



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

„Social Displacement and Gentrification –
A Case Study of German Turks in Berlin's Wrangelstraße“

verfasst von / submitted by

Namrata Sangma

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master (MA)

Wien, 20016 / Vienna 2016

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

A 067 805

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Individuelles Masterstudium:
Global Studies – a European Perspective

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Ayse Caglar

UNIVERSITÄT LEIPZIG



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit /Title of the master thesis

Social Displacement and Gentrification – A Case Study of German Turks in Berlin’s Wrangel- straße

Verfasser /Author

Namrata Sangma

angestrebter akademischer Grad / acadamic degree aspired

Master (MA)

Wien, 2016

Studienkennzahl :

A 067 805

Studienrichtung:

Individuelles Masterstudium:
Global Studies – a European Perspective

Betreuer/Supervisor:

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Ayse Caglar

Abstract

Social Displacement and Gentrification – A Case Study of German Turks in Berlin's Wrangelstraße

The purpose of this study is to investigate the connection between the global and the local through gentrification. More specifically, how gentrification affects the social displacement of German Turks at Berlin's Wrangelstrasse. Increasing global capital accumulation has manifested itself in the form of gentrification as a global urban strategy. Consequently, what is happening at a global scale is being replicated in small urban areas. There is a need to explore how gentrification leads to inequality as more affluent residents and more profitable businesses displace low-income residents and low margin retailers. The socio-economic inequalities, on one hand, make it possible for some families to move to other neighborhoods for better housing or schooling. On the other hand, some families who can no longer afford to pay the high rent or cope up have to move to far off areas where the rent is cheaper. As a result of which they lose access to their place bound social activities.

In this research, the data is collected through semi-structured interviews recorded in audiotape in multiple sites, observations and documents. The subjects of this study include residents as well as owners of commercial establishments like shops, cafes and restaurants in Wrangelstrasse. Subjects also include officers in Government urban planning departments like the Quartiers Management and Nachbarschaft Zentrum (neighborhood Centre). Furthermore, subjects such as the manager of the Mosque were examined to reveal the contribution of the Mosque to the social and cultural place bounded activities in the neighborhood. In order to study the new areas to where the German Turks moved from Wrangelstrasse, the research is limited to two sites of Marzahn and Rudow. Both these sites are located far off from Kreuzberg and in the margins of Berlin. In these two sites, the study is limited to the government urban planning departments known as Quartiers Management. The data is organized, by building patterns, categories and themes from

bottom up. The inductive process of going back and forth between the themes and the database allows establishing a comprehensive set of themes. Throughout the research process, the focus is on learning the meaning of social displacement held by the participants.

The results of the study suggest that social displacement does take place and can be of various types depending on different sections of society that it affects. A significant finding of the research is that place making strategies that the people use to ground themselves in one area can be an important factor in determining their social displacement such that greater the place making strategies, greater the social displacement. One such place making strategy is through institutions like mosque. Another finding is that people use coping mechanisms to continue to stay in the same neighborhood even in the face of increasing rents as new apartments with affordable rents are diminishing in number. Moreover, the study shows that the apartments have increased over the years. This gives a case to explore that if the number of housing has increased over the years then it is not lack of housing that is a problem but rather access to this housing due to lesser affordable apartments. In conclusion, the study recommends government planning to support regeneration of schooling systems as one of the ways to curb the tendency of people to move away.

Zusammenfassung

Soziale Verschiebung und Gentrifizierung – Die Fallstudie von Deutsch-Türken in Berlins Wrangelstraße

Das Ziel dieser Studie ist es, die Verbindung zwischen dem Globalen und dem Lokalen durch Gentrifizierung zu untersuchen. Präziser, wie Gentrifizierung die soziale Dislokation der Deutsch-Türken in Berlins Wrangelstrasse beeinflusst. Die wachsende globale Akkumulation von Kapital manifestiert sich in Form der Gentrifizierung als eine globale

urbane Strategie. Konsequenterweise, was auf der globalen Ebene passiert, repliziert sich in kleinen urbanen Gebieten. Es ist notwendig zu untersuchen, wie Gentrifizierung zu Ungleichheit führt, wenn mehr wohlhabende Bewohner und mehr profitable Geschäfte die Bewohner mit niedrigem Einkommen und kleine Geschäfte ersetzen. Einerseits macht es die sozio-ökonomische Ungleichheit für einige Familien möglich in Nachbarschaften mit besseren Wohnungen oder Schulen zu ziehen. Andererseits können sich viele Familien die hohen Mieten nicht mehr leisten und müssen in Gegenden mit niedrigeren Mietpreisen ziehen. Ein Resultat daraus war, dass sie Zugang zu den mit ihren Wohnort verbundenen sozialen Aktivitäten verloren. Wohnen ist eine Form von sozialer Gerechtigkeit und daher wird die Untersuchung von sozialer Dislokation durch Gentrifizierung zu einer Frage der sozialen Gerechtigkeit.

