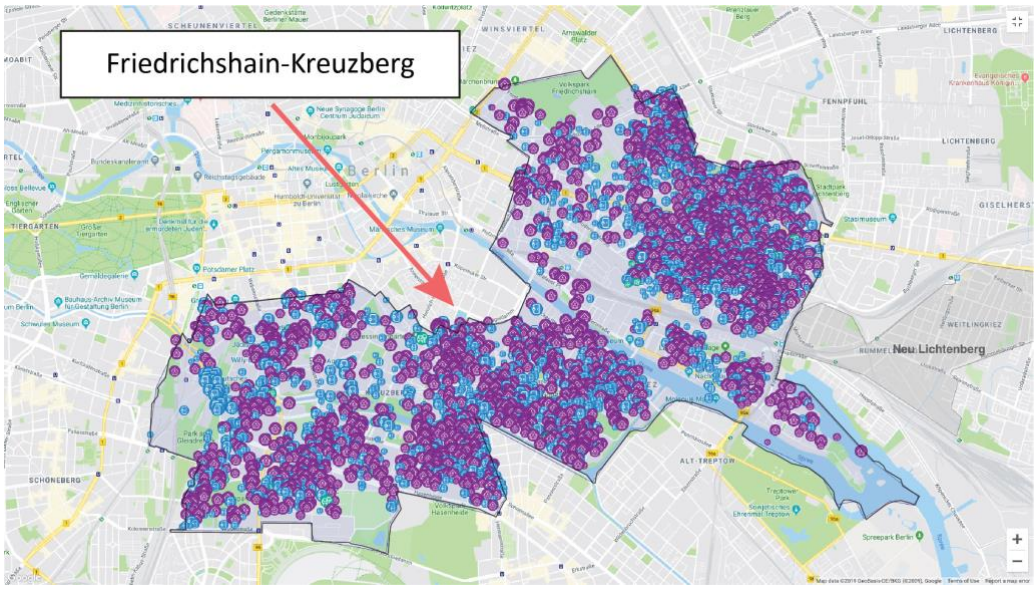
Spatial area	Total residential housing units	Calculated housing deficit	Active Airbnb listings (total)	Entire home Airbnb listings	No. Airbnb listings per km^2
Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (20.21 km^2)	152,009	18,442	5,097	1,917	252
Berlin (892 km^2)	1,932,296	205,000	22,118	9,205	24

Source: Author, adapted from Airdna data sets; Amt für Statistik 2019.

In Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, 5,097 STR units accommodated guests during 2018, of which approximately 1,917 were classified as entire home listings (table 7.1). Therefore, of the 152,009 residential housing units in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (Amt für Statistik 2018a, 2018b), approximately 1 in 30 were listed on Airbnb's home-sharing platform during 2018, compared to 1 in 85 across Berlin. As approximately 40–50 apartment units constitute the average housing complex in Kreuzberg (O'Sullivan 2018), it is possible that most residents routinely share their building with tourists, which emphasises a shift in the balance of residential housing from utility to commercial use. To put it differently, there were an estimated 252 STR listings per square kilometre within the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg during 2018 (fig. 7.12) compared to 24 STRs/km^2 within the city-state of Berlin.[25] As the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg had a reported housing shortage of 18,443 in 2018 (Amt für Statistik 2019), any absorption of residential homes into the tourist accommodation market has significant implications for the residential housing system, specifically regarding affordability and availability.

[25] Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg 20.21 km^2 and Berlin 891.1 km^2 (Amt für Statistik 2019).

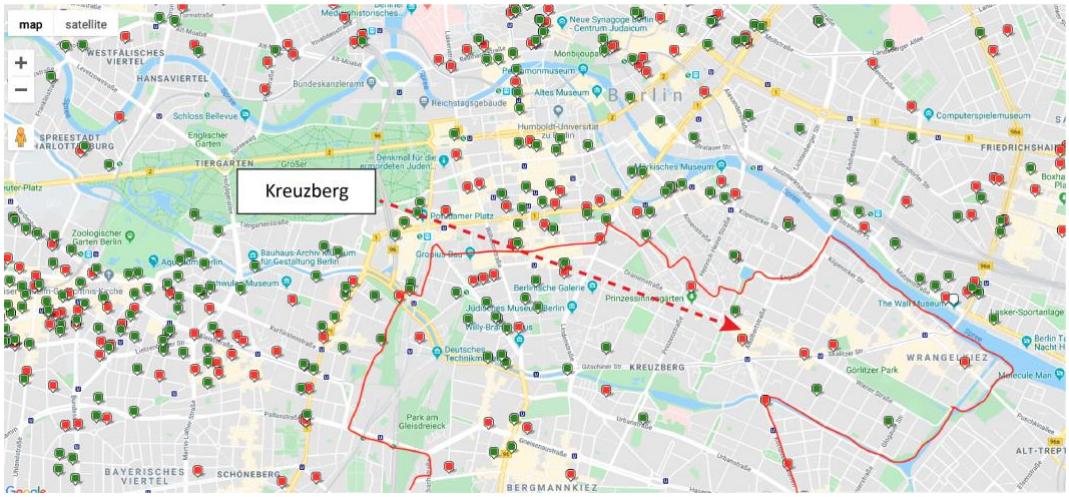
Figure 7.12. Short-term rental units listed in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, 2018[26]



Source: Adapted from Airdna data.

By way of contrast, hotels, hostels among other conventional forms of licenced tourist accommodation are predominantly clustered in distinctive locations near major transit nodes and state recognised tourist precincts (see figure 7.13). Indeed, 70 per cent of all hotels and hostels in the city are located in the central districts of Mitte and Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf, according to Berlin's online tourism portal (Berlin.de 2019c). Whereas only 4.3 per cent (12 hotels and hostels) are situated within the sub-district of Kreuzberg. [27]

Figure 7.13. Distribution of hotels and hostels across inner-Berlin



Source: Annotated from Hotels.com 2019.

[26] The blue and purple icons represent active 'entire home' and 'private room' Airbnb bookings respectively.

[27] Notably, most hostels and hostels in Kreuzberg are located at the border with Mitte nearby the well-frequented Check Point Charlie, a former-US immigration check point which has become a popular tourist attraction.

Mapping the supply of short-term rentals as exhibited in this section has illustrated the spatial characteristics and significance of the home-sharing phenomenon. The concentration of short-term rental accommodation throughout particular residential neighbourhoods has been recognised as a key concern for residents, housing activists, government representatives and among other key stakeholders within, and beyond the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (see also Bizim Kiez 2019a; SenStadt 2019; Skowronnek et al. 2015).

7.2.2. Socio-spatial implications of short-term rental accommodation

Unlike the clear demarcations of hotels, hostels and other conventional forms of tourist accommodation, the very nature of home-sharing which promotes the experience of lodging in residential housing, typically involves minimal, if any physical changes to a dwelling before renting to tourists (Gurran et al. 2018). As the physical appearance of STRs are often indistinguishable from the existing residential housing stock, and as home-sharing platforms such as Airbnb have not made listing data publicly available, taken together it presents a barrier for local authorities attempting to identify and regulate short-term lettings. Furthermore, given the elusive nature of STR listing, Germany's finance ministry is yet to amend the tax code to ensure property owners report their earnings from Airbnb-style accommodation listings (De Masi and Klein 2018). By way of contrast, residents, who share deep connections with the rhythms and flows of their neighbourhood (*Kiez*), are often able to identify STRs, particularly due to the frequent comings and goings of transient populations in residential dwellings:

> Based on the constant flow of people, you know… four people leaving with suitcases, and more arriving […] So somehow you can just figure it out. And I'm not picking out every English-speaking person in the apartment complex, as there are definitely some that are legitimate residents, you know, it's an international city. But there is some *fluxus* where you say "woah I see too many people that can't possibly all be permanently living in these apartments" (P14: female, 34, NGO worker).

> You don't exactly know where the tourists are staying, but you see so many people with Rollkoffers on these streets, they stop at an apartment, stare into their phones, and then go in. I see this all the time. There aren't any hotels around this area. So, it's pretty obvious that these tourists with their Rollkoffers are staying in Airbnbs (P15: female, 54, community worker).

> I can see Airbnbs from the balconies on other buildings. I started wondering if there were a lot of students living in the apartments around Lausitzer Platz, but then I thought no that doesn't make sense, the apartments look too nice to be student homes. I noticed different people coming and going from the same apartments, and you definitely noticed it with the Rollkoffer that sound has increased… increased a lot (P13: male, 40, logistics administrator).

In relation to the growth of STRs in the district, all participants expressed concern about the conversion of residential housing into short-term rental accommodation for holiday makers. The general consensus was that home-sharing has become another instrument contributing to Kreuzberg's gentrification and the

broader commodification of housing. As a participant conveyed, 'Airbnb is used to make money and completely buy out the neighbourhood' (P1: female, 41, retail worker). More specifically, participants were of the impression that STRs have impacted the local residential housing market by removing housing opportunities for residents, illustrating a form of exclusionary displacement (Marcuse 1985) while simultaneously contributing to the escalation of rents due to an already-high demand and under-supplied housing market:

> There are so many Airbnbs in the neighbourhood now that it must play a role in the increasing demand and prices for residential housing. It is undeniable that it is taking housing away from renters (P20: female, 30, media sector worker).

> Even in my area, which as I mentioned is relatively quiet, it has a lot of Airbnbs popping up. You can always see this on the doorbell names at the entrance of the apartment complex. You see apartments named with numbers, or the name of a company, or "sunshine apartments" or "city houses" for example (P4: male, 33, healthcare worker).

> I believe that the number of Airbnbs and similar apartments has a big impact on the unavailability of somewhat affordable rental apartments in Kreuzberg. It's certainly just one of many factors, but the growing presence of these sorts of incredibly overpriced holiday accommodations definitely decrease the accessibility of living space for Berliners (P19: female, 27, hospitality worker).

In addition to increased rental yields, the conversion of residential housing into tourist accommodation enables greater flexibility in the sense that property owners can repurpose, renovate or sell their tenant-free investment at any time compared to dwellings occupied under long-term rent contracts which would present an obstacle due to tenancy regulations. Participants identified this dynamic, highlighting the relationship between an increase of STRs and the displacement of long-standing residents:

> You are absolutely helpless to the professionalisation of holiday apartments in Kreuzberg. It's like the speculation. Well it is speculation. You know exactly what is going on. Your contract will be cancelled for some made up reason, you might even be paid to move out of your apartment, but everyone is aware of what comes next (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

Captured during fieldwork, figure 7.14 is suggestive of the displacing effects of the conversion of residential housing into tourist accommodation. As the interview materials and statistical data suggest, the incentive for property owners to accumulate higher rental yields through STRs over long-term tenancy has contributed to a climate of increased housing tenure insecurity for many residents of Kreuzberg, which only exacerbates a pressure of displacement.

Figure 7.14. Symbol of tourist-induced displacement in Kreuzberg, 30 April 2019. Photograph by A. Crowe[28]

The relationship between the shifting use of residential housing for tourist accommodation and displacement was identified as a core issue for long-standing residents of Kreuzberg. Moreover, many participants explained that ineffective government regulations have enabled the rapid growth of STRs in Kreuzberg at the expense of residents:

> People who are forced to move out of here, are simply being replaced by tourists. The price to rent apartments have increased so much, and now that there are so many pseudo tourist-apartments, it just makes it harder to find and afford a place to live. It makes it difficult to keep living here too. The regulations against this are just too weak (P15: female, 54, community worker).

In addition to the implied insecurities home-sharing has placed on an already constrained residential housing market, the interrelationship between STRs and the changing nature of Kreuzberg's socio-cultural fabric was also registered as a concern:

> Airbnb brings more and more tourists into the neighbourhood. I think if it continues the way it has been, there will be some real problems in the future as the district is not set up for so much tourism and it is

[28] The banner reads 'People used to live here. Today 30.4.[2019] they were kicked out just for tourist entertainment and profit. They destroyed everything! Two people have to live in the street now!! Thank you Greens, Thank you Berlin'

already making things difficult for the people that actually live and work here (P20: female, 30, media sector worker).

The general pattern identified is reminiscent of concerns previously highlighted in the chapter regarding increased competition for space at both the household and neighbourhood scale.

7.2.3. Micro-practices of resistance to short-term rental accommodation

Various forms of opposition to the proliferation of Airbnb-style STR accommodation were also identified during fieldwork. For example, Figure 7.15 depicts a satire-laden poster, offering readers an array of 'tips and tricks' to become Berlin's next Airbnb 'Superhost'. According to Airbnb's website, a superhost is a status-level allocated to 'experienced hosts who provide a shining example for other hosts, and extraordinary experiences for their guests' (Airbnb 2019). The platform's criteria for a superhost requires users to host a minimum of 10 guests per year, maintain a quick response rate to guests (90%) and sustain at least 80 per cent 4.5 star reviews. The text depicted in the anti-Airbnb poster also emphasises the intersect between Airbnb-style STRs and displacement across the Kreuzberg.

Figure 7.15. Berlin Searches for a Superhost! Reichenbergerstrasse, Kreuzberg. September 2019. Photograph by Crowe

By a similar token, a *Boycott Airbnb* campaign was initiated in Berlin by activist group *Rocco und Seine Brüder* during the winter of 2016. As indicated in figure 7.16 the campaign highlighted Airbnb's impact on an already-constrained housing supply in the city, influencing rent prices and contributing to the process of gentrification

and displacement. The campaign was promoted through the placement of graphic posters around the city urging tourists to think critically about using Airbnb-style STR platforms when travelling:

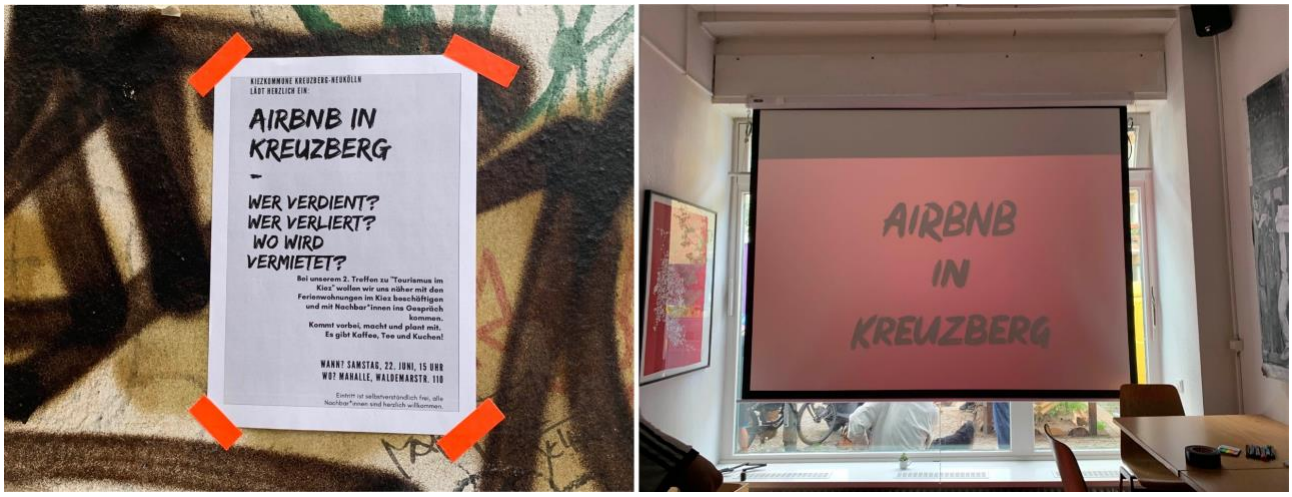
> When you book an apartment, think about the rising rent prices for locals, an increase in touristification, and people going through social displacement. For each holiday apartment a local has to leave their home (Boycott Airbnb 2016).

The campaign also asserted that Airbnb had violated the Housing Misuse Act which at the time of the 2016 campaign, restricted the prolonged use of residential housing for non-residential purposes (Gesetze Berlin 2018).

Figure 7.16. Boycott Airbnb Campaign, Kreuzberg. May 2016. Photograph by A. Crowe

During fieldwork, I also attended several local-led workshops in Kreuzberg that focused on local housing issues as well as changes within the neighbourhood structure impacting on residents of lower socio-economic status. A series of workshops titled 'Airbnb in Kreuzberg' were organised by Neighbourhood Commune Kreuzberg-Neukölln (*Kiezkommune Kreuzberg-Neukölln*) and held in the Mahalle community space on Waldemarstrasse, located in the Lausitzer Platz neighbourhood. As indicated in the invitation flyer (fig. 7.17), the workshops were designed to discuss the relationship between Airbnb and residential life, to provide residents with an arena to share experiences and insights regarding the effects of home-sharing platforms, and to develop a local-led investigation to unearth the so-called winners and losers of Airbnb, and where STR-listings are located across Kreuzberg. The workshops involved the sharing of local knowledge and individual experiences related to STR listings. After a short presentation the group would collectively brainstorm various methods to collect information on Airbnb users, guests and listings. During one workshop I attended, a group of approximately 30 attendees split into pairs and went on a door-knocking expedition across the Reichenberger Strasse and Wrangelkiez neighbourhoods of Kreuzberg. The purpose was to invite residents to answer a series of questions about Airbnb, with the aim to retrieve information on Airbnb listings which could be later mapped at the Mahalle community space. This project was still in its infancy at the end of fieldwork, and no data has been published to-date. However, the 'Airbnb in Kreuzberg' initiative showcases a form of resident-led activism against the commodification of housing through short-term rental accommodation.

Figure 7.17. 'Airbnb in Kreuzberg' workshop, at Mahalle on Waldemarstrasse, Kreuzberg June 22, 2019. Photographs by A. Crowe



7.2.4. Housing Misuse Act

As identified in Chapter Two, the conversion of residential housing into short-term rental accommodation and the role of urban governance has become a contested issue at a planetary scale. In the context of Kreuzberg, it is worth navigating the Berlin Government's approach to addressing the phenomenon of short-

term rental accommodation. The *Zweckentfremdungsverbot-Gesetz*, referred to herein as the Housing Misuse Act is an item of state legislature reinstated May 1, 2014 to regulate the misappropriation of residential housing across the entire urban area of Berlin.[29] According to §2 item 1, housing misuse is identified when housing is: (1) repeatedly used for the purpose of holiday-home rental or tourist accommodation; (2) used for commercial or professional purposes; (3) structurally modified or used in such a way that it is no longer suitable for residential purposes; (4) vacant for more than three months; or, (5) is demolished without planning permission (Gesetze Berlin 2018 translation Crowe). Since reimplementation in 2014, the Housing Misuse Act remains a contested piece of legislature and has subsequently undergone two key reforms following a suite of court hearings at the state and federal level, as demonstrated in table 7.2 (Gesetze Berlin 2018).

Table 7.2. Housing Misuse Act reinstatement and reform timeline

Dates	Housing Misuse Act	Parameters	Maximum length of STR occupation	Violation
2002–2014	Repealed	All STR listings permitted	Unlimited	Nil
1 May 2014	Reinitiated (commencing two-year transition period)	STR listings permitted, yet must register listing with the district office before 1 Aug 2014	Maximum 90 days for primary property	€50,000
1 May 2016	First reform comes into effect	Total ban on STRs unless special permission was obtained from the district office[30]	Zero	€100,000
1 Aug 2018	Second reform comes into effect	Registration number require for all STR lettings. Permit required for first property (+50% rented); second property can only be used as a STR for a maximum of 90 days per year	Unlimited for first property, maximum 90 days for second property	€500,000

Source: Author, adapted from Gesetze Berlin 2018

In 2002 the Administrative Court (*Obervervaltungsgericht*) repealed the Housing Misuse Act on the premise that the oversupply of housing in Berlin at the time did not justify the prohibition of residential buildings used for non-residential purposes (Gesetze Berlin 2018). For some commentators, the removal of the legislation

[29] The Housing Misuse Act was originally enacted in 1974, yet lifted in 2002 due to budget cuts

[30] City officials would typically reject 95 percent of requests (Bellon 2018).

was viewed in response to the fiscal and unemployment crisis of the early 2000s, as a means to boost the city's urban economic development, promoting private investment in housing while simultaneously reducing administrative costs (Aalbers and Holm 2008; Bernt et al. 2013; Holm 2006; Wenderoth 2019). However, following a decade of relaxed housing policy, ensuing rent intensification and a major housing shortage, in 2014 the Berlin Senate resurrected the bill to regulate non-residential usage of housing (Gesetze Berlin 2018).

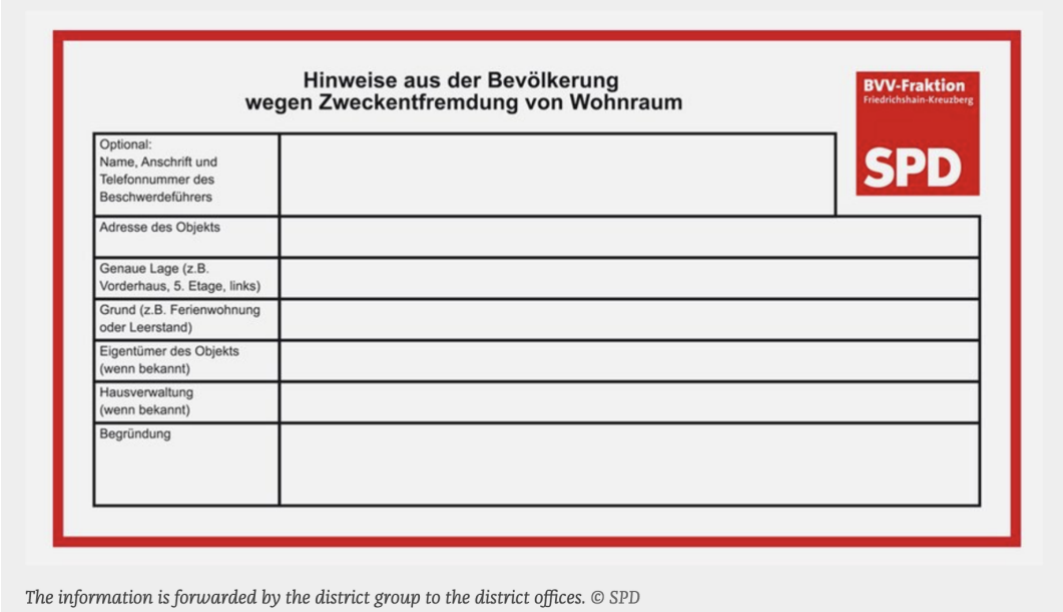
The reinstated Housing Misuse Act required all residential housing listed on Airbnb-style STR platforms to apply for a permit with the local district office. Once obtained, the permit enabled STR hosts to continue offering residential housing as tourism accommodation during a two-year transition period, at which point a total ban on STRs would come into effect. A key feature of the 2014–2016 conditions of the Housing Misuse Act prohibited the short-term letting of residential housing for more than ninety days.

Despite risking fines of up to €50,000 the number of short-term rental listings without permits continued to increase (Skowronnek et al. 2015). The practicality of regulating the use of housing as tourism accommodation was difficult and relied on STR hosts to register with the local district office. Correspondingly, of the estimated 12,000 STRs listed in Berlin during 2014 (Inside Airbnb 2020), sources suggest that only one in three had been officially registered (Bolsinger 2014). In effect, identifying housing misuse cases and then prosecuting violators had become a crucial yet difficult task for the state government. As a Berlin law firm explained:

> Checking whether apartments are being misappropriated is an almost unmanageable task, especially for inner-city districts. The operators of the large accommodation portals are less than cooperative when it comes to the publication of providing data. And vendors themselves go to court in droves because they feel wronged by the authorities (Gabriel 2018).

Subsequently, the Senate Administration would often rely on citizens to report suspected dwellings in violation of the Housing Misuse Act. Figure 7.18 depicts a government report card distributed to residents, encouraging people to provide detailed information on the suspected use of STRs in their building (Gesetze Berlin 2018).

Figure 7.18. Suspected housing misuse notification card



Hinweise aus der Bevölkerung
wegen Zweckentfremdung von Wohnraum

BVV-Fraktion
Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg
SPD

Optional: Name, Anschrift und Telefonnummer des Beschwerdeführers	
Adresse des Objekts	
Genaue Lage (z.B. Vorderhaus, 5. Etage, links)	
Grund (z.B. Ferienwohnung oder Leerstand)	
Eigentümer des Objekts (wenn bekannt)	
Hausverwaltung (wenn bekannt)	
Begründung	

The information is forwarded by the district group to the district offices. © SPD

Source: Berlin Vorschrifteninformationssystem 2018.

On May 1, 2016, the zero-tolerance ban on the short-term letting of entire apartments came into effect. Violators were now subject to a fine of up to €100,000 and the reformed Housing Misuse Act also legally enabled the Senate Administration to expand the data collection methods[31] used to identify STRs (Gesetze Berlin 2018). The amendment was widely welcomed by Berlin's twelve district offices, neighbourhood initiatives and local residents (O'Sullivan 2016). Conversely, in an interview with *Quartz* a representative from Airbnb purported 'This is bad news for Berlin and regular locals who occasionally share their homes to afford living costs in the city they love' (Cooper 2016). By mid-2017, the Senate Department for Urban Development and Housing, under the Housing Misuse Act, had effectively returned almost 8,000 apartments in Berlin to the residential housing market while collecting close to €3Million in fines (Gabriel 2018). Notably, 4,000 dwellings were identified as STR listings, of which 1,568 (39.2%) were located in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. Another 3,000 property owners were found in violation of housing misuse for allowing dwellings to sit vacant for extensive periods of time (Gabriel 2018).

The 2016 reform of the housing regulation, however, was short lived. In April 2017, the Higher Administrative Court of Berlin-Brandenburg found the Housing Misuse Act to be in violation of Germany's federal constitution under the premise that the act challenged the fundamental rights of property ownership (Gesetze Berlin 2018). Subsequently, on April 9, 2018, a second amendment was made to the Housing Misuse Act, considerably loosening the restrictions and permitting the short-term letting of primary residences for

[31] Data collection was extended to include personal, commercial and housing data as well as 'proof of housing use' accessible from various department databases as well as the Investitionsbank Berlin (Wenderoth 2018).

an unlimited period and a secondary dwelling for up to 90 days a year (Gesetze Berlin 2018). For property owners seeking to use their dwelling for short-term occupancy, the 2018 amendment required registering with the district office to obtain a short-term letting permit costing between €100 and €295. Since August 1, 2018, STR hosts must make available their registration information when offering residential living space for non-residential purpose. The revised law also increases the fee for violations up to a maximum of €500,000.

In regard to the two amendments of the Housing Misuse Act, participants questioned the overarching effectiveness of the regulation given a perceived lack of enforcement:

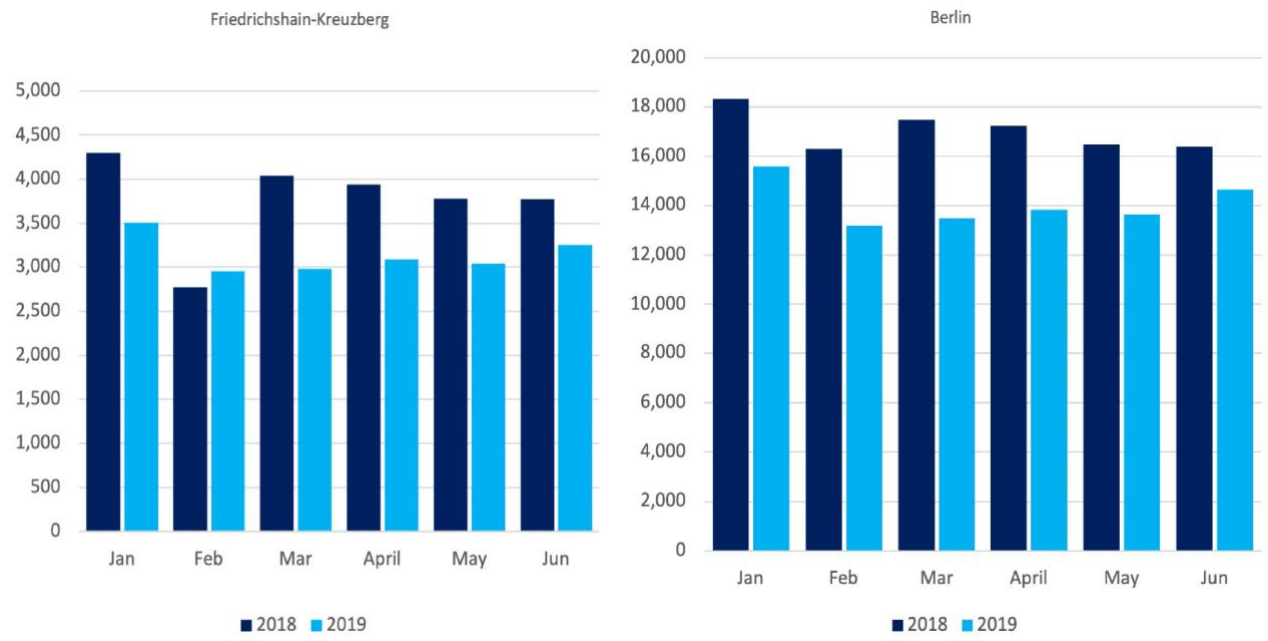
> Housing Misuse Act sounds nice, it doesn't work at all. It sucks. It really sucks […] it's just an empty bob. There's nothing in it. You can't do anything about it. If you try to make officials aware of the problem [regarding illegally-listed Airbnbs], I mean just look at the forms you have to fill in, it sucks, and no one will take the time to do it. It's really useless (P2: male, 44, graphic designer).

> There are so many illegal apartments on Airbnb in the city that need to be investigated but the state doesn't have enough personnel to do this… it's bad (P4: male, 33, healthcare worker).

> I'm wondering, how would the government even proceed to find out where the Airbnb flats are? If they find an Airbnb flat that is empty and is taking away housing space which should be there for the public, what do they do, just go there and sue the owner or clear the apartment? I don't know. I haven't seen or heard of that happening in anyway. You only hear about people complaining about how Airbnb is shit, and that we don't want it in the city (P16: male, 29, hospitality worker).

Figure 7.19 depicts the monthly quantity of active listings for the first two quarters of 2018 and 2019 for Berlin and Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. In both jurisdictions, the total number of Airbnb listings had decreased during the first half of 2019, suggesting that the 2018 amendment to the Housing Misuse Act has had some impact on regulating the misuse of residential housing as STRs in Berlin. Nonetheless, during 2019, over 20,000 STR listings were recorded as 'active listings' in Berlin, many of which were operated by hosts with multiple listings (Airdna 2019). At the same time the undersupply of residential housing was calculated at 205,000 (Amt für Statistik 2019).

Figure 7.19. Number of total active STR listings Q1 and Q2, 2018 & 2019 for Berlin and Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg



Source: Author, adapted from Airdna listing data

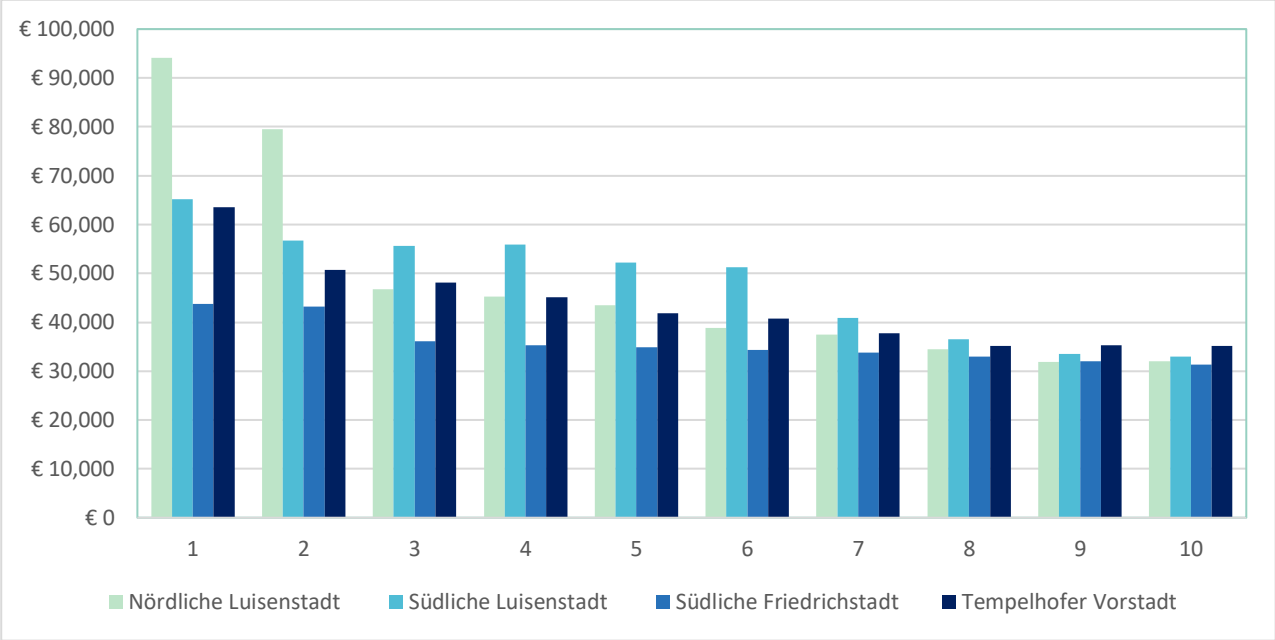
7.2.5. Professional use of short-term rental platforms

The statistical data and interview materials illuminated a clear distinction between residents who occasionally list their homes (or a room) on STR platforms from those who would be considered professionals renting out multiple dwellings to visitors on a continual basis. Entire-home listings on home-sharing platforms are of particular concern as a large proportion are rented to tourists year-round instead of permanent tenants (Cocola-Gant and Gago 2019; Wachsmuth and Weisler 2018). In relation to Berlin's tenancy laws (Ch. 5), housing primarily used as short-term rentals as opposed to long-term rentals can provide the property owner greater flexibility and investment opportunities. For instance, long-term tenancy contracts require property owners to adhere to state housing laws and regulations, offering protection to tenants by restricting rents from increasing by more than 15 per cent every three years (Rent Break), and preventing the total rent from exceeding the Calculated District Average by more than 10 per cent (Rent Index). Additionally, provided the tenant does not breech the terms of the contract, the owner is not permitted to evict tenants from a property unless they wish to occupy the apartment themselves (Gesetze Berlin 2018).

STRs on the other hand, provide property owners with a much greater level of autonomy. Rents are set at a daily market rate and are not regulated to a fixed or monitored pricing system (Airdna 2019). Therefore, if STRs are in high-demand, hosts can increase rates and realise significantly higher profits compared to renting on the conventional private housing market. For instance, figure 7.20 demonstrates the top-ten performing

STR properties in each district-region of Kreuzberg[32]. Annual revenue for the top-performing properties in 2018 ranged between €31,000 and €94,100. In contrast, the average annual rental yield for a 65m^2 apartment in Kreuzberg rented on the residential market ranged between €4,111 and €7,732 during the same year (Amt für Statistik 2019). Notably, in the district region of Nördliche Luisenstadt, four of the top-ten performing Airbnb properties were offered by single hosts with multiple STR listings, further illustrating the use of home-sharing in a professional capacity (Airdna 2019).

Figure 7.20. Annual revenue of top-ten performing properties in Kreuzberg by District-Region 2018



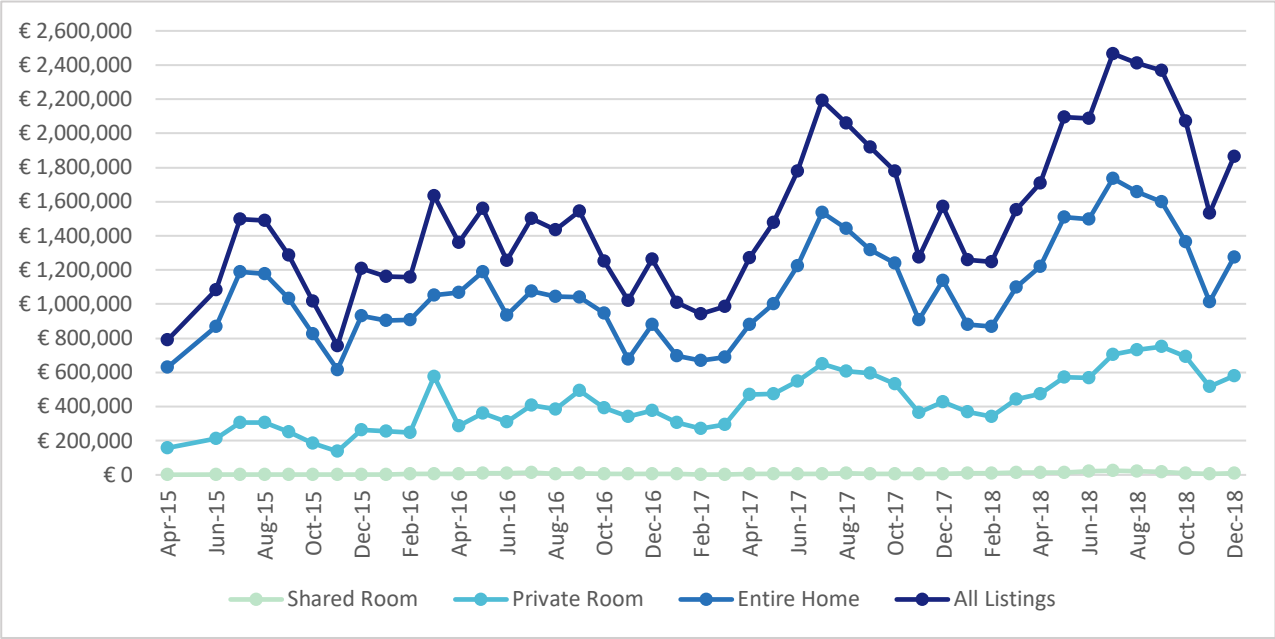
Source: Adapted from Airdna listing data

Moreover, figure 7.21 illustrates the combined monthly revenue of STR listings in Kreuzberg between April 2015 and December 2018. The data has been organised into three types of STR offerings, entire homes, private rooms and shared rooms. The collective total of the three listing types has also been included. Two significant trends can be identified in the data set. Firstly, there appears to be a seasonality to STR usership, with the warmer European months of April to September generally generating greater revenue streams compared to the colder months of October to March. Secondly, the data reveals continual growth of STR revenue over the three-year period. Notably, during the month of July in 2018, short-term rental hosts in Kreuzberg received a monthly revenue stream of €2,466,279 for all listings, an increase of 64 per cent in three years compared to €1,496,162 in July 2015. In terms of annual growth, revenue from STRs in Kreuzberg

[32] Figure 1.2 depicts the spatial positioning of each district region listed in figure 7.20

increased 148 per cent between 2015 and 2018, from approximately €9.12Million p/a to €22.6Million p/a. (Airdna 2019).