In dieser Forschungsarbeit wurden die Daten mittels semi-strukturierter Interviews gesammelt, aufgenommen auf einem Recorder an mehreren Orten, sowie Beobachtungen und Dokumenten. Das Thema dieser Studie inkludiert Bewohner von Wohnungen und Besitzer von Geschäften, Cafes und Restaurants in der Wrangelstrasse. Die Themen beinhalten auch Angestellte in städtischen Planungsabteilungen wie das Quartiermanagement und Nachbarschaftszentrum. Dazu wurde auch der Manager einer Moschee eingezogen, um den Beitrag der Moschee zum sozialen und kulturellem Raum in der Nachbarschaft zu untersuchen. Um die neuen Gebiete zu untersuchen, wohin die Deutsch-Türken von der Wrangelstrasse hingezogen sind, ist diese Arbeit auf zwei Gebieten in Marzahn und Rudow beschränkt. Beide Orte sind weit weg von Kreuzberg und am Rand von Berlin. In diesen beiden Orten, ist die Studie limitiert auf die städtischen Stadtplanungsabteilungen bekannt unter dem Namen Quartiermanagement. Die Daten sind organisiert, nach Baumuster, Kategorien und Motive von Grund auf. Der induktive Prozess des weg – und zurückgehen zwischen Themen und der Datenbank erlaubt die Erstellung

einer umfangreichen Reihe an Themen. Im Forschungsprozess liegt der Fokus darauf, was die soziale Dislokation für die Beteiligten bedeutet.

Die Ergebnisse der Studie legen nahe, dass die soziale Verschiebung stattfindet und von verschiedenen Arten sein kann, je nach den unterschiedlichen betroffenen Segmenten der Gesellschaft. Ein wichtiges Ergebnis der Studie ist, dass die Strategien der Menschen bei der Ortswahl ein wichtiger Faktor sein kann bei der sozialen Dislokation – je größer die Strategie bei der Ortswahl desto größer die Verschiebung. Eine dieser Ortswahl Strategie geschieht durch Institutionen wie Moscheen. Ein anderer Befund ist, dass die Menschen sich Mechanismen zu Recht legen, um trotz steigender Miete, bedingt durch Mangel an leistbaren Wohnungen, in der Nachbarschaft zu bleiben. Dazu zeigt die Studie, dass die Anzahl der Wohnungen über die Jahre größer geworden ist. Das bedeutet, da die Anzahl der Wohnungen zunahm, dass das Problem nicht am Mangel von Wohnungen sondern im Zugang zu leistbaren Wohnungen liegt. Zusammenfassend empfiehlt diese Arbeit den städtischen Planern die Regeneration des Schulsystem zu unterstützen, als einen Weg um die Tendenz der Menschen wegzuziehen, zu vermindern.

My sincere thanks and heartfelt gratitude to:

my parents Arun and
Daisy for unwavering support
throughout my academic life

my sister Madhumita and my brother Varun
for the enduring belief in me

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Ayse Çağlar
for the excellent supervision

Univ. -Profs Dr. France Winddance Twine and Dr. Kum Kum Bhavnani at Univ.
of California for their everlasting encouragement and inspiration

**Quartiers Management at Wrangelkiez and Gropiusstadt
Nachbarschaft Zentrum at Marzahn and Curvyastraße**

all my friends, acquaintances and
colleagues for the inspiring debates and
good advices

all research participants and interview partners involved in this
study for their sincerity and willingness to support this paper

Plagiarism Statement

This project was written by me and in my own words, except for quotations from published and unpublished sources, which are clearly indicated and acknowledged as such. I am conscious that the incorporation of material from other works or a paraphrase of such material without acknowledgement will be treated as plagiarism, subject to the custom and usage of the subject, according to the University Regulations on Conduct of Examinations. The source of any picture, map or other illustration is also indicated, as is the source, published or unpublished, of any material not resulting from my own experimentation, observation or specimen-collecting.

Berlin 06.04.2016

Namrata Sangma

<i>Abstract</i>	1
<i>Introduction</i>	3
1.1 Preface	3
1.2 Developing a Research Question	4
<i>State of the Art</i>	7
2.1 Gentrification is complex.....	7
2.2 Global to neighborhood scale	8
2.3 Gentrification in Kreuzberg.....	12
<i>Background</i>	13
3.1 ‘Gast Arbeiter’ in Kreuzberg.....	13
3.2 Introduction to Wrangelstrasse	16
<i>Research Methodology</i>	27
4.1 Reflexivity	27
4.2 Gatekeepers	27
4.3 Data Collection.....	29
<i>Discussion</i>	30
5.1 Interviews in Wrangelstrasse	33
5.2 Interviews in Marzahn.....	41
5.3 Interviews in Rudow	46
<i>Findings plus Literature review</i>	50
6.1 Social Displacement due to Social Changes	50
6.1.1 Social Changes due to Increasing Rents	50
6.1.2 Social Changes due to Demographic Shifts.....	58
6.1.2a Families with Children Moving Out	58
6.1.2b Elderly people.....	60
6.2 Social Displacement due to Economic Shifts.....	61
<i>Conclusion</i>	63
<i>References</i>	67
8.1 Primary Sources	69
8.2 Secondary Sources	69
8.2.1 Bibliography.....	69
8.2.2 Studies and Research Reports	72
8.2.3 Newspapers.....	73
8.2.4 Websites.....	73
8.2.5 Films.....	74
<i>Appendix</i>	75
9.1.1 Interview questions for short interviews with all the commercial establishments on Wrangelstrasse (Shops, Cafes, Restaurants, Bars)	75
9.1.2 Interview questions for long interviews with some owners of commercial establishments and residents on Wrangelstrasse.....	75
9.2 Interview Samples.....	76