Figure 7.21. Average monthly revenue: All Airbnb listings in Kreuzberg 2015–2018



Source: Adapted from Airdna listing data

Despite government efforts to mitigate the impact of Airbnb-style STR accommodation under the Housing Misuse Act, the increased revenue streams identified indicate that the industry has continued to grow in a commercial capacity. In recognising the growth, the general consensus of participants is that the professionalisation of STRs has a destructive effect on neighbourhood communities:

> [Housing] became heavily commercialised to the point where you notice entire apartment blocks being used only for Airbnb, so you know that the apartments are no longer used by residents for living. It used to be that someone would list their apartment on Airbnb if they were on holiday, or if they were gone for a certain time, or if they want to rent out one room in their apartment to make a bit of extra money for a certain time. But now you have investors, or people running businesses who rent out the whole building, or the whole wing of an apartment complex on Airbnb and then this living area is withdrawn from the market and isn't accessible for tenants—the people actually living in the city. So, the city doesn't belong to the people who live here anymore, it belongs to the people who make money from it and from tourists. And then everything around this area also changes. The market has to meet these demands, and tourists demand different things from residents (P4: male, 33, healthcare worker).

By a similar token, a participant observed:

> There are lots of examples where people just rent out entire flats on Airbnb who are not even living there themselves which I guess is the idea of Airbnb. So, people actually make it business out of it […] I'm

> absolutely sure that it's a problem for the housing crisis and of course it attracts a lot of tourists if you had these have these Airbnbs in residential areas (P5: male, 29, post-grad student).

In addition to the implications of home-sharing to the housing market, participants also revealed some of the everyday encounters with STR listings. For example, a participant described a tension related to a neighbouring apartment continually rented on Airbnb:

> There was this petition against an Airbnb flat in the house [apartment complex], residents were complaining about tourists coming in late at night, being loud and partying in the flat. You could feel that the tenant [Airbnb host] was not doing anything about it. They just ignored it. The Airbnb host of this apartment lived in another apartment in the complex. It was basically an empty apartment, a loft actually, and I don't know the price people paid for it, but there were usually groups of people staying in the loft (P16: male, 29, hospitality worker).

Another participant shared a similar story, illustrating the frequency of STR-related disturbances in her apartment complex:

> I saw a sign on another building that said, "if you can't reach your hosts, don't ring our bell!" you know, you need to call your host. And that has repeatedly happened at our doorbell as well […] People constantly ringing our bell saying "Sir [X]! Hey! Open the door! We're here!" You know, it's very demanding behaviour like "hey doorman, please come assist us!" you know, almost like a hotel (P14: female, 34, NGO worker).

7.2.6. Individual use of short-term rental platforms

Despite a general concern regarding the use of short-term rental accommodation at a professional capacity, some participants shared their experiences as home-sharing hosts. Participants clarified that they had sparingly used Airbnb to rent out their home to either generate additional income to reach a particular goal, or to use the profit to alleviate housing-related financial pressures. A participant described her experience as an Airbnb host, explaining:

> we needed €1,000 to pay for some new cupboards. So, we decided that if we wanted the cupboards, we'll live in the smallest room out of the three rooms in our apartment and rent out the other two on Airbnb. We did that for a month… maybe a little bit less and obviously there were times in between when you had one guest leaving and another arriving a day or two later. We definitely made over €1,000… moneywise it was always a phenomenal experience. We were charging €50 per night for one room (P14: female, 34, NGO worker).

Another participant described how some residents often use home-sharing as a tool to cover rent increases:

> I know a few people who use Airbnb to make extra money to pay their rent. My friend [X] has a 65m^2 apartment at Hermannplatz with a balcony. His rent has been raised to €600 so he started using the website. Most of the guests are either Dutch, English or Swedish and they rent his spare room for €100 per night on the weekends. He makes roughly €1,200 per month from this room. He said most of the guests are

> friendly and clean, but he's had some terrible experiences with some really primitive people. However, the money is a bonus for my friend (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

What is being described here shows how residents use home-sharing as a method to remain in place. Underscoring the previous excerpt, the participant's friend has used profits from Airbnb to supplement increasing rents despite having to share his living space with strangers, who on occasion, can behave in 'primitive' ways. As the discussion continued, the participant offered an explanation as to why residents choose to list apartment on home-sharing platforms:

> I think a lot of it has to do with the fear of losing one's apartment. No wants to share their apartment with strangers when they can afford to pay the rent on their own. That is your home we're talking about. That's where you go to sleep, it's a private space. But when you can no longer afford to pay your rent, you will think about sharing the space for extra income. Of course, there must be some people who use websites like Airbnb to earn money, and a lot of them don't really need to do it. But there are some that use Airbnb purely to make sure they can pay their monthly rent. They don't do it to earn money, they do it to continue living in their home. There is a big difference there (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

In comparison to the data on professional use of Airbnb-style STR accommodation, participant descriptions on the occasional use of home-sharing are reflective of the original marketing campaigns of home-sharing, providing residents with an opportunity to temporarily rent out a room or space in their dwelling, with the intent to meet new people and to generate a profit through the process (Airbnb 2019).

7.3. Chapter conclusion

This chapter has examined the expansion of tourism in Kreuzberg. Despite being largely devoid of so-called mainstream tourist attractions, the statistical, interview and fieldwork findings suggest that Kreuzberg's residential neighbourhoods have become firmly integrated into the city's tourism trade. As residents are confronted with tourism in most aspects of daily public life, the changing landscape of tourism has triggered disorientation and feelings of a loss of place. In many cases, long-standing residents have altered their spatial patterns and routines in order to mitigate tourism-related disturbances. In some cases, tourism was recognised as the driver underpinning resident decisions to exit Kreuzberg. Accordingly, tourism-related disruptions encountered on a daily-basis are indicative of displacing pressures experienced as a form of exclusion and alienation that can eventuate in resident out-migration.

Moreover, the statistical data on Airbnb listings indicate that despite government intervention under the Housing Misuse Act, residential housing has become increasingly subsumed into the short-term rental accommodation market. Notably, Airbnb's are unevenly dispersed across Berlin, and tend to cluster within gentrifying neighbourhoods, with Kreuzberg featuring as one of the most popular locations for non-conventional tourist accommodation. The limited information on STR revenue intake suggests an increase of

commercial use over private, individual use. However, and as indicated by participants, many residents (including renters) utilise Airbnb-style STR platforms to generate additional income. In some cases, residents choose to rent and share their homes with strangers in order to compensate for recent rent increases. Further research is required, and more granular data needed to better understand the particularities of the short-term rental market, analysing occupancy rates, hosts with multiple listings and hosts with permits, for example.

The implication is that the commercialisation of home-sharing has impacted the residential housing market by taking homes away from residents, while contributing to both an escalation of rent prices and a shortage of housing across the district and the city. In effect, the localised conditions of STRs in Kreuzberg is illustrative of a form of exclusionary displacement, whereby households are being excluded from living in dwellings they would have previously had access to before the dwelling was appropriated for tourist consumption. Furthermore, and as identified through fieldwork and interview materials, the profit incentives associated with short-term rental accommodation can lead to the direct displacement of residents through eviction.

Chapter Eight: Markthalle Neun Case Study

The preceding empirical chapters have demonstrated how long-standing residents have experienced multiple types of change at the household and neighbourhood scale. This chapter presents a case study on the transforming role and function of *Markthalle Neun* (Market Hall Nine), a 3,000m^2 market hall located in the residential Lausitzer Platz neighbourhood of Kreuzberg (see figure 1.3). After a period of low-economic output during the 1990s (Niedermeier et al. 2011), Markthalle Neun has undergone several transformative phases since the publicly-owned building was privatised in 2011. Most notably, the new owners have promoted their ownership around introducing a nutritional revolution to Kreuzberg (Hildebrandt 2019; Niedermeier et al. 2011), an initiative that aims to deliver a range of regional, organic and ethically-sourced goods and produce of high-quality. Regeneration claims suggest a positive contribution to the local economy through the creation of 467 jobs and drawing approximately 7,000 patrons each week (Markthalle Neun 2019b). However, when set in the broader processes of gentrification and neighbourhood change, the redevelopment of the market hall has become contested. As presented in this chapter, the central argument posited by many long-standing residents and neighbourhood initiatives is that affordable fresh-produce options have been replaced with more expensive offerings—albeit regional and organic. Correspondingly, the loss of long-standing establishments superseded by newer stalls has attracted a wealthier clientele, altering the socio-cultural characteristics of the market hall and exacerbating tensions across the neighbourhood.

At its core, this chapter seeks to explore the socio-spatial implications related to the implementation of the market hall owners' concepts and the methods of engagement to bring a nutritional revolution to Kreuzberg. As the Markthalle Neun operators have advocated to promote justice to regional farmers, local traders and the environment, their actions have simultaneously triggered a series of local social and economic implications, particularly effecting, but certainly not limited to, the lower-SES populations of Kreuzberg. Guided by the experiences and accounts of long-standing residents, survey findings and fieldwork materials, the case study chapter on Markthalle Neun is structured as follows: first, I trace the transition of Markthalle Neun from a space reportedly on the verge of dysfunction to a rehabilitated market place. I then present contemporary perspectives and experiences of long-standing residents, regarding their relationship with Markthalle Neun prior to and following privatisation. To complement the resident interviews, I draw on interviews with key informants, including a Markthalle Neun co-owner, to garner additional perspective. The chapter also presents data collected through participant observations and a questionnaire conducted during Markthalle Neun's *Streetfood Thursday* event. This case study then turns to a contestation between Markthalle Neun and a multifaceted cohort of residents over the proposed expulsion of the discount supermarket chain Aldi, which remains unresolved at the time of writing.

8.1. Situating Markthalle Neun

Located between Eisenbahnstrasse and Pücklerstrasse in Kreuzberg's Lausitzer Platz neighbourhood, Markthalle Neun officially opened its doors on October 1, 1891 (fig. 8.1). The origin of the name Markthalle Neun derives from the state-led concept of creating twelve district market halls distributed and numbered accordingly throughout the twelve districts of Berlin (Markthalle Neun 2019b; Markheineke-Markthalle 2019). According to Markthalle Neun's online portal, the state-owned and operated market halls were initially established to provide the city with 'a broad supply of cheap and hygienic food to meet the demands of a growing population' (Markthalle Neun 2019b translation Crowe). In 1969 the three remaining market halls[33] were transferred to the publicly-owned and operated *Berliner Großmarkt GmbH* (Markheineke-Markthalle 2019). However, following a city-wide trend of liquidating and privatising publicly-owned assets, Markthalle Neun was sold in 2011 and nowadays functions as a private enterprise.

Figure 8.1. Inside Markthalle Neun circa 1950s, facing west. Source: Raumlabor Berlin 2011

At the time of fieldwork, twenty fixed tenants traded within Markthalle Neun, operating from 12pm–6pm Tuesday and Friday, and 10am–6pm on Saturday. Only a limited range of stalls were open for business on Monday. The twenty fixed tenants within Markthalle Neun included a micro-brewery, a canteen, a fair-trade coffee roastery, two specialty coffee shops, two organic bakeries, two wine vendors, a craft cheese stall, an artisan butcher, a tofu manufacturer, an organic ice-creamery, an Italian fine-goods stall, a Japanese

[33] Markthalle Neun constitutes one of Berlin's three remaining historic market halls in operation. The other nine were either destroyed during the war or have since been retrofitted for other purposes.

homeware stall among several other small businesses. A small greengrocer and a restaurant were also located on the exterior of the market compound. Additionally, an Aldi discount supermarket, trading from 8am–8pm Monday to Saturday, has been operating within the market hall since 1977. Meanwhile, the *Wochenmarkt* (weekly market) is open every Friday (12pm–6pm) and Saturday (10am–6pm) hosting a more extensive range of small-traders compared to other days in the week. According to Markthalle Neun's homepage, the number of stalls operating during the *Wochenmarkt* can reach over 250 (Markthalle Neun 2019b). Many traders offer a variety of organic, fresh produce regionally-sourced from farms located in the Spreewald and the neighbouring state of Brandenburg. Figure 8.2. depicts the indoor and outdoor activity during the *Wochenmarkt* on a Saturday afternoon in November 2018.

Figure 8.2. Fresh produce offered at the Wochenmarkt, Eisenbahnstrasse entrance to Markthalle Neun, 2018. Photograph by A. Crowe

In addition to the daily market operations, the owners have also facilitated a series of annual events and festivals that take place within the hall, including the RAW Wine event; City-Land-Food Festival; Berlin Coffee Festival; Cheese Berlin Festival; Sausage and Beer Festival, and an annual Christmas market, for example. Markthalle Neun frequently hosts a series of ticketed-events such as a Sake tasting event held on March 15, 2019 for €18 per person, as well as a Mastercard event held on April 16, 2019, for €49 per-person exclusive to Mastercard cardholders. The Mastercard event was promoted as 'experiencing the taste of the city' and

included a culinary workshop led by several of the businesses operating within Markthalle Neun, various tastings as well as a four-course meal with drinks (Krex 2019). Also, *Berlin Food Stories,* a self-identified 'food connoisseur' online platform, regularly hosts a €95 food-tasting event in the hall. For the market hall owners, strategic marketing and the hosting of events constitute a critical component of the business model, attracting additional footfall and revenue streams (K1).

Moreover, Markthalle Neun's business model anchored in ecological and sustainable principles has led to its inclusion in the *Magnificent Seven,* an international partnership of leading market places across the world (*Tatura Guardian* 2018). Touting a strong focus on community values and leading the nutritional revolution, the *Magnificent Seven* include Melbourne's Queen Victoria Market; Sydney's Fish Markets; Barcelona's La Boquería; Seattle's Pike Place Market; Budapest's Central Market Hall and London's Borough Market. According to Stan Liacos, the chief executive of Queen Victoria Market, 'all of the Magnificent Seven markets are known for the outstanding quality of their food, the iconic nature of their locations and the important role they play in their cities' (in *Tatura Guardian* 2018). Against this background, Markthalle Neun has transitioned to become a global icon for high-quality, organic and regional goods and produce. This newly-attained status, however, is not without contestation. As the qualitative inquiry reveals, the current business model of Markthalle Neun has been viewed by many as an agent of gentrification and exclusion, processes reflective of broader shifts within Kreuzberg's economic, social and cultural fabric.

8.2. Transition from public to private space

The following section traces the historic trajectory of Markthalle Neun and its transition from a public to private space.

8.2.1. A Period of decline

Prior to the 2011 privatisation, the market hall was colloquially known as the *Eisenbahnhalle* (Railway Hall). Research participants and other commentators frequently described the Eisenbahnhalle as economically depressed and largely neglected by the state and local government. Stagnating sales within the market hall were thought to have been triggered by a proliferation of chain supermarkets in Berlin during the latter half of the 20th Century (Markthalle Neun 2019b). This trend was indicative of broader shifts in Germany and elsewhere, whereby chain supermarkets had increasingly supplanted many smaller independent greengrocers among other produce-providers. In this respect, throughout the post-war years until 2011, Markthalle Neun primarily served as a venue for three discount stores: *Kik*, a discount textile store; *Aldi* a discount supermarket, and; *Drosper,* a discount drugstore, among several small-business traders (Markthalle Neun 2019b).

Participants substantiated these descriptions, with many explaining that the market hall was in need of rehabilitation prior to 2011:

> During the 1990s and early 2000s, it was really not going well, the stalls were failing, and nobody went there because all the supermarkets were better. And so, the stalls were abandoned over time (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

> Prior to the new owners taking over, Markthalle Neun was really dead. There was only Aldi and Kik inside. There was really nothing else going on in there (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

An elderly participant reflected on the conditions that contributed to the market hall's stagnation:

> Markthalle Neun used to be a produce centre for the Kreuzberg public. But even before the 2011 sale of the market hall, all the small stalls received rent increases they couldn't afford, so most of them left. Eventually, the market hall was practically closed apart from the Aldi, Drospa and Kik. It was like that for about 7–8 years (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

The rent increases described were also referred to on Markthalle Neun's online platform, stating that market stall rents doubled from €30m^2 to €60m^2 in 2007 and subsequently triggered an exodus of many tenants (Markthalle Neun 2019b).

Despite the stagnant economic conditions, participants explained that the market hall had functioned as an important feature of Lausitzer Platz's social fabric for many decades. In addition to the discount stores, a bakery, two cafes, a stationery store, a live-music venue and a handful of other small businesses operated out of the market hall. Many participants indicated that these businesses provided the basic necessities for the neighbourhood's predominantly low-income resident structure of the time. For instance, a participant described the market hall prior to the privatisation as 'a real Kreuzberg hall, with stalls, shops, a restaurant and club at the other end' (P1: female, 41, retail worker). Another participant expressed his connection to the market hall before the 2011 privatisation, referring to it as 'part of the old-school neighbourhood' (P2: male, 44, graphic designer). The participant explained that 'more working-class people used to go there. And there was a very direct and straight atmosphere. I used to go there to have a coffee, read my newspaper; it was quite nice' (P2). Similar accounts were shared by other participants, providing descriptions on the market hall and their connections to it.

8.2.2. Privatisation of Markthalle Neun

In 2009, the state-owned Berliner Großmarkt firm listed market hall on the private real-estate market in response to low-economic output and high-operational costs (Berliner Großmarkt 2010; Markthalle Neun 2019). Following a highest-bidder approach, Markthalle Neun was sold to *Kaisers*, one of Germany's largest supermarket chains at the time. The announcement of the sale was met with strong local opposition and the

formation of 'Friends of the Eisenbahn Market and Culture Hall' (*Freundinnen der Eisenbahn Markt und Kultur Halle),* a neighbourhood initiative that mobilised to contest the sale (Umbruch Bildarchiv 2010). The initiative constituted residents from Kreuzberg, including neighbourhood-activists, local business owners and artists, and also Nikolaus Driessen, one of the three current Markthalle Neun co-owners.

Many participants related their enthusiasm and motivations for supporting the initiative and signing the petition as a means of contesting the incoming chain supermarket:

> We all signed it immediately. The neighbourhood, including myself, were all in favour of keeping the market hall open and making it a better place for the public (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

> Many people from the neighbourhood said that we don't want a Kaisers in the market hall and it's not a possibility. It would have smothered the rest of the little shops in the neighbourhood. And besides that, it only brings money for the large corporate owners who have opened supermarkets everywhere. So then came quite a large resistance to it (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

During an interview with Markthalle Neun co-owner Nikolaus Dreissen, he explained his initial role and engagement with the neighbourhood initiative:

> I met Christoph [neighbourhood-activist] and then together we built up this activity, and the dynamics. We met for quite a long time, we had regular meetings on Saturday's at 12:30 at this coffee place called Irina [inside the Markthalle Neun] and everybody was involved, but the core group was basically Christoph and me, plus a group of about 10–12 people who were involved and were also active in producing flyers and doing stuff (K1).

After several months of persistent demonstrations, the state government withdrew *Kaisers'* purchase agreement in February 2010, disclosing 'the offer submitted could not be reconciled with the newly-defined objective of the State of Berlin' (Berliner Großmarkt 2010, para. 3). Alternatively, the government initiated a concept-oriented plan for Markthalle Neun, selling the building and land for a fixed, below-market price of €1.15Million to the best concept proposal, as opposed to the highest bidder. Correspondingly, in 2011 Nikolaus Dreissen, Berndt Maier and Florian Niedermeier's joint-concept to develop a sustainable urban market was selected out of a total of nineteen applicants.

8.2.3. The concept

In developing their application for Markthalle Neun, the three now-owners co-authored a business plan titled The Concept (*Das Konzept*) that presented an outline of their vision, philosophy and objectives to deliver a sustainable urban market place (Niedermeier et al. 2011). A central pillar of The Concept was to provide a space and a platform where ecologically-farmed food was available to the public while promoting solidarity

for artisan food production, animal welfare and justice for regional farmers and local producers. As outlined on Markthalle Neun's website, the vision aimed to:

> show how "different food" and "different shopping" in the city is possible: emphasising the respectful treatment of humans, animals and the environment, regional and seasonal, combined with local added value, transparent and trust. The gradual reintroduction of the small-scale grocery trade in a space formerly dominated by discounters also means the re-appropriation of the hall as a living place in the neighbourhood (Markthalle Neun 2019b).

The Concept promised to deliver goods and produce catering to the public's daily needs, as well as providing 'specialities from all over the world' (Markthalle Neun 2019b). As Dreissen explained, the partnerships' key mandate is 'to build a constant market with good food and direct trade from the farmer to the consumer' (K1).

Drawing on inspiration from the recent international renaissance of urban market places such as La Boquería in Barcelona, the Chelsea Market Hall in New York and the Borough Market in London (Gonzalez and Waley 2013), the owner's approach aimed to revive the former Eisenbahnhalle 'as a place for real, small-scale, quality retail and regional food production and processing' (Niedermeier et al. 2011, 3). Delivering on these objectives would involve redeveloping the hall for up to eighty market stalls, ensuring that open space is prioritised for cultural and neighbourhood events to take place (fig. 8.3). The owners proposed to 'transform a currently deficient hall into an economically sustainable concept without endangering the authenticity of the location' (Niedermeier et al. 2011, 3). Notably, The Concept provided assurance to residents regarding the establishment of an ecologically-oriented market in an economically disadvantaged district:

> We understand Kreuzbergers' concerns with gentrification and the selling out of the city as a cheap party destination for hostel-tourists. We firmly believe that our concept is to create a place that does not create or deepen ditches, but, on the contrary, integrates and brings people together (Niedermeier et al. 2011, 1).

For the owners, they envisioned a regenerated market hall functioning as a social, cultural and economic centre of the neighbourhood where 'people of all ages and all social classes and nationalities bustle around' and where 'local residents meet for a daily shopping' (Niedermeier et al. 2011, 3). In terms of how goods and produce were to be priced for consumers, the owners claimed 'quality produce does not have to be expensive and value will be placed on a balanced price structure, that focuses on high-quality foods and also fits the intended integrative function of the market hall' (Niedermeier et al. 2011, 3).

Figure 8.3. Artist Impression of the refashioned market hall: Source Markthalle Neun Das Konzept 2010

8.2.4. Emerging contestation

According to interview and fieldwork materials, the 2011 concept-driven sale of Markthalle Neun was largely celebrated as a victory for the neighbourhood and residents. The plans for a chain supermarket to transform the space had been revoked, and in its place, a sustainable market hall was in the process of development. Participants related their initial support for the planned redevelopment:

> The basic idea of having market stalls selling products from the region was great. And to recreate a market place experience where you can get everything you need was necessary as in the previous years the stalls inside had disappeared (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

However, participants also began to express a conflictual relationship with the new direction of Markthalle Neun. On the one hand, most participants were initially elated with the perseveration and reclamation of the neighbourhood market hall from the acquisition of a large commercial chain-supermarket. Yet, as the concept was realised, many participants became discontented with the redevelopment outcomes, including the shifting clientele and culture of Markthalle Neun. The concerns expressed by many long-standing residents were summarised by a participant involved in the neighbourhood initiative, Friends of the Eisenbahn Market and Culture Hall:

> I am really happy that the market hall still exists. Really. But it is totally different than it was before it started to close down in the 1990s […] We wanted the complete opposite of what the market hall has become […] There are so many unfamiliar people there, so many people crashing into you, and the prices in the market hall are absurd. The quality of the fruit and vegetables are really good, but the prices are not for the Kreuzbergers. It is no longer a hall for everyone, especially once the Aldi has been removed. Once Aldi is gone from there, then it is just a hall for tourists with a lot of money. It is no longer for us, the residents that live here (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

Reflecting on the redevelopment process, Dreissen (co-owner) described the support received during the initial re-launch of the market hall, while alluding to some of the tensions that followed:

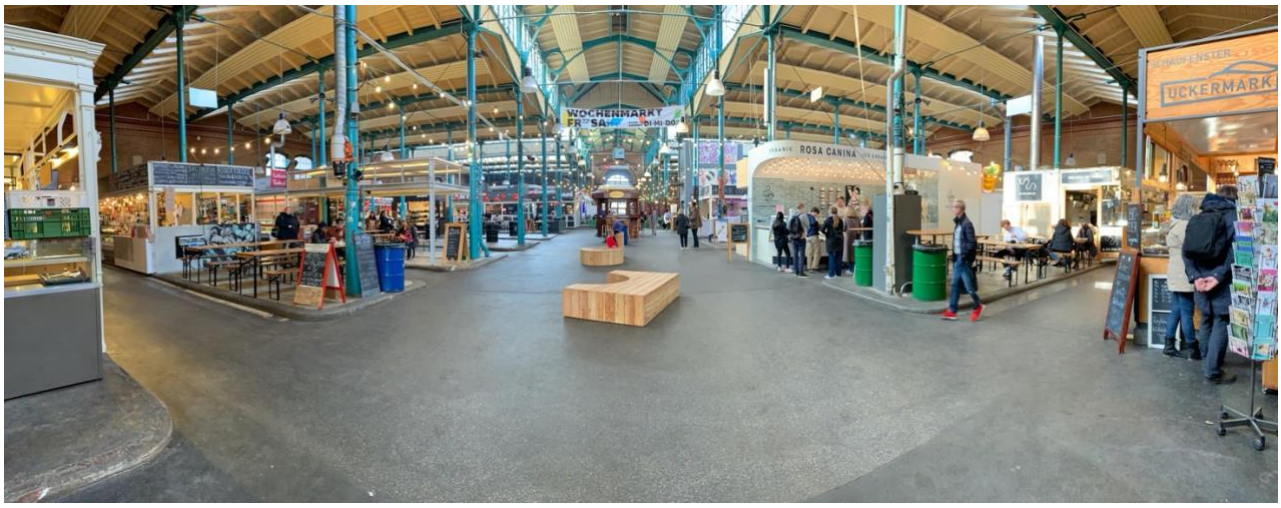
> In the beginning, there was 180 per cent support from the community otherwise we would have never been able to push the Senate to make all these changes to their policy. It was a really big thing that happened. It signified a stop to an ongoing process, and a re-thinking of the whole real-estate politics of Berlin—it was quite a big thing. It only happened obviously because we were able to activate so many people, and also the media and the parliament—so there was a lot of pressure. In the beginning everyone was pro, and within time… of course we have people who… like direct neighbours… who we piss off (K1).

Since the exchange from public to private ownership, the 2011 redevelopment of Markthalle Neun has triggered a complex set of relationships that are indicative of the broader socio-economic processes of change in the neighbourhood. In particular, tensions have emerged relating to the current function and culture of the market hall which, for many, has departed from its tacit slogan as 'a hall for all'.

8.3. Refashioning Markthalle Neun

A central set of concerns expressed by participants and neighbourhood initiatives were identified through commentary opposing Markthalle Neun's transformation into a 'luxury food hall' and 'event hall' (Bizim Kiez 2019b; Kiezmarkthalle 2019). The term 'luxury food hall' relates to the market hall primarily offering premium goods and products under the banner of organic, regional, fair-trade, exclusive, high-quality, among other analogous terms. In this regard, participants claimed that Markthalle Neun caters to the tastes of more affluent and mobile populations over Kreuzberg's largely, lower-SES populations. In the context of Markthalle Neun's redevelopment approach, the qualitative inquiry revealed four key factors impacting on long-standing residents, including: the type of goods and produce on offer (gourmet, artisanal and organic); the price of goods and produce on offer (economic upscaling that outprice many residents); the social composition attracted to the refashioned market hall, and; the market hall's position as a change agent within the Lausitzer Platz neighbourhood and Kreuzberg more broadly.

Figure 8.4. Markthalle Neun facing west, Wednesday 5pm March 20, 2019: Photograph by A. Crowe



8.3.1. Shifting foodscapes

A notable characteristic of the redevelopment process relates to a general upscaling of the type of goods and commodities on offer since 2011. Through the implementation of the concept, where 'bringing a nutritional revolution to Kreuzberg' (Niedermeier et al. 2011) lies at its core, the commercial structure of Markthalle Neun has significantly transformed. However, the objective to increase the provision of regional, organic and high-quality food within Markthalle Neun has not been welcomed by all residents, with many considering the nutritional revolution as another signifier of gentrification and exclusion:

> For the real residents there, it was a nuisance since all the stores they used to go to where they could find all their stuff, they were kind of pushed out, moved out one by one. There was a lot of protest about this, take the *Kik* for example, this cheap one-euro store that was pushed out of the market hall (P16: male, 29, hospitality worker).

> I think this market hall is a big part of this gentrification in my neighbourhood. It is now a draw-in point for people who are intensely into organic produce… but in any case, they have much more money to shop there than us. And you also notice that as these people have become very attracted to the market hall, they want to live close to it too (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

Many former establishments that provided essential goods and produce for residents did not return to the re-activated market hall, either unable to afford the stall rents, or have since closed (K6). For example, a participant spoke of the disappearance of a long-standing business important to her, stating 'our old bakery is gone. There is the expensive cafe inside there now' (P9: female, 71, pensioner). Figure 8.5 depicts the former bakery referred to as well as a former office supply store located at the market hall's east-facing entrance. Both businesses were replaced by Café Neun following the privatisation, a specialty coffee shop and bar owned by Markthalle Neun, as shown in figure 8.6. In comparing both images, changes to the physical appearance of the storefronts at Markthalle Neun are indicative of broader expressions of gentrification throughout Kreuzberg.

Figure 8.5. Markthalle Neun, Eisenbahnstrasse, June 2008. Source: Google Street View

Figure 8.6. Markthalle Neun, Eisenbahnstrasse, September 2018. Photograph by A. Crowe

In a broader discussion on the redirection of the market hall and the expansion of regional and organic produce on offer, a participant expressed her dissatisfaction with the implementation of the concept and related effects:

> Markthalle Neun simply has perfect marketing strategies. They fought for the spirit of Kreuzberg, but they also changed the zeitgeist. They have perfect communication. The zeitgeist was back to the roots; back to small-scale manufacturing; back to handmade stuff; ecology; good nutrition; vegetarian shit. Excuse me, maybe you're a vegetarian (laughter) I have nothing against vegetarians or vegans. They also promote local farms which is equitable. The manufacturers that sell in the market hall come from the Spreewald and around the region and offer their produce… but… it's not honest. Markthalle Neun did not just do it and let it happen organically. They launched this massive international PR campaign and turned the market hall

> into this huge event temple. And because of this you get the feeling that this was the green light for property investors to throw their money into the area (P15: female, 54, community worker).

A similar perspective was offered by an independent business owner who supplies ethically and regionally produced goods to several businesses within Markthalle Neun:

> I also personally take a little bit of issue with the balance between the image they [Markthalle Neun] are trying to portray and then the way they actually operate. I don't mean this as a big criticism, it is incredibly difficult to do what they do. They have a real earnest and genuine wish to create a venue for local and regional farmers and producers of all things food-related. I think that's genuine and earnest. But they have created a space where very few people in Berlin can use… it is alienating a lot of people (K2).

Perspectives on Markthalle Neun, however, are not unified. An example of contrasting views was registered in the following excerpt, albeit the participant still recognised a relationship between the revitalisation of the market hall and broader changes within the locality:

> I think the way the hall has developed, the owners made a good choice. They definitely… the new hall definitely did something to this part of Kreuzberg. I think for the better, maybe a lot of people disagree but I haven't really heard any good arguments as to why it wouldn't have been a good thing (P13: male, 40, logistics administrator).

In addition to a general upscaling of goods and produce offered within the hall, the traders that have replaced the former market stalls and discount stores have limited trading hours. For instance, the *Wochenmarkt* (weekly market) only operates on Friday and Saturday. As observed during 20 months of fieldwork, only several stalls were open between 12pm and 6pm from Monday to Thursday. For many participants, reduced opening hours, coupled with the disappearance of many long-standing businesses have collectively contributed various forms of exclusion from the market hall precipitated through a reduction of affordability, accessibility (limited trading hours), as well as shift in the type of goods and services offered.

8.3.2. Affordability: A question of price

In direct relation to a general upscaling of goods and produce is the topic of affordability. The sale price of many daily necessities offered by the stalls operating within Markthalle Neun has become a contested theme as the higher-cost for goods and products in line with the owner's concept have reduced the purchasing power of many long-standing residents. This dynamic has particularly impacted residents of low-to-moderate-income capacity, many of whom have utilised and relied on the market over the decades. In this respect, many participants argued that the goods and products currently offered in Markthalle Neun no longer reflect the everyday needs of the wider resident structure of the Lausitzer Platz neighbourhood. One younger participant expressed 'I only experienced it as an expensive place' (P5: male, 29, post-grad student), while another participant contended, 'I don't think that the changing prices are inclusive towards all

members of society' (P19: female, 27, hospitality worker). Expanding on these perspectives, a participant explained:

> What we were hoping for is that the market hall would be repurchased by an organisation that would rebuild it like the old market hall. With the old stalls coming back and offering good, but affordable food. But what actually happened is much different. None of the people we knew came back to the market hall, and all the new stalls that arrived are not really affordable (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

Several participants provided similar reflections on the general cost of goods and products offered in Markthalle Neun in relation to their income:

> The old market hall also had its own charm and I used to go there to buy stuff. The new Markthalle is really nice, but I can't afford it. I can't have a coffee there, I can't even have one there once a week (P11: male, 48, record-store owner).

> I like the idea of having a market place where they sell regional produce. And it seems like people from the neighbourhood can participate there as they have a lot of different functions. But for me it's way too expensive. I understand that the farmers from the region need to be paid a decent wage, but the fruit and vegetables cost almost four times more than it costs in the supermarket. I can't afford that, especially not with my ridiculously high rent. It's cheaper for me to by organic from the Bio-Company [an organic chain-supermarket] (P20: female, 30, media sector worker).

Reflecting on the price disparity between the market stalls and generic grocery stores, a participant commented, stating:

> tomatoes from the regionally produced retailer for €6/kg is obviously more expensive… I mean that opens up another question which also plays into the changing of the city: can sustainable and regional production also be affordable? (P4: male, 33, healthcare worker).

During fieldwork observations, four stalls offered a selection of organic and regional fresh produce during the *Wochenmarkt.* In relation to the previous participants' claim, tomatoes offered by produce stalls can cost up to €15/kg (fig. 8.7 ≈ $25AUD/kg). Whereas generic tomatoes were offered in Aldi for €2.38/kg, demonstrating a price disparity of up to 436 per cent. Although participants acknowledged the higher quality of the stalls' regional and organic produce, the associated prices have been described as unattainable for many residents.

Notably, Dreissen also recognised the socio-economic characteristics of Kreuzberg as 'one of the poorest parts of Berlin [with] a lot of social welfare recipients, so lots of unemployed people here and so on' (K1). Nonetheless, in response to ongoing criticism regarding the price of goods offered in the hall, the owners of Markthalle Neun have routinely defended their business model, contending that people of all socio-economic stature can afford to purchase regional and organic. Dreissen reinforced this position, contending:

> if everybody is not able to pay for good food, that is a societal fuck-up, but you can't blame it on us. Plus, if you know the season and eat the ripe stuff [eat seasonal food], you can perfectly feed your family with whatever budget you have. It just means you need to cook for yourself and you need to know a lot about food. And that's why I say it's more of an educational issue, rather than a pure money issue (K1).

Significant price disparities between market stall goods and generic grocery stores have continued to contribute to the building tensions and frictions between Markthalle Neun and many long-standing residents.

Figure 8.7. Organic tomatoes offered at a market stall for €15/kg, February 2019. Photograph by A. Crowe

8.3.3. Changing clientele

In addition to a shift in the type of goods and produce on offer, and the respective prices, the redevelopment process was also suggested to have altered the clientele of Markthalle Neun. Correspondingly, the altered clientele intersects with the changing retailscapes and use of public space discussed in the previous chapters. Participants provided descriptions on the social shifts they have witnessed since the privatisation:

> From my own experience being there, it's mainly not people from Kreuzberg going there. But that's just my guess. It's people from neighbourhoods around Kreuzberg, such as Mitte, but also lots of tourists (P5: male, 29, post-grad student).

> They [Markthalle Neun] can't simply say anymore that the market hall is a place where the Kiez can come together and meet. Rather it is very clear that the market hall is popular city-wide, and even beyond as so many tourists from all over go there as a place of entertainment. They go there and have money to spend which is what has turned the market hall into this money-making machine (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

A participant described how the increased popularity of Markthalle Neun has also affected the neighbourhood:

> Now that the market hall is so popular, the days are also very busy around here. The Markthalle is listed in all the tourist guides. Thursday, Friday and Saturday are completely overcrowded with tourists. So, in this respect tourism has greatly influenced the changes to the neighbourhood (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

In addition to descriptions of tourists frequenting Markthalle Neun, a participant explained his decision to no longer shop at the market hall due to an increased perception of more affluent crowds:

> I used to go there until it changed (laughter). It used to be quite similar, but it used to be more for the lower-income earners. It wasn't so nice. Now everything is kind of beautiful, hip and filled with vegan food, whatever you want […] I don't get along with the people who go there at the moment. It's too hip for me. I can't stomach it… I have no reason to go there now [...] It's not a neighbourhood spot anymore. People come from other districts and cities for events, and it's not… it's not where I would shop for any regular daily goods (P2: male, 44, graphic designer).

Tourists and hipsters were amorphous cohorts regularly referred to by participants describing Markthalle Neun's changing clientele. For instance, a participant alleged, 'today the market hall is a hipster place' and that 'there is a lot of good food, but at really expensive prices and it seems it's only for hip people' (P1: female, 41, retail worker). For many participants, the perceived presence of tourists, hipsters and more affluent cohorts in general visiting Markthalle Neun were also suggested to have contributed to changes at the broader neighbourhood scale:

> Markthalle Neun has changed everything around here because it has attracted a completely different audience to the neighbourhood (P15: female, 54, community worker).

In a public response to neighbourhood criticisms about the direction of Markthalle Neun since privatisation, the owners recognised hipsters and tourists as core social groups visiting the market hall, stating that 'we also want to continue to welcome hipsters, tourists and everyone else' (Markthalle Neun 2019b).

The shifting social characteristics of Markthalle Neun described by participants revealed a series of related disruptions and experiences of disconnection, alienation and exclusion from the market hall for many long-standing residents. For instance, descriptions of feeling unwelcome in Markthalle Neun were frequently expressed by participants:

> I don't often go into the market hall. But it's a shame as I am a fan of architecture and it's a really beautiful building. It's a great feeling to walk through the hall when it's empty, just to look at the structure and think about its design and creation. But I never go into the market hall anymore. I avoid it, and if for some reason I do have to go inside, I immediately feel uncomfortable, anxious and out of place. I want nothing to do with the place; they have no business being there. Although, it's probably the other way around. There is

nothing there for me anymore because I am now the minority. This means “good eating for everyone” and a “hall for all” doesn’t resonate with me. What they offer doesn’t appeal to me, and I can’t afford it. And even if I could afford it, I would not support them (P17: female, 27, hospitality worker).

Figure 8.8. Markthalle Neun slogan 'good eating for everyone' September 2018. Photograph by A. Crowe

Reflecting on Markthalle Neun’s slogans ‘a hall for all’ and ‘good eating for everyone’ (fig. 8.8), a participant described a perceived increase of internationalism in the market hall, changes to the vernacular landscape, and the exclusionary effects for residents of lower socioeconomic standing:

> You see a lot of tourists in there [Markthalle Neun]. I hear a lot of different languages in there. Whether or not they’re all tourists, I don’t know. But I feel like on Thursday there’s definitely a lot of tourists there for the street food night as it’s all over the internet and social media. So, I could speak in generalising terms and I could tell you who it’s not for. It’s certainly not for low-income earners (P20: female, 30, media sector worker).

Similar observations on the contradictory nature of the slogan were also expressed by people working directly with Markthalle Neun:

> I think it’s incorrect, first of all. I don’t think they are a “hall for all” because they simply have a price point… the vendors in there sell stuff that they need to charge a price for that is not for everybody. I do think they are a hall for “a lot”, or “many”, and there’s nothing wrong with that (K2).

The small-business owner continued, explaining:

> it is impossible to make a market hall that has a price point where people who are genuinely working-class or economically working-class can afford if you want to keep the local, regional, organic products the priority. I'm not an economist, but a farmer and a farmer's employees in Brandenburg [the state surrounding Berlin] require higher wages than a southern Italian farmer. That whole chain is going to lead to alienation and blocking the accessibility for lower-earning groups. I don't think there's a way of doing both without changing Markthalle Neun's mission and ambition (K2).

Dreissen responded to criticism about the slogan, claiming, 'what we do is already "good for all" because it's good for everybody who is involved (K1).

For many participants, the redevelopment of Markthalle Neun has produced a consumer culture that conflicts with many long-standing residents' understandings of, and attachments to, the market hall. Moreover, several participants implied that the changes implemented by the co-owners are strategically attempting to exclude a vast segment of the local population who have been using, and have relied on, the market hall for decades:

> You could hear people complaining "there are only shitty tourists here now", "the young people come and push out all of our stalls", "where should we go now" there were even some fights, I think. A lot of the residents feel that the new people taking over the place did not welcome the old residents, especially the Turkish people, for example. On the other hand, of course, it attracts a lot of tourism into the area which brings in more income. This is interesting. You can see the new Berliner culture pushing out the old Berliner culture… the old Kreuzberg culture (P16: male, 29, hospitality worker).

Concern regarding shifting socio-cultural dynamics illustrate an asymmetrical power relation between both the owners and vendors of Markthalle Neun and many long-standing residents who, as the data suggests, have been disenfranchised, alienated and excluded from the Market Hall owners' reconstruction of the public sphere through a strategic process of social and economic upscaling.

8.3.4. Neighbourhood effects

Corresponding with descriptions presented in previous chapters on excessive noise, large crowds and mobility disruptions across Kreuzberg, Markthalle Neun was frequently referred to as a catalyst of similar forms of disruption. An interview with a prominent community activist, local business owner and resident provided nuanced insight into some of the neighbourhood disruptions related to the redevelopment of the market hall. The informant referred to as Janni also operates a small business offering Greek food made in-house within a building situated directly across the street from Markthalle Neun on Eisenbahnstrasse. Janni explained he had previously operated a stall in Markthalle Neun for 14 years, prior to the 2011 re-launch. Notably, several participants referred to Janni's business as a 'survivor' of the old neighbourhood structure (P9, P15) and as 'the only one left in the area' (P8: male, 72, pensioner). Janni clarified that he was offered a space to rent in Markthalle Neun in 2011 but explained that the offer exceeded his price range. Further, as

he had already re-located his business directly across the street from the Markthalle Neun, Janni declined the invitation.

In relation to growing contention across the neighbourhood, Janni explained that in recent years he had hosted several community meetings in his store, where campaigns have been organised against the current operations of Markthalle Neun. Janni shared his motivations for organising and participating in such protests:

> They have been awarded the contract because they have promised to revive the market hall and to equip the market hall with the small merchants. And what you see here is something completely different […] What they offer in the market hall now, is not for the people from here. The people within a low-income bracket. The people who have to question every purchase they make. Markthalle Neun is a gentrification accelerator (K6).

He continued, listing some of the key neighbourhood concerns:

> I also live here. I live in this building [referring to a building directly opposing the market hall]. Since they took over [the market hall], I realise that our lives are just getting worse. It's noisy. It's dirty. Traffic is not flowing and growing louder and louder… It smells when the coffee roasts, and all the tenants until the end of this block of flats [pointing to an apartment building across the street adjacent to Markthalle Neun] have issues with the smells that come from the brewery in the market hall's basement. It's about time the politicians take a look at what has happened here (K6).

Despite the assertion made in the original concept to protect the identity, integrity and physiognomy of the neighbourhood, including the incumbent social composition (Niedermeier et al. 2011), spokespeople for Markthalle Neun have continually refuted claims about driving gentrification in Kreuzberg. For example, Driessen responded to the claims, stating:

> we draw people from all over the city, and that gives this whole neighbourhood a certain upgrade. So yes, we in a way we are part of this gentrification, but we're not responsible for it… the wheel starts somewhere else and we are somehow unwillingly pulled to be taking part in it, but what are the options? (K1).

To further support his argument, Dreissen proceeded to provide an archetypical description of a market place. He contended that many residents have a false perception of how a market typically functions due to a distorted collective memory of Markthalle Neun that formed during the years of disinvestment and economic stagnation:

> I talk a lot to vendors who were in the market 50 years ago, there's this one fish lady who is telling great stories, and she told me that there was a lot of traffic, more than now as we just have small scale vendors… so at 4am they would get their goods. The problem is that at that time it was normal, and everybody was used to it, if you would move here you would know what's happening. The problem is that due to the fact that it [the market hall] has been dead for so many years… Basically from 1996 to 2009 when we took over, it was dead. People aren't used to this anymore… not used to it being a market place (K1).

A discourse of 'dead' is routinely used in various settings as a strategy to justify urban regeneration projects (Harvey 1989a, 1989b, 2012; Hubbard 2006, 2016; Lees et al. 2008; Zukin 2008). Although most participants also referred to the previous conditions of Markthalle Neun as economically deprived, the social significance of hall as a crucial site for communal interaction and social reproduction was made explicit.

8.4. Gourmet venue and tourist destination

As demonstrated in this chapter, the majority of participants have challenged Markthalle Neun's transforming function in the neighbourhood and the slogan 'a hall for all'. In this respect, the following section explores claims discoursing Markthalle Neun as a 'luxury food hall' and 'event hall' for higher-income earners, hipsters, tourists and other undefined cohorts, as opposed to a produce market for a socially and economically diverse resident population. In addition to the experiences and perspectives of long-standing residents, as well as relevant media material, I draw on survey data collected for this research during the weekly *Streetfood Thursday* event to better understand 'who' attends Markthalle Neun.

Figure 8.9. Markthalle Neun during Street Food Thursday, 2018–19. Photographs by A. Crowe

8.4.1. Streetfood Thursday

As initial fieldwork observations and conversations with local residents revealed an increased presence of tourism in Kreuzberg, I took the opportunity to investigate Markthalle Neun as a physically bounded space where resident and visitor cohorts visibly intersect and interact. Of the many festivals and events occurring within Markthalle Neun, *Streetfood Thursday* (SFT) was most frequently referred to by interview participants

as a prominent point of contention. For this reason, and given the popularity of the event, I chose to survey patrons of SFT in order to capture a demographic snapshot of the market hall during its busiest time of the week.

SFT is held every Thursday between 5pm and 10pm and can host up to 200 pop-up food vendors serving a diverse selection of streetfood-style dishes from around the world, including Californian-style tacos from The Ford Dimension, TZOM's Eritrean Teff rolls and Pecados' Uruguayan Empanadas, for example. Markthalle Neun has described SFT as 'a platform for all chefs without their own restaurant and large start-up capital, who are passionate about their craft of cooking!' (Markthalle Neun 2019b translation Crowe). Similarly, the city of Berlin's online portal has described SFT as 'the epicentre for creativity seekers and curious citizens, who are in search of new taste sensations' (Berlin.de 2015b).

Moreover, SFT has been featured as a prominent eating destination in local, national and international media and literature. For instance, *Berlin Food Stories* (2015), rated SFT as one of 'the hottest food spots in the whole country' and 'the mother of all street food events.' Also the international travel guide *Lonely Planet* (2017) included Markthalle Neun as a significant tourist destination of Berlin, suggesting 'the best time to visit is during Streetfood Thursday, when the historic market hall gets mobbed by hungry hipsters keen on a first-class culinary journey at economy prices.' Whereas, *The Needle*, a popular Berlin-based English-language blog site, provided a descriptive account of the food, prices and general atmosphere during SFT:

> Nobody said this market was for budget eats. Nor did anyone say it wasn't claustrophobic or that it wasn't difficult to find a place to sit to enjoy your plate. There's definitely a buzz about the place, but it's not somewhere you come to linger over a quiet meal with some friends. You come for the event, with some cash in your pocket, and a hankering for the crowd (a lot of hipsters, so come wearing repellent) (Pearson 2013).

Long-standing residents often commented on the relationship between SFT, media representations and increased tourism in the neighbourhood:

> It must have been featured in *Lonely Planet* or whatever, and then sometimes you saw tour buses stopping outside the front of the hall. This is where you really start to notice it […] definitely when they made the new concept to introduce the Streetfood Thursday which was new and interesting (P13: male, 40, logistics administrator).

> Because of Streetfood Thursday you get the feeling that the neighbourhood has become extremely well known around the world. They have written about it in the *New York Times*, many other publications have written about it […] This has led to people forming an impression of Berlin where they believe that they definitely have to visit the Brandenburg Gate, and also the Markthalle Neun (P15: female, 54, community worker).

Participants also described the increased presence of tourists within and around Markthalle Neun:

> When the market hall started doing Streetfood Thursday, there were people everywhere in the streets, from Görlitzer Bahnhof [nearby metro-station], through Lausitzer Platz and into Eisenbahnstrasse. I remember one time, there were so many people I thought that there was a political demonstration happening. I came out on my balcony and I could see crowds of people all the way down to the Spree River. I thought it was another demonstration against speculation at the riverfront. I had to look closely to see that all the people were going into and coming out of the market hall. I was shocked to see how many people came here and how many people were here at the weekend. That's huge, there was never anything like this here before (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

Participant responses framing Markthalle Neun as a 'luxury food hall', often included descriptions of the weekly SFT event to support their observations. The general pattern identified is that the increase of tourism to Markthalle Neun has significantly altered the surrounding neighbourhood and by extension, day-to-day life for many residents. A participant relayed some of the implications of living within the immediate proximity of Markthalle Neun: 'I know someone who lived directly across the street from the market hall and he moved away because of the Street Food Thursday weekly event' (P15). The participant continued, providing an account of her experiences with SFT:

> From the beginning, the streets were so crowded. You couldn't get through with your bike on the way home from work. On both sides of Markthalle Neun, here on the Eisenbahnstrasse and also on Pücklerstrasse. So, every Thursday when you were coming home from work, you would have to get off your bike and struggle to push past the people outside of Markthalle Neun just to get home. I'm talking about the actual street too, not just the footpath. The place can get so crowded. It's bewildering. Sometimes it's as if you're at a festival or something (P15: female, 54, community worker).

By a similar token, a participant described the weekly scene:

> Tourists line up down the whole street every Thursday to get into the Markthalle. You can't get through the street with a car or a bike. The tourists all go inside and some of them buy food, drinks and stay, and the rest take a look around, take their pictures and then head off to Friedrichstrasse [Mitte] or Oranienplatz [Kreuzberg]. You feel so foreign in your own street (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

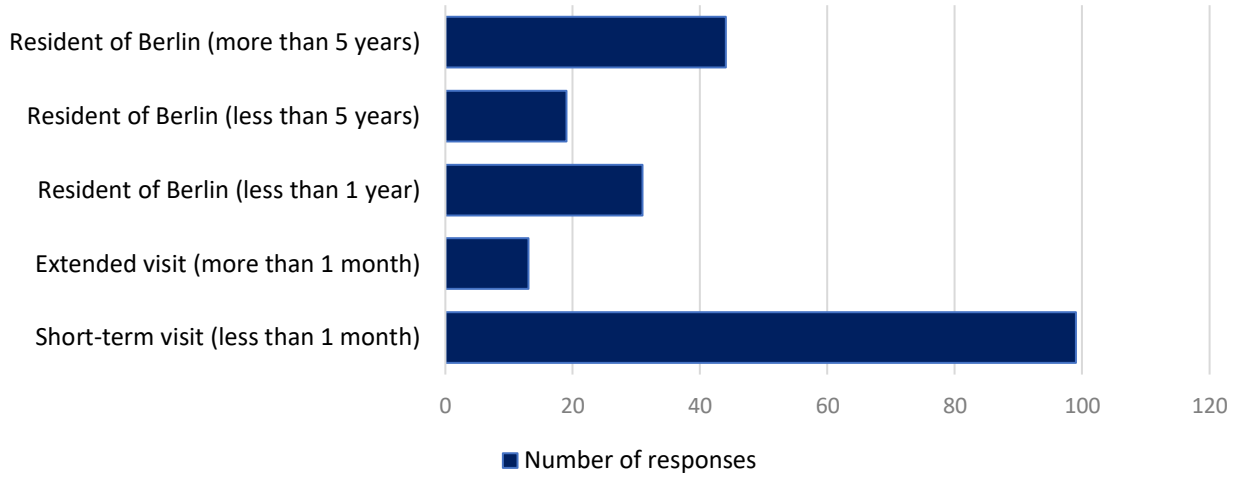
Throughout participant descriptions of crowded streets, feeling out-of-place, and living through a general increase in tourism in the neighbourhood, the related frustrations and concerns are indicative of neighbourhood tensions explored in chapter Six and Seven whereby stressors such as large crowds and excessive noise have exacerbated displacement-related pressures for many long-standing residents.

8.4.2. 'Who' attends Streetfood Thursday?

To provide an indication of the clientele frequenting Streetfood Thursday, I draw on survey data I collected inside Markthalle Neun between March and October 2018. During the survey, 206 participants provided

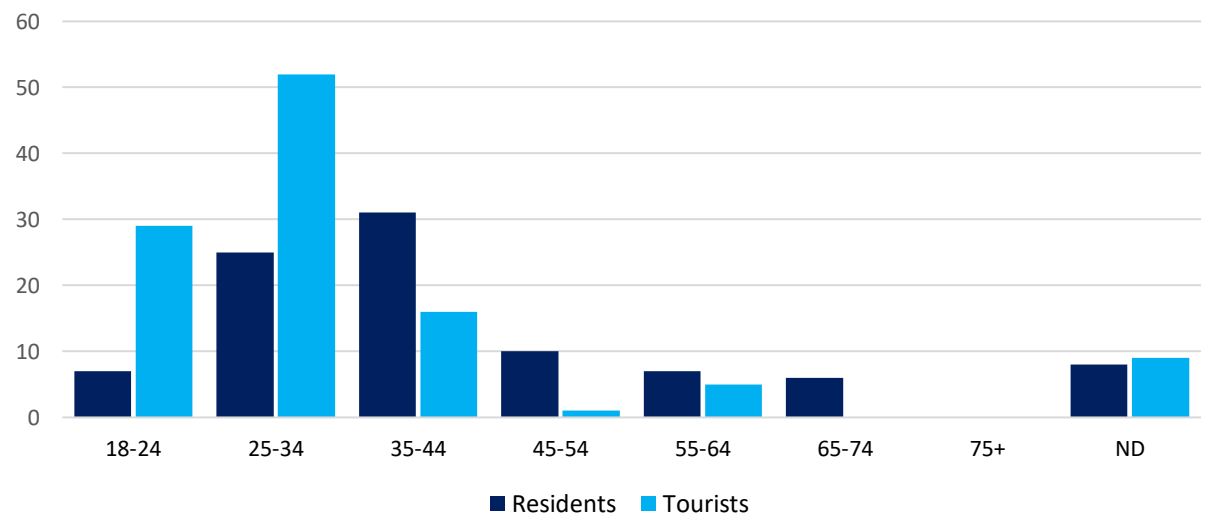
demographic information and also responded to a series of questions that called for reflection on SFT and Markthalle Neun.

Figure 8.10. Participant place of residence: Survey Results



As shown in figure 8.10, 112 of the 206 survey participants indicated they were visiting Berlin, while 94 identified as residents. Notably, of the 94 residents surveyed, the majority (59%) indicated they had been living in Berlin for less than five years, suggesting that SFT is more appealing to newcomers over long-standing residents. In regard to age of survey participants, figure 8.11, demonstrates that the majority of survey participants were between the age of 25 and 34 (55%), while only 14 per cent indicated they were 45 and over. Significantly, almost half (46%) of all tourists were aged between 25 and 34 compared to 26 per cent of residents. Conversely, only a fraction (5%) of all tourists surveyed were 45 and older compared to 24 per cent of residents. In short, the age-related findings suggest that if the survey participants were younger, they were more likely to be tourists. Whereas older participants were more likely to be residents.

Figure 8.11. Residents and tourists by age: Survey Results



In terms of place of origin by global region, 60 per cent of participants who identified as tourists visiting Berlin from Europe (including Germany), 19 per cent from Asia, 17 per cent from North America, and the remaining 9 per cent were visiting from elsewhere (fig. 8.12). More specifically, over half of all participants who identified as tourists were visiting from seven countries in particular, with visitors from the USA and UK constituting 24 per cent of all tourists surveyed (fig. 8.13).

Figure 8.12. Place of origin by global region for all tourists: Survey Results

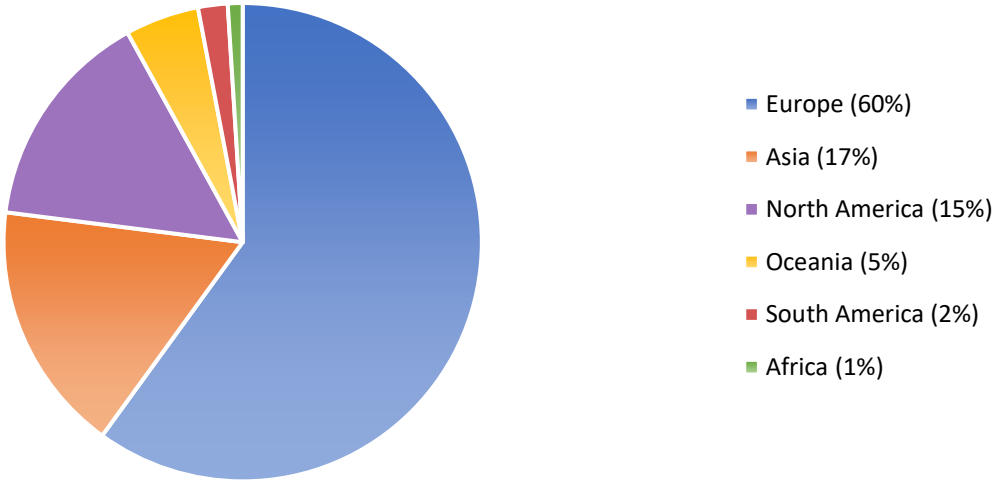
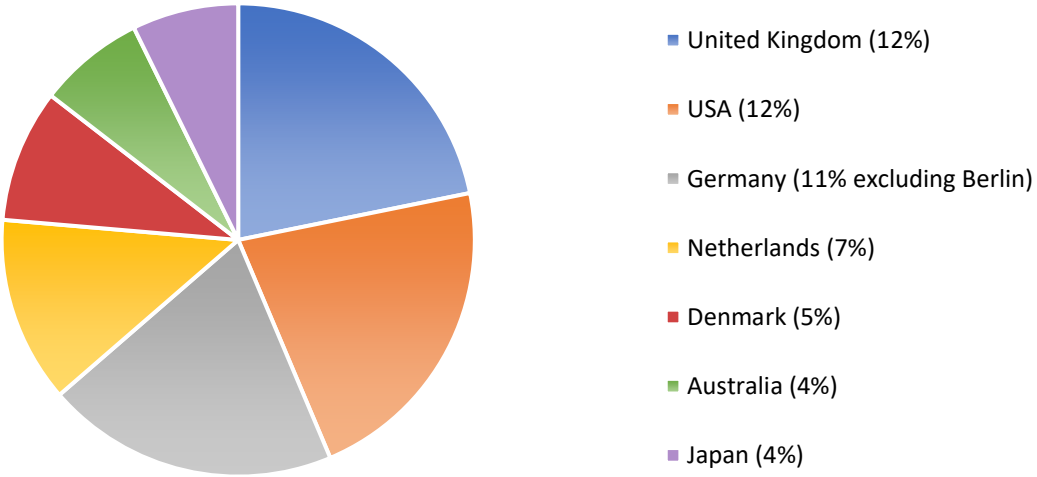


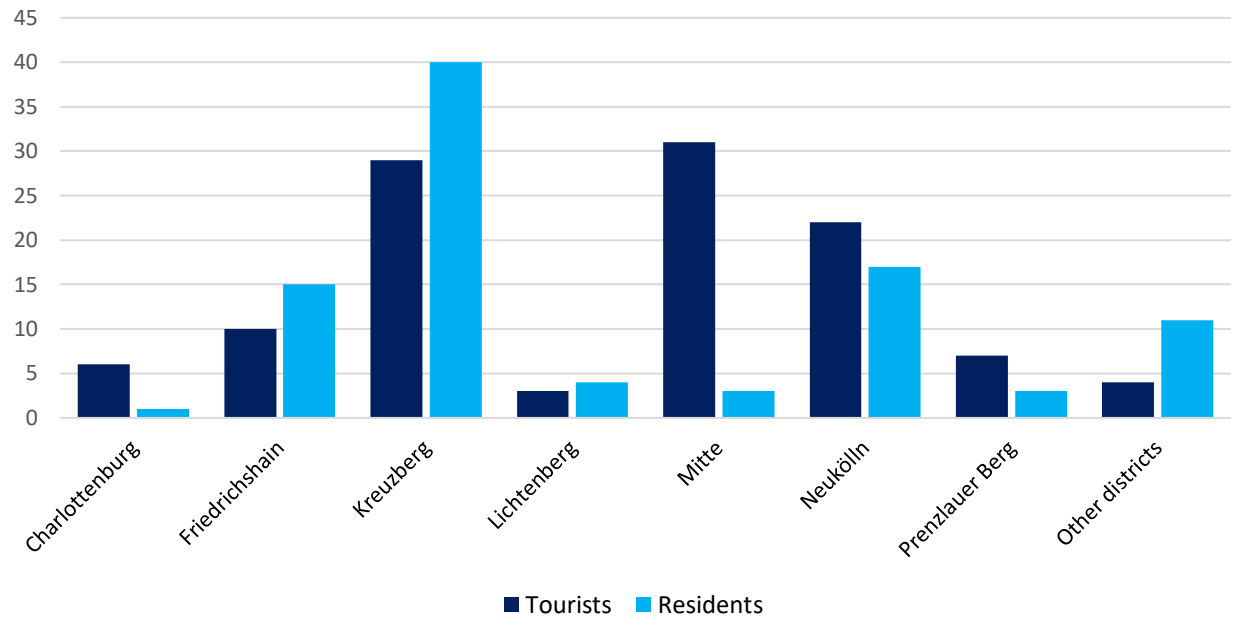
Figure 8.13. Most frequently cited place of origin by country for tourists: Survey Results



To gauge a sense of where SFT patrons reside in Berlin, or stay during their visit, survey participants were asked to indicate their place of dwelling by district. As depicted in figure 8.14, 33 per cent of all survey participants were either staying or residing in Kreuzberg. However, the data demonstrates that only 19 per cent of all survey participants identified as residents of Kreuzberg. The most significant differentiation between resident and tourist dwelling locations was the central district of Mitte where 28 per cent of tourists surveyed were staying compared to only three per cent of residents. This trend correlates with broader

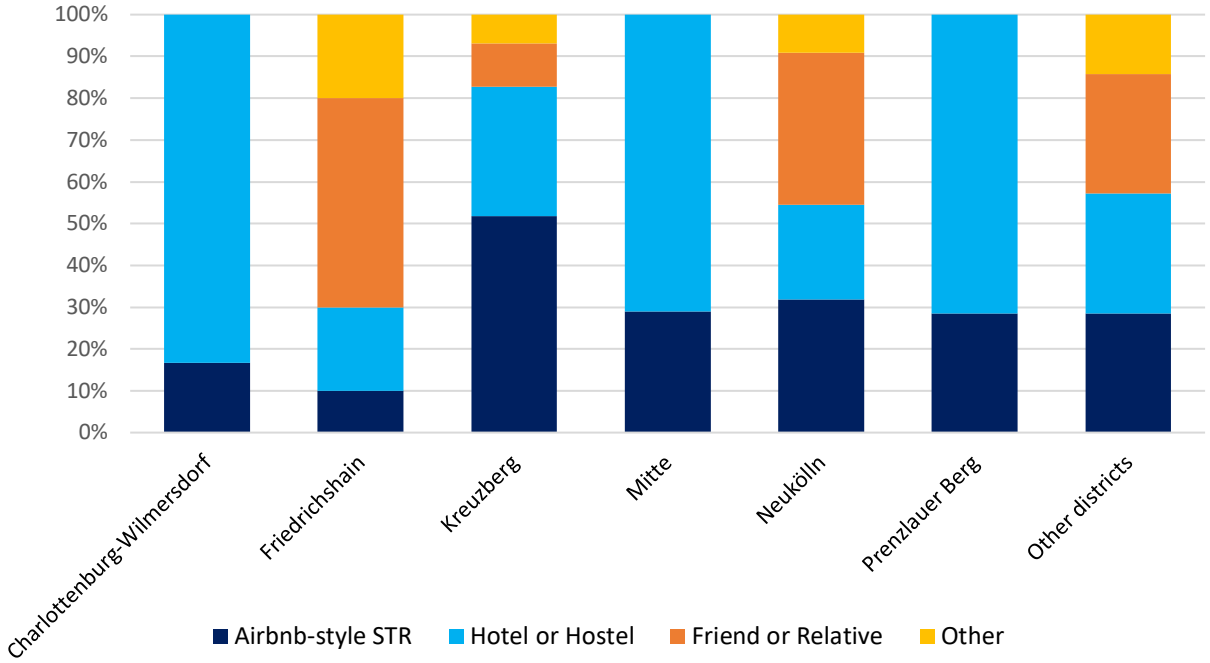
tourism statistics on Berlin, where 42.5 per cent of the 13.5 million recorded guests visiting the German capital in 2018 utilised lodgings in Mitte (Amt für Statistik 2019). Many survey participants also indicated they were staying or residing in the neighbouring localities of Friedrichshain (13%) and Neukölln (20%), situated to Kreuzberg's north-east and south-east respectively. Notably, only 13.6 per cent of all survey participants identified as Berlin-born residents. Whereas, 38 per cent stated they had moved internally from other regions of Germany, while 23 per cent had immigrated internationally, suggesting that SFT is an attractive event for residents who have recently migrated to Berlin.

Figure 8.14. Place of dwelling by district: Survey Results



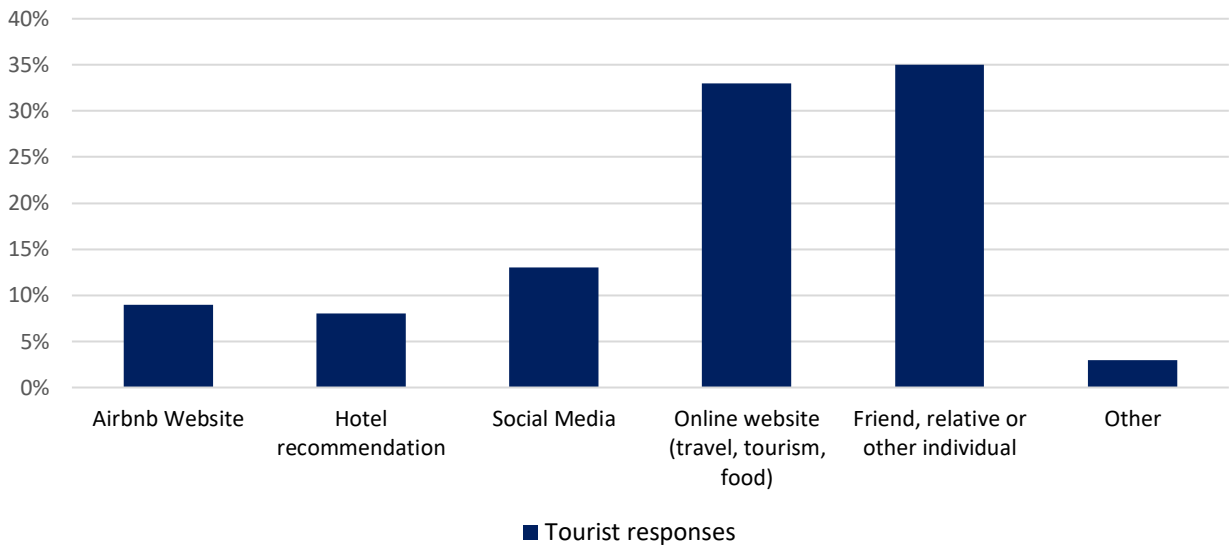
Participants who identified as tourists were also prompted to respond to a set of questions regarding the type of accommodation used by locality during their visit to Berlin. Notably, 45 per cent of participants indicated they were staying in Airbnb-style STR accommodation. Whereas 33 per cent indicated they were staying in hotels or hostels, and 22 per cent were staying with friends, relatives or using other forms of accommodation. In terms of the type of tourism accommodation used by locality, hotel usership was significant among participants staying in Berlin's well-established tourist precincts of Mitte, Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf and Prenzlauer Berg (fig. 8.15). Whereas 40.5 per cent of all tourists surveyed using Airbnb-style STRs, indicated they were staying in Kreuzberg. Only the locality of Friedrichshain reflected an equally low usership of both hotels and Airbnb-style STRs, demonstrating a greater percentage of survey participants staying with friends and family.

Figure 8.15. Type of tourist accommodation by locality as a percentage: Survey Results



Participants who identified as tourists were asked to disclose how they discovered Streetfood Thursday. Figure 8.16 demonstrates that 35 per cent of tourists learnt of the event through word of mouth, predominantly through friends and family networks. An additional 17 per cent explained that their accommodation provider recommended SFT as a place to visit while in Berlin. And almost half of all tourists surveyed stated they discovered SFT via websites or social media platforms such as Instagram and Facebook.

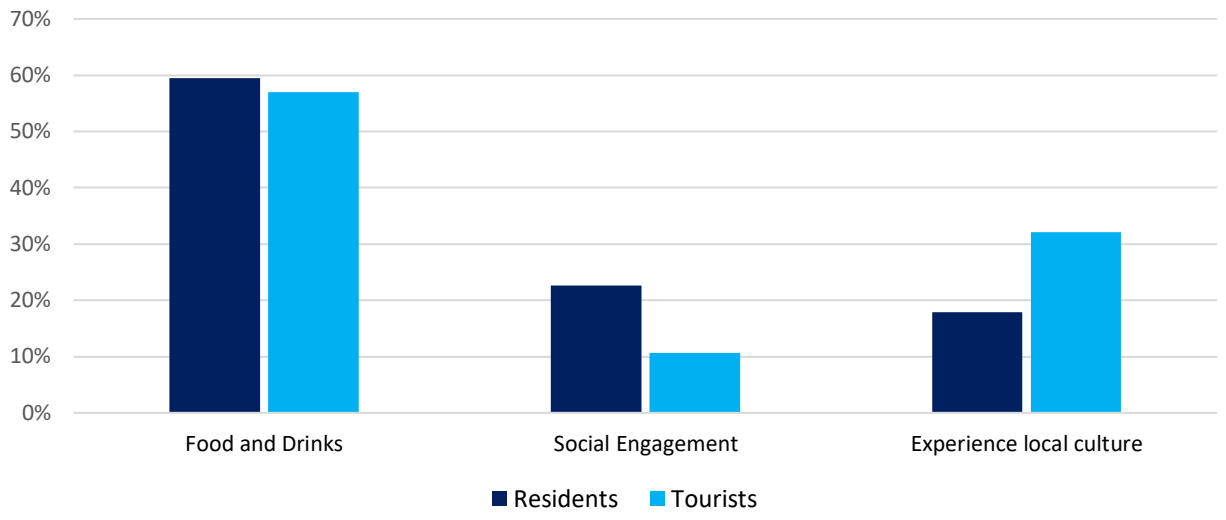
Figure 8.16. How did tourists discover Streetfood Thursday?: Survey Results



Survey participants were also asked to state the driving reason for attending SFT. As demonstrated in figure 8.17, the majority of tourists (57%) and residents (59%) surveyed indicated that they had primarily attended the event to sample the food and beverages on offer. Attending SFT for the purpose of experiencing local

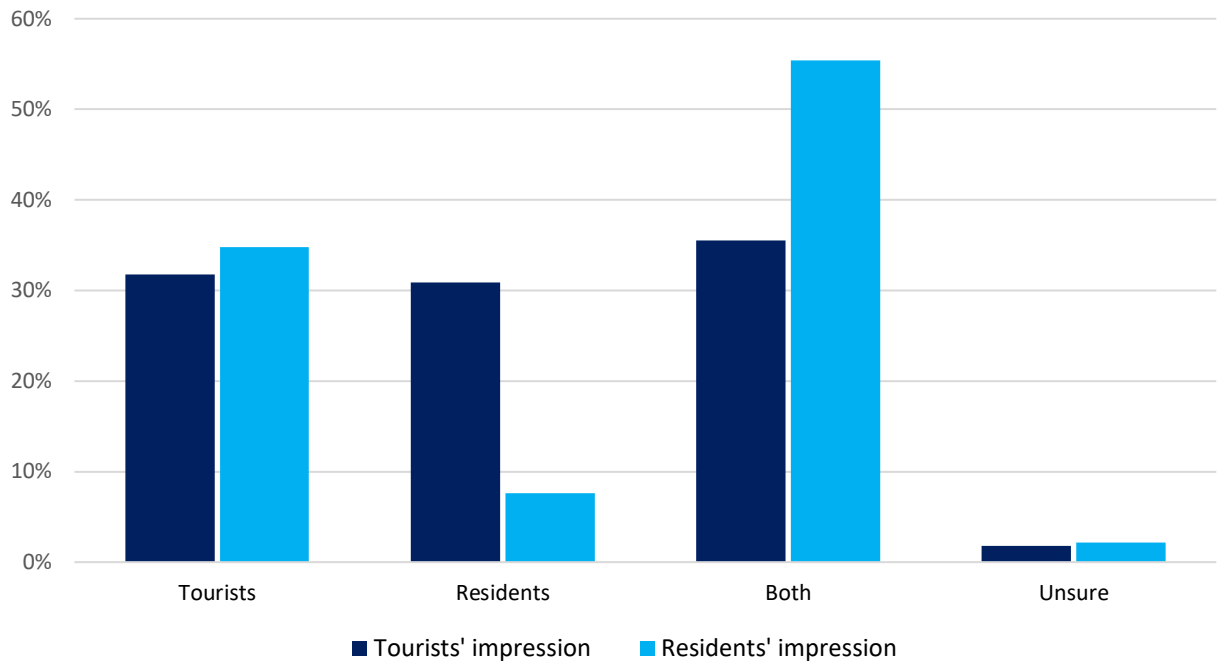
and neighbourhood culture was more popular with tourists (32%) compared to residents (18%). While 22.6 per cent of residents indicated they had attended the event to socialise, compared to only 10.7 per cent of tourists.

Figure 8.17. What initially attracted survey participants to attend Streetfood Thursday?: Survey Results



To complete the survey, participants were prompted to reflect on whether Markthalle Neun's SFT event was predominately tailored towards tourists or residents. As indicated in figure 8.18, almost half of all participants (44.6%) were of the view that SFT catered to the needs of both tourists and residents. This perspective was voiced more prominently by residents (55.4%) compared to tourists (35.9%). Both resident and tourist participants also offered similar responses to the notion of the event catering to tourists visiting Berlin, 34.8 per cent and 31.8 per cent, respectively. Yet, a significant disparity was identified regarding the notion of SFT functioning as a weekly event for residents of Kreuzberg. Although 30.9 per cent of tourists surveyed suggested that the event was predominately catering toward the needs of local inhabitants, only 7.6 per cent of residents surveyed shared this perspective. It is important to reinforce the fact that the participants were surveyed during the SFT event. Therefore, the perspectives of surveyed residents choosing to attend the event most likely differ to the perspectives of residents who have withdrawn from Markthalle Neun since the privatisation.

Figure 8.18. Impressions on 'who' predominantly frequents Streetfood Thursday: Survey results



Although the survey findings are not representative of the identified cohorts, the information generated provides an indication into the clientele of the SFT and their motivations for patronising Markthalle Neun. Notably, the findings show that only 19 per cent of all participants surveyed identified as residents of Kreuzberg. Meanwhile the majority of all residents surveyed indicated they had only recently migrated to Berlin. In relation to the interview materials, fieldwork observations, media coverage as well as statements made by representatives of local government (see next section), it could be inferred that residents frequenting events in Markthalle Neun such as SFT are emblematic of the broader social groups contributing to Kreuzberg's gentrification process. At the same time, the survey findings correlate with a diversity of sources claiming that Markthalle Neun represents a popular tourist destination. Interestingly, almost half of all tourists surveyed indicated they were staying in Airbnb-style accommodation with many stating that they first learnt about Markthalle Neun via Airbnb's webpage. In this respect, as most tourists found out about SFT via their accommodation provider or through online travel websites, the suggestion is that Markthalle Neun has become a key tourist attraction for visitors, and therefore firmly integrated into Berlin's tourism trade.

8.5. Termination of Aldi's tenancy agreement: 2018–present

Of the three discount stores operating at the time of Markthalle Neun's privatisation, Aldi was the only remaining tenant at the time of fieldwork (fig. 8.19). During preliminary research on the market hall in 2017, I identified several statements from Markthalle Neun co-owners quoted in local media articles confirming the eventual eviction of Aldi. Importantly, plans to close Aldi, which has been operating in the market hall

since 1977 (Umbruch Bildarchiv 2010), were integrated into the owner's redevelopment concept (2011), whereby the three discounters, Kik, Aldi and Drosper, were earmarked for termination by late 2015. As stated in The Concept, the discounters are at odds with the development of a nutritional revolution and that their departure will remove immediate competition, thus enabling the small-scale traders to expand and stay open longer (Niedermeier et al. 2011). However, as Aldi remained in operation, I asked Driessen during our interview in October 2018 for an update regarding the proposed closure. Dreissen disclosed that Aldi's contract would remain for the time being, explaining that although Aldi's business model conflicts with Markthalle Neun's overarching concept of providing regional and ethically-sourced products, the discount-supermarket has been a stable tenant providing a sustained income stream for the market hall (K1). He continued, stating 'it's not like we have a waiting list of 200 tenants and that I could easily fill up this place and have the market hall completely active from Monday to Saturday' (K1). Furthermore, Dreissen also said that he understood the social significance of Aldi to many people in the neighbourhood, concluding that 'for now, the Aldi will remain' (K1).

Figure 8.19. Aldi discounter supermarket in Markthalle Neun, 2019. Photograph by A. Crowe

However, in January 2019, three months after I interviewed Dreissen, Markthalle Neun announced the termination of the Aldi, set for July 31, 2019. The 750m^2 space was scheduled to be replaced by DM, one of Europe's largest drugstore chains (Retail-Index 2018). Following the announcement, many residents and local neighbourhood initiatives have objected to the decision. In turn, triggering various forms of opposition toward Markthalle Neun, evident through forms of public demonstrations, media coverage, neighbourhood

flyering and graffiti (fig. 8.20 & 21), online blogs and websites, as well as commentary from representatives of local government. In short, the neighbourhood opposition to Markthalle Neun's decision to evict Aldi is complex, multifaceted and continues at the time of writing.

Figure 8.20. Street graffiti reading 'Markthalle Neun, Kreuzberg Hates You!', January 2019. Photographs by A. Crowe

Figure 8.21. Visual opposition to the closure of Aldi. 'Make the market hall a neighbourhood community again' (left) and 'Stop Gentrification' (right), January 2019. Photograph by A. Crowe

8.5.1. Economic significance of Aldi

During the research phase of interviewing long-standing residents, the termination of Aldi's contract had not yet been made public. However, participants indicated that they were aware of the rumours circulating. The general consensus regarding the anticipated closure of Aldi was met with resentment. For many participants, Aldi was viewed as one of the only affordable establishments remaining in Markthalle Neun to purchase essential goods and commodities. The perspectives provided by many participants indicated that the departure of Aldi would symbolise the closure of Markthalle Neun to the long-standing resident structure. In this respect, many participants expressed their grievances toward the owners of the market hall:

> It is a huge mistake and it is heartless. It is inhumane and only done with profit, profit, profit in mind. It will leave no options for the senior residents that live here. So many seniors depend on that Aldi as it is affordable and within 100-200 metres of their home […] If they remove the Aldi where should people go to shop? No one can afford to buy from the farmers that sell in the market hall […] Seniors will go hungry, I'm not even joking. When they have to pay €3 for a litre of milk because it's "from the region", their pension of €400 per month won't stretch very far (P10: male, 60, tradesperson).

A senior resident shared similar concerns, stating:

> The Aldi is the best shopping option for people who have little money. If you are struggling to pay rent, you have to do what you can to get to the cheap shopping sources. If the rent is too high, then you have to move out anyway. But if they remove the Aldi... that will be... the owners have to think very hard about it and consider that if they should do that there will be a general resistance against it […] So if the cheaper sources of purchasing are removed then there will be a big fight against it […] It would not be nice if the Aldi is gone (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

Participants continued to describe the implications for residents of lower-SES who rely on Aldi:

> It will certainly drive away a certain target group from the market hall—a regular supermarket type group because Aldi is a discounter with low-priced food. I don't really understand their argument… they want to have higher quality and organic produced food, but if it's not affordable at the same time, people will leave with Aldi, they won't start changing their weekly shopping budget to buy more expensive groceries. It opens up the question surrounding luxury living (P4: male, 33, healthcare worker).

> It's no surprise that they try to close the Aldi. It was just a matter of time […] You can always wrap it up in nice paper and say that the Aldi is closing because it doesn't fit with the Markthalle Neun concept of organic, local foods. But the main reason is that they don't want to have the ordinary people in there anymore. They just want to have the hip stuff (P2: male, 44, graphic designer).

> As long as there are older people, as long as there are people who are penny-savers here, they are likely to encounter great resistance […] You need to have a cheap store where you can get everything (P9: female, 71, pensioner).

The announced closure of Aldi in January 2019 has been interpreted by many residents as an action that will impact many households that rely on discount supermarkets to obtain affordable nourishment within close proximity to one's place of residence. For a point of comparison, once the Aldi is removed, the cost for 1kg of bread will increase fivefold if purchased from the Sironi Bakery in Markthalle Neun (fig. 8.22). The quality of Sironi's bread which uses regional and organic sourced ingredients is likely to exceed the bread offered in Aldi. Moreover, factors such as the sourcing of regional and organic ingredients carry additional ecological and ethical benefits. At the same time, from a social equity and spatial justice perspective, the closure of Aldi will significantly decrease the affordability options for essential daily commodities in Markthalle Neun, particularly impacting lower-SES households and less-advantaged populations.

Figure 8.22. Price comparison of 1kg bread available in Markthalle Neun, January 2019. Photograph by A. Crowe

Contrary to the concerns expressed by participants, Dreissen responded to claims supporting Aldi's role in providing an option for affordable food, stating:

> This preferred idea that cheap food, which is sold by the discounter, is good for poor people is perverted because in reality, it's the other way around; discounters make people cheap due to the way the system has been built. It's built on making one family rich who are owning the whole company, but everybody behind/under them, starting from the peasant, to the animals, and everybody else involved this supply chain, is basically… they make their money out of all the people involved in this system. It's perverted to say then that discounters are good for poor people (K1).

Dreissen's argument has been repeatedly enforced by Markthalle Neun in response to residents calling for the preservation of Aldi. Markthalle Neun co-owner Florian Niedermeier maintained a similar discourse in an

interview with the *Stern*, a local Berlin newspaper, responding to criticisms connecting the market hall's high-priced commodities to gentrification:

> It is a question of attitude, not the wallet. Our solidarity lies with the struggling butcher and farm families, because what kind of city would this be if, the artisan bakers only exist in rich ghettos, while the socially weak quarters are left to the discounters? (Niedermeier in Wachter 2019).

Contrary to the perspective of many long-standing resident perspectives, the owners have argued that the preservation of discounter stores such as Aldi and their business practices is not the solution to addressing issues of social injustice. In response to criticism labelling Markthalle Neun as a gentrification accelerator, the owners claimed in a public letter that 'the real cost of the seemingly cheap prices on the discounter's shelves is paid by others, on the plantations and fields, in slaughterhouses and factories—they do not disappear, they are outsourced and exported—and in the end it costs everyone' (Markthalle Neun 2019a). Dreissen provided a similar response, explaining the effect of the local-value chain:

> Whenever anybody draws that card "gentrification" it's basically the end of discussion. If somebody argues at this level, then I respond by saying that we are an "anti-gentrifier" because what we do, if you look at it from a very basic standpoint… I'll use Aldi for example, you have three people working in the shop, one family only. Whereas in the rest of the market there are over 300 people working, all of them independently employed. Meaning that instead of the Aldi, have the market everywhere [implying more independently owned and operated businesses across the hall] there would then be much more money to divide between more people [small business owners] and they could probably afford the higher rents and wouldn't be gentrified (K1).

Although the exploitative nature of discount supermarkets raises a valid concern, Dreissen's argument falls short considering the current plan to substitute one discount chain store with another.

8.5.2. Social significance of Aldi

In addition to the contestations surrounding Aldi's significance as the last remaining establishment offering affordable food, the discounter also symbolises one of the few places where many long-standing residents feel welcome in the hall. For instance, many participants expressed Aldi's significance as space where social interaction regularly occurs with friends and neighbours:

> You meet people very often directly in front of the Aldi. Aldi is like an institution, it is a grocery store we can afford, and we want it to stay there of course. It cannot go away. It's the place you meet those who are still living here and are just as financially equipped as we are. We have to buy cheap. There you will have your everyday chats such as, how are you?, what are you doing?, or, are you ill? (laughter) these are the topics discussed at our age (P8: male, 72, pensioner).

By a similar token, another participant expressed:

> Aldi is like an institution. Aldi is actually the place where you would see all kinds of people going into Markthalle Neun, so I don't know… I would actually prefer it if the Aldi stayed there. It's my subjective, uninformed view, but Aldi has always been there, and you will find things in there that you can't get from the markets. You can always go into Aldi to get what you need […] If you want to rationalise my subjective feeling, I guess you could say that the Aldi leads to more diversity in the market hall (P5: male, 29, post-grad student).

While most participants opposed the idea of Markthalle Neun removing Aldi, such perspectives were not unanimous:

> If Aldi is removed from the market hall, Aldi will find a new location in the neighbourhood for sure… In the end I don't think that the people who already rely on Aldi are the smartest buyers anyway. For my official perspective, I think it would be nice if the Aldi was moved to somewhere outside the market hall. And just make the whole Markthalle Neun a really nice building just for small stalls and events (P13: male, 40, logistics administrator).

Compared to other neighbourhood voices captured, the previous participant's contrasting perspective highlights the heterogeneity of Kreuzberg's social composition. Nonetheless, the suggested decrease in social diversity in Markthalle Neun has become a highly-charged issue discussed among local resident populations and neighbourhood initiatives such as Bizim Kiez, M9, and Kiez Markthalle. Additionally, members of local government have also expressed concern regarding the trajectory of Markthalle Neun since privatisation. For instance, in a public letter, Deputy-Chair Sevim Aydin of the SPD (Social Democratic Party) for the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg wrote:

> The current situation of the market hall with overpriced food is a break of the owners' promise to create a "market hall for all" […] The market hall must live up to the claim that both the poor and the rich can go shopping there. Many residents are no longer comfortable in the hall, no longer feel at home. We want a market hall where residents can meet their daily needs for food—diversity under one roof (2019 translation Crowe).

Similarly, Gabby Gottwald of Die Linke (The Left Party), penned a letter to Markthalle Neun, stating:

> The market hall with its conceptual orientation is viewed by many as a gentrification actor. The discontent surrounding the outcome for the neighbourhood matches with fears of social repression. The termination of the Aldi is regarded as a challenge to large parts of the neighbourhood residents who long ago stopped viewing the market hall as a "central meeting place for the neighbourhood". The conflict is socio-cultural in nature and documents massive segregation processes that must be addressed (Gottwald 2019 translation Crowe).

8.5.3. Contested space

As the previous sections have demonstrated, many long-standing residents of Lausitzer Platz consider Aldi as one of the few remaining establishments in Markthalle Neun that cater to their daily consumption needs and

where they still feel welcome. The general thrust of the interview material suggests that affordable purchasing options in Markthalle Neun have been extensively reduced and supplanted by more expensive stalls, illustrative of an increase in new entrepreneurial retail capital flowing within and beyond the walls of Markthalle Neun. In this respect, the announced termination of Aldi's contract is emblematic of wider issues related to gentrification in Kreuzberg and has subsequently increased friction, tension and conflict between many residents and the Markthalle Neun co-owners, as exemplified in figures 8.23 & 8.24.

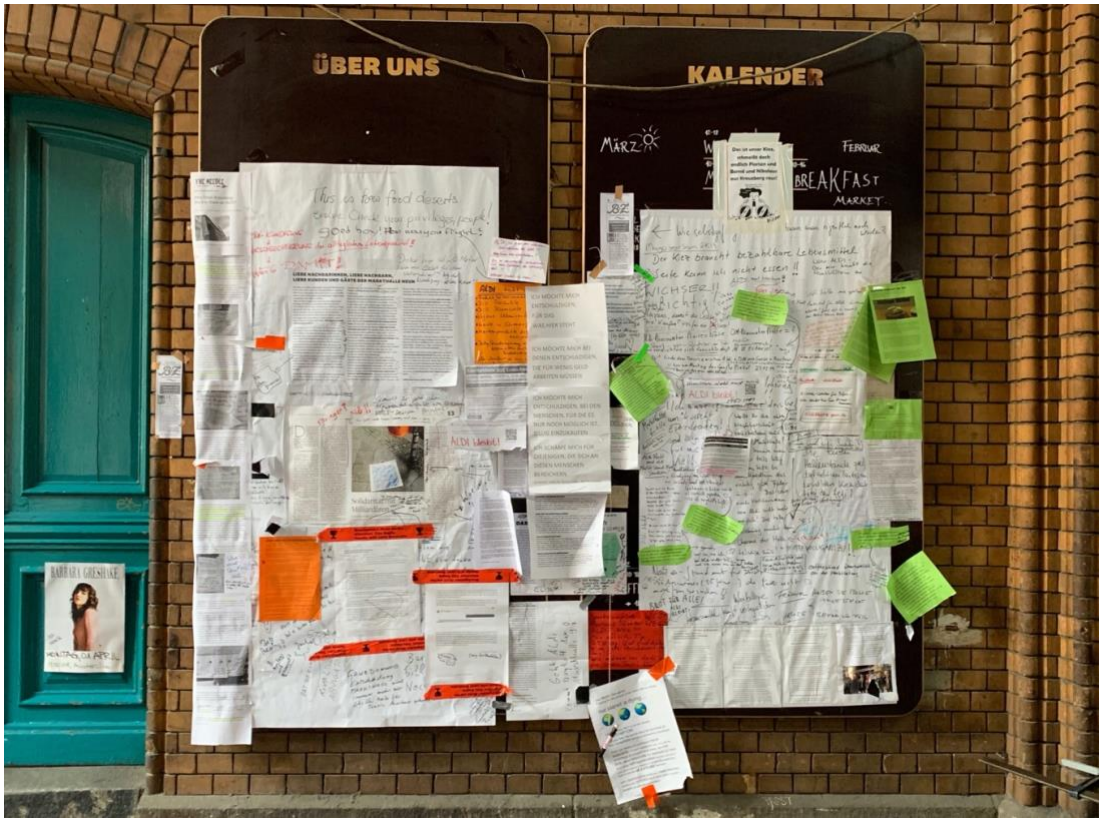
Figure 8.23. 'Markthalle Neun eating up our hood' & 'happily gentrifying the neighbourhood' Photographs by A. Crowe

As research participants had forecasted, the public announcement of Aldi's termination in January 2019 was met with impassioned opposition across Kreuzberg. The claims and arguments against the closure of Aldi are multifaceted and wide-ranging. A particular manifestation of the tension within the neighbourhood was often visible through graffiti and stickering within the vicinity (fig. 8.20, 8.21, 8.23) and also on the notice board located nearby the west-facing entrance of Markthalle Neun, where a plethora of messages were penned by anonymous commentators regarding the proposed removal of Aldi (fig. 8.24). Some of the messages included, 'this is how food deserts evolve, check your privilege people!', 'the neighbourhood needs access to essential produce that is affordable' and 'we voted for a community market hall not a classy hotspot for tourists and hipsters!', for example. In short, the overarching themes identified within the notice board messages argued that the closure of Aldi will:

- exchange one commercial discount store for another (Aldi for a DM chain-drugstore);
- result in the economic and social exclusion of many residents from Markthalle Neun;

- impact less-mobile cohorts of the local population who depend on Aldi for affordable food within the immediate vicinity;
- further reduce the limited daily time-windows to purchase groceries;
- enforce the ongoing reorientation of the hall toward higher-income earners, tourists and those who can afford to subscribe to the nutritional revolution, and;
- exacerbate the broader processes of gentrification in Kreuzberg.

Figure 8.24. Dialogue board at Markthalle Neun's Pücklerstrasse entrance, March 20, 2019. Photograph by A. Crowe



The concerns raised also formed central points of discussion during two community-led street demonstrations that took place outside Markthalle Neun's Eisenbahnstrasse entrance on March 30 and September 14, 2019 (fig. 8.25). Promotional materials for each demonstration were printed in German, Turkish and English and distributed on posters and flyers throughout Kreuzberg. The English text in figure 8.26 reads 'We locals want a Market Hall for everyone instead of a luxury food hall for tourists and the rich! We have had enough!' (Kiezmarkthalle 2019). Precise demands were also emphasised by the protest organiser of *Kiez Markthalle* as detailed in figure 8.26. Following months of persistent forms of demonstration and campaigning, the neighbourhood initiative had collected over 3,000 signatures by October 30, 2019 for a petition to stop the termination of Aldi from Markthalle Neun (Keizmarkthalle 2019).

In response local forms of opposition, the owners have reaffirmed their position, stating they will not stray from the objectives set out in the original concept to remove all discounters from the hall (Markthalle Neun 2019a).

Figure 8.25. Demonstrations against Markthalle Neun, March 30 and September 14, 2019. Photographs by A. Boith (Left) and A. Crowe (Right).

Figure 8.26. Demonstration Flyer and Kiez Markthalle's demands, March 30, 2019.

Source: Kiez Markthalle (left); Photograph by A. Crowe (right).

As stated, the contestation surrounding the closure of Aldi continued after the conclusion of fieldwork. Notably, in November 2019, the district office of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg suspended the termination date of Aldi indefinitely. An official release from the district-Mayor Monika Herrmann stated:

> The nutritional revolution needs new ideas. We need to shape them socially to enable a healthy, regional and fair diet for all. This cannot happen overnight. Many in the neighbourhood cannot afford the offers of the market hall at the moment. The goal must be to develop a hall for everyone here. We need to find

clever sustainable solutions, such as how the nutritional transition works for everyone (Herrmann 2019 translation Crowe).

Markthalle Neun also announced the commencement of a dialogue process with the public, stating: 'We want to talk to you in peace as the market hall experiment continues' and that 'Aldi will remain open for the time during the dialogue process' (Markthalle Neun 2019). The public dialogue commenced in November 2019 and will continue indefinitely.

8.6. Chapter conclusion

Throughout this case study, the qualitative inquiry shows how many long-standing residents have experienced a process of exclusion as the now-privatised market hall transitions along gentrifying lines. Although the co-owners have refuted allegations of excluding Kreuzberg's sizable lower-SES and culturally diverse residential population from the refashioned market hall, they have simultaneously made reinforced the statement that Markthalle Neun is open to everyone who subscribes to their vision of a nutritional revolution. While the push for a market that offers innovative, artisanal, ethically-sourced food and produce may seek to remedy a series of inequities along the supply chain, for many residents the trajectory of the market hall since privatisation is demonstrative of another facet of Kreuzberg's gentrification process. Correspondingly, the exclusion of long-standing residents from Markthalle Neun is further illustrative of urban space once part of the public realm transformed into private space defined by those who belong and those who do not. Herein the non-shelter aspects of displacement are made explicit, which I discuss within the context of the critical literature in the following chapter.

Chapter Nine: Multiple Dimensions and Drivers of Displacement

The empirical chapters have focused on three interrelated themes. First, I have shown the nuanced and context-specific property relations that play a key role in the current phase of Kreuzberg's gentrification. In particular, I have presented data that illustrates the complex relationship between the recent rent intensification process, state intervention and the various implications faced by a renter population of 95 per cent. Second, I have explored how tourism feeds into the gentrification process. This feature relates in part to the increased attraction of Kreuzberg as a tourist destination which was reflected in the 1100 per cent increase in recorded overnight stays between 1998 and 2018 (fig. 7.1), but also through the additional pressure Airbnb-style tourism accommodation has placed on the residential housing system. Third, I explored the transformation of neighbourhood infrastructure along gentrified lines, examining the related implications for long-standing residents on multiple fronts, but also long-standing businesses. The interview and fieldwork materials presented in combination with statistical data have provided comprehensive insight concerning cumulative pressures long-standing residents experience in relation to these three key tenants of Kreuzberg's contemporary gentrification. My research also reveals some of the ways socio-spatial issues have been opposed and resisted through a range of practices and strategies at various scales. This chapter brings my findings together under three sections to discuss how the identified contextual forces of change can provoke displacement and displacing pressures for long-standing residents. The first two sections explore multiple dimensions of displacement to analyse the implications of gentrification in the context of housing and neighbourhood life. The focus then shifts in the third section to discuss the key contextual forces contributing to Kreuzberg's current phase of gentrification at both the housing and neighbourhood scale.

9.1. Housing-related displacement

Chapter five explored the complex linkages between Kreuzberg's tightening housing market and a heightened sense of housing insecurity for long-standing residents. As perceptions of Kreuzberg as an attractive living quarter have increased in recent years and the value of land and property has intensified in a rent-dominated locality, the ensuing incentive for property owners to increase the returns on their investment through rent extraction is reshaping Kreuzberg's entire housing system. Notably, various methods used to increase ground rents were identified in ways that challenge tenancy regulations, and in turn, have generated a set of issues that challenge long-standing residents' ability to maintain adequate and appropriate housing. Given Kreuzberg's sizeable low-income population, the cumulative effects of reduced housing supply and high housing demand have heightened the state of vulnerability and insecurity for less-advantaged residents within the private rental sector. In this context, participant accounts shed nuanced insight into residents' lived-experience of gentrification beyond the momentary action of involuntary out-migration, drawing particular focus on issues related to reduced housing affordability, housing stress and

displacement pressure. At the same time, the qualitative inquiry has also shown how opposition has formed and mobilised in various ways in response to large-scale, transnational housing commodification. In the section that follows, I discuss the multiple pressures of residential displacement at the housing scale in the context of the critical literature.

9.1.1. Out-migration as process

Arguably the most perceptible outcome of gentrification-related housing inequality is the involuntary expulsion of residents from their homes (Atkinson 2000a, 2000b; Atkinson and Bridge 2005; Glass 1964; Hartman et al. 1982; Marcuse 1985). In relation to ongoing housing commodification and subsequent rent intensification, coupled with a chronic undersupply of housing, the threat of direct displacement is a pressing concern for many long-standing residents of Kreuzberg. In particular, my findings have shown two forms of direct displacement disclosed through either (1) forced evictions and expulsion; or, (2) substantial rent increases exceeding a household's capacity to pay (Marcuse 1985). Although forced evictions have reportedly decreased in Berlin since the 1990s (Bernt et al. 2013), unlawful rent contractual termination and other contentious 'winkling' techniques (Lees 1994), such as the deliberate degradation of a dwelling or turning off a building's heating were identified as an ongoing means to vacate tenants from a property (see Chapter 5). Such events are indicative of conventionally understood cases of displacement where property owners have routinely forced tenants out of a so-called underperforming asset in order to reposition the property on the market to extricate the highest exchange value possible (Aalbers 2016; Madden and Marcuse 2016; N. Smith 1996).

The qualitative inquiry also revealed less overt forms of expulsion through cases of tenant coercion and unlawful tenancy buyouts putatively to close rent gaps and maximise potential ground rents. Several examples included tenants receiving payments between €5,000 to €10,000 to vacate the residence. Participants noted that the terms of the contract termination are typically non-negotiable and, in some cases, supplemented with physical threats and various intimidation tactics (see P10, Chapter 5). Although some researchers suggest that sizable tenancy buyouts can provide recipients with new opportunities (Gallahar 2016), others have problematised the 'politics of compensation' as a market-centric and divisive practice that 'undermines the possibility of staying put for the most fragile residents' (Annunziata and Rivas-Alonso 2018, 402). Beyond the economic dimensions, Elliot-Cooper and colleagues emphasise the emotional implications of tenancy buyouts, contending 'it is impossible to compensate [residents] for the longing and isolation that are often felt when their home is lost' (Elliot-Cooper et al. 2019, 8). Furthermore, given Kreuzberg's overheated housing market, remuneration received through unlawful tenancy buyouts are unlikely a sufficient enough amount to cover moving costs and supplement the successive housing costs according to current asking rents of Kreuzberg ranging up to 216 per cent higher than older rent contracts. Instead, the

conjuncture suggests that affected low-to-moderate income households will be obliged to relocate to a more affordable residence well-outside Kreuzberg and the surrounding environ (Guthmann 2019; IBB 2018).

A second form of direct displacement was disclosed through households receiving substantial rent increases. The extent of rent increases is difficult to measure as they vary between households and are shaped through an idiosyncratic relationship between local market conditions, state housing intervention and the maturity of each households' rent agreement[34]. Nonetheless, direct displacement through substantial rent intensification was identified as an overarching threat for long-standing residents. While many participants provided accounts of friends and family who felt compelled to vacate their dwelling, some shared their own imminent plans to move from Kreuzberg given their inability to manage successive rent increases. Notably, pensioners and lower-SES residents of migrant descent were frequently identified as particularly vulnerable cohorts, a trend also recognised in the wider literature on gentrification and displacement (Hinze 2013; Newman and Wyly 2006; Polat 2018; Vigdor 2002). Despite market intervention policies such as the Rent Break and Rent Index administered to buffer the impacts of housing commodification, Kreuzberg's significant rent intensification process post-2010 shows how long-standing residents are not safeguarded from opportunistic profit-seeking practices initiated by an expanding class of corporate, often transnational landlords (see also Aalbers 2016; Madden and Marcuse 2016; Stein 2019). As explored in Chapter Five, participant accounts provide nuanced insight into how various methods deployed by property owners—namely the creation of new rental agreements through the change of ownership and/or the introduction of modernisation measures—have been used to circumnavigate regulatory instruments and maximise rental yields from housing at the expense of sitting tenants.

Taken together, both forms of direct displacement demonstrate with clarity the asymmetrical power relations imbued within the property ownership model (Bate 2020; Singer 2000; N. Smith 1996). While Kreuzberg's current market conditions have created profitable terrain for property owners, investors and financiers alike, housing has become a critical arena of socio-spatial struggle for Kreuzberg's long-standing residents. In this respect, I argue that the commodification of housing taking place in Kreuzberg is illustrative of a form of 'accumulation through displacement' (Lees et al. 2016) whereby the creation of new rental contracts set at current asking rents has become an instrumental technique for increasing rental yields. Importantly, increased housing speculation and commodification has not gone unchallenged. As the fieldwork findings have indicated, various forms of localised opposition and resistance to rent-seeking practices that undermine residents' ability to maintain adequate housing have proliferated (Harvey 1995; Lefebvre 2003). In this regard, Kreuzberg's gentrification process is unsettled as community-led mobilisations

[34] Individual rents are set according to the rental market conditions at the time of contract commencement (Ch. 5).

seek to exercise citizens' right to the city, contesting and challenging the actions and practices of Berlin's expanding rentier class (Blokland et al. 2015; Iveson and Fincher 2012; Lefebvre 2003; Harvey 2000; Purcell 2002, 2013).

9.1.2. Staying put

The interview materials and fieldwork presented in Chapter Five also provided insight into the various efforts made by residents at the household scale to avoid spatial expulsion through rent intensification. In particular, I have shown how households often make financial sacrifices and lifestyle adjustments to manage substantial rent increases and ultimately remain in place. Trade-offs identified included accepting sub-standard housing; living in overcrowded households; subletting rooms to strangers; cutting back on food, healthcare as well as recreational activities; among undertaking a range of other adaptive measures to offset high-rents and avoid direct displacement. In some cases, residents have employed creative tactics to subsidise rent increases, such as occasionally listing part of their residence on Airbnb-style STR platforms, sharing their private living space with tourists to generate an additional stream of income. While a more prominent trade-off observed to manage costs related to an increasingly competitive housing market, and in turn, reduce rental stress and remain in Kreuzberg included multi-member households opting to under-consume housing, as illustrated in Chapter Five (see also Gabriel et al. 2005; Ong and Rowley 2012). This latter trend is also reflected in recent housing statistics which show that household overcrowding has become more prominent in Kreuzberg than elsewhere in Berlin (Amt für Statistik 2019; Holm 2013). Research shows that the associated implications of under-consuming housing, such as reduced and confined living space as well as the subsequent lack of privacy, constitutes a major source of stress for both adults and children which can have long-term social and health implications (Dockery 2011). Despite these issues, the adverse effects associated with household overcrowding are rarely captured in Berlin's housing policy literature that largely utilises a cost-income-ratio to assess the city's housing needs (Berlin.de 20219a; IBB 2018).

More broadly, as involuntary out-migration has long served as the default metric for assessing the impacts of gentrification (Atkinson 2015; Davidson 2009), analyses of rent-burdened households experiencing ongoing housing stress remain largely absent from gentrification studies. Yet, as revealed through the interview materials, adaptive methods exercised by residents are demonstrative of Davidson's (2008) indirect economic displacement in relation to the 'affordability squeeze'. In turn, trade-offs to remain in place can effectively foster a reduction in housing quality, impede the capacity to afford other household necessities, while also engendering a range of financial and emotional costs that can affect quality of life and well-being (Fullilove 1996; Newman and Wyly 2006; Ong and Rowley 2012; Zheng and He 2018). In this regard, the social costs of trade-offs made to 'stay put' complicate the position held by some that long-standing residents are the hidden winners of gentrification (Byrne 2003; Capps 2019; Duany 2001; Freeman

and Braconi 2002, 2004; Vigdor 2002, 2010). While there may be unique cases where incumbent populations benefit from the economic upscaling of a locality's housing market, (e.g., pre-existing homeowners), in the context of Kreuzberg, households required to make additional sacrifices to counterbalance increasing housing costs illuminates the 'slow violence' (Kern 2016) of gentrification which may or may not eventuate in household out-migration. As Marcuse observed 'if households under pressure of displacement do not choose to move, it is probably because of a lack of alternatives, rather than a lack of pressure' (1985, 214). This complex dynamic reaffirms Davidson (2009) and Atkinson's (2000b) warning against using the momentary action of involuntary spatial out-migration as the litmus test for gentrification.

9.1.3. Household mobility

In addition to the pressures identified pushing residents out from Kreuzberg, the inquiry also revealed how gentrification can undermine household mobility through the reduction of affordable housing available to lower-SES populations. This dynamic not only creates a barrier for people seeking to move into Kreuzberg, but it can also lock existing households in their current residence who under more flexible housing conditions may wish to secure more appropriate housing according to changing life circumstances. Marcuse's (1985) concept of exclusionary displacement provides a useful framework for analysing household mobility constraints in the context of Kreuzberg.

Firstly, the recent waves of rent intensification have considerably limited the possibility for low-to-moderate-income households to undertake new tenancies in Kreuzberg's private rental market. Subsequently, the influx of higher-income households with the capacity to afford premium rents offered in lower-socio-economic neighbourhoods exacerbates Kreuzberg trajectory toward 'a lived space for the privileged' (Hinze 2013, 127) while placing additional shelter and non-shelter pressures on the existing, lower-socioeconomic residential structure. Herein lies a conundrum of 'social mixing' policy rhetoric, which under the leitmotif of diversity 'promises equality in the face of hierarchy' (Blomley 2004, 99). Put differently, as state and private-led city-boosterism campaigns continue to promote Kreuzberg as an alternative, creative and culturally heterogeneous locality for prospective residents and tourists, the rapid influx of higher-income earners into lower-socioeconomic space paradoxically excludes the long-standing populations (who have shaped and in part constitute the locality's celebrated dynamism) from accessing housing.

A second expression of exclusionary displacement was revealed through the difficulties households face when seeking to change residence yet remain in Kreuzberg. In relation to the broader pressures of gentrification, the idiosyncratic nature of Berlin's housing regulations revealed a paradoxical condition within the context of household mobility. On the one hand, regulations such as the Rent Break and Rent Index have enabled many residents on older tenancy contracts to remain in place and continue paying rents often well-

below the current asking average for dwellings of comparable size, quality and location. As a result, state market interventions have enabled many low-to-moderate income households to remain in Kreuzberg who would have likely been displaced under more liberalised (deregulated) housing market conditions.

On the other hand, the sizable rent disparities between mature and new tenancy contracts have significantly impeded the ability for long-standing residents to relocate within the district or immediate environ should they need to. This expression of involuntary immobility was observed as a particular issue for long-standing residents with shifting household compositions, such as expanding families seeking additional living space, yet wanting to remain in the neighbourhood to maintain well-established place-based networks (P11, P13, K5 in Ch. 5). A similar conundrum was experienced by older tenants who under more flexible housing conditions would be seeking to downsize from their larger, family-sized dwellings (P9: female, 71, pensioner). However, as long-standing tenancy contracts are disproportionately lower than current asking rents, participants of this age cohort expressed very little incentive to pay more in rent to move into a smaller space. Subsequently, both examples reveal a paradoxical mismatch between over-consumed and under-consumed housing directly related to the recognised disparity between long-established and new tenancy contracts.

In contrast to residents aspiring to relocate within their neighbourhood, the rent disparity between tenancy contracts also presents issues for residents seeking to vacate Kreuzberg for various reasons. As stated by a participant who wished to move to an adjacent district to escape the impacts of increase party tourism across Kreuzberg: 'you're forced to stay in your flat because you won't find anything else you can afford' (P2: male, 44, graphic designer). In turn, the experience of involuntary immobility was observed as a particularly stressful situation for residents affected by the everyday pressures of tourism and gentrification who remain *in situ* because they cannot secure another residence of comparable size and quality in a more appropriate locality within a similar price range.

Taken together, resident experiences of involuntary immobility, complicate Hartman's (1984) Right to Stay Put thesis as an inherently positive outcome. Rather, participant accounts demonstrate that the practice of 'staying put' is much more nuanced and can also result from a lack of alternative housing options available to them (Marcuse 1985). While at the same time, increased housing insecurity, a fear of spatial expulsion, among other non-shelter pressures can continue to build as the scale of Kreuzberg's gentrification continues to intensify at pace.

9.2. Place-based displacement

As identified in Chapter Two and Three, the literature on gentrification-induced displacement has traditionally focused on the housing scale. The previous section has aimed to contribute to this body of

research, showing how the commodification of housing can propel housing inequality not only through the event of involuntary residential out-migration but also through a suite of displacing pressures. In addition to these housing-related pressures, the empirical findings presented in chapters 6–8 elucidated how the changing use of entire neighbourhoods along gentrified lines can simultaneously produce a multiplicity of displacement pressures for long-standing residents.

In the following section, I continue to draw on the conceptual framework of displacement developed in Chapter Three to examine Kreuzberg's shifting neighbourhood dynamics in the context of daily residential life. In particular, I lean on Atkinson's (2015) and Valli's (2015) *sense of displacement* to analyse the various dimensions of loss and dispossession long-standing residents can experience as place is reshaped following the logics, practices and interests of incoming, privileged users of space. In particular, participant experiences indicated that a sense of displacement can precipitate through a set of gentrification-related externalities, including, but not limited to (1) material-economic pressures (reduced affordability; the disappearance of neighbourhood resources and meeting places); (2) physical-spatial pressures (late-night noise; anti-social behaviour; mobility restrictions); and, (3) socio-cultural pressures (dissolving place-based social networks; exclusion from neighbourhood spaces).

9.2.1. Material-economic pressures

The changing orientation of Kreuzberg's commercial landscape is illustrative of retail gentrification (Hubbard 2016, 2018). Given the rapid influx of mid-to-high-end hospitality, gastronomy and retail establishments, many long-standing businesses have since disappeared. Consequently, the range of goods, products and services essential for everyday residential life has also lessened. For instance, in chapters 6–8, participants often referred to a reduction of greengrocers, hardware stores, bakeries, low-cost eateries and retailers, and *Eckkneipe* (working-class corner pubs), while noting the arrival of designer bars, specialty coffee shops, high-end boutiques, and restaurants sporting an eclectic range of global cuisines, among other high-status consumption activities. By extension, participants noted that the type of new establishments emerging offer goods at prices that largely deviate from the existing population's spending power creating affordability pressure for residents of lower-socioeconomic status. Akin to Davidson's (2008) concept of neighbourhood resource displacement, participants indicated that the incoming stores offer goods and services largely unaffordable to Kreuzberg's sizable low-to-moderate-income population. In this context, Kreuzberg's retail gentrification constitutes a process of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey 1989a, 2003), whereby many long-standing neighbourhood establishments that Zukin and colleagues (2009, 49) would classify as 'traditional, local stores', have been displaced by up-market businesses focused on distinction, so-called middle-class aesthetics and attracting transnational consumers (see also Hubbard 2018).

The implications of retail gentrification for long-standing residents are complex and vary depending on factors such as socio-economic and socio-cultural positioning. For most participants who identified as low-income earners, the fast-paced erosion of the long-standing commercial infrastructure has limited their access to affordable goods and services within their respective neighbourhood. At the same time, many long-standing residents have experienced the widespread loss of familiar establishments as a form of emotional upheaval; as one participant put it 'all the stores I cherished are gone' (P17). The general thrust of participant experiences diverge considerably from the claims made by several economists that existing populations largely benefit from the economic upscaling of gentrifying areas (Freeman and Braconi 2004; Vigdor 2002, 2010). While it may be advantageous to some, the implications of neighbourhood-resource displacement are amplified along socio-economic and socio-cultural lines as the commercial landscape transitions into consumption space attractive to wealthier users. In this regard, the loss of essential businesses and services on which residents rely can further stimulate a dissociation from the dominant trajectory of neighbourhood change and unsettle residents' relationship to place (Atkinson 2015; Valli 2015). As Davidson notes: 'the places by which people once defined their neighbourhood become spaces with which they no longer associate' (2008, 2392). This conjuncture is illustrative of the more visceral and piecemeal externalities of gentrification to which critical studies have only recently started paying attention (see Gonzalez and Waly 2013; Hubbard 2016, 2018; Kern 2016; K. Shaw and Hagemans 2015; Zukin et al. 2009). In effect, the interview materials and fieldwork clearly show how the loss of key neighbourhood resources can contribute to a sense of displacement for long-standing residents regardless of one's capacity to maintain affordable and appropriate housing.

The case study on Markthalle Neun provides a poignant example of the material-economic pressures of retail gentrification. While the owners' central objective to deliver a nutritional revolution to Kreuzberg may seek to remedy a series of inequities along the supply chain in line with the European Union's 'from farm to fork' sustainable food initiative (European Commission 2020), the consumer price associated with niche, small-scale, organic produce place considerable affordability constraints on the district's notable low-income population. In addition to the price point, the qualitative inquiry also accentuated issues surrounding the type of goods and services on offer in the market hall which arguably cater to specialised and niche tastes and values over the everyday needs of lower-SES populations. The empirical evidence aligns with Zukin's research on retail gentrification, who observed social exclusions produced beyond economic factors, including 'cultural factors like aesthetics, comfort level, and the tendency to use, and understand, consumption practices as expressions of difference. Whether the specific discourse of consumption is based on distinctiveness […] it becomes a means of keeping others out' (2008, 735). Taken together, the evidence suggests that the refashioning of Markthalle Neun has excluded many long-standing residents along socio-economic and socio-cultural lines.

9.2.2. Physical-spatial pressures

The empirical chapters also provide insight into how gentrification, intersecting with increased tourism flows, can alter the dominant use of residential neighbourhoods. Late-night noise, anti-social-behaviour and mobility disruptions largely attributed to Kreuzberg's growing prominence as Berlin's new 'epicentre of cool' (Dyckhoff 2011) were identified as core issues impacting on the spatiality of daily residential life. For instance, in response to late-night noise associated with street corner parties, some residents have altered their living arrangements (P17, Ch.7). While in residential quarters which have become high-traffic destinations for party-goers and event-seekers, such as Admiralsbrücke (fig. 7.5) or within the vicinity of Markthalle Neun, long-standing residents may opt to exit the area entirely (P15, Ch.8), illustrating a nuanced form of displacement beyond the typical metrics of affordability (Newman and Wyly 2006). However, for reasons already outlined in this chapter, relocation may not be a viable option for residents experiencing involuntary immobility.

Beyond the household scale, daily disruptions related to tourism and new spatial behaviours have prompted some residents to withdraw from public space. For example, avoiding particular places at specific times to evade encounters with large tourist crowds was frequently registered by participants. In such cases, the time of the day, and day of the week are significant in the sense that some residents have restructured their agendas or mobility patterns to avoid disruptions. For instance, most participants expressed an unwillingness to utilise Markthalle Neun on Thursday evenings during *Streetfood Thursday* due to large crowds, but also on Saturday's during the *Weekly Market*, which paradoxically, offers the widest range and selection of fresh produce in the market hall. In correlation to the general reorientation of the market hall toward high-end consumption and event-driven activities, some residents have chosen to withdraw entirely from the hall. Indicative of Silver's (2007, 2) notion of downward mobility through socio-spatial exclusion, a participant noted 'I never go into the market hall anymore. I avoid it, and if for some reason I do have to go inside I immediately feel uncomfortable, anxious and out of place' (P17). Beyond the context of Markthalle Neun, participants also expressed avoiding areas due to feeling out-of-sync and disconnected from incoming 'hipster crowds' (P2: male, 44, graphic designer), party-goers, event-seekers, large tourist groups and other cohorts synonymous with Ley's (1996) archetypal 'gentrifier'. Similar patterns have also been observed in Paris, where residents would proactively alter their spatial practices in particular neighbourhoods now primarily perceived as tourist spaces (Gravari-Barbas and Jacquot 2016).

Notably, the literature on urban tourism has, until recently, suggested that encounter between visitors and the host community engenders a sense of togetherness and conviviality (Airbnb 2020a; Bell 2007; Hayllar et al. 2008; Maitland 2008). However, my empirical inquiry has shown how unplanned tourism expansion across residential neighbourhoods can become a highly charged source of socio-spatial contestation (see also

Cocola-Gant 2018a). In some cases, tensions have been visibly inscribed into the built environment through a range of graffiti, stickers, posters, and other artefacts denoting varying degrees of anti-tourist sentiment, some of which paradoxically embodied exclusionary sentiment toward 'outsiders'. Nonetheless, as lower-socioeconomic residential areas become increasingly attractive to tourist crowds and other mobile consumers, incumbent residents may feel compelled to alter, and in some cases limit, their spatial practices in order to curtail disruptions as they go about their day-to-day lives. Such implications of downward mobility (Silver 2007) reveals a form of exclusion whereby residents can experience a sense of spatial loss. Moreover, the manner in which long-standing residents' spatial practices are affected through the increased arrival of wealthier users of space (both tourists and newer-residents) is illustrative of a set of power relations that can effectively displace social groups from parts of the neighbourhood once important to them. Despite these factors, city officials have continued to celebrate the rapidly bourgeoning tourism industry, going so far as to actively promote the residential neighbourhoods of Kreuzberg, among other residential districts, as key assets for tourist consumption.

9.2.3. Socio-cultural pressures

Interwoven within the material-economic and physical-spatial pressures identified, a range of socio-cultural pressures were also observed in relation to Kreuzberg's shifting neighbourhood dynamics. A prominent point of contention emblematic of gentrification-induced pressure was a transitioning of the vernacular landscape, particularly concerning the growing prominence of the English language. In a locality where German, Turkish and Kurdish have long functioned as primary modes of communication, for residents who speak little-to-no English, the increased expectation to speak 'the global language' (Crystal 2003) in an everyday setting was observed as a key point of tension and social fracturing. Herein, competing claims to space are illuminated through the power relations of language.

The relationship between language and gentrification has been analysed from the perspective of semiotics using textual and visual analysis (e.g., Järlehed et al. 2018; Papen 2012). In a study on a gentrified district in North Berlin, Papen (2012) demonstrated how the dominance of English engrained in the visual landscape contributes to the remaking of the area as an attractive space for tourists, entrepreneurs, prospective residents and also investors. However, the power relations between various language groups in the context of the vernacular landscape is underexplored in gentrification studies. Comparatively, my research highlights the exclusionary effects underpinning a transitioning Lingua Franca that can lead to a sharpening of social division within neighbourhood space. For example, the empirical findings in Chapter Six illustrated cases where residents unable to speak English, or who feel uncomfortable doing so, choose to avoid using the influx of commercial establishments where English functions as the Lingua Franca. At the same time, participants conveyed a receding presence of Turkish and Kurdish languages from the neighbourhood which

have been 'pushed into private spaces' (P8: male, 72, pensioner). This development is indicative of a wider set of social tectonics forming (Butler and Robson 2001, 2003; Jeffery 2016) where social groups are parallel to the other with very little interaction.

The district's declining Turkish population, and an increased transnational population of EU and US migrants, among other nationalities, (Chapter 1), provide some indication as to how the Lingua Franca in Kreuzberg is shifting. Moreover, the significant increase of international tourism within the locality is unequivocally feeding into this dynamic. The tensions associated with the latter feature can be seen to have clear resonances with Crystal's (2003, 17) concept of 'linguistic complacency' to describe a sense of entitlement exerted by tourists 'who travel the world assuming that everyone speaks English, and that it is somehow the fault of the local people if they do not'. A similar argument could be made regarding recently-opened hospitality and retail establishments that convey an English-centric approach to conducting business. At the same time, the qualitative inquiry also revealed how international tourists and residents from non-English speaking locations utilise English in Kreuzberg as a crucial tool for communication. Taken together, the evidence suggests that it is not exclusively the presence of the English language creating tension, but rather the scale and speed of vernacular change throughout Kreuzberg intersecting with other contextual forces, which compound and, in turn, exacerbate friction through interrelated exclusionary dynamics. Nonetheless, Kreuzberg's shifting vernacular landscape constitutes a contributing feature of the locality's expanding social tectonics (Jeffery 2016), an important facet of neighbourhood change rarely explored in the contemporary gentrification literature to-date.

Furthermore, and in relation to demographic change and the expansion of tourism across residential space, the shifting vernacular landscape is suggestive of an emerging 'elite linguistic class' (Crystal 2003) where English is becoming the *sine qua non* of day-to-day life in Kreuzberg. In this respect, English as a form of capital plays a role in reshaping social space in terms of who is included or excluded from not only particular neighbourhood establishments but also the public realm. While it is important to recognise the utility of English as a second language for non-German speakers, the increased pressure for non-English speaking residents to communicate in an unfamiliar, yet globally dominant language can produce feelings of discomfort, frustration and alienation. In this sense, Kreuzberg's linguistic conjuncture is emblematic of the 'tectonic' social practices of both gentrification and tourism (Butler and Robson 2001, 2003; Jeffery 2016). Within the spatial landscape, the qualitative inquiry shows how the lives of privileged groups can run parallel to the lives of less-advantaged populations with very minimal interaction or sharing of experiences. Consequently, the shift in dominant language groups, and the proliferation of English as the Lingua Franca in particular settings were identified as contributing factors to long-standing residents experiencing dissociation and defamiliarisation from place. Gelder and Jacobs refer to such sensory transformations as 'uncanny' which

‘may occur when one’s home is rendered, somehow and in some sense, unfamiliar; one has the experience, in other words, of being in place and “out of place” simultaneously’ (1998, 23).

9.2.4. Loss of place

My research has demonstrated how various displacing pressures coalesce, compound and can be experienced in simultaneity. Beyond housing-related displacement pressure, the experience of losing critical resources; reduced mobility and spatial loss; as well as generally feeling out-of-sync with the dominant trajectory of gentrification-induced neighbourhood change can produce feelings of dispossession and dissociation from place previously regarded as home. In understanding place as an individually constructed and relational concept (Massey 1992; Massey and Jess 1995), a sense of displacement (Atkinson 2015; Valli 2015) may precipitate as one’s position in the neighbourhood structure (K. Shaw and Hagemans 2015) is undermined through the affirmation of higher-status incoming groups. Taken together, I have shown how cumulative experiences of everyday displacement can provoke a loss of place without spatial out-migration (Davidson 2009). Further, my empirical analysis demonstrates how a sense of displacement can be experienced through what Kern (2016, 453) refers to as ‘a variety of very ordinary, non-catastrophic non-events’ that comprise ‘the everyday slow violence of cruddy, chronic urban inequality’. In turn, for long-standing residents, gentrification can generate feelings of dispossession, a diminished sense of control over neighbourhood space, and a growing defamiliarization of place. For those residents affected, this can lead to frustration, resentment, loneliness, and in some cases a progressive resignation from daily neighbourhood life. At the same time, I have illustrated how displacing pressures can also engender the mobilisation of various oppositional initiatives and practices aimed to unsettle gentrification and related forms of socio-spatial inequality that undermine resident’s right to dwell and the right to participate in place-making processes (Harvey 2012; Lefebvre 1991, 1996; Madden and Marcuse 2016; Purcell 2002, 2013).

Within the context of changing neighbourhood conditions, the literature shows how the experience of loss is intensified as feelings of attachment and belonging to place are weakened (Butcher and Dickens 2016; Fullilove 1996). Moreover, researchers note how the loss of place is intrinsically connected to a loss of place-based relationships and familiarity to one’s immediate environment and can enact emotions comparable to psychological disorder and distress (Fried 1966; Fullilove 1996, 2004). These neighbourhood-based social bonds and networks are typically the result of elaborate long-term investment. Consequently, the dissolution of such networks and familiar neighbourhood resources precipitated through gentrification can generate feelings of ‘complete loneliness and loss’ (P10: male, 60, tradesperson). Researchers also note that lower-income populations depend on these place-specific networks for mutual support and opportunity much more than those of higher socioeconomic status who tend to be more mobile, whose networks and resources span larger geographies (Betancur 2011) and are ‘blessed with abundant exchange values with which to

sustain life' (Harvey 1995, 371). In the context of Kreuzberg, the erosion of neighbourhood-based social bonds and networks through ongoing residential out-migration was expressed as one of the core consequences of gentrification impacting on long-standing residents who, in spite of mounting pressure, have managed to remain in place (Crookes 2011; Davidson 2008, 2009). Experiencing a loss of place, was often interpreted through participant descriptions of not belonging to incoming privileged groups and feeling excluded from, or alienated by new spatial practices, compounded with the ongoing loss of important social structures and relationships. In short, when neighbourhoods are changed beyond recognition through exclusionary processes such as gentrification, what results is a sense of loss that can remain with a person for life (Desmond 2012; Fullilove 1996, 2004, 2016).

9.3. Contextual drivers of change

The qualitative inquiry in Chapter Five suggests that as land and housing in Kreuzberg have considerably increased in value, private equity firms and property owners view their real-estate occupied by long-standing tenants as 'underperforming assets' (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 20) constrained through housing policy such as the Rent Break and Rent Index. Moreover, the findings indicate that tenants holding rent agreements established prior to the post-2010 housing boom constitute a barrier for property owners seeking to maximise potential ground rents. Following Smith (1979) and Slater (2018), the actions of property owners to close the gap between the current rent (capitalised ground rent) and a building's highest and best use (potential ground rent) is a key tenant driving Kreuzberg's gentrification. In turn, rent appreciation has been realised through the use of strategic tactics such as new rental agreements and modernisations to circumvent state housing policy while taking advantage of the housing shortage and high demand to close rent gaps. At the same time, the investigation into the rise of short-term rental platforms (Ch. 7), showed an emerging entrepreneurial practice involving the substitution of housing from the residential market into the commercial tourist accommodation market.

In addition to the shifting housing dynamics, the empirical inquiry also reveals how neighbourhood-scale transformations can produce exclusionary effects for many long-standing residents (Ch. 6—8). Importantly, participant experiences demonstrate the broader implications of displacement beyond the brief moment of household turnover, in effect, reinforcing Davidson's (2008, 2009) argument for a reconceptualization of displacement that considers non-shelter dimensions of gentrification-induced exclusion. As Kern (2016, 442) notes, 'the shared spaces of neighbourhood life are important sites for investigating the effects of gentrification, especially displacement or displacement pressure.' The following section first discusses the implications of Kreuzberg's shifting housing dynamics before directing the focus to the identified forces of change impacting on long-standing residents at the neighbourhood scale.

9.3.1. Rent appreciation through housing refurbishment

Among other methods examined, housing refurbishment was identified as a significant strategy used by landlords to bypass regulation, raise rents and extract the greatest exchange value from residential dwellings in the private rental market. While the practice of housing refurbishment can produce favourable outcomes to both tenant and owner (Bate 2020; Martin et al. 2017), the findings in Chapter Five indicate that modernisations and pseudo-luxury renovations have been frequently used as a mechanism to circumvent state intervention and maximise potential ground rents from residential dwellings. Housing refurbishment as a profit-seeking endeavour was observed to have occurred in two ways. Firstly, through the refurbishment of a vacant dwelling before it re-enters the private rent market at inflated rates disproportionate to the calculated district average (CDA). And secondly, through the partial or full refurbishment of a dwelling with an existing tenancy, often requiring a renegotiated rental contract (again set at or well above the CDA) thus negating the Rent Index regulation. In both scenarios, housing refurbishment efforts that have allegedly undergone 'comprehensive modernisation' can legally bypass the requirements of the Rent Index and Rent Break (BGB §556f). In some cases, newly refurbished dwellings can capture rents upward of 216 per cent compared to pre-renovation rates, as was the case for P20 (Ch.5). In this regard, the effectiveness of state housing policy is brought into question, particularly as the findings show how refurbishment has played a key role in enabling property owners to circumvent housing regulations and maximise potential ground rents (Harvey 2012; Slater 2018; N. Smith 1979, 1987, 1996).

Importantly, the elusiveness of the legal terminology for 'comprehensive modernisation' was observed as a pressing concern for residents of Kreuzberg, as well as renters of Berlin more broadly. Critical questions remain regarding the extent of the refurbishment carried out on a property; whether the refurbishment constitutes 'comprehensive modernisation'; and how the state monitors and enforces this in practice. Until these aspects are addressed in an appropriate and transparent manner, the use of housing refurbishment as a profit-seeking instrument to leverage for renegotiated rent contracts and close rent gaps is likely to continue as an exploitative feature of Kreuzberg's housing landscape. This practice, in consideration of Kreuzberg's substantial renter population and the extensive property portfolios owned by large, often international private equity corporations, suggests that further attention is required to critically appraise the particularities of state regulatory frameworks facilitating gentrification as well as the methods employed to mitigate housing exploitation.

In relation to the identified regulatory limitations, the interview and fieldwork materials suggest that throughout Kreuzberg, terms synonymous with 'housing refurbishment', particularly *Renovierung* and *Modernisierung* (renovation and modernisation) have become euphemistically associated with tenant repression and direct displacement. This condition has not only contributed to a localised climate whereby

tenants live in fear of considerable rent increases and pressure of displacement, but it also poses implications to tenants living in substandard conditions due to prolonged property disinvestment and under-maintenance (see also Bernt et al. 2013). Yet, as the housing market has transitioned, the motivation for property owners to capitalise on their investment through modernisation has increased. This poses particular concerns for tenants holding long-standing rent agreements set at pre-boom prices who refuse to request or accept (if given the option at all) any forms of housing upkeep and maintenance in fear of being subjected to forms of repression and displacement—either through eviction due to long-term renovation construction, or having to vacate their home due to unsustainable rent increases. While the research on this residential dynamic is limited, Baeten and Listerborn (2016, 249) refer to this strategy as a process of 'renoviction', emphasising the little power tenants have to influence the scale of building upgrades that can significantly affect the entire tenant community. In many cases, and as discussed in section 9.1.2, the tenant/owner power imbalance has produced a culture whereby tenants may choose to continue living in substandard conditions in an attempt to safeguard older rent agreements and ensure housing security; in essence, they make housing quality sacrifices to remain in place.

9.3.2. Rent disparities

Given the unique dynamics of Kreuzberg's housing market, two unanticipated findings were revealed in relation to housing regulations that have enabled some tenants to maintain rents well below the calculated district average (CDA). First, tenants on long-standing rent agreements expressed their motivations to hold onto their dwelling to avoid losing 'cheap rent'. In some cases, tenants were paying less than €4/m^2 compared to the current asking rents of €13–14/m^2. More significantly, in consideration of current asking rents for newly refurbished dwellings (€19/m^2+), the motivation for residents to maintain older rent contracts is clear from a financial perspective, as a participant stated 'we're here till we die because we'll never find rent like this anywhere else' (P3: female, 44, school teacher). In direct relation to this dynamic that can 'lock' tenants in place, it was also observed that older rent contracts have become a tradeable asset whereby opportunistic tenants have taken on an entrepreneurial role, subletting a room or an entire apartment listed in their name at inflated rates to turn a profit. Madden and Marcuse refer to this practice as a 'rent-to-rent entrepreneurialism' whereby a property undergoes additional rounds of commodification 'in an unstable and expensive housing market' (2016, 20) to extract the maximum exchange value of dwelling outside the parameters of the conventional private rental sector.

The second unanticipated finding again relates to tenants holding long-standing rent contracts. For property owners, particularly those who have recently purchased property during the recent housing boom, tenants on older rent contracts represent an obstacle for extracting the highest possible value from their investment. Subsequently, given the increased demand for housing as well as the tactics discussed that enable the

realisation of premium rents (e.g., the modernisation loophole), the evidence suggests that new rent contracts set at maximised rates effectively offset tenants in the same building on state-regulated rents. This dynamic was exemplified in Chapter Five, where two tenants residing in the same building, one with a contract initiated in 1981, the other in 2017, shared a rent disparity of 226 per cent for dwellings of similar quality. In this respect, the implications for a building's tenant community can have a dualistic effect that could trigger animosities among immediate neighbours. On the one hand, new residents complying to pay premium rents can be viewed negatively by the older tenant structure as complicit agents of gentrification and the further escalation of housing inequality. On the other hand, newer residents may feel a degree of exploitation, in part due to the fact that their premium rents are effectively subsidising long-standing households whose lower rents remain secured within the parameters of the Rent Break and Rent Index. In effect, this complicated scenario provides another example of the asymmetrical power relations between property owners and tenants whereby housing takes on a primary role as an investment vehicle over the provision of shelter (Aalbers 2016; Harvey 2012; Madden and Marcuse 2016; Stein 2019).

9.3.3. The State and housing

Following this line of inquiry, the social inequalities produced through an increased commodification of housing need to be understood in the context of state housing regulations, particularly as the various profit-seeking strategies explored have continued to close rent gaps at considerable pace. Although housing policies have been strategically implemented to safeguard the social composition of the city's tenant population (SenStadt 2019), the findings have identified several caveats where property owners have managed to disproportionately increase rents across the entire district. For instance, the Rent Break and Rent Index dictate that rents cannot increase more than 15 per cent every three years (RB), nor can rents exceed the Calculated District Average by 10 per cent (RI). Irrespectively, the findings in Chapter Five indicate that average rents in Kreuzberg have increased upward of 226 per cent in the past decade.

Meanwhile, for tenants who suspect a violation of state housing regulation, the course of action to challenge property owners on the grounds of unlawful rent-seeking practices were observed as a significant issue. For example, to challenge a property owner's actions through the legal system, the responsibility falls on the tenant at a cost upward of €5,000 to initiate an inquiry (Ch.5). Consequently, this process represents a considerable barrier for tenants, further reinforcing the asymmetrical power dynamics between tenants and property owners facilitated through the terms of state regulation. As one participant lamented, the procedure should be reversed whereby 'the property owners who demand rents that are much higher than the district average, should be subjected to providing adequate reasoning to the state' (P8: male, 72, pensioner). As many tenants do not possess the wherewithal or legal support to pursue a case against institutional landlords, dubious rent hikes are often passed unchallenged. In this respect, the current

configuration of the regulatory framework can inadvertently dissuade tenants from exercising their housing rights within the context of German Law. Herein, Slater's critique on the function of the state in contemporary processes of gentrification is instructive, noting that 'the role of the state in the theory is far from laissez-faire or absent, but rather one of active facilitator' (2018, 123).

9.3.4. Residential housing and tourist accommodation

The empirical inquiry in Chapter Seven has provided insight into the local particularities of the Airbnb-style short-term rental accommodation phenomena. A review of STR data in combination with interview and fieldwork materials has revealed an important, yet rarely considered interconnection between expanding forms of tourist accommodation and increased housing pressure within the residential rental market (see also Cocola-Gant 2016; Garcia-Lopez et al. 2019; Gurran and Phipps 2018; Lee 2016). Given the relative ease to list properties on popular, transnational travel accommodation platforms such as Airbnb, those located in high-demand areas can produce rental yields substantially greater than the traditional private rental market. Through STRs, the implication is that real-estate capital has found a new source of investment to extract maximum value from housing. In the context of Kreuzberg, the statistical data shows that up to 2,000 housing units have been removed from the local residential housing stock; dwellings previously utilised for long-term tenancy. In effect, this process demonstrates a shift whereby the utility of housing, historically reserved for long-term occupation, now competes with an increasing demand for tourism accommodation in residential areas. In this context, long-standing residents (particularly tenants on older rent agreements below the CDA) represent a barrier to the continual search for profit in housing (Aalbers 2016) and further rounds of capital accumulation through STRs.

Given this incentive for property owners to realise higher rents through short-term letting to tourists over long-term resident occupancy, the shifting use of housing can exacerbate the pressure of displacement in various ways. Identified forms of displacement pressure include (but are not limited to) the further reduction of residential housing in an undersupplied market, coupled with the shifting use of neighbourhoods as Kreuzberg's gentrifying neighbourhoods become further integrated into the city's commercial tourism trade. For example, the concentration of STRs across Kreuzberg has triggered a form of exclusionary displacement whereby potential-residents who previously could access a dwelling, are shutout due to the removal of the dwelling from the residential housing market and appropriated for tourist consumption (Marcuse 1985). The transformative role of housing in this context accentuates how real-estate capital can harness urban tourism growth as a vehicle to enhance property-investment opportunities and maximise the exchange value of land and property previously reserved for long term tenancy. In this respect, the empirical analysis suggests that the substantial increase of both STR listings and overnight tourist stays in Kreuzberg more broadly, coupled with an undersupply of housing are likely to intensify the exclusionary effects of gentrification already

impacting on long-standing residents[35] (Bernt et al. 2013). Furthermore, given the need to vacate a residential dwelling before it is relisted as tourist accommodation, the process demonstrates another example of capital accumulation by dispossession affecting Kreuzberg's resident population.

Against this development, one could argue that the transition of housing for residential use to visitor use challenges the broader use-value of the neighbourhood as a site for social reproduction for residents (Harvey 2012). Put differently, if a neighbourhood becomes a space dominated by visitation and tourist consumption over providing shelter and other necessities to facilitate daily residential life, the suggested outcome is the gradual production of a homogenised, 'disneyfied' (Harvey 2012; Zukin 1991, 1998) or 'museumified' (Valentine 2001) landscape of consumption. Following this trajectory, localities such as Venice and Barcelona exemplify how unchecked tourism expansion, including Airbnb-style STRs can result in the exodus of residential life from once-thriving living quarters (Cocola-Gant 2016; Nolan and Séraphin 2019; Ross 2015). Evidence of *touristification in process* was noted by many participants, with one resident describing Kreuzberg as 'no longer a residential area but rather it has become an "experience area", such as Disneyland, but without admission. Only the tenants pay for it' (P15). While tourism-induced spatial and psychological displacement is already evident in Kreuzberg (Ch.7), tighter regulations around the use of housing for tourist accommodation, coupled with increased protections for long-standing commercial establishments, as proposed by the ORA 35 initiative (Ch.7) and the demonstrators against Markthalle Neun (Ch.8), could minimise progressive resident population decline as experienced elsewhere in tourist dominated areas.

9.3.5. Urban tourism, commercial change and Markthalle Neun

The investigation of Kreuzberg's shifting neighbourhood dynamics provides insight into how tourism intersects with the commercial landscape. Notably, the empirical inquiry elucidated a process where gentrifying areas have become a prime destination for contemporary tourist consumption. As researchers have observed elsewhere, this symbiotic process constitutes the production of space for affluent and mobile consumers at the expense of long-standing residents of lower-socioeconomic status (Cocola-Gant 2018a; Gotham 2005). Put differently, urban tourism in Kreuzberg constitutes a form of gentrification that not only displaces residents from housing, but also enacts commercial change in a way that transforms the dominant use of residential neighbourhoods. The resultant material-economic, physical-spatial, and socio-cultural pressures can impede on the quality of daily life in residential neighbourhoods through the loss of key neighbourhood infrastructure on which lower-SES residents rely for everyday goods and services; the

[35] Although the effects of COVID-19 could potentially alter this trend, as discussed in the afterword

disappearance of meeting places important for communal interaction and social reproduction; the reduction affordable facilities to sustain daily life; and, the privatisation of public space for commercial interests.

The revitalisation of Markthalle Neun demonstrates a concentrated contextualisation of retail gentrification in effect. The transition of the market hall should be viewed in terms of neoliberal urban re-structuring whereby the state sold the property at below-market rates to entrepreneurs who have since refashioned the market hall to serve special interests. The action is reflective of broader urban re-structuring coordinated by the state that led to the mass privatisation of key public infrastructures such as housing, transportation, utilities, and the like (see Beveridge et al. 2012; Gornig and Häussermann 2002). As stated in Chapter 1 and 8, this strategy was largely related to the city's €63Billion public debt accrued during the post-reunification fiscal crisis (Amt für Statistik 2004; Neate 2014). However, many have argued the privatisation and commodification of state assets is constitutive of the 'city of talents' (Krätke 2004, 2013; Neate 2014) agenda which encouraged transnational entrepreneurial actors and investors to capitalise on the largescale privatisation of Berlin's public assets. After a period of disinvestment, the new owners acquired the Markthalle Neun at a significant subsidised price under the condition of providing a neighbourhood market hall sensitive to Kreuzberg's sizeable low-income composition. By way of contrast, the findings show that since privatisation, the refashioned hall has effectively transformed social space along socio-economic and socio-spatial lines of exclusion. In turn, as the regeneration process has proceeded, older neighbourhood resources within the hall have been substituted by a range of stalls and events that strictly align with the owners' niche concept of delivering a nutritional revolution to Kreuzberg. Subsequently, the nature of Markthalle Neun's transition into a consumer space for high-status residents and tourists adds up to an accumulation by dispossession (Harvey 1989a, 2003).

The particularities of Markthalle Neun's transition are indicative of research by Gonzalez and Waley (2013, 965), who describe a pattern with urban marketplaces throughout the affluent world whereby 'the market is being reinvented for a wealthier type of customer interested more in local, environmentally friendly, ethical and "authentic" shopping experience.' To add to the critique, Hubbard (2018, 299) observed that 'wholefood shops offer[ing] organic and "green" produce' provide an archetypical example of retail gentrification that 'espouse forms of locally based production, and promote crafted goods rather than the mass-produced'. In this context, the qualitative findings indicate that Markthalle Neun's focus on high-end consumption within a nutritional, regional and organic framing has prompted a gradual withdrawal of large segments of the local population from patronising the market hall. Commenting on the piecemeal displacement of lower-SES residents from traditional market halls repositioned along gentrified lines, Gonzalez and Waley (2013, 978) observed the process as a 'gradual movement away rather than a once-and-for-all decision to go and never return'.

Moreover, the case of Markthalle Neun accents the manner in which gentrification has divested long-standing residents from participating in a social space previously incorporated into the wider public sphere. The successive changing governance of critical neighbourhood infrastructure has been interpreted by some residents as a reduction in their capacity to democratically participate in decisions concerning the trajectory of Markthalle Neun following the priorities and values of higher-status groups. For them, Markthalle Neun has transitioned away from an everyday centre of produce, and further toward a luxury food and event destination for a higher-echelon of consumers. Consequently, the interview and fieldwork materials indicate that a substantial proportion of long-standing residents have experienced a sense of disenfranchisement and dispossession from a neighbourhood site important for communal interaction and social reproduction. Experiences of alienation and exclusion were particularly intensified for those of a low-to-moderate income capacity intersecting with residents of a Turkish-migrant background, a concern also raised by local government representatives (see Chapter 8), illuminating the ethno-racial dimensions of Kreuzberg's gentrification (Hinze 2013; Polat 2018). Subsequently, the refashioning of Markthalle Neun has produced tension, conflict and contestation between those who subscribe to the owners' revitalisation concept and those who are economically and/or culturally excluded. Although the co-owners are empathetic to issues of social justice in regard to food sovereignty and small-scale farming practices, the demonstrations and social action opposing Markthalle Neun's trajectory is demonstrative of residents contending for greater democratic control over decisions altering neighbourhood space according to privileged interests (Lefebvre 1971; Purcell 2002).

In this context, the self-promotion of the Markthalle Neun as a 'hall for all' is noteworthy. The claim was observed as a point of contention throughout Kreuzberg, with many long-standing residents of the view that the refashioned market hall has created new lines of division between those who are part of the market hall (insiders) and those who are not (outsiders) (Pratt 1998; Pratt and Hanson 1994; Rose 1984). The interpretation of the 'hall for all' mantra was further problematised through the exclusionary discourse projected by the co-owners who clarified that in its current form, the market hall 'is good for everyone involved' (K1). Harvey has critiqued similar marketing strategies designed to re-brand urban space, noting that in order to meet the strategists' goals, it 'may require the expulsion or eradication of everyone or everything else that does not fit the brand' (2012, 105). As such, for Markthalle Neun to become a 'hall for all', the strategy paradoxically relies on the exclusion of those who cannot afford, or do not subscribe to the owner's concept. To support the inference, comments made by the owners such as 'those who want cheap discount stores can go elsewhere' (Niedermeier 2018) are indicative of the eradication of lower-SES residents from participating in the market hall. The broader implication suggests that the pending removal of Aldi would symbolise the hall's revitalisation as 'complete' and further enhance the image as an exclusive enclave of distinction in line with the concept and the agenda of the Magnificent Seven. Further, the removal of Aldi

and the populations that utilise it, many of whom are low-income earners and of a Turkish-migrant background, could be viewed as signifying a transitioning away from Kreuzberg's past spatial imaginings, toward an emerging symbolic culture disclosed through the identities of a 'new middle-class' (Bridge and Dowling 2001, 95). In which case, the revitalisation of Markthalle Neun not only illustrates the exclusion of residents according to their consumption abilities but also their socio-cultural identities.

9.4. Chapter conclusion

This chapter has discussed the empirical findings drawing on the conceptual framework established in chapters Two and Three. Taken together, I have shown how contextual forces of change at the housing and neighbourhood scale produce a multiplicity of displacement experienced on multiple fronts. Moreover, I have shown how the contextual forces of change related to housing commodification, commercial upscaling and tourism expansion intersect and compound to produce a contemporary and localised expression of gentrification. Importantly, the fact long-standing residents can experience displacement pressure without enduring the threat of household expulsion is demonstrative of need to consider the impacts of gentrification beyond the housing scale, and within the context of everyday neighbourhood life. The final chapter will further elaborate on this important point.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion

10.1. Research questions and empirical implications

This research has taken Kreuzberg as a site of analysis to explore the micro-geographies of neighbourhood change through the experiences of long-standing residents. As demonstrated in chapter 2 and 3, much emphasis has been devoted to examining 'how' gentrification occurs and 'who' the gentrifiers are. Yet, far less attention has focused on the voices and experiences of incumbent populations who have managed to stay put as the place they regard as home is revalourised for more economically and socially powerful users. To address this empirical and theoretical gap, the central research question guiding this thesis asked: *How are shifting neighbourhood dynamics shaping place for long-standing residents of Kreuzberg?*

I foregrounded the research within the context of Kreuzberg's current phase of gentrification, underscored by an increased commodification and financialisation of housing, in addition to the rise of urban tourism across a locality which, until recently, was discoursed as an immigrant-laden 'problem area' (Mayer 2013) unpalatable to mainstream conventions and expectations of German society (Hinze 2013; Vasudevan 2015). As state and private-led city-boosterism campaigns have proactively reframed Kreuzberg as an alternative, creative and culturally heterogeneous locality ripe for reinvestment (e.g., Guthmann 2019; Visit Berlin 2019), the influx of capital and higher-income groups into lower-socioeconomic space, paradoxically excludes, alienates and displaces the long-standing populations who have shaped and constitute the locality's now-celebrated urban dynamism. In this respect, a central pillar of this thesis has demonstrated how economic development strategies that conceptualise culture and difference as a promotional tool for tourism and wealthier residents enact gentrification and displacement.

Collectively, the literature related to housing commodification, retail change, urban tourism and class-based population change has provided a useful framework to address the research question and core objectives. Yet, despite the parallels between gentrification and urban tourism concerning the changing conditions of the post-industrial city, both strands of research have largely overlooked the other. My intention, therefore, has been to investigate the interlinkages and reveal how both change agents coalesce and compound in a way that can exacerbate the production of uneven geographies, revalorisation of space for more economically and socially powerful users at the expense of disempowered ones (Objective 1 & 2). Correspondingly, through a critical examination of gentrification and urban tourism in Kreuzberg, the empirical inquiry has elucidated a multiplicity of displacement as experienced by long-standing residents seldom considered in the broader literature (Objective 3). Using a methodological approach sensitive to the longer temporal dimensions of displacement pressure, the arch of this research has revealed how the

cumulative market and cultural forces of gentrification make daily residential life increasingly difficult for populations of lower-socioeconomic status who have retained a foothold in their neighbourhood.

At the same time, the interview materials and fieldwork observations revealed how seemingly dominant, hegemonic modes of land-use change have been unsettled by local-led practices of opposition (Objective 4). This tension was accentuated through displays of local agency physically etched into the built environment (graffiti, street art, banners), and also through the organised efforts of neighbourhood initiatives such as ORA 35; Airbnb in Kreuzberg; and, a diversity of local actions in opposition to Markthalle Neun's growing prominence as an exclusive site for affluent and transient users. As a site previously constitutive of open public space, the transformation of the market hall into exclusive private space for more economically and socially powerful users is unsettled through collective civic action. Correspondingly, the civic demonstration against the proposed closure of Aldi is symbolic as it not only contests the further reduction of affordable daily goods essential to households of lower-socioeconomic status, but the action also challenges the continuing encroachment of Kreuzberg's gentrification frontier. In this respect, the opposition against Aldi's termination is less about endorsing the principles and practices of a chain discount supermarket, but primarily centred around the wider population's right to participate in the recently-privatised Markthalle Neun which was sold on the premise to create an inclusive, sustainable market hall accessible to a diversity of social groups. Taken together, the multiscalar examples of opposition to capital-driven spatial reproduction presented throughout this thesis complicates narratives positioning gentrification as an all-encompassing, unidirectional process, emphasising the active agency of residents and neighbourhood initiatives campaigning for the right to democratically participate in the evolution of Kreuzberg.

10.2. Theoretical implications

Through a critical political economy lens, the qualitative inquiry offers a comprehensive examination of intersecting socio-spatial implications related to gentrification and tourism growth across Kreuzberg. The research also opens up a politics of place that is fluid, multi-dimensional, multiscalar, and contested. At its core, this thesis contributes to a broader discussion emerging in the literature on the multiple modalities of urban displacement, extending conventional understandings of the term as a momentary action of involuntary out-migration from one's dwelling or neighbourhood, to consider the longer temporal, psycho-social among other shelter and non-shelter dimensions of socio-spatial exclusion. As I have demonstrated, experiencing gentrification can generate feelings of dispossession, estrangement, and loneliness; a diminished sense of control over neighbourhood space; and, in some cases, a progressive resignation from daily neighbourhood life. Participant accounts illuminated how a sensed loss of place, or sense of displacement, is intrinsically connected to a loss of place-based relationships and familiarity to one's immediate environment. Despite remaining *in situ*, the experience of loss can intensify as feelings of

attachment and belonging to place are weakened (Butcher and Dickens 2016). Taken together, the research has added to the conceptual properties and scope of displacement, whereby the exclusionary dimensions of gentrification make it progressively more difficult for long-standing residents to remain over time.

Following Lees and Davidson (2005, 2010), this research has elucidated the four key tenants of gentrification shaping Kreuzberg's urban fabric, including; (1) capital-driven re-structuring of the built environment; (2) increased proportion of higher-income users of space; (3) direct or indirect displacement of long-standing, lower-income residents; and, (4) landscape change. Importantly, long-standing resident experiences of urban change at the housing and neighbourhood scale have underscored the significance of place-based bonds and networks and how gentrification can erode deep-rooted connections to place. In this respect, this thesis has unsettled the out-migration/staying put binary, which has routinely functioned as a litmus test for gentrification by reducing displacement to the action of movement. In turn, the methodological approach guiding this research has enabled me to complicate this binary, bringing into focus the changing conditions of everyday neighbourhood life and the related shelter and non-shelter inequities enacted through the affirmation of dominant, capital-driven modes of spatial reproduction.

Correspondingly, the research provides little support for the purported benefits of gentrification for incumbent residents of lower-socioeconomic status, as emphasised by proponents of the positive-gentrification thesis (e.g., Brummet and Reed 2019; Capps 2019; Freeman 2005; Freeman and Braconi 2004; McKinnish et al. 2008). For instance, the revealed social costs of trade-offs made to 'stay put' complicate the position held by some that long-standing residents are the 'hidden winners of gentrification' (Capps 2019). Perceived benefits of gentrification such as improved neighbourhood infrastructure, increased property values for owner-occupiers, and upward social mobility, do not reflect the cumulative daily realities for many long-standing residents of Kreuzberg. On the contrary, participants have experienced neighbourhood-resource displacement, increased housing pressure and spatial loss on multiple fronts, while also expressing an increased sense of detachment from place as Kreuzberg has transitioned along gentrified lines. In turn, resident voices reveal how both shelter and non-shelter dimensions of displacement are crucial to any understanding of gentrification.

Moreover, this research also shows how equating a lack of household turnover with housing security in gentrifying neighbourhoods is an oversimplification which absolves the various displacing pressures experienced by lower-SES households on multiple fronts. As Marcuse (1985, 214) noted, 'if a household under pressure of displacement does not choose to move, it is probably because of a lack of alternatives, rather than a lack of pressure'. In this respect, simply staying put is not sufficient to ameliorate other dimensions of displacement precipitated through gentrification. By extension, resident experiences of involuntary immobility complicate Hartman's (1984) Right to Stay Put thesis as an inherently positive

outcome. As I have shown, Berlin's idiosyncratic mix of housing regulations can inadvertently lock existing households in their current residence who under more flexible housing conditions may opt to secure more appropriate housing according to changing life circumstances.

10.3. Commodifying the housing system

For most citizens of Berlin, it has been impossible to ignore the shifting gears of real-estate capital and the compounding effects of the affordability squeeze impacting on over three million residents within the private rental sector (Amt für Statistik 2019). Yet, as this research has shown, the corresponding housing pressures are spatially uneven and most pronounced in gentrifying localities such as Kreuzberg which have, in recent years, become repositioned as highly desirable for more economically and socially powerful cohorts. Tracing the trajectory of shifting geopolitical conditions, spatial imaginings and representations of Kreuzberg, urban development policies, and subsequent disinvestment and reinvestment in the built environment has revealed the *historical embeddedness* of Kreuzberg's gentrification process. For instance, the wholesale transferal of publicly-owned housing to private corporations for an average of €20,000 per unit during the mid-2000s (Ewert and Adalbert 2013; Krätke 2013), significantly disrupted the entire residential housing system. Herein, the interrelations between the changing role of state-government from regulator to facilitator of an increasingly speculative housing market is made explicit, while constituting a significant feature of Kreuzberg's gentrification as an urban economic strategy. In effect, state-government action proactively paved the way for a rentier class of transnational Large Corporate Landlords to further transform housing from durable assets into liquid commodities (Aalbers and Holm 2008; Lefebvre 2003; Madden and Marcuse 2016; Rogers et al. 2018).

Moreover, the empirical analysis has elucidated the interrelationships between an increasingly liberalised housing market, the subsequent dismantlement or 'easing' of key state intervention mechanisms, and gentrification-induced displacement. In spite of policy interventions implemented to mitigate the adverse effect of housing commodification, such as the Rent Break, Rent Index, as well as the Social Composition Protection (Milieuschutz), speculative buying practices, dubious modernisations and the resulting rent intensification, in addition to the absorption of residential housing into the tourism accommodation market, continue to undermine resident's right to just housing in a city paradoxically celebrated for strong housing protections relative to other jurisdictions (Bate 2020; Martin et al. 2017; O'Sullivan 2018).

In this respect, the research has revealed some of the contradictory effects of regulatory measures that have secured housing affordability for a share of the population, while also creating the mould for considerable rent disparities to transpire between housing of comparable quality, determined by the maturity of the tenancy agreement. The subsequent rent gaps have inadvertently exacerbated the tension between long-

standing residents and increasing rent expectations by property owners producing a strong displacement pressure (Blokland et al. 2015; Holm 2013). In turn, housing tenure security is not only weakened through increased housing demand among wealthier cohorts, but also through the substantial difference between rent prices in long-term and new rental contracts and the related practices of landlords to close the rent gap. Within this context, the research has also shown how the current configuration of local housing regulations is undermined by tactics such as housing modernisation and the conversion of housing into the tourism accommodation market. Without clear legal definitions, the elusive regulatory frameworks have enabled property owners to use refurbishments as a strategy to circumnavigate housing regulations and capture premium rents disproportionately higher than the district average. Importantly, the practice of characterising maintenance and repairs as improvements to justify substantial rent increases as well as the role of short-term rentals are brought into question and requires further interrogation.

10.4. Contested tourism landscapes

In recent years, tourism has become a leading feature of Berlin's economy, and in turn, Kreuzberg's social geography (Amt für Statistik 2019). City officials have perceived the continual expansion of the tourism industry as an inherently positive characteristic of urban economic development. Correspondingly, the promotion of tourism remains a key political objective for Berlin's government as a core economic driver which generated €11.58Billion in revenue during 2016 (Visit Berlin 2017). The marketing of Kreuzberg as a 'locality of difference' through discursive framing such as 'alternative lifestyles and creativity' (Ch.7) is indicative of Harvey's commentary on the 'urban spectacle' whereby a city's cultural capital is branded, and in turn commodified as a mark of distinction 'drawing power upon the flows of capital more generally' (Harvey 2012, 103). Yet, the celebration of the Kreuzberg's tourism growth in annual reports and the like should be understood against the absence of a coordinated effort to develop the required infrastructure to support an expanding tourism industry coupled with the further relaxation of the Housing Misuse Law, which has incentivised the conversion of residential housing into the short-term rental market. In this regard, the interview and fieldwork materials have shown how tourism growth should be understood beyond pure economic interests and that greater attention is required to assess the coming together of tourism and habitation in lower-socioeconomic residential areas. For many participants, the shifting representations of Kreuzberg have been perceived as inauthentic, commercial-driven and have undermined the integrity of the locality. The qualitative inquiry demonstrated a shared concern regarding the adverse effects of state-sponsored tourism in residential space, raising questions surrounding the state's complicity in facilitating tourist-related gentrification.

The compounding effects of tourism-related gentrification show how a multiplicity of displacement can be experienced beyond the scale of housing as urban space is transformed into exclusionary consumption areas

for affluent users. Identifying this distinction is crucial to better understand the role of urban tourism in parallel to Kreuzberg's current phase of gentrification. Notably, the empirical analysis has revealed significant overlaps between classical expressions of gentrification and the proliferation of tourism across inner-urban residential neighbourhoods. This thesis, therefore, reinforces the work of emerging scholarship illustrating how urban tourism and gentrification intersect and coalesce, and can cumulatively contribute to: house and land price inflation (Cocola-Gant 2016; Gotham 2005; Harvey 2012; Lee 2016; Schaefer and Jens 2017); the conversion of residential housing into tourist accommodation (Gurran and Phipps 2017; Schaefer and Braun 2016; Wachsmuth and Weisler 2018); the privatisation of public space (Cocola-Gant 2016); a loss of key neighbourhood resources and amenities (Gonzalez and Waley 2013; Shaw and Hagemans 2015) as well as feeding into broader processes of retail gentrification (Hubbard 2016, 2018; Zukin 2008). Akin to this scholarship, I have elucidated how Kreuzberg's expanding tourism trade can alter the trajectory of entire neighbourhoods following the interests and preferences of transient users, as well as affluent residents who often share similar consumption tastes and practices. The subsequent reconfiguration of neighbourhood space has triggered feelings of loss and estrangement to place for many long-standing residents.

A defining feature of Kreuzberg's urban tourism landscape is underscored through the proliferation of short term rental accommodation. Although the initial concept of home-sharing may have emerged from the sharing economy model of peer-to-peer exchange, the professionalisation and commodification of homesharing has repositioned the practice of Airbnb-style short term letting within the architecture of 'platform capitalism' (Langley and Leyshon 2017; Srnicek 2017). Given that property owners and managers can receive much higher rent yields from STR tourist accommodation, rent-seeking platforms have effectively expanded the capacity of capital accumulation within the residential housing system (Duso et al. 2020; Schaefer and Braun 2016; Wachsmuth et al. 2018). As properties can be listed on world-renowned travel accommodation platforms such as Airbnb, dwellings located in high-demand areas can produce revenues exponentially greater compared to the traditional private rental market. Herein, STRs produce new rent gaps which can only be closed through the displacement of tenants on long-term rental contracts who represent a barrier to new rounds of capital accumulation through the built environment (Slater 2018; N. Smith 1979, 1996). In turn, the rise of platforms such as Airbnb have set into operation new market dynamics whereby STR accommodation is capitalised the purchasing decisions of property investors, further contributing to a hyper-commodification of housing and residential space more broadly for tourist consumption. The associated shifts in land-use change demonstrate how housing historically reserved for long term residential tenure now competes with an expanding and diversifying tourism accommodation industry. In addition to removing homes and living space from the residential housing system, STR-growth can also contribute to escalating rent averages as well as increased housing shortages (Lee 2016; Wachsmuth and Weisler 2018). Consequently, the disproportionate spatial concentration of STRs in high-demand residential localities such

as Kreuzberg only exacerbates the process exclusionary displacement and related displacing pressures within an already-undersupplied and hyper-commodified housing system.

The related housing, neighbourhood and place-based pressures enacted through the shifting balance of neighbourhood life toward an increasingly touristified landscape can have disruptive and destructive effects for long-standing residents. The material, socio-cultural and psycho-social dimensions of touristification are indicative of a nuanced form of displacement pressure that remains largely underexamined while posing new challenges for urban scholarship and policy-makers alike which have traditionally focused on well-established tourist precincts and the assumption that tourism growth is an inherently positive characteristic of urban development. As the expansion of tourism across residential areas continues, the social reproduction of space is challenged as transient consumers assume a greater role in shaping neighbourhood trajectories. Future research may seek to explore how successive tourist flows across residential space requires new ways of thinking about local housing markets, neighbourhood change, uneven development and the quality of life for less-transient cohorts such as residents, local business among other interest groups.

10.5. Micro-geographies of neighbourhood transformation

Beyond the uneven housing dynamics examined, the empirical analysis also elucidated how Kreuzberg's shifting demographic composition, and by extension, the rapid growth of tourism flows throughout residential space has disruptive effects for long-standing residents. Reflecting on changes within the last ten years, participants routinely described Kreuzberg as an increasingly challenging place to live for populations of lower-socioeconomic status in relation to both escalating living costs and socio-cultural shifts toward a consumption-centric landscape that privileges wealthier and transient users at the expense of less-advantaged households. As residential neighbourhoods become characteristic of spaces of entertainment, tourist accommodation and consumption, the quality of life for long-standing residents is undermined.

In a material-economic sense, the general consensus is that the old-neighbourhood infrastructure has largely been supplanted by incoming establishments typically geared toward the needs of more economically and socially powerful users. For instance, many long-standing businesses have been priced out and displaced by establishments within the hospitality, gastronomy, entertainment and leisure industries (Bizim Kiez 2019a). Yet, neighbourhood-resource displacement is not only impactful for business owners but also pose significant implications for the resident populations that relied on the exiting establishments for essential daily needs and services. Consequently, everyday residential life becomes increasingly difficult for less-advantaged residents as the neighbourhood infrastructure pivots toward a higher-echelon of consumption preferences and tastes. This dynamic was made explicit throughout the case study on Markthalle Neun, which accentuates how gentrification divests long-standing residents from accessing key resources as well as

limiting civic participation in a social space previously incorporated into the wider public sphere. Herein, gentrifying retailscapes can contribute a growing sense of emotional loss among long-standing residents impacted by broader effects of neighbourhood change along socio-cultural and socio-economic lines.

Additionally, transforming civic codes and practices were identified as a central theme of contention at the neighbourhood scale. In particular, excessive late-night noise, party tourism, mobility disruptions, anti-social behaviour, and the increasing dominance of the English language as the Lingua Franca were observed as key stressors with socio-cultural and physical-spatial dimensions affecting how long-standing residents perceive and use neighbourhood space. In some cases, this has led to residents to spatially withdrawing from parts of their neighbourhood to avoid encounters, while in other cases, residents contemplate vacating Kreuzberg entirely. Moreover, the disappearance of familiar sites that once cultivated and sustained place-based social bonds and networks can have multifaceted effects for long-standing residents. Herein, the psychological implications of displacement are revealed whereby residents who have managed to remain *in situ*, become detached from the dominant trajectory of neighbourhood change.

In this respect, the empirical analysis has provided insight into the more visceral dimensions of displacement beyond the physical action of spatial out-migration. The gradual, and often piece-meal disintegration of place-based social bonds, relationships and networks through successive processes of gentrification can pose adverse effects to long-standing residents beyond economic pressures related to housing market change, eliciting feelings of isolation, alienation and a general sense of loss from the neighbourhood they define as home. Cumulatively, this dynamic reinforces Davidson's (2008, 2401) assertion that 'an obvious absence of direct displacement cannot be interpreted as a lack of displacement altogether. This stated, it must be recognised that other aspects of displacement are more difficult to identify, measure and conceptualise'. Within this context, my research has elucidated the less-overt, less-tangible aspects of gentrification and urban tourism that can rupture people's connection to place. As long-standing residents' capacity to negotiate and 'make' place is surpassed by more powerful, incoming users of space, the resultant everyday experiences of displacement are illustrative of broader processes of exclusion and inequality that undermines the right to the city and the quality of life for many long-standing residents.

10.6. Limitations and further research

The research methodology has been developed to produce a view of gentrification-induced displacement from below. Accordingly, the weight of this research has leaned on the experiences of long-standing residents who participated in the interviews. In addition, fieldwork observations, the market hall survey, as well as a range of grey literature and statistical data were utilised to substantiate the interview data and follow up on key themes identified. Several threads uncovered throughout the inquiry can be investigated further. For

instance, the data collected did not capture the voices of former residents who may have exited the locality due to mounting displacement pressures. As tracing spatially displaced households remains under-researched, serious inquiry in this direction would add to critical research on the housing struggles of less-advantaged populations while extending the literature on gentrification, displacement and urban governance. This thesis also presents scope for further research regarding the themes of Airbnb-style STRs; housing refurbishments; and, the nuances of retail gentrification.

As the use of land and housing for tourism purposes has continued to increase across Kreuzberg's residential landscape, a more in-depth longitudinal review of the use of STRs would be useful for drawing a more definitive set of understandings. Notably, increased data transparency from leading platforms such as Airbnb would facilitate more in-depth and accurate analyses to unfold. The compounding effects of Airbnb-style STRs and an unchecked expansion of neighbourhood tourism more broadly require deeper consideration in relation to the subtleties and sensitivities of daily residential life.

A comprehensive, longitudinal analysis of housing data would benefit the inquiry presented in this thesis on Kreuzberg's rent disparities and the closing of rent gaps through dubious modernisation methods. Studying the dynamic relationship between rental tenure contracts, building conditions, and rent disparities before and after modernisation would provide greater insight regarding the scale and frequency of both housing tenure turnover and rent intensification, for example. An investigation of this angle would produce necessary data to further highlight the shortcomings of the Rent Index and the Rent Break. Plugging this policy gap is not only crucial for addressing the rapidly increasing Calculated District Average, but also to ensure that underperforming buildings undergo regular repair and maintenance without creating the conditions for substantial rent spikes.

Additionally, the implications of retail gentrification for daily residential life represents a significant issue across varying context (e.g., Hubbard 2016; Zukin et al. 2009), yet remains underexplored in scholarly and policy literature. Throughout this dissertation, I have introduced the political dimensions influencing the changing trajectory of neighbourhood infrastructure (Ch. 6 & 8), while highlighting the manifold effects not only for long-standing residents, but also long-standing businesses. Further analyses of the flows and transitions across retailscapes in gentrifying areas would be useful for elucidating the micro-geographies of exclusion produced in the process, but also the impact of local-led opposition, contesting and renegotiating the shape of neighbourhood infrastructure. The tensions produced between food sovereignty in lower-socioeconomic neighbourhoods is also worth critical inquiry.

10.7. Chapter conclusion

This thesis has canvased a particular moment of Kreuzberg's evolution, primarily from the perspectives, and through the experiences of, long-standing residents who define the inner-urban locality as home. My hope is that this thesis has added another layer of critique to the politics of daily urban life in a way that contributes to the bodies of literature interrogating the uneven power relations producing and reproducing social space. As this research has shown, considering the everyday experiences of long-standing residents is vital for understanding how cultural and economic processes intersect and shape place in ways that can disproportionally affect people of lower-socioeconomic status. In this regard, this thesis has underscored a dynamic interplay between shelter and non-shelter dimensions of displacement rarely considered in research on gentrification and tourism in the contemporary post-industrial city. I suggest that a deeper engagement with the process of displacement in its widest sense could foster more equitable approaches to urban development and urban policy across varying contexts. If the compounding effects of gentrification remain underrepresented in research informing policy-making decisions, the modalities of displacement elucidated throughout this thesis are likely to continue impacting on long-standing residents who, despite retaining a foothold in their neighbourhood, experience an undermining of their democratic participation in place-making and dwelling.

Afterword

The data corpus presented in this thesis was collected and analysed before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, announced in March 2020 (WHO 2020). As experienced across many urban areas, the necessary public health measures implemented to curtail the spread and impact of the coronavirus have had a significant effect on daily life in the densely populated locality of Kreuzberg.

The bourgeoning hospitality sector described throughout this thesis has been hit particularly hard. Many nightlife hospitality establishments have been unable to keep their doors open as more than 43,000 COVID-19 cases have been confirmed across Berlin (RKI 2020). Although state-aid has been committed to providing some economic relief, for bars, restaurants and nightclubs considered high-risk sites for virus transmission, the assistance has not prevented a growing rate of insolvencies (Luyken 2020; Scholz 2020). This trend is expected to persist as new restrictions implemented in November 2020 lessen the likelihood of recovering from substantial revenue losses incurred during the first half of the year.

COVID-19 has also had a devastating effect on the city's tourism industry. Overnight visitor stays fell by 95 per cent in April 2020 according to state-government statistics (Visit Berlin 2020). And although tourism flows increased slightly during the summer months as health restrictions were eased, the statistics for September 2020 show a decrease of almost 60 per cent compared to 2019 figures. In this regard, the effects of the pandemic on global tourism may disrupt the recent patterns of STR growth presented in Chapter 7. At the same time, Airdna's Market Minder tool registered over 10,000 active STR listings in September 2020, with an occupancy rate of 74 per cent or higher (Airdna 2020). Correspondingly, sources suggest that Airbnb-style STRs may hold an advantage over the hotel industry amid the pandemic given that physical distancing is more feasible. As entire homes are available for rent without the need for person-to-person interaction, STRs have been described as lower-risk compared to hotels, and therefore a safer option for travellers (Dubin 2020; Glusac 2020; Oliver 2020).

Furthermore, Airbnb committed USD$250Million to assist hosts impacted by booking cancellations between March 14 and May 31, 2020 (Lee 2020). The aid was offered globally (except in China) and paid hosts up to 25 per cent of their cancellation fees, while a further $10Million was dedicated to Airbnb *Superhosts* to assist with the costs of mortgage repayments. The compensation for affected hosts provides further evidence to support the inferences made throughout the thesis regarding the transition of Airbnb-style STRs from peer-to-peer accommodation to a market-driven business whereby housing is exclusively let out to tourists in a professional capacity.

Concerning the rent intensification process outlined in this thesis, the Berlin state government has passed a bill to implement a five-year Rent-Freeze (*Mietendeckel*), capping rent increases at 1.3 per cent per year to

account for inflation (SenStadt 2020). Although the bill has been welcomed by neighbourhood initiatives and housing welfare advocates as a much-needed win for the city's renting population of 85 per cent, legal analysts posit that a state-wide rent cap may not pass through the federal courts in 2021 (Guthmann 2020b; KCRW 2020). In effect, a battle between regional and national powers will be carried out in the courts whereby federal law-makers are expected to oppose the bill on the grounds of breaking constitutional law. Similarly to the second reform to the Housing Misuse Act (see Ch.7), the rights of property ownership are expected to outweigh the pressing need for affordable, quality housing.

Nonetheless, the announcement of the proposed Rent-Freeze has already had unanticipated effects on Berlin's housing system. For instance, the construction of urgently-needed housing stock has slowed, with developers citing the Rent-Freeze as a catalyst for reduced cash flows, and in turn, reducing the incentive to invest in improving the quantity and quality of housing across the tenant-dominant city (Winter and Black 2020). Meanwhile, the number of homes available for rent has fallen by 42 per cent since the announcement of the Rent-Freeze which has unnerved some landlords, prompting them to sell apartments instead of renting them at reduced rates if the regulation is passed (*Business Times* 2020*)*. Herein, the Rent-Freeze could inadvertently hamper the city's building efforts to provide necessary housing in a chronically undersupplied market. In this regard, questions emerge regarding the certainty that the Rent-Freeze will effectively improve affordability and make the city more liveable.

The ongoing effects of the coronavirus pandemic in relation to the trajectory of Kreuzberg's shifting neighbourhood dynamics remain to be seen. Whether Kreuzberg will return to a hotspot for tourists and partygoers is unclear and given the closure of many hospitality establishments reliant on tourism crowds, what becomes of Kreuzberg's changing built environment is likely to have a transformative effect on the entire use and function of neighbourhood space. Moreover, if the Rent-Freeze is passed in 2021, the outcome could have disparate effects for residents with pre-existing rental contracts compared to prospective tenants. As the locality is confronted with a multidimensional set of economic, health, social and political challenges, the geographies of Kreuzberg are continually made and remade. As per cities more broadly; the evolution of Kreuzberg continues.

References

Aalbers, Manual. 2016. *The Financialisation of Housing: A Political Economy Approach.* London and New York: Routledge.

Aalbers, Manual and Andrej Holm. 2008. 'Privatising Social Housing in Europe: The Cases of Amsterdam and Berlin.' In *Urban Trends in Berlin and Amsterdam*. Edited by K. Adelhof, B. Glock, J. Lossau and M. Schule, 12–23. Berlin: Berliner Geographische Arbeiten, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin.

Aalbers, Manual and Brett Christophers. 2014a. 'Centring Housing in Political Economy.' *Housing, Theory and Society* 31 (4): 373–394.

Aalbers, Manual and Brett Christophers. 2014b. 'The Housing Question under Capitalist Political Economies.' *Housing, Theory and Society* 31 (4): 422–428.

Airbnb. 2018. 'Live like a local in Venice.' Airbnb Newsroom. July 11, 2018. https://news.airbnb.com/welcome-to-venice/.

Airbnb. 2019. 'Fast Facts.' Airbnb Newsroom. November 2, 2019. https://press.airbnb.com/fast-facts/.

Airbnb. 2020a. 'Fast Facts.' Airbnb Newsroom. August 6, 2020 https://press.airbnb.com/fast-facts/.

Airbnb. 2020b. 'Media Assets.' Airbnb Newsroom. August 19, 2020. Retrieved from: https://news.airbnb.com/media-assets/.

Airdna. 2019. 'Market Minder Berlin.' *Airdna,* December 2, 2019. https://www.airdna.co/vacation-rental-data/app/de/berlin/berlin/overview.

Airdna. 2020. 'Market Minder Berlin.' *Airdna,* September 20, 2020. https://www.airdna.co/vacation-rental-data/app/de/berlin/berlin/overview.

Amin, Ash and Nigel Thrift. 2007. 'Cultural-Economy and Cities.' *Progress in Human Geography* 31 (2): 143–161.

Amt für Statistik. 2001. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2001: Berlin.* Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistischebibliothek.de/mir/receive/BBAusgabe_mods_00000271.

Amt für Statistik. 2002. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2002: Berlin.* Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistischebibliothek.de/mir/receive/BBAusgabe_mods_00000268.

Amt für Statistik. 2003. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2003: Berlin.* Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistischebibliothek.de/mir/receive/BBAusgabe_mods_00000265.

Amt für Statistik. 2004. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2004: Berlin.* Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistischebibliothek.de/mir/receive/BBAusgabe_mods_00000262.

Amt für Statistik. 2005. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2005: Berlin.* Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistischebibliothek.de/mir/receive/BBAusgabe_mods_00000258.

Amt für Statistik. 2006. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2006: Berlin.* Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistischebibliothek.de/mir/receive/BBAusgabe_mods_00000255.

Amt für Statistik. 2007. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2007: Berlin.* Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistischebibliothek.de/mir/receive/BBAusgabe_mods_00000008.

Amt für Statistik. 2008. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2008: Berlin.* Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/Jahrbuch/BE_Kap_2008.asp.

Amt für Statistik. 2009. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2009: Berlin.* Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/Jahrbuch/BE_Kap_2009.asp.

Amt für Statistik. 2010. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2010: Berlin.* Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/Jahrbuch/BE_Kap_2010.asp.

Amt für Statistik. 2011. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2011: Berlin*. Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/Jahrbuch/BE_Kap_2011.asp.

Amt für Statistik. 2012. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2012: Berlin*. Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/Jahrbuch/BE_Kap_2012.asp.

Amt für Statistik. 2013. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2013: Berlin.* Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/Jahrbuch/BE_Kap_2013.asp.

Amt für Statistik. 2014. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2014: Berlin.* Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/Jahrbuch/BE_Kap_2014.asp.

Amt für Statistik. 2015. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2015: Berlin*. Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/Jahrbuch/BE_Kap_2015.asp.

Amt für Statistik. 2016. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2016: Berlin.* Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/Jahrbuch/BE_Kap_2016.asp.

Amt für Statistik. 2017. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2017: Berlin.* Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/Jahrbuch/BE_Kap_2017.asp

Amt für Statistik. 2018a. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2018: Berlin*. Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/Jahrbuch/BE_Kap_2018.asp.

Amt für Statistik. 2018b. *Bautätigkeit und Wohnungen.* Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/BasisZeitreiheGrafik/Zeit-Gebaeude_Wohnen.asp?Ptyp=400&Sageb=31000&creg=BBB&anzwer=7.

Amt für Statistik. 2019. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2019: Berlin.* Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/Jahrbuch/jb2019/JB_2019_BE.pdf.

Annunziata, Sandra and Clara Rivas-Alonso. 2018. 'Resisting Gentrification.' In *Handbook of Gentrification Studies.* Edited by Loretta Lees and Martin Phillips, 393–412. Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Ashworth, Gregory and Mihalis Kavaratzis (eds). 2010. 'In Search of Effective Place Brand Management.' *In Towards Effective Place Brand Management: Branding European Cities and Regions*. Edited by Gregory Ashworth and Mihalis Kavaratzis, 234–239. Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Ashworth, Gregory and Stephen Page. 2011. 'Urban Tourism Research: Recent Progress and Current Paradoxes.' *Progress in Tourism Management* 32 (1): 1–15.

ABDT (Assemblea de Barris pel Decreixement Turistic). 2016. 'Defensem els barris. Stop turisme massiu.' February 15, 2016. https://assembleabarris.wordpress.com/2016/02/.

Atkinson, Rowland. 2000a. 'Measuring Gentrification and Displacement in Greater London.' *Urban Studies* 37 (1): 149–165.

Atkinson, Rowland. 2000b. 'The Hidden Costs of Gentrification: Displacement in Central London.' *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 15 (4): 307–326.

Atkinson, Rowland. 2002. 'Does Gentrification Help or Harm Neighbourhoods? An Assessment of the Evidence-Base in the Context of the New Urban Agenda.' *ESRC Centre for Neighbourhood Research,* Paper 5.

Atkinson, Rowland. 2003. 'Introduction: Misunderstood Saviour or Vengeful Wrecker?: The Many Meanings and Problems of Gentrification.' *Urban Studies* 40 (12): 2343–2350.

Atkinson, Rowland. 2006. 'Padding the Bunker: Strategies of Middle-Class Disaffiliation and Colonisation in the City.' *Urban Studies* 43 (4): 819–32.

Atkinson, Rowland. 2015. 'Losing One's Place: Narratives of Neighbourhood Change, Market Injustice and Symbolic Displacement.' *Housing, Theory and Society* 32 (4): 1–16.

Atkinson, Rowland and Gary Bridge. 2005. *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism.* London and New York: Routledge.

Aydin, Sevim. 2019. 'Markthalle für alle — Aldi erhalten!' Drucksache – DS/1199/V. *Bezirksamt Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg von Berlin.* https://www.berlin.de/ba-friedrichshain-kreuzberg/politik-und-verwaltung/bezirksverordnetenversammlung/online/vo020.asp?VOLFDNR=9024.

Badecock, Blair. 1989. An Australian View of the Rent Gap Hypothesis.' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 79 (1): 125–145.

Baeten, Gary and Carina Listerborn. 2015. 'Renewing Urban Renewal in Landskrona, Sweden: Pursuing Displacement Through Housing Policies.' *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 97 (1): 249–261.

Bammer, Angelika. 1994. *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Bate, Bronwyn. 2020. 'Rental Security and the Property Manager in a Tenant's Search for a Private Rental Property.' *Housing Studies* 35 (4): 589–611.

Baxter, Jamie. 2016. 'Case Studies in Qualitative Research.' In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, 4th ed. Edited by Iain Hay, 130–146. Don Mills, Canada: Oxford University Press.

Baxter, Jamie, John Eyles, and Dennis Williams. 1992. 'The Hagersville Tire Fire: Interpreting Risk through a Qualitative Research Design.' *Qualitative Health Research* 2 (2): 108–237.

Baxter, Jamie and John Eyles. 1997. 'Evaluating Qualitative Research in Social Geography: Establishing "Rigour" in Interview Analysis.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 22 (4): 505–525.

Baxter, Richard and Katherine Brickell. 2014. 'For Home Unmaking.' *Home Cultures* 11 (2): 133–143.

Bell, David. 2007. 'The Hospitable City: Social Relations in Commercial Spaces.' *Progress in Human Geography* 31 (1): 7–22.

Benson, Michaela and Emma Jackson. 2018. 'From Class to Gentrification and Back Again.' In *The Handbook of Gentrification Studies.* Edited by Loretta Lees and Martin Phillips, 63–80. London: Edward Elgar.

Bergmann, Greg and Henrick Baumunk. 2016. *Housing Market Report 2016*. BerlinHyp. Berlin. berlinhyp.de/en/media/newsroom/wohnmarktreport-2016?file=files/media/corporate/newsroom/weitere-publikationen/en/2016/wohnmarktreport-2016-en.pdf.

Berliner Akzente. 2017. 'Hip Berlin: The Ten Best Hipster Hotspots.' August 31, 2017. https://www.berliner-akzente.de/stadt_szene/hipster-locations-berlin-90713.php.

Berlin.de. 2015a. 'Mietpreisbremse: Regelungen, Änderungen, Ausnahmen.' *Service Portal Berlin.* https://www.berlin.de/special/immobilien-und-wohnen/mietrecht/3793279-739654-mietpreisbremse-regelungen-aenderungen-a.html.

Berlin.de. 2015b. 'Street Food Thursday.' *Service Portal Berlin.* https://www.berlin.de/restaurants/street-food-markets/3862517-3862508-street-food-thursday.html.

Berlin.de. 2019a. 'Das Offizielle Hauptstadtportal.' Service Portal Berlin. https://www.berlin.de/.

Berlin.de. 2019b. *Ferienwohnungsvermietung – Genehmigung einer zeitweisen Vermietung der Berliner Hauptwohnung oder Nebenwohnung*. Service Portal Berlin. https://service.berlin.de/dienstleistung/328146/.

Berlin.de. 2019c. 'Hotels in Berlin.' Service Portal Berlin. https://www.berlin.de/hotels/.

Berlin Food Stories. 2015. 'Berlin's Best Street Food Markets.' February 4, 2015. https://berlinfoodstories.com/2015/02/04/best-berlin-street-food-markets/.

Berliner Großmarkt. 2010. 'Markthalle an der Eisenbahnstraße: Verkauf zunächst gestoppt.' February 12, 2010. https://www.umbruch-bildarchiv.de/bildarchiv/pdf/120210bgm.pdf.

Berliner Mieterverein. 2019. 'Info 169: Die Mietpreisbremse bei Wiedervermietung.' *Berliner Mieterverein,* February 3, 2019. https://www.berliner-mieterverein.de/recht/infoblaetter/info-169-die-mietpreisbremse-bei-wiedervermietung.htm.

Bernt, Matthias, Britta Grell, and Andrej Holm (eds). 2013. *The Berlin Reader: A Compendium on Urban Change and Activism.* Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag.

Betancur, John. 2011. 'Gentrification and Community Fabric in Chicago.' *Urban Studies* 48 (2): 383–406.

BGB (Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch). 2019. 'Gesetze/Verordnungen.' *Bundersamt für Justiz*: *Bundesministerium der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz.* Bonn. http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/bgb/index.html.

Beveridge, Ross, Frank Hüesker, and Matthias Naumann. 2012. 'From Post-Politics to a Politics of Possibility? Unravelling the Privatization of the Berlin Water Company.' *Geoforum* 51 (1): 66–74. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2013.09.021.

Beveridge, Ross and Matthias Naumann. 2014. 'Global Norms, Local Contestations: Privatisation and de/politicisation in Berlin.' *Policy and Politics* 42 (2): 275–91.

Billo, Emily and Nancy Hiemstra. 2013. 'Mediating Messiness: Expanding Ideas of Flexibility, Reflexivity, and Embodiment in Fieldwork.' *Gender, Place & Culture* 20(3): 313–328.

Bissell, David. 2014. 'Transforming Commuting Mobilities: The Memory of Practice.' *Environment and Planning A* 46 (8): 1946–1965.

Bizim Kiez. 2015. 'Das Gespenst der Gentrifizierung im Wrangelkiez—The spectre of gentrification in Wrangelkiez.' *Bizim Kiez,* June 29, 2015. https://www.bizim-kiez.de/blog/2015/06/29/das-gespenst-der-gentrifizierung-im-wrangelkiez-the-specter-of-gentrification-in-wrangelkiez/?cn-reloaded=1.

Bizim Keiz. 2016. Für Lebendige Nachbarschaften und eine solidarische Stadt. https://www.bizim-kiez.de/.

Bizim Kiez. 2019a. 'Map of Displacement in Kreuzberg SO36.' *Bizim Keiz,* September 24, 2019. https://www.bizim-kiez.de/map-of-displacement-in-so36-en/.

Bizim Kiez. 2019b. 'Die Markthalle Neun—Konflikt mit der Nachbarschaft und ein Versuch zu einer Neuorientierung.' *Bizim Keiz,* September 23, 2019. https://www.bizim-kiez.de/blog/2019/03/19/die-markhalle-neun-konflikt-mit-der-nachbarschaft-und-ein-versuch-zu-einer-neuorientierung/?cn-reloaded=1.

Blanco-Romero, Asunción, Macia Salom, and Gemma Canoves. 2018. 'Barcelona, Housing Rent Bubble in a Tourist City. Social Responses and Local Policies.' *Sustainability* 10 (6): 2043–2061.

Blickham, Micki, Thomas Bürk, and Nils Grube. 2014. 'Touristification in Berlin Ein Bericht zur Workshop-Reihe des Vereins Kritische Geographie Berlin.' *Sub\Urban* 2 (1): 167–180 https://zeitschrift-suburban.de/sys/index.php/suburban/article/view/117.

Blokland, Talja, Christine Hentschel, Andrej Holm, Henrik Lebuhn and Talia Margalit. 2015. 'Urban Citizenship and Right to the City: The Fragmentation of Claims.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 39 (4): 655–666.

Blokland, Talja and Henrik Schultze. 2017. 'Belonging, Conviviality or Public Familiarity? Making sense of urbanity in rapidly transforming neighbourhoods through the lens of Berlin and Rotterdam.' In *Re-imagining the City: Municipality and Urbanity Today from a Sociological Perspective.* Edited by Marta Smagacz-Poziemska, Krzysztof Frysztacki, and Laura Bovone. Poland: Jagiellonian University Press.

Blomley, Nicholas. 2004. *Unsettling the City: Urban Land and the Politics of Property.* New York: Routledge.

Blunt, Alison and Robyn Dowling. 2006. *Home.* London and New York: Routledge.

Bock, Kerstin. 2015. 'The Changing Nature of City Tourism and its Possible Implications for the Future Of Cities.' *European Journal of Futures Research* 3 (20): 1–8.

Bolsinger, Matthias. 2014. 'Verbot von Ferienwohnungen in Berlin:Touristen werden zu Illegalen.' *Taz,* July 31, 2014. https://taz.de/Verbot-von-Ferienwohnungen-in-Berlin/!5036503/.

Bondi, Liz. 1999. 'Gender, Class, and Gentrification: Enriching the Debate.' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 17 (3): 261–282.

Botsman, Rachel. 2015. 'Defining the Sharing Economy: What is the Collaborative Consumption—And What is It?' *Fast Company,* May 25, 2015. https://www.fastcompany.com/3046119/defining-the-sharing-economy-what-is-collaborative-consumption-and-what-isnt.

Botsman, Rachel and Roo Rogers. 2010. *What's Mine is Yours: The Rise of Collaborate Consumption.* London, U.K.: Collins.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1980. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Bowen, Glenn. 2009. 'Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method.' *Qualitative Research Journal* 9 (2): 27–40.

Bridge, Gary. 2002. 'The Neighbourhood and Social Networks.' *CNR Paper* 4: 1–32.

Bridge, Gary. 2006a. 'It's not Just a Question of Taste: Gentrification, the Neighbourhood, and Cultural Capital.' *Environment and Planning A* 38 (10): 1965–1978.

Bridge, Gary. 2006b. 'Perspectives on Cultural Capital and the Neighbourhood.' *Urban Studies* 43 (4): 719–730.

Bridge, Gary. 2007. 'A Global Gentrifying Class?' *Environment and Planning A* 39 (1): 32–46.

Bridge, Gary, and Robyn Dowling. 2001. 'Microgeographies of Retailing and Gentrification.' *Australian Geographer* 32 (1): 93–107.

Bridge, Gary, Tim Butler and Loretta Lees. 2012. *Mixed Communities: Gentrification by Stealth?* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Braun, Virginia and Victoria Clark. 2006. 'Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology.' *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3 (2): 77–101.

Brenner Neil. 2009. 'What is Critical Urban Theory?' *City* 13 (2–3): 198–207.

Brenner, Neil, Peter Marcuse and Margit Mayer. 2012. *Cities For People, Not For Profit.* London and New York: Routledge.

Brenner, Neil and Nik Theodore. 2016. 'Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism."' *Antipode* 34 (3): 349–379.

Brummet, Quentin and Davin Reed. 2019. *The Effects of Gentrification on the Well-Being and Opportunity of Original Resident Adults and Children.* Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, Working Paper No. 19–30.

Bruns-Berentelg, Jürgen. 2012. 'Social Mix and Encounter Capacity – A Pragmatic Social Model for a New Downtown: The Example of Hafen-City Hamburg.' In *Mixed Communities: Gentrification By Stealth?* Edited by Bridge, Gary, Tim Butler and Loretta Lees, 133–48. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Bundesamt für Justiz. 2019. German Civil Code (BGB). http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/bgb/index.html.

Burack, Christina. 2017. 'CDU's Jens Spahn Slams Berlin's English-Speaking "Hipsters."' *DW News*, August 24, 2017. https://www.dw.com/en/cdus-jens-spahn-slams-berlins-english-speaking-hipsters/a-40212991.

Business Times. 2020. 'Shortage of Homes in Berlin Despite Rent Freeze.' October 13, 2020. https://www.businesstimes.com.sg/real-estate/shortage-of-homes-in-berlin-despite-rent-freeze.

Butcher, Melissa and Luke Dickens. 2016. 'Spatial Dislocation and Affective Displacement: Youth Perspectives on Gentrification in London.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 40 (4): 800–816.

Butler, Tim. 1997. *Gentrification and the Middle Classes.* Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate.

Butler, Tim and Gary Robson. 2001. 'Social Capital, Gentrification and Neighbourhood Change in London: A Comparison of Three South London Neighbourhoods.' *Urban Studies* 38 (12): 2145–2162.

Butler, Tim and Gary Robson. 2003. *London Calling: The Middle Classes and the Remaking of Inner London.* Oxford: Berg.

Büttner, Thiess. 2006. 'The Debt Hanging over Berlin.' *Vox EU,* November 3, 2006. https://voxeu.org/article/debt-hanging-over-berlin.

Byrne, Peter. 2003. 'Two Cheers For Gentrification.' *Howard Law Journal* 46 (3): 405–32.

Cahill, Caitlin. 2007. 'Negotiating Grit and Glamour: Young Women of Color and the Gentrification of The Lower East Side.' *City & Society* 19 (2): 202–31.

Campbell, John. L., Charles Quincy, Jordan Osserman, and Ove K. Pedersen. 2013. 'Coding In-Depth Semistructured Interviews: Problems of Unitization and Intercoder Reliability and Agreement.' *Sociological Methods & Research* 42 (3): 294–320.

Capps, Kriston. 2019. 'The Hidden Winners in Neighbourhood Gentrification.' *City Lab,* July 19, 2019. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-07-16/the-hidden-winners-in-neighborhood-gentrification.

Caulfield, Jon. 1989. 'Gentrification and Desire.' *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 26 (4): 617–632.

Caulfield, Jon. 1994. *City Form and Everyday Life: Toronto's Gentrification and Critical Social Practice.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Cheshire, Paul. 2009. 'Policies for Mixed Communities: A Faith-based Displacement Activity?' *International Regional Science Review* 32 (3): 343–75.

City of Santa Monica. 2019. *Settlement with Airbnb Guarantees Compliance with Home-Sharing Ordinance.* City of Santa Monica. https://www.santamonica.gov/press/2019/12/10/settlement-with-airbnb-guarantees-compliance-with-home-sharing-ordinance.

Clark, Victoria, Virginia Braun, and Nikki Hayfield. 2015. 'Thematic Analysis.' In *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods.* 3rd ed. Edited by Jonathan A. Smith, 222–248. London: Sage.

Clark, Charlotte, Michael Brody, Justin Dillon, Paul Hart, and Joe Heimlich. 2007. 'The Messy Process of Research: Dilemmas, Process, and Critique.' *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education* 12 (1): 110–126.

Clark, Eric. 1992. 'On Gaps in Gentrification Theory.' *Housing Studies* 7 (1): 16–26.

Clark, Eric. 2005. 'The Order and Simplicity of Gentrification: A Political Challenge.' In *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism.* Edited by Rowland Atkinson and Gavin Bridge, 261–269. London and New York: Routledge.

Clay, Phillip. 1979. *Neighborhood Renewal: Middle-Class Resettlement and Incumbent Upgrading in American Neighborhoods.* Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Cockayne, Daniel. 2016. 'Sharing and Neoliberal Discourse: The Economic Function of Sharing in the Digital On-Demand Economy.' *Geoforum* 77 (1): 73–82.

Cocola-Gant, Augustín. 2016. 'Holiday Rentals: The New Gentrification Battlefront.' *Sociological Research Online* 21 (3): 1–10.

Cocola-Gant, Augustín. 2018a. 'Tourism gentrification.' In *Handbook of Gentrification Studies.* Edited by Loretta Lees and Martin Phillips, 281–293. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Cocola-Gant, Augustín. 2018b. 'Struggling with the Leisure Class: Tourism, Gentrification and Displacement.' PhD Diss: Cardiff University.

Cocola-Gant, Augustín and Ana Gago 2019. 'Airbnb, Buy-to-let Investment and Tourism-Driven Displacement: A Case Study in Lisbon.' *Environment and Planning A* 0 (0): 1–18.

Collins, Gard. 2020. 'Berlin Housing Market Forecast 2020.' *ManageCasa*, January 30, 2020. https://managecasa.com/articles/berlin-housing-market/.

Colomb, Claire and Ares Kalandides. 2010. 'The "Be Berlin" Campaign: Old Wine in New Bottles or Innovative Form of Participatory Place Branding?" In *Towards Effective Place Brand Management: Branding European Cities and Regions*. Edited by Gregory J. Ashworth and Mihalis Kavaratzis, 173–190. Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Colomb, Claire and Johannes Novy (eds). 2016. *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City.* London: Routledge.

Consumer Data Research Centre. 2020. 'Airbnb Property Rentals and Reviews (supplied by AirDNA).' Consumer Data Research Centre. https://data.cdrc.ac.uk/dataset/airbnb-property-rentals-and-reviews-supplied-airdna.

Cooper, Marta. 2016. 'Berlin is Cracking Down on Short-term Apartment Rentals—and Airbnb is Taking a Hit.' *Quartz,* May 1, 2016. https://qz.com/673932/berlin-is-cracking-down-on-short-term-apartment-rentals-and-airbnb-is-taking-a-hit/.

Cope, Meghan. 2002. 'Feminist Epistemology in Geography.' In *Feminist Geography in Practice: Research and Methods.* Edited by Pamela Moss, 43–53. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishers.

Cope, Meghan. 2016. 'Organizing and Analyzing Qualitative Data.' In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography,* 4th ed. Edited by Iain Hay, 373–392. Don Mills, Canada: Oxford University Press.

Cox, Shaphan. 2018. 'Writing Visual Observations: Ways of Watching and Waiting.' In *Visual Spatial Enquiry: Diagrams and Metaphors for Architects and Spatial Thinkers.* Edited by Robyn Creagh and Sarah McGann, 32–46. Milton Park, Oxfordshire: Taylor & Francis Group.

Creswell, John. 1998. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Crookes, Lee. 2011. 'The making of space and The Losing Of Place: a Critical Geography of Gentrification-by-Bulldozer in the North of England.' PhD Diss: University of Sheffield.

Crystal, David. 2003. *English as a Global Language.* 2nd ed. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

Darroux, Cammille. 2019. 'What to Do in Berlin's Trendy, Multicultural Kreuzberg District.' *Cultural Trip,* July 3, 2019. https://theculturetrip.com/europe/germany/articles/kreuzberg-s-top-10-sights-visiting-berlin-s-hippest-district/.

Davidson, Mark. 2008. 'Spoiled Mixture: Where does State-led "Positive" Gentrification End?' *Urban Studies* 45 (12): 2385–2405.

Davidson, Mark. 2009. 'Displacement, Space and Dwelling: Placing Gentrification Debate.' *Ethics, Place and Environment* 12 (2): 219–234.

Davidson, Mark. 2012. 'The Impossibility of Gentrification and Social Mixing.' In *Mixed Communities: Gentrification by Stealth?* Edited by Gary Bridge, Tim Butler and Loretta Lees, 233–250. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Davidson, Mark and Loretta Lees. 2005. 'New Build "Gentrification" and London's Riverside Renaissance.' *Environment and Planning A* 37 (1): 1165–90.

Davidson, Mark and Loretta Lees. 2010. 'New-build Gentrification: Its Histories, Trajectories, and Critical Geographies.' *Population, Space and Place* 16 (5): 395–411.

de Haan, Freek. 2018. 'Beyond the Elephant of Gentrification: Relational Approaches to a Chaotic Problem.' In *Handbook of Gentrification Studies*. Edited by Loretta Lees and Martin Philips, 26–48. Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar Publishing.

De Masi, Fabio and Franz Klein. 2018. 'Hamburg and Berlin Tightening the Screw on Airbnb Users in Their Cities.' *Short Term Rentalz,* October 29, 2018. https://shorttermrentalz.com/news/hamburg-and-berlin-tightening-the-screw-on-airbnb-users-in-their-cities/.

Desmond, Matthew. 2012. 'Eviction and the Reproduction of Urban Poverty.' *American Journal of Sociology* 118 (1): 88–133.

DeVerteuil, Geoffrey. 2011. 'Evidence of Gentrification-induced Displacement among Social Services in London and Los Angeles.' *Urban Studies* 48 (8): 1563–1580.

DeVerteuil, Geoffrey. 2012. 'Resisting Gentrification-Induced Displacement: Advantages and Disadvantages to "Staying Put" Among Non-Profit Social Services in London and Los Angeles.' *Area* 44 (2): 208–216.

DeVerteuil, Geoffrey. 2018. 'Immigration and Gentrification.' In *Handbook of Gentrification Studies.* Edited by Loretta Lees and Martin Phillips, 428–443. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Dirksmeier, Peter and Ilse Helbrecht. 2015. 'Resident perceptions of New Urban Tourism: Berlin.' *Geography Compass* 9 (5): 276–285.

Dockery, Alfred, Rachel Ong, Simon Colquhoun, Jianghong Li, and Garth Kendell. 2011. 'Housing and Wellbeing of Children.' *Parity* 24 (2): 8–9.

Dolmetsch, Chris and Olivia Carville. 2020. 'NYC Sues Airbnb Software Partner in Escalation of Feud.' *Bloomberg Technology,* March 2, 2020. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-03-02/new-york-city-extends-war-on-airbnb-by-targeting-guesty.

Dowling, Robyn. 2016. 'Power, Subjectivity, and Ethics in Qualitative Research.' In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography,* 4th ed. Edited by Iain Hay, 29–44. Don Mills, Canada: Oxford University Press.

Dowling, Robyn, Kate Lloyd, and Sandie Suchet-Pearson. 2016. 'Qualitative Methods I: Enriching the Interview.' *Progress in Human Geography* 40 (5): 679–686.

Duany, Andres. 2001. 'Three Cheers for Gentrification.' *American Enterprise Magazine* April/May, 2001. https://www.mckinneytexas.org/DocumentCenter/View/1350/ThreeCheersGentrificationDuany?bidId=.

Dubin, Alesandra. 2020. 'Which is Safer: Airbnb or Hotels? Here's what Doctors Say.' *Business Insider,* October 28, 2020. https://www.businessinsider.com/which-is-safer-airbnb-hotels-coronavirus?r=DE&IR=T.

Duncan, James and Nancy Duncan. 2004. *Landscapes of Privilege: The Politics of the Aesthetic in an American Suburb.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Dunn, Kevin. 2016. 'Interviewing.' In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography,* 4th ed. Edited by Iain Hay, 149–188. Don Mills, Canada: Oxford University Press.

Duso, Tomaso, Claus Michelsen, Maximilian Schäfer and Kevin D. Tran. 2020. *Airbnb and Rents: Evidence from Berlin, August 2020.* German Institute for Economic Research (DIW). https://www.diw.de/documents/publikationen/73/diw_01.c.796620.de/dp1890.pdf.

DWIF & Humboldt-Innovation. 2017*. Tourismuskonzept Berlin 2018+: Konzept für einen stadtverträglichen und nachhhaltigen Berlin-Tourismus 2018+.* Berlin: DWIF Consulting and Humboldt Innovation GmbH. https://www.berlin.de › branchen › tourismuskonzept2018.

Dyckhoff, Tom. 2011. 'Let's Move to Kreuzkölln, Berlin.' *The Guardian,* March 19, 2011. https://www.theguardian.com/money/2011/mar/19/move-to-kreuzkolln-berlin.

Eckhardt, Giana and Fleura Bardhi. 2015. 'The Sharing Economy Isn't About Sharing At All.' *Harvard Bus Rev,* January 28, 2015. https://hbr.org/2015/01/the-sharing-economy-isnt-about-sharing-at-all.

Economist, The. 2018a. "In Praise of Gentrification: Urban Myths." June 21, 2018. https://www.economist.com/united-states/2018/06/21/in-praise-of-gentrification?fsrc=scn/tw/te/rfd/pe.

Economist, The. 2018b. 'Wish You Weren't Here.' October 27, 2018. https://www.economist.com/international/2018/10/27/the-backlash-against-overtourism.

Edelman, Benjamin, Michael Luca, and Dan Svirsky. 2017. 'Racial Discrimination in the Sharing Economy: Evidence from a Field Experiment.' *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 9 (2): 1–22.

Elliot-Cooper, Adam, Phil Hubbard, and Loretta Lees. 2019. 'Moving Beyond Marcuse: Gentrification, Displacement and the Violence of Un-Homing.' *Progress in Human Geography* 23 (1): 1–18.

Engels, Benno. 1999. 'Property Ownership, Tenure And Displacement: In Search Of The Process Of Displacement.' *Environment and Planning A* 31 (10): 1473–1495.

Esri Deutschland. 2020. *Open Data: Bezirke – Berlin.* https://opendata-esri-de.opendata.arcgis.com/datasets/9f5d82911d4545c4be1da8cab89f21ae_0.

European Commission. 2017. *European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations.* Brussels: European Union. https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/from-6-to-28-members_en.

European Commission. 2020. *Sustainable Food—'Farm to Fork' Strategy.* Brussels: European Union. https://ec.europa.eu/info/law/better-regulation/have-your-say/initiatives/12183-Farm-to-Fork-Strategy.

Evans, Mel. 1988. 'Participant Observation: The Researcher as Research Tool.' In *Qualitative Methods in Human Geography.* Edited by J. Eyles and D.M. Smith. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Ewert, Benjamin and Adalbert Evens. 2013. *City Report: Berlin-Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, no.15.* Welfare Innovations at the Local Level in favour of Cohesion. Giessen, Germany.

Fainstein, Susan and David Gladstone. 1999. 'Evaluating Urban Tourism.' In T*he Tourist City.* Edited by Dennis Judd and Susan Fainstein, 21–34. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Fernandez, Rodrigo and Manuel Aalbers. 2017. 'Housing and Capital in the Twenty-first Century: Realigning Housing Studies and Political Economy.' *Housing, Theory and Society* 34 (2): 151–158.

Fields, Desiree and Sabina Uffer. 2016. 'The Financialization of Rental Housing: A Comparative Analysis of New York City and Berlin.' *Urban Studies* 53 (7): 1486–1502.

Fields, Desiree. 2019. 'Automated Landlord: Digital Technologies and Post-crisis Financial Accumulation.' *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 0 (0): 1–22.

Fincher, Ruth, Maree Pardy, and Kate Shaw. 2016. 'Place making or Place-masking? The Everyday Political Economy of "Making Place".' *Planning Theory and Practice* 17 (4): 516–536.

Fincher, Ruth and Jane M. Jacobs. 1998. *Cities of Difference.* The Guilford Press: New York and London.

Florida, Richard. 2002. *The Rise of the Creative Class and How it's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life.* New York: Basic Books.

Florida, Richard. 2005. *Cities and the Creative Class.* New York: Routledge.

Flyvbjerg, Bent. 2006. 'Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research.' *Qualitative Inquiry* 12 (2): 219–245.

Forbes. 2019. 'Here's Everything To Know About Airbnb's 2020 IPO—Which Could Be Nontraditional.' November 19, 2019. https://www.forbes.com/sites/sergeiklebnikov/2019/11/19/heres-everything-to-know-about-airbnbs-2020-ipowhich-could-be-nontraditional/#7b832aa0ecff.

Fraser, James. 2004. 'Beyond Gentrification: Mobilizing Communities and Claiming Space.' *Urban Geography* 25 (5): 437–457.

Fraser, James and Michael Nelson. 2008. 'Can Mixed Income Housing Ameliorate Concentrated Poverty: The Significance of a Geographically-Informed Idea of Community.' *Geography Compass* 2 (6): 2127–44.

Fraser, James, James DeFilipps, and Joshua Bazuin. 2012. 'HOPE VI: Calling for Modesty in its Claim.' In *Mixed Communities: Gentrification By Stealth?* Edited by Gary Bridge, Tim Butler, and Loretta Lees, 209–229. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Freeman, Claire and Christine Cheyne. 2008. 'Coasts for Sale: Gentrification in New Zealand.' *Planning Theory & Practice* 9 (1): 33–56.

Freeman, Lance. 2005. 'Displacement or Succession? Residential Mobility in Gentrifying Neighbourhoods.' *Urban Affairs Review* 40 (4): 463–91.

Freeman, Lance and Frank Braconi. 2002. 'Gentrification and Displacement.' *The Urban Prospect* 8 (1): 1–4.

Freeman, Lance and Frank Braconi. 2004. 'Gentrification and Displacement New York City in the 1990s.' *Journal of the American Planning Association* 70(1): 39–52.

Fried, Marc. 1966. 'Grieving for a Lost Home: Psychological Costs of Relocation.' In *Urban Renewal: The Record and the Controversy.* Edited by James Q. Wilson, 359–379. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Friedmann, John. 2010. 'Place and Place-Making in Cities: A Global Perspective.' *Planning Theory and Practice* 11 (2): 149–165.

Füller, Henning and Boris Michel. 2014. '"Stop Being a Tourist!" New Dynamics of Urban Tourism in Berlin—Kreuzberg.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38 (4): 1304–1318.

Fullilove, Mindy. 1996. 'The Psychiatric Implications of Displacement: Contributions From Psychology Of Place.' *The American Journal of Psychiatry* 153 (12): 1516–1523.

Fullilove, Mindy. 2004. *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighbourhoods Hurts America and What We Can Do About It.* New York, N.Y.: Random House.

Fullilove, Mindy. 2016. *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighbourhoods Hurts America and What We Can Do About It. 2nd ed.* New York, N.Y.: Random House.

Gabriel, Thorsten. 2018. 'Zweckentfremdung: Rund 8.000 Berliner Wohnungen Wieder Daurthaft Vermietet.' *Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg (RBB24),* January, 2018. https://www.rbb24.de/politik/beitrag/2018/01/zweckentfremdungsverbot-ferienwohnungen-berlin-.html.

Gabriel, Michelle, Keith Jacobs, Kathy Arthurson, Terry Burke, and Judith Yates. 2005. 'Conceptualising and Measuring The Housing Affordability Problem.' *Research Paper 1, National Research Venture 3: Housing Affordability For Lower Income Australians.* Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.

Gale, Dennis. 1979. 'Middle Class Resettlement in Older Urban Neighborhoods: The Evidence and the Implications.' *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45 (3): 293–304.

Gallahar, Carolyn. 2016. *The Politics of Staying Put, Condo Conversion and Tenant Right-to-Buy in Washington DC.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Garau-Vadell, Joan, Desiderio Gutierrez-Taño, and Ricardo Diaz-Armas.2018. "'Economic Crisis and Residents" Perception of the Impacts of Tourism in Mass Tourism Destinations.' *Journal of Destination Marketing and Management* 1 (1): 68–75.

Garcia-Herrera, Luz Marina, Neil Smith, and Vera MÁ Mejías. 2007. 'Gentrification, Displacement, and Tourism in Santa Cruz De Tenerife.' *Urban Geography* 28 (3): 276–298.

Garcia-Lopez, Miquel-Angel, Jordi Jofre-Monseny, Rodrigo Martinez Mazza, and Mariona Segu. 2019. *Do Short-term Rental Platforms Affect Housing Markets? Evidence from Airbnb in Barcelona*. IEB Working Paper 2019/05.

Gelder, Kenneth and Jane Margaret Jacobs. 1998. *Uncanny Australia: Sacredness and Identity in a Postcolonial Nation*. Carlton: Melbourne University Press.

Gerring, John. 2004. 'What is a Case Study and What is it Good For?' *The American Political Science Association* 92 (2): 341–354.

Gertler, Mark and Simon Gilchrist. 2018. 'What Happened: Financial Factors in the Great Recession.' *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 32 (3): 3–30.

Gesetze Berlin. 2018. Gesetz über das Verbot der Zweckentfremdung von Wohnraum (Zweckentfremdungsverbot Gesetz-ZwVbG) Vom 29. November 2013. Gesetze Berlin http://gesetze.berlin.de/jportal/?quelle=jlink&query=WoZwEntfrG+BE&psml=bsbeprod.psml&max=true&aiz=true.

Gibson, Chris. 2010. 'Geographies of Tourism: (Un)ethical Encounters.' *Progress in Human Geography* 34 (4): 521–527.

Glass, Ruth. 1964. 'Introduction: Aspects of Change.' In *London: Aspects of Change: Volume 3*. Edited by Centre for Urban Studies, i–xix. London: MacGibbon and Kee.

Glaser, Barney and Anselm Strauss. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago: Aldine Pub.

Glaeser, Edward. *The Triumph of the City.* London: Macmillan.

Glusac, Elaine. 'Hotels vs. Airbnb: Has Covid-19 Disrupted the Disrupter?' *The New York Times,* May 14, 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/14/travel/hotels-versus-airbnb-pandemic.html.

Gonzalez, Sara and Paul Waley. 2013. 'Traditional Retail Markets: The New Gentrification Frontier?' *Antipode* 45 (4): 965–983.

Gornig, Martin and Hartmut Häußermann. 2002. 'Berlin: Economic and Spatial Change.' *European Urban and Regional Studies* 9 (4): 331–341.

Gotham, Kevin Fox. 2001. 'Redevelopment for whom and for what purpose?' in *Critical Perspectives on Urban Redevelopment* volume 6 of *Research in Urban Sociology.* Edited by Kevin Fox Gotham, 429–452. Oxford: Elsevier.

Gotham, Kevin Fox. 2005. 'Tourism Gentrification: The Case of New Orleans Vieux Carre (French Quarter).' *Urban Studies* 42 (7): 1099–1121.

Gottwald, Gabby. 2019. Letter addressed to co-owners of Markthalle Neun. *Die Linke: Stadtendtwicklung und Wohnen sowie im Ausschuss für Sport.* https://www.linksfraktion.berlin/abgeordnete/gaby-gottwald/.

Gravari-Barbas, Maria and Sebastien Jacquot. 2016. 'No Conflict? Discourses and Management of Tourism-Related Tensions in Paris.' In *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City*. Edited by Clair Colomb and Johannes Novy, 1–34. London: Routledge.

Greenberg, Zoe. 2018. 'New York Looks to Crack Down on Airbnb Amid Housing Crisis.' *The New York Times.* July 18, 2018 https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/18/nyregion/new-york-city-airbnb-crackdown.html?auth=login-email&login=email.

Gregory, Derek, Ron Johnson, Geraldine Pratt, Michael J. Watts, and Sarah Whatmore (eds). 2016. *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. 5th ed. West Sussex, U.K.: Wiley–Blackwell.

Grier, George and Eunice Grier. 1978. 'Urban Displacement: a Reconnaissance.' In *Back to the City: Issues in Neighbourhood Renovation.* Edited by Shirley Laska and Daphne Spain. Washington D.C.: Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Grube, Nils. 2019. 'You are a Tourist! Exploring Tourism Conflicts by Means to Performative Interventions.' In *Tourism and Everyday Life in the Contemporary City.* Edited by Thomas Frisch, Christoph Sommer, Luise Stoltenberg, Natalie Stors, 232–255. London: Routledge.

Gurran, Nicole. 2018. 'Global Home-Sharing, Local Communities and the Airbnb Debate: A Planning Research Agenda.' *Planning Theory & Practice* 19 (2): 298–304.

Gurran, Nicole and Peter Phibbs. 2017. 'When Tourists Move In: How Should Urban Planners Respond to Airbnb?' *Journal of the American Planning Association* 83 (1): 80–92.

Gurran, Nicole, Glen Searle, and Peter Phibbs. 2018. 'Urban Planning in the Age of Airbnb: Coase, Property Rights, and Spatial Regulation.' *Urban Policy and Research* 36 (4): 399–416.

Gurran, Nicole, Yuting Zhang, and Pranita Shrestha. 2020. '"Pop-up" Tourism or "Invasion"? Airbnb in Coastal Australia.' *Annals of Tourism Research* 81 (1): 1–17.

Gustafson, Per. 2001. 'Meanings of Place: Everyday Experience and Theoretical Conceptualizations.' *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 21 (1): 2–16.

Guthmann Real Estate. 2019. 'Berlin Properties Kreuzberg.' https://guthmann.estate/en/market-report/berlin/kreuzberg/#building-activity.

Guthmann Real Estate. 2020. 'Property Management Berlin.' https://guthmann.estate/en/.

Guthmann Real Estate. 2020b. 'Mietendeckel Basics.' January 30, 2020. https://guthmann.estate/de/blog/mietendeckel-besprechung/.

Guttentag, Daniel. 2015. 'Airbnb: Disruptive Innovation and the Rise of an Informal Tourism Accommodation Sector.' *Current Issues in Tourism* 18 (12): 1192–1217.

Hackworth, Jason. 2002. 'Postrecession Gentrification in New York city.' *Urban Affairs Review* 37 (6): 815–843.

Hackworth, Jason and Neil Smith. 2001. 'The Changing State of Gentrification.' *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 92 (1): 464–77.

Hammersley, Martyn and Rowland Atkinson. 2007. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice.* London and New York: Routledge.

Hamnett, Christopher. 1973. 'Improvement Grants as an Indicator of Gentrification in Inner London.' *Area* 5 (4): 252–261.

Hamnett, Christopher. 1984. 'Gentrification and Residential Location Theory: A Review and Assessment.' In *Geography and the Urban Environment: Progress in Research and Applications*. Edited by D.T. Herbert and R.J. Johnston, 283–319. London: Wiley & Sons.

Hamnett, Christopher. 1991. 'The Blind Men and the Elephant: The Explanation of Gentrification.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 16 (2): 173–189.

Hamnett, Christopher. 2003. 'Gentrification and the Middle-Class Remaking of Inner London.' *Urban Studies* 40 (12): 2401–26.

Hamnett, Christopher. 2009. 'The new Mikado? Tom Slater, Gentrification and Displacement.' *City* 13 (4): 476–482.

Hamnett, Christopher. 2010. '"I am Critical. You are Mainstream": A Response to Slater.' *City* 14 (1–2): 180–186.

Hannigan, John. 1998. *Fantasy City Pleasure and Profit in the Postmodern Metropolis.* London: Routledge.

Hartman, Chester, Dennis Keating, and Richard LeGates. 1982. *Displacement: How to fight it.* Washington D.C.: National Housing Law Project.

Hartman, Chester. 1984/2002. 'The Right to Stay Put.' Reprinted in *Between Eminence and Notoriety.* New Brunswick, N.J.: CURP Press.

Harvey, David. 1978. 'The Urban Process Under Capitalism: A Framework For Analysis.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 2 (1–4): 101–131.

Harvey, David. 1987. 'Flexible Accumulation Through Urbanization: Reflections on "Postmodernism" in the American City.' *Antipode* 19 (3): 260–286.

Harvey, David. 1989a. 'From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The transformation in urban governance in Late capitalism.' *Geografiska Annaler* 71 (1): 3–17.

Harvey, David. 1989b. *The Urban Experience*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Harvey, David. 1995. 'Flexible Accumulation Through Urbanization: Reflections on "Post-Modernism."' in *The American City. Post-Fordism: A Reader*. Edited by Ash Amin, 361–386. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Harvey, David. 2002. 'The Art of Rent: Globalization, Monopoly and the Commodification of Culture.' *Socialist Register* 38 (1): 93–110.

Harvey, David. 2003. *New Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harvey, David. 2009. *Social Justice and the City.* Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press.

Harvey, David. 2012. *Rebel Cities*. London: Verso Books.

Häußermann Hartmut and Claire Colomb. 2003. 'The New Berlin: Marketing the City of Dreams.' In *Cities and Visitors: Regulating People, Markets, and City Space*. Edited by Lily Hoffman, Susan Fainstein, and Dennis R. Judd, 200–218. Oxford: Blackwell.

Häußermann, Harmut and Andreas Kapphan. 2013. 'Berlin: From Divided to Fragmented City?' In *The Berlin Reader: A Compendium on Urban Change and Activism.* Edited by Matthias Bernt, Britta Grell, and Andrej Holm, 77–94. Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag.

Häußermann, Harmut and Walter Siebel. 2013. 'Berlin Won't Remain Berlin.' In *The Berlin Reader: A Compendium on Urban Change and Activism.* Edited by Matthias Bernt, Britta Grell, and Andrej Holm, 24–32. Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag.

Hayllar, Bruce, Tony Griffin, and Deborah Edwards. 2008. 'City Spaces–Tourist Places: A Reprise.' In *City Spaces-Tourist Places: Urban Tourism Precincts.* Edited by Tony Griffin, Bruce Hayllar, and Deborah Edwards, 359–374. New York and London: Elsevier.

He, Shenjing. 2010. 'New-build Gentrification in Central Shanghai: Demographic Changes and Socioeconomic Implications.' *Population, Space and Place* 16 (5): 345–361.

Herrmann, Monika. 2019. 'Erweiterung des Dialogprozesses für die Markthalle Neun.' Pressemitteilung Nr. 131 vom 06.06.2019. *Bezirksamt Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg von Berlin.* https://www.berlin.de/ba-friedrichshain-kreuzberg/aktuelles/pressemitteilungen/2019/pressemitteilung.817677.php.

Hildebrandt, Antje. 2019. 'Better Eaters or Chic Mickies? *Circero Magazin für Politische Kultur,* June 14, 2019. https://www.cicero.de/innenpolitik/aldi-markthalle-neun-kreuzberg-berlin-gruene-monika-herrmann.

Hinze, Annika Marlen. 2013. *Turkish Berlin: Integration Policy and Urban Space.* Minnesota, U.S.: University of Minnesota Press.

Holm, Andrej. 2006. 'Urban Renewal and End of Social Housing: The Roll Out of Neoliberalism in East Berlin's Prenzlauer Berg.' *Social Justice* 33 (3): 114–128.

Holm, Andrej. 2013. 'Berlin's Gentrification Mainstream.' In *The Berlin Reader: A Compendium on Urban Change and Activism.* Edited by Matthias Bernt, Britta Grell and Andrej Holm, 171–188. Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag.

Holm, Andrej. 2015. 'The Urbanization of Tourism as Simulacrum of the Urban.' In *The Artist Tourist: Urban View, Dialogue*. Edited by Alexander Gemeinhardt and Theo Jülich, 24–26. Darmstadt: Schade Stiftung. https://www.schader-stiftung.de/fileadmin/content/DIALOGE02.pdf.

Holm, Andrej and Armin Kuhn. 2011. 'Squatting and Urban Renewal: The Interaction of Squatter Movements and Strategies of Urban Restructuring in Berlin.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35 (3): 644–58

Hospers, Gert-Jan. 2019. 'Overtourism in European Cities: From Challenges to Coping Strategies.' *CESifo Forum* 20 (3): 20–25.

Hubbard, Phil. 2006. *The City.* London and New York: Routledge.

Hubbard, Phil. 2016. 'Hipsters on Our High Streets: Consuming the Gentrification Frontier.' *Sociological Research Online* 21 (3): 1–6.

Hubbard, Phil. 2018. 'Retail Gentrification.' In *Handbook of Gentrification Studies*. Edited by Loretta Lees and Martin Phillips, 294–309. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

IBB. 2018. IBB Wohnungsmarktbericht 2018. *Investionsbank Berlin.* https://www.ibb.de/media/dokumente/publikationen/berliner-wohnungsmarkt/wohnungsmarktbericht/ibb_wohnungsmarktbericht_2018.pdf

Inside Airbnb. 2020. *Inside Airbnb: Adding Data to the Debate.* Retrieved September 18, 2020, from http://insideairbnb.com/get-the-data.html.

IPK International. 2016. *ITB World Travel Trends Report 2016/2017*. Messe Berlin. https://www.itb-berlin.de/media/itb/itb_dl_all/itb_presse_all/World_Travel_Trends_Report_2016_2017.pdf.

Iveson, Kurt. 2007. *Publics and the City.* Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Iveson, Kurt and Ruth Fincher. 2012. '"Just Diversity" in the City of Difference.' In *The New Blackwell Companion to the City.* Edited by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 407–418. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.

Jacobs, Jane. 1961. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.* London: Pimlico.

Jacobs, Jane. M. 1998. 'Staging Difference: Aestheticization and the Politics of Difference in Contemporary Cities.' In *Cities of Difference.* Edited by Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs, 252–278. New York and London: Guildford Press.

Janoschka, Michael. 2016. 'Gentrification in Latin America: Addressing the Politics and Geographies of Displacement.' *Urban Geography* 37 (8): 1175–1194.

Janoschka, Michael, Jorge Sequera, and Luis Salinas. 2014. 'Gentrification in Spain and Latin America—a critical dialogue.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38 (4): 1234–1265.

Järlehed Johan, Helle Lykke Nielsen, and Tove Rosendal. 2018. 'Language, Food and Gentrification: Signs of Socioeconomic Mobility in Two Gothenburg Neighbourhoods.' *Multilingual Margins* 5 (1): 40–65.

Jefferson-Jones, Jamila. 2014. 'Airbnb and the Housing Segment of the Modern "Sharing Economy": Are Short-Term Rental Restrictions an Unconstitutional Taking?' *Hastings College of the Law* 42 (3): 557–660.

Jeffery, Bob. 2016. "'I Probably Would Never Move, but Ideally Like I'd Love to Move This Week": Class and Residential Experience, Beyond Elective Belonging.' *Sociology* 52(2):245–261.Judd, Dennis R. 1999. 'Constructing the Tourist Bubble.' In *The Tourist City*. Edited by Dennis R. Judd and Susan Fainstein, 35–53. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Judd, Dennis R. 2003. Visitors and the Spatial Ecology of the City. In *Cities and visitors: Regulating People, Markets, and City Space*. Edited by Lily Hoffman, Susan Fainstein, and Dennis R. Judd, 23–38. Oxford: Blackwell.

Judd, Dennis R. and Susan Fainstein. 1999. *The Tourist City.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Kaya, Ayhan. 2001. *Sicher in Kreuzberg: Constructing Diasporas*. Bielefeld: Die Deutsche Bibliothek.

Kaye, Laura. 2019. 'Finding an Apartment in this Crazy Housing Market.' *Dispatches Europe,* June 24, 2019. https://dispatcheseurope.com/laura-kayes-berlin-expat-guide-pt-2-finding-an-apartment-in-this-crazy-housing-market/.

KCRW. 2020. 'In Brief: Berlin's Rent Cap Could be in Jeopardy After a Court in Bavaria Ruled Rent Freezes There Unconstitutional.' *KCRW Berlin,* July 17, 2020. https://kcrwberlin.com/2020/07/in-brief-berlins-rent-cap-could-be-in-jeopardy-after-a-court-in-bavaria-ruled-rent-freezes-there-unconstitutional/.

Kearns, Robin A. 2016. 'Placing Observation in the Researcher Toolkit.' In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, 4th ed. Edited by Iain Hay, 313–333. Don Mills, Canada: Oxford University Press.

Kennelly, Jacqueline and Paul Watt. 2012. 'Seeing Olympic Effects Through the Eyes of Marginally Housed Youth: Changing Places and the Gentrification Of East London.' *Visual Studies* 27 (2): 151–60.

Kern, Leslie. 2016. 'Rhythms of Gentrification: Eventfulness and Slow Violence in a Happening Neighbourhood.' *Cultural Geographies* 23 (3): 441–457.

Kiezmarkthalle. 2019. 'Kiezmarkthalle statt Luxus-Food-Halle.' *Kiezmarkthalle,* May 11, 2019. https://kiezmarkthalle.noblogs.org/.

Kirkland, Elizabeth. 2008. 'What's Race got to do with it? Looking for the Racial Dimensions of Gentrification.' *Western Journal of Black Studies* 32 (2): 18–30.

Knight Frank. 2019. 'Berlin Bucks Global Trend as Urban House Price Growth Slows.' April 10, 2019. https://www.knightfrank.com/blog/2018/04/10/berlin-bucks-global-trend-as-urban-house-price-growth-slows.

Kofman, Elonore. 1998. 'Whose City: Gender, Class, and Immigrants in Globalising European Cities.' In *Cities of Difference.* Edited by Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs. New York and London: Guildford Press.

Krätke, Stefan. 2004. 'Berlin als Stadt im Globalisierungsprozess.' *Geographische Rundschau* 56 (4): 20–25.

Krätke, Stefan. 2013. 'City of Talents? Berlin's Regional Economy, Socio-Spatial Fabric and "Worst Practice" Urban Governance.' In *The Berlin Reader: A Compendium on Urban Change and Activism.* Edited by Matthias Bernt, Britta Grell, and Andrej Holm, 131–154. Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag.

Krex, Alexander. 2019. 'Aldi 36.' *Zeit Online,* May 2, 2019. https://www.zeit.de/entdecken/2019-04/markthalle-neun-aldi-gentrifizierung-berlin-kreuzberg-protest.

Lancione, Michele. 2020. 'Radical Housing: On the Politics of Dwelling as Difference.' *International Journal of Housing Policy* 20 (2): 273–289.

Langley, Paul and Andrew Leyshon. 2017. 'Platform Capitalism: The Intermediation and Capitalization of Digital Economic Circulation.' *Finance and Society* 3 (1): 11–31.

Larson, Jonas. 2008. 'De-exoticizing Tourist Travel: Everyday Life and Sociality on the Move.' *Leisure Studies* 27 (1): 21–34.

Laska, Shirley and Daphne Spain (eds). 1980. *Back to the City: Issues in Neighbourhood Renovation*. New York: Pergamon.

Lawson, Julie, Hal Pawson, Laurence Troy, Ryan van den Nouwelant, and Carrie Hamilton. 2018. 'Social Housing as Infrastructure: An Investment Pathway.' *AHURI Final Report* No. 306. Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute Limited. http://www.ahuri.edu.au/research/final-reports/306, doi:10.18408/ahuri-5314301.

Lee, David. 2016. 'How Airbnb Short-Term Rentals Exacerbate Los Angeles's Affordable Housing Crisis: Analysis And Policy Recommendations.' *Harvard Law & Policy Review* 10 (1): 229–253.

Lee, Jane Lanhee. 2020. 'Airbnb to Pay Out $250 Million to Hosts to Help Ease Coronavirus Cancellation Pain.' *Reuters,* March 31, 2020. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-airbnb-idUSKBN21H3GD.

Lees, Loretta. 1994. 'Rethinking Gentrification: Beyond the Positions of Economics or Culture.' *Progress in Human Geography* 18 (2): 137–150.

Lees, Loretta. 1998. 'Review. The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City by Neil Smith; and Gentrification and the Middle Classes by Tim Butler.' *Environment and Planning A* 30 (12): 2257–2260.

Lees, Loretta. 2000. 'A Reappraisal of Gentrification: Towards a "Geography of Gentrification."' *Progress in Human Geography* 24 (3): 389–408.

Lees, Loretta. 2012. 'The Geography of Gentrification: Thinking Through Comparative urbanism.' *Progress in Human Geography* 36 (2): 155–171.

Lees, Loretta. 2018. 'Introduction: Towards a C21st Global Gentrification Studies.' In *Handbook of Gentrification Studies*. Edited by Loretta Lees and Martin Phillips, 119–133. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Lees, Loretta and Tim Butler. 2006. 'Super-Gentrification in Barnsbury, London.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 31 (4): 467–487.

Lees, Loretta, Tom Slater, and Elvin Wyly. 2008. *Gentrification.* New York: Routledge.

Lees, Loretta, Hyun Bang Shin, and Ernesto Lopez-Morales. 2016. *Planetary Gentrification*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Lees, Loretta and Phil Hubbard. 2018. 'The Right to Community?' *City* 22 (1): 8–15.

Lees, Loretta and Martin Phillips (eds). 2018. *Handbook of Gentrification Studies*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Lees, Loretta and Hannah White. 2019. 'The Social Cleansing of London Council Estates: Everyday Experiences of "accumulative dispossession".' *Housing Studies* 12 (1): 1–22.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1991 [1974]. *The Production of Space.* Translated by David Nicholson-Smith. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1996. *Writings on Cities*. Translated by Elanore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, Henri. 2003 [1970]. *The Urban Revolution.* Translated by Robert Bononno. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Lefebvre, Henri. 2004 [1992]. *Rhythmanalysis.* Translated by Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell.

Ley, David. 1980. 'Liberal Ideology and the Postindustrial City.' *Annals, Association of American Geographers* 70 (20): 238–258.

Ley, David. 1986. 'Alternative Explanations for Inner City Gentrification: A Canadian Assessment.' *Annals, Association of American Geographers* 76 (4): 521–535.

Ley, David. 1994. 'Gentrification and the Politics of the New Middle-Class.' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12 (1): 53–74.

Ley, David. 1996. *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ley, David. 2016. 'Gentrification.' In *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. 5th ed. Edited by Derek Gregory, Ron Johnson, Geraldine Pratt, Michael J. Watts, and Sarah Whatmore, 274. West Sussex, U.K.: Wiley–Blackwell.

Levy, Diane. 2006. 'Community-level Effects of Displacement.' *The Urban Institute*, March 16, 2006. https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/52311/900936-Community-level-Effects-of-Displacement.pdf.

Lipton, Gregory. 1977. 'Evidence of Central City Revival.' *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* (April): 136–47.

Living in Lisbon (Morar em Lisboa). 2017. Carta Aberta: Morar em Lesboa. November 12, 2017. http://moraremlisboa.org/.

Lloyd, Richard. 2006. *Neo-bohemia: Art and Commerce in the Postindustrial City.* New York: Routledge.

Local, The. 2019. 'Paris Mayor Declares War on Airbnb to Stop City Turning into Museum.' June 1, 2020. https://www.thelocal.fr/20190211/paris-mayor-declares-new-war-on-airbnb.

Lock, S. 2019. 'Leading Hotel Companies Worldwide as of June 2019, by Number of Properties.' *Statista,* November 4, 2019. https://www.statista.com/statistics/197869/us-hotel-companies-by-number-of-properties-worldwide/.

Logan, John and Harvey Molotch. 2007. *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place.* 2nd ed. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Lombard, Matthew, Jennifer Snyder-Duch, and Cheryl Bracken. 2002. 'Content Analysis in Mass Communication: Assessment and Reporting of Intercoder Reliability.' *Human Communication Research* 28 (1): 587–604.

Lonely Planet. 2017. 'Markthalle Neun: Top Choice Market in Kreuzberg.' December 6, 2017. https://www.lonelyplanet.com/germany/berlin/shopping/markthalle-neun/a/poi-sho/1266827/359364.

Luyken, Jörg. 2020. '"I'm Afraid of Ending up on the Street": American Owner of Berlin Bar Fears for Future after Corona Eviction.' *The Local,* September 10, 2020. https://www.thelocal.de/20200910/im-afraid-of-being-deported-american-owner-of-popular-berlin-bar-fears-for-future-after-coronavirus-eviction-john-muir.

Maloutas, Thomas. 2012. 'Contextual Diversity in Gentrification Research.' *Critical Sociology* 38 (1): 33–48.

MacCannell, Dean. 1973. 'Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings.' *American Journal of Sociology* 79 (3): 589–603.

MacCannell, Dean. 1976. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books.

MacDougall, Carla. 2011. 'In the Shadow of the Wall: Urban Space and Everyday Life in Kreuzberg?' in *Between the Avant-Garde and the Everyday: Subversive Politics in Europe from 1957 to the Present.* Edited by Scott Brown and Lorena Anton, 154–174. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Mace, Alan. 2015. 'Spatial Capital as a Tool for Planning Practice.' *Planning Theory* 16 (2): 1–14.

MacLeod, Gordon. 2002. 'From Urban Entrepreneurialism to a 'Revanchist City'? On the Spatial Injustices of Glasgow's Renaissance.' *Antipode* 34 (3): 602–624.

Madden, David and Peter Marcuse. 2016*. In Defence of Housing: The Politics of Crisis*. London and New York: Verso.

Madden, David and Margit Mayer. 2016. 'Cities for People, Not for Profit.' In *Critique of Urbanisation: Selected Essays*. Edited by Neil Brenner, 147–157. Berlin, DE: Walter de Gruyter GmbH.

Maitland, Robert. 2007. 'Tourists, the Creative Class and Distinctive Areas in Major Cities.' In *Tourism, Creativity and Development.* Edited by Greg Richards and Julie Wilson, 73–86. Hoboken, New Jersey: Taylor and Francis.

Maitland, Robert. 2008. 'Conviviality and Everyday Life: The Appeal of New Areas of London For Visitors.' *International Journal of Tourism Research* 10 (1): 15–25.

Maitland, Robert. 2010. 'Everyday Life as a Creative Experience in Cities.' *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* 4 (3): 176–185.

Maitland, Robert and Peter Newman. 2008. Visitor-Host Relationships: Conviviality Between Visitors and Host Communities. In *City Spaces–Tourist Places: Urban Tourism Precincts.* Edited by Bruce Hayllar, Tony Griffin and Deborah Edwards, 223–242. New York and London: Elsevier.

Maly, Ico and Piia Varis. 2016. 'The 21st-Century Hipster: On Micro-Populations in Times of Superdiversity.' *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 19 (6): 637–653.

Mändlen, Lena. 2019. 'Top 10: Hipster Hotspots.' *Qiez: Mein Leben, Mein Stadt*, August 21, 2019. https://www.qiez.de/hipster-locations-berlin/.

Manhattan Institute for Policy Research, *The*. 2018. 'What Anti-Gentrification Overlooks.' *City Journal*, January 7, 2018. https://www.city-journal.org/html/what-anti-gentrifiers-overlook-15635.html.

Marcuse, Peter. 1985. 'Gentrification, Abandonment, and Displacement: Connections, Causes, and Policy Responses in New York City.' *Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law* 28 (1): 195–240.

Marcuse, Peter. 1986. 'Abandonment, Gentrification, and Displacement: The linkages in New York City.' In *Gentrification of the City.* Edited by Neil Smith and Peter Williams, 121–152. Boston: Allen and Unwin.

Marcuse, Peter. 2010. 'A Note from Peter Marcuse.' *City* 14 (1–2): 187–188.

Marcuse, Peter. 2015. 'Gentrification, Social Justice and Personal Ethics.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 39 (6): 1263–1269.

Markthalle Neun. 2019a. Public Statement: 'Ein Brief an Alle Nachbarn, Kunden und Gäste der Markthalle.' *Markthalle Neun,* February 20, 2020. https://markthalleneun.de/nachbarschaftsdialog/kein-interesse-am-diskurs/.

Markthalle Neun. 2019b. Markthalle Neun. https://markthalleneun.de/.

Markheineke-Markthalle. 2019. Geschichte. https://meine-markthalle.de/geschichte/.

Markwell, Kevin. 2000. 'Photo-Documentation and Analysis as Research Strategies in Human Geography.' *Australian Geographical Studies* 38 (1): 91–98.

Martin, Chris, Kath Hulse, and Hal Pawson. 2017. 'The Changing Institutions of Private Rental Housing: An International Review.' *AHURI Final Report* No. 292. Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute Limited. doi:10.18408/ahuri-7112201.

Massey, Doreen. 1991. 'The Politics of Place of Locality Studies.' *Environment and Planning A* 21 (1): 267–281.

Massey, Doreen. 1992. 'A Place Called Home.' *New Formations* 17 (1): 157–173.

Massey, Doreen. 1993. 'Power-Geometry and a Progressive Sense of Place.' In *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*. Edited by John Bird, Barry Curtis, and Tim Putnam, 60–70. Florence: Routledge.

Massey, Doreen. 1994. *Space, Place and Gender.* Cambridge: Polity.

Massey, Doreen. 2005. *For Space.* London: Sage.

Massey, Doreen and Pat Jess (eds). 1995. *A Place in the World.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Massey, Doreen, John Allen, and Steve Pile. 1999. *City Worlds*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Mayer, Margit. 2013. 'New Lines of Division in the New Berlin.' In *The Berlin Reader: A Compendium on Urban Change and Activism.* Edited by Matthias Bernt, Britta Grell and Andrej Holm, 97–106. Transcript Verlag: Bielefeld, Germany.

McGuirk, Pauline M. and Phillip O'Neill. 2016. 'Using Questionnaires in Qualitative Human Geography.' In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography,* 4th ed. Edited by Iain Hay, 246–273. Don Mills, Canada: Oxford University Press.

McKenzie, Rex and Rowland Atkinson. 2019. 'Anchoring Capital in Place: The Grounded Impact of International Wealth Chains on Housing Markets in London.' *Urban Studies* 57 (1): 21–38.

McKinnish, Terra, Randall Walsh, and Kirk White. 2008. 'Who Gentrifies Low-Income Neighbourhoods?' *National Bureau of Economic Research,* May 2008. Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Meagher, Sharon. 2012. 'Unsettling Critical Urban Theory.' *City* 16 (4): 476–480.

Meier, Jörg. 1972. 'München als Fremdenverkehrs-Stadt. Geographische Aspekte des Freizeitverhaltens in einer Großstadt.' *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in München* 57 (1): 51–91.

Mitchell, Don. 2003. *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space.* New York: Guilford Press.

Muir, Jenny. 2015. 'Chapter 5 "Are You Taking Notes on Us?" Reflections on Case Study Research in Urban Environments.' *Qualitative Urban Analysis: An International Perspective* 9 (1): 105–132.

Neate, Rupert. 2014. 'Berlin's "Poor but Sexy" Appeal Turning City into European Silicon Valley.' *The Guardian,* January 3, 2014. https://www.theguardian.com/business/2014/jan/03/berlin-poor-sexy-silicon-valley-microsoft-google.

Newman, Kathe and Evelyn Wyly. 2006. 'The Right to Stay Put, Revisited: Gentrification and Resistance to Displacement in New York City.' *Urban Studies* 43 (1): 23–57.

Nicotera, Nicole. 2007. 'Measuring Neighbourhood: A Conundrum for Human Service Researchers and Practitioners.' *American Journal of Community Psychology* 40 (1): 26–51.

Niedermeier, Florian, Bernd Maier, and Nikolaus Driessen. 2011. *Das Konzept: Markthalle Neun,* Berlin. https://markthalleneun.de/documents/4/Konzept_MH9_kleiner-komprimiert.pdf.

Nixon, Rob. 2011. *Slow Violence and the Environmentalist of the Poor.* Harvard, USA: Harvard University Press.

Nofre, Jordi. 2013. '"Vintage Nightlife": Gentrifying Lisbon Downtown.' *Fennia-International Journal of Geography* 191 (2): 106–121.

Nolan, Emma and Hugues Séraphin. 2019. *Green Events and Green Tourism: An International Guide to Good Practice.* London: Routledge.

Novy, Johannes. 2011. 'Marketing Marginalized Neighborhoods: Tourism and Leisure in the 21st Century Inner City.' PhD Diss. Columbia University, New York.

Novy, Johannes. 2017. '"Destination" Berlin Revisited. From (New) Tourism Towards a Pentagon of Mobility and Place Consumption.' *Tourism Geographies* 1–26.

Novy, Johannes and Claire Colomb. 2013. 'Struggling for the Right to the (Creative) City in Berlin and Hamburg: New Urban Social Movements, New "Spaces of Hope"?' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37 (5): 1816–1838.

Novy, Johannes and Claire Colomb. 2019. 'Urban Tourism as a Source of Contention and Social Mobilisations: A Critical Review.' *Tourism, Planning and Development* 16 (4): 358–375.

Novy, Johannes and Huning Sandra. 2009. 'New Tourism Areas in the New Berlin.' In *World Tourism Cities: Developing Tourism Off the Beaten Track.* Edited by Robert Maitland and Peter Newman, 87–108. London and New York: Routledge.

OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). 2016. *OECD Tourism Trends and Policies 2016.* OECD Publishing, Paris. doi:10.1787/tour-2016-en.

Oliver, David. 2020. 'Travelers are Flocking to Airbnb, Vrbo more than Hotels during COVID-19 Pandemic. But why?' *USA Today,* August 28, 2020. https://eu.usatoday.com/story/travel/hotels/2020/08/26/airbnb-vrbo-more-popular-than-hotels-during-covid-19-pandemic/5607312002/.

O'Sullivan, Feargus. 2016. 'Berlin Is Banning Most Vacation Apartment Rentals.' *Bloomberg City Lab,* April 28, 2016. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-04-28/berlin-law-banning-vacation-apartments-has-already-hit-airbnb-s-offerings-in-the-city.

O'Sullivan, Feargus. 2018. 'Berlin Just Cancelled Its Airbnb Ban.' *Bloomberg City Lab,* March 23, 2018. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-03-23/berlin-s-airbnb-ban-is-over-but-the-new-rules-are-serious.

O'Sullivan, Feargus. 2019. 'Berlin Builds an Arsenal of Ideas to Stage a Housing Revolution.' *Minim Municipalism,* February 21, 2019. https://minim-municipalism.org/db/berlin-builds-an-arsenal-of-ideas-to-stage-a-housing-revolution.

Papen, Uta. 2012. 'Commercial Discourses, Gentrification and Citizens' Protest: The Linguistic Landscape of Prenzlauer Berg, Berlin.' *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 16 (1): 56–80.

Pappalepore, Ilaria, Robert Maitland, and Andrew Smith. 2010. 'Exploring Urban Creativity: Visitor Experiences of Spitalfields, London.' *Tourism Culture & Communication* 10 (1): 217–230.

Parkinson, Sharon, Steven Rowley, Wendy Stone, Amity James, Angela Spinney and Margaret Reynolds. 2019. 'Young Australians and the Housing Aspirations Gap.' *AHURI Final Report* No. 318. Melbourne; Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute Limited. doi:10.18408/ahuri-5117101.

Paton, Kristeen. 2012. 'Not The Only Power In Town? Challenging Binaries And Bringing The Working Class Into Gentrification Research.' In *Mixed Communities: Gentrification by stealth?* Edited by Gary Bridge, Tim Butler and Loretta Lees, 251–272. Bristol: Policy.

Patton, Michael Quinn. 1990. *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. Beverly Hills, C.A.: Sage.

Patton, Michael Quinn. 2002. *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Press.

Pearson, Joseph. 2013. 'Markthalle 9, Kreuzberg: The Puzzle of Street Food Thursday.' *The Needle,* August 11, 2013. http://needleberlin.com/2013/08/11/markthalle-9-kreuzberg-the-puzzle-of-street-food-thursday/.

Peck, Jamie. 2005. 'Struggling with the Creative Class.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29 (4): 740–770.

Perdoni, Silvia. 2017. 'Protest gegen investoren ladenbesitzer verdunkeln Geschaefte in der Oranienstrasse.' *Berliner Zeitung,* October 18, 2017. https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/berlin/protest-gegen-investoren-ladenbesitzer-verdunkeln-geschaefte-in-der-oranienstrasse-28615452.

Phillips, Martin. 2002. 'The Production, Symbolization and Socialization of Gentrification: Impressions from Two Berkshire Villages.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 27 (3): 282–308.

Phillips, Martin. 2004. 'Other Geographies of Gentrification.' *Progress in Human Geography* 28 (1): 5–30.

Phillips, Martin. 2018. 'Gentrification and Landscape change.' In *Handbook of Gentrification Studies.* Edited by Loretta Lees and Martin Phillips, 81–102. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Polat, Defne Kadioğlu. 2018. 'Now the German Comes: The Ethnic Effect of Gentrification.' *Ethnicities* 20 (1): 155–176.

Porter, Libby and Kate Shaw (eds). 2008. *Whose Urban Renaissance? An International Comparison of Urban Regeneration Strategies.* London: Routledge.

Pratt, Geraldine. 1998. 'Grids of Difference: Place and Identity Formation.' In *Cities of Difference*. Edited by Ruth Fincher and Jane. M. Jacobs, 26–68. New York and London: The Guilford Press.

Pratt, Geraldine and Susan Hanson. 1994. 'Geography and the Construction of Difference.' *Gender, Place and Culture* 1 (1): 5–29.

Purcell, Mark. 2002. 'Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and the Urban Politics of the Inhabitant.' *Geo-Journal* 58 (2-3): 99–108.

Purcell, Mark. 2013. 'The Right to the City: The Struggle for Democracy in the Urban Public Realm.' *Policy & Politics* 41 (3): 311–327.

Puschmann, Thomas and Rainer Alt. 2016. 'Sharing Economy.' *The International Journal of Wirtschaftsinformatik* 58 (1): 93–99.

Rerat, Patick. 2018. 'Spatial Capital And Planetary Gentrification: Residential Location, Mobility and Social Inequalities.' In *Handbook of Gentrification Studies.* Edited by Loretta Lees and Martin Phillips, 103–118. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Retail-Index. 2018. 'Rankings and Profiles of Drugstore and Perfumery Retailers in Europe.' *Retail-Index: All Major Retailers in Europe,* December 29, 2018. https://www.retail-index.com/Sectors/PersonalCareRetailersinEurope.aspx.

Ribera-Fumaz, Ramon. 2009. 'From Urban Political Economy to Cultural Political Economy: Rethinking Culture And Economy in and Beyond the Urban.' *Progress in Human Geography* 33 (4): 447–465.

RKI (Robert Koch Institut). 2020. *COVID-19: Fallzahlen in Deutschland and Weltweit.* Last updated November 12, 2020.

Rofe, Matthew W. 2003. '"I Want to be Global": Theorising the Gentrifying Class as an Emergent Élite Global Community.' *Urban Studies* 40 (12): 2511–2526.

Rogers, Dallas, Jaqueline Nelson, and Alexandra Wong. 2018. 'Geographies of Hyper-Commodified Housing: Foreign Capital, Market Activity, and Housing Stress.' *Geographical Research* 56 (4): 434–446.

Rose, Damaris. 1984. 'Rethinking Gentrification: Beyond the Uneven Development of Marxist Urban Theory.' *Environment and Planning D* 2 (1): 47–74.

Ross, Winston. 2015. 'The Death of Venice: Corrupt Officials, Mass Tourism and Soaring Property Prices have Stifled Life in the City.' *The Independent,* May 15, 2015. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/death-venice-corrupt-officials-mass-tourism-and-soaring-property-prices-have-stifled-life-city-10251434.html.

Rowley, Steven and Rachel Ong. 2012. 'Housing Affordability, Housing Stress and Household Wellbeing in Australia.' *AHURI Final Report* No.192. Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute. https://www.ahuri.edu.au/research/final-reports/192.

Rowley, Steven, Amity James, Catherine Gilbert, Nicole Gurran, Rachel Ong, Peter Phibbs, David Rosen, and Christine Whitehead. 2016. 'Subsidised Affordable Rental Housing: Lessons from Australia and Overseas.' *AHURI Final Report* No. 267. Melbourne: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute. http://www.ahuri.edu.au/research/final-reports/267.

Rudden, Jennifer. 2020. 'U.S. Foreign Property Investment – Statistics & Facts.' *Stastita,* February 17, 2020. https://www.statista.com/topics/4455/foreign-property-investment-in-the-us/.

Sakizlioğlu, Bahar. 2014 'Inserting Temporality into The Analysis of Displacement: Living Under the Threat of Displacement.' *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 105 (2): 206–220.

Sakizlioğlu, Bahar and Justus Uitermark. 2014. 'The Symbolic Politics of Gentrification: The Restructuring of Stigmatized Neighborhoods in Amsterdam and Istanbul.' *Environment and Planning A* 46 (6): 1369–1385.

Saldana, Johnny. 2011. *Fundamentals of Qualitative Research*. Cary USA: Oxford University Press.

Sassen, Saskia. 1991. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo.* Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Sassen, Saskia. 2005. 'The Global City: Introducing a Concept.' *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 11 (2): 27–43.

Sassen, Saskia. 2014. *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Schaefer, Philipp and Nicole Braun. 2016. 'Misuse Through Short-Term Rentals on the Berlin Housing Market.' *International Journal of Housing Markets and Analysis* 9 (2): 287–311.

Schaefer, Philipp and Hirsch Jens. 2017. 'Do Urban Tourism Hotspots Affect Berlin Housing Rents?' *International Journal of Housing Markets and Analysis* 10 (2): 231–255.

Schill, Michael and Richard Nathan. 1983. *Revitalizing America's Cities: Neighborhood Reinvestment and Displacement.* New York: SUNY Press.

Scholz, Kay-Alexander. 2020. 'Berlin's Party Scene, Tourism Hit Hard by Coronavirus.' *DW News,* July 11, 2020. https://www.dw.com/en/berlins-party-scene-tourism-hit-hard-by-coronavirus/a-54119764.

SenStadt. 2002. *Bericht über den Berliner Grundstücksmarkt 2002/2003.* Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen. Berlin. https://www.berlin.de/gutachterausschuss/marktinformationen/marktanalyse/artikel.615838.php.

SenStadt. 2018. *Siedlungen Der 1990er Jahre In Berlin Und Umgebung, Dezember 2018.* Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen. https://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/wohnen/wohnungsbau/de/wohnsiedlung1990/download/Siedlungen_der_1990er_Jahre_in_Berlin_und_Umgebung-Teil1.pdf.

SenStadt. 2019. *Mieten-Service.* Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen. https://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/wohnen/mieten/.

SenStadt. 2020. *Informationen zum Gesetz zur Mietenbegrenzung im Wohnungswesen in Berlin ("Mietendeckel").* Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen. https://stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/wohnen/wohnraum/mietendeckel/.

Sequera, Jorge, and Jorde Nofre. 2018. 'Shaken, not stirred: New Debates on Touristification and the Limits to Gentrification.' *City* 22 (1): 843–855.

Shaw, Kate. 2008. 'A Response to "The Eviction of Critical Perspectives from Gentrification Research".' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 32 (1): 192–194.

Shaw, Kate. 2012. 'Beware the Trojan Horse: Social Mix Constructions in Melbourne.' *In Mixed Communities: Gentrification By Stealth?* Edited by Gary Bridge, Tim Butler and Loretta Lees, 133–148. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Shaw, Kate and Iris Hagemans. 2015. 'Gentrification without Displacement and the Consequent Loss of Place: the Effects of Class Transition on Low-Income Residents of Secure Housing in Gentrifying Areas.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 39 (2): 323–341.

Shaw, Wendy. 2002. 'Ways of Whiteness: Harlemising Sydney's Aboriginal Redfern.' *Australian Geographical Studies* 38 (3): 291–305.

Shaw, Wendy. 2007. *Cities of Whiteness*. Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell.

Shin, Hyun, Loretta Lees and Ernesto López-Morales. 2016. 'Introduction: Locating Gentrification in the Global East.' *Urban Studies* 53 (3): 455–470.

Shin, Hyun and Ernesto López-Morales. 2018. 'Beyond Anglo-American Gentrification Theory.' In *Handbook of Gentrification Studies.* Edited by Loretta Lees and Martin Phillips, 13–25. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Short, John Rennie. 1989. ''Yuppies, Yuffies and the New Urban Order.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 14 (2): 173–188.

Sibley, David. 1988. 'Purification of space.' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6 (1): 409–421.

Sibley, David. 1995. *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Silver, Hilary. 2007. 'The Process of Social Exclusion: The Dynamics of an Evolving Concept.' *SSRN Electronic Journal.* DOI: 10.2139/ssrn.1629282.

Singer, Joseph. 2000. *Entitlement: The Paradoxes of Property*. New Haven, C.T. Yale University Press.

Skaburskis, Andrejs. 2008. 'Gentrification in the Context of "Risk Society".' *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 42 (4): 895–912.

Skowronnek, Alsino, Lucas Vogal, and Jonas Parnow. 2015. 'Airbnb vs. Berlin: What Data Tells Us. Airbnb vs. Berlin.' February 25, 2015. http://airbnbvsberlin.com/.

Slater, Tom. 2006. 'The Eviction of Critical Perspectives from Gentrification Research.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30 (4): 737–57.

Slater, Tom. 2009. 'Missing Marcuse: On Gentrification and Displacement.' *City* 13 (2–3): 292–311.

Slater, Tom. 2010. 'Still Missing Marcuse: Hamnett's Foggy Analysis in London Town.' *City* 14 (1-2): 170–179.

Slater, Tom. 2015. 'Planetary Rent Gaps.' *Antipode* 49 (1): 114–137.

Slater, Tom. 2018. 'Rent Gaps.' In *Handbook of Gentrification Studies.* Edited by Loretta Lees and Martin Phillips, 119–133. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Slater, Tom, Winifred Curran, and Loretta Lees. 2004. 'Gentrification Research: New Directions and Critical Scholarship.' *Environment and Planning A* 36 (1): 141–50.

Slee, Tom. 2016. *What's Yours is Mine: Against the Sharing Economy.* Melbourne and London: Scribe.

Smith, David M. 1994. *Geography and Social Justice.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Smith, Neil. 1979. 'Toward a Theory Of Gentrification a Back to the City Movement by Capital, not People.' *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45 (4): 538–548.

Smith, Neil. 1982. 'Gentrification and Uneven Development.' *Economic Geography* 58 (2): 139–155.

Smith, Neil. 1987. 'Gentrification and the Rent Gap.' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77 (3): 462–465.

Smith, Neil. 1992. 'Blind Man's Bluff, or Hamnett's Philosophical Individualism in Search of Gentrification?' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 17 (1): 110–115.

Smith, Neil. 1996. *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City.* London and New York: Routledge.

Smith, Neil. 2002. 'New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban strategy.' *Antipode* 34 (3): 427–50.

Smith, Neil and Peter Williams (eds). 1986. *Gentrification of the City.* London: Allen and Unwin.

Soja, Edward. 1996. *Thirdspace*. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishing.

Soja, Edward. 2010. *Seeking Spatial Justice.* Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Sommerville, Peter. 2001. *Social Relations and Social Exclusion: Rethinking Political Economy.* London: Routledge.

Spahn, Jens. 2017. 'Sprechen Sie doch Deutsch!' *Zeit Online,* August 23, 2017. https://www.zeit.de/2017/35/berlin-cafes-hipster-englisch-sprache-jens-spahn.

Spiegel, Der. 1973. 'The Turks are coming: Save yourself if you can.' July 30, 1973. https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41955159.html.

Spiegel, Der. 2006. 'Drinking in Germany: Soused on the Sidewalk.' March 31, 2006. https://www.spiegel.de/international/drinking-in-germany-soused-on-the-sidewalk-a-408286.html.

Srnicek, Nick. 2017. *Platform Capitalism.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Stabrowski, Filip. 2014. 'New-Build Gentrification and the Everyday Displacement of Polish Immigrant Tenants in Greenpoint, Brooklyn.' *Antipode* 46 (3): 794–815.

Statistische Ämter Des Bundes und Der Länder. 2019. *Beherbergungsbetriebe, Bettenangebot, Übernachtungen und Gäste im Land Berlin 1992 bis 2018.* Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg / State Statistical Office. https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/produkte-langereihen.asp.

Stein, Samuel. 2019. *The Real Estate State.* London: Verso.

Storper, Michael and Allen Scott. 2016. 'Current Debates in Urban Theory: A Critical Assessment.' *Urban Studies* 53 (6): 1114–1136.

Stratford, Elaine and Matt Bradshaw 2016. 'Qualitative Research Design and Rigour.' In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography,* 4th ed. Edited by Iain Hay, 117–129. Don Mills, Canada: Oxford University Press.

Sumka, Howard. 1979. 'Neighborhood Revitalization And Displacement: A Review of the Evidence.' *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45 (4): 480–487.

Swyngedouw, Eric, Frank Moulaert, and Arantxa Rodriguez. 2002. 'Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe: Large-Scale Urban Development Projects and the New Urban Policy.' *Antipode* 34 (3): 542–577.

Tagesspiegel, Der. 2018. '"Wem gehört Berlin?" Warum die Recherche zu Wohnungseigentümern wichtig ist.' *Tagesspiegel and Correctiv: Research for Society,* October 16, 2018. https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/wem-gehoert-berlin-warum-die-recherche-zu-wohnungseigentuemern-wichtig-ist/23184074.html.

Tagesspiegel, Der. 2019. Deutsche Wohnen wehrt sich gegen Miethai-Image.' June 18, 2019. https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/bieten-wohnungen-die-bezahlbar-sind-deutsche-wohnen-wehrt-sich-gegen-miethai-image/24468120.html.

Tatura Guardian. 2018. 'Magnificent 7: Australian Markets in International Partnerships.' *Tatura Guardian,* July 2, 2018. http://www.taturaguardian.com.au/@aap-entertainment/2018/07/15/154570/aust-markets-in-international-partnership?amp=1.

Taylor, Peter. 1999. 'Places, Spaces and Macy's: Place–Space Tensions in the Political Geography of Modernities.' *Progress in Human Geography* 23 (1): 7–26.

Tonts, Matthew and Shane Grieves. 2002. 'On Commodification and Creative Destruction in the Australian Rural Landscape: The Case of Bridgetown, Western Australia.' *Australian Geographical Studies* 40 (1): 58–70.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. 1977. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience.* Minneapolis, M.N.: University of Minnesota Press.

Tussyadiah, Iis, and Juho Pesonen. 2015. 'Impacts of Peer-To-Peer Accommodation use on Travel Patterns.' *Journal of Travel Research* 55 (8): 1022–1040.

Uffer, Sabina. 2013 'The Uneven Development of Berlin's Housing Provision: Institutional Investment and its Consequences on the City and its Tenants.' In *The Berlin Reader: A Compendium on Urban Change and Activism.* Edited by Matthias Bernt, Britta Grell and Andrej Holm, 155–170. Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag.

Uffer, Sabina. 2014. 'Wohnungsprivatisierung in Berlin. Eine Analyse verschiedener Investitionsstrategien und deren Konsequenzen für die Stadt und ihre Bewohner.' In *Reclaim Berlin. Soziale Kämpfe in der neoliberalen Stadt*, Edited by Andrej Holm, 64–82. Berlin: Assoziation A.

Uitermark, Justus, Jan Duyvendak, and Reinout Kleinhans. 2007. 'Gentrification as a Governmental Strategy: Social Control and Social Cohesion in Hoogvliet, Rotterdam.' *Environment and Planning A* 39 (1): 125–141.

Umbruch Bildarchiv. 2010. 'Was wird aus der Eisenbahnmarkthalle?' January 30, 2010. https://www.umbruch-bildarchiv.de/bildarchiv/ereignis/300110eisenbahnmarkthalle.html.

United Nations. 2019. 'Housing Financialisation.' *United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commission*, March 22, 2019. https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Housing/Financialization/OL_OTH_17_2019.pdf.

UNWTO (UN World Tourism Organization). 2012. *Global report on city tourism, Volume 6.* United Nations World Tourism Organization. Madrid.

UNWTO (UN World Tourism Organization). 2017. 'Press Release 17120: Communities' Protests Over Tourism, a Wake-Up Call to the Sector.*' United Nations World Tourism Organization,* November 11, 2017. www.media.unwto.org/press-release/2017-11-08/communities-protests-over-tourism-wake-call-sector.

UNWTO (UN World Tourism Organization). 2018. *'Overtourism'? Understanding and Managing Urban Tourism Growth Beyond Perceptions*. United Nations World Tourism Organization, Madrid.

Urry, John. 1990a. The Tourist Gaze. *Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage.

Urry, John. 1990b. 'The Consumption of Tourism.' *Sociology* 24 (1): 23–35.

Urry, John and Jonas Larsen. 2011. *The Tourist Gaze 3.0.* London: Sage

Valentine, Gill. 1997. 'Tell Me About…: Using Interviews as a Research Methodology.' In *Methods in Human Geography: A Guide for Students Doing a Research Project*. Edited by Robin Flowerdew and David Martin, 27–54. London: Longman.

Valentine, Gill. 2001. *Social Geographies: Space and Society.* Harlow, U.K.: Prentice Hall.

Valentine, Gill. 2008. 'Living with Difference: Reflections on Geographies of Encounter.' *Progress in Human Geography* 32 (3): 323–337.

Valli, Chiara. 2015. 'A Sense of Displacement: Long-Time Residents' Feelings of Displacement in Gentrifying Bushwick, New York.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 39 (6): 1191–1208.

Van Criekingen, Mathieu. 2006. 'What is Happening to Brussels' Inner-city Neighbourhoods?' *Brussels Studies* 1: 1–21.

Van Criekingen, Mathieu. 2009. '"Moving in/out of Brussels" Historical core in the Early 2000s: Migration and the Effects of Gentrification.' *Urban Studies* 46 (4): 825–848.

Van Gent, Wouter. 2012. 'Neoliberalization, Housing Institutions and Variegated Gentrification: How the 'Third Wave' Broke in Amsterdam.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37 (2): 503–522.

Vasudevan, Alexander. 2015. *Metropolitan Preoccupations: The Spatial Politics of Squatting.* Chichester, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell.

Vigdor, Jacob. 2002. 'Does Gentrification Harm the Poor?' *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs* 1 (2002): 133–182.

Vigdor, Jacob. 2010. 'Is Urban Decay Bad? Is Urban Revitalization Bad Too?' *Journal of Urban Economics* 68 (2010): 277–289.

Visit Berlin. 2017. Berlin's Economy Benefits from Tourism like Never Before. *Berlin Tourismus and Kongress GmbH.* https://about.visitberlin.de/en/press/press-releases/berlins-economy-benefits-tourism-never.

Visit Berlin. 2019. *Berlin Hosts the World: Facts and Figures*. Berlin Tourismus and Kongress GmbH. https://about.visitberlin.de/en/current-figures.

Visit Berlin. 2020. Facts and Figures: Tourism Stats. *Berlin Tourismus and Kongress GmbH.* https://about.visitberlin.de/en/materialien/toolkit/tourism-stats.

Vomiero, Jessica. 2017. 'Airbnb Landlord Makes Over $20 Million Per Year Renting 881 London Properties.' *Global News,* November 11, 2017. https://globalnews.ca/news/3856084/airbnb-landlord-millions-per-year-london-properties/.

Wachsmuth, David and Alexander Weisler. 2018. 'Airbnb and the Rent Gap: Gentrification Through the Sharing Economy.' *Environment and Planning A* 50 (6): 1147–1170.

Wachsmuth, David, David Charney, Danielle Kerrigan, Andrea Shillolo and Robin Basavaev-Binder 2018. *The High Cost of Short-Term Rentals in New York City*. McGil University, Urban Politics and Governance Research Group. https://www.politico.com/states/f/?id=00000161-44f2-daac-a3e9-5ff3d8740001.

Wachter, Denise. 2019. 'Absurder Streit in Berlin: Warum die Kreuzberger Aldi plötlich richtig gut finden.' *Stern,* February 2, 2019. https://www.stern.de/genuss/essen/aldi-muss-gehen--warum-in-der--markthalle-neun--ein-streit-ausbricht-8596358.html.

Wenderoth, Lukas. 2019. *Rechtsanwälte - Fachanwälte - Immobilienmanagement.* Kanzlei Wenderoth. Accessed June 1, 2019. https://www.kanzlei-wenderoth.de/zweckentfremdungsverbotsgesetz/aktuelles-zum-zwvbg/.

Winter, Caroline and Andrew Black. 2020. 'Berlin Rent Freeze has Cut Prices, but Good Luck Finding a Flat.' *Bloomberg Quint,* October 12, 2020. https://www.bloombergquint.com/global-economics/berlin-rent-freeze-cuts-prices-but-it-s-harder-to-find-a-flat.

WHO (World Health Organization). 2020. Rolling Updates on Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19). Last updated July 31, 2020. https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/events-as-they-happen.

Wyly, Elvin and Daniel Hammel. 1999. 'Islands of Decay in Seas of Renewal: Housing Policy and the Resurgence Of Gentrification.' *Housing Policy Debate* 10 (4): 711–771.

Wyly, Elvin and Daniel Hammel. 2008. 'Commentary: Urban Policy Frontiers.' *Urban Studies* 45 (12): 2643–2648.

Wyly, Elvin, Kathe Newman, Alex Schafran, and Elizabeth Lee. 2010. 'Displacing New York.' *Environment and Planning A* 42 (11): 2602–2623.

Yates, Judith. 2008. 'Affordability and Access to Home Ownership: Past, Present and Future?' *AHURI Research Paper* No. NRV3-10. Melbourne. Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute Limited.

Yin, Robert K. 2018. *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods*. 6th Edition. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Zervas, Georgios, Davide Prosperio and John W. Byers. 2016. 'The Rise of the Sharing Economy: Estimating the Impact of Airbnb on the Hotel Industry.' *Journal of Market Research* 54 (5): 687–705.

Zhang, Zhao and Shenjing He. 2018. 'Gentrification-induced Displacement.' In *Handbook of Gentrification Studies.* Edited by Loretta Lees and Martin Phillips, 134–151. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Zhong, Sheng. 2016. 'Artists and Shanghai's Culture-Led Urban Regeneration.' *Cities* 56 (1): 165–171.

Zukin, Sharon. 1982. *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change.* Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Zukin, Sharon. 1987. 'Gentrification: Culture and Capital in the Urban Core.' *Annual Review of Sociology* 13 (1): 129–47.

Zukin, Sharon. 1991. *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World.* Berkeley C.A.: University of California Press.

Zukin, Sharon. 1995. *The Cultures of Cities*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Zukin, Sharon. 1998. 'Urban Lifestyles: Diversity and Standardisation in Spaces of Consumption.' *Urban Studies* 35 (5–6): 825–39.

Zukin, Sharon. 2008. 'Consuming Community: From Outposts of Difference to Means of Exclusion.' *Cultural Studies* 22 (5): 724–748.

Zukin, Sharon. 2009. *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Zukin, Sharon. 2011. 'Reconstructing the Authenticity of Place.' *Theory and Society* 40 (2): 161–165.

Zukin, Sharon, Valerie Trujillo, Peter Frase, Danielle Jackson, Tim Recuber, and Abraham Walker. 2009. 'New Retail Capital and Neighborhood Change: Boutiques and Gentrification in New York City.' *City & Community* 8 (1): 47–64.

Appendix One: Key Housing Regulations

Four key housing regulations have been implemented to maintain housing affordability while providing a buffer against housing speculation and commodification practices:

Rent Index:

The Rent Index (*Mietspiegel*) is calculated every four years by the municipality as the average rent paid under new and existing tenancies in comparable properties within each district. Statistical data on dwelling quality and also the quality of the residential area is used in the calculation. As table 1.3 indicates, Kreuzberg is characterised as a 'Simple' residential area, largely due to the development of the locality during the late 1800s as a mixed industrial and residential zone for Berlin's working class (Bernt et al. 2013; Polat 2018).

Rent Break:

Initiated on June 1, 2015 through the Tenancy Law Amendment Act (*Mietrechtsnovellierungsgesetzes*), the Rent Break (*Mietpreisbremse*) places a cap on rents from increasing more than 15 per cent every three years (BGB §556). Further, the Rent Break limits rents from exceeding 10 per cent of calculated district average as per the Rent Index. This is particularly significant in the case of new rent contracts in sought after areas. However, the Rent Brake does not apply to new-build dwellings rented for the first time after October 1, 2014. Nor does it apply to dwellings that are rented for the first time after 'comprehensive modernisation'. According to BGB (§556f) a 'comprehensive modernisation' refers to cases where the refurbishment investment exceeds more than a third of the cost for a comparable new apartment. To invoke the Rent Break, the responsibility falls on the tenant to report a violation to the District Office (*Bezirksamt*) and provide sufficient evidence to support the claim.

Social Composition Protection:

In 1995 Kreuzberg was included into a Social Composition Protection (*Milieuschutz*), designed to preserve the urban character of an area's built environment and also preserve the social composition by protecting long-standing residents from displacement (BGB §172). The policy provides legal protection to tenants against the speculative purchasing of property as well as rent intensification based on 'comprehensive modernisation' measures.

Housing Misuse Act:

The, Housing Misuse Act (*Zweckentfremdungsverbot-Gesetz)* is an item of state legislature reinstated November 29, 2013 to regulate the misappropriation of residential housing across the entire urban area of

Berlin. According to §2 item 1 of the Federal Office of Justice (*Bundesamt für Justiz*), housing misuse is identified when housing is (1) repeatedly used for the purpose of holiday home rental or tourist accommodation; (2) used for commercial or professional purposes; (3) structurally modified or used in such a way that it is no longer suitable for residential purposes, (4) vacant for more than three months; or, (5) is demolished without planning permission (Gesetze Berlin 2018 translation Crowe).