Introduction

1.1 Preface

After the Second World War, Germany went through a shortage of labor supply. Since then there has been an inflow of migrant labor. The 'Recruitment Agreement for Labor' of 1961 led to a steady supply of Turkish laborers until 1973 when due to recession Germany stopped importing immigrant labor. Most of the migrant workers decided to remain in Germany. The German government policies failed in making them choose to "They increased to close to one million of the 2.6 million foreign workers" (Mueller, p. 5). The Turkish inhabitants are the biggest community with migration background in the city. So much so that even the highly multi cultural neighborhood of Kreuzberg was once called *Little Istanbul*.

Today, the ethnic networks within which most Turks in Germany are placed play a significant role. These groups offer housing, employment, education and leisure services, which Turks have a difficult time accessing in the larger German community (Mueller, p. 5). These activities are place bounded and when people move to far off areas they are unable to continue with these activities. Examples of place bounded activities include cultural and social activities at the Mosque or Nachbarschaftshaus Centrum e.V. (Neighborhood House Association Center). As already marginalized in the society, such social displacement has the possibility of pushing them even further away into the margins. For a sustainable city development there is a need to study social displacement of the different migrant groups and their coping mechanisms. My qualitative research would try to fill this gap by examining social displacement of German Turks in Kreuzberg's Wrangelstrasse through fieldwork in multiple sites of Wrangelstrasse, Marzahn and Rudow.

1.2 Developing a Research Question

In my research i wanted to examine the connection between the global and the local through gentrification. Increasing global capital accumulation has manifested itself in the form of gentrification as a global urban strategy. Scholars like Neil Smith and Saskia Sassen argue that inflows of global capital lead to gentrification. As a result there are architectural, social and cultural transformations of urban space. This reveals close interaction of the local and the global, as the global processes affect the local neighborhood through gentrification. Consequently, what is happening at a global scale is being replicated in small urban areas. Neil Smith (2002, p. 430) argues that the hallmark of the latest phase of gentrification is that it shows the reach of global capital down to the scale of local neighborhood. There is a need to explore how gentrification leads to inequality as more affluent residents and more profitable businesses displace low-income residents and low margin retailers. The socio - economic inequalities, on one hand, make it possible for some families to move to other neighborhoods for better housing or schooling. On the other hand, some families who can no longer afford to pay the high rent or cope up have to move to far off areas where the rent is cheaper. As a result of which they lose access to their place bound social activities. Housing is a form of social justice and hence the study of social displacement brought about by gentrification becomes a question of social justice.

Keeping in mind the time scale and scope of this study, i decided to keep the scale of this study to the individual in the neighborhood. Those interested in the humanist and sociocultural side of gentrification usually present the process at this level (Butler 1997, Butler with Ronson 2003, Ley 1996). Using interview data, i aim to relate gentrification to the individual decision maker and small groups of people sharing residential

preferences (Lees, Slater and Wyly 2008) in a neighborhood in Berlin, capital of Germany.

The reasons that compelled me to explore this topic were that it provides a novel and interesting urban phenomenon for geographers and sociologists to investigate. It also poses a major challenge to the traditional theories of residential location and social structure. At the same time it is a political and policy – relevant issue as it is concerned with regeneration at the cost of displacement. It is considered one of the key theoretical and ideological battlegrounds in urban geography (Hamnett 1991, p. 180). It is the leading edge of neoliberal urbanism. “Gentrification has gone global and is intertwined with processes of globalization. Gentrification is no longer confined to the inner city or to First World metropolises. The global reach of gentrification can be understood from the following description ” Lees, Slater and Wyly, (2008, p. xvii). “ Gentrification *blueprint* is being mass – produced, mass marketed and mass consumed around the world. The urban – rural dichotomy no longer exists and even in the Third World cities and First World, suburban and rural areas are undergoing gentrification ” (Davidson and Lees 2005, p. 1177). “ As the process of gentrification has gone global and is now spreading from the metropolises of North America, Western Europe and Australasia into the rest of the world such a research becomes crucial in exploring the production of global inequalities due to global urbanism ” (N. Smith 2002, p. 435).

Through my research i wanted to add to the scholarly research and literature by exploring the aspect of social displacement. At this stage in the research, social displacement will be generally defined as the displacement of individuals due to gentrification to newer residential areas in a way that they lose access to their place bounded social activities. The displaced may lose their personal micro networks that are

centered on residence and leisure space. Through my study i hoped to help in developing a better understanding of how housing and urban planning policies can perpetuate social inequalities. It could open up possibilities of further research to explore coping mechanisms of individuals in neighborhoods undergoing displacement.

The research aimed at answering a research question that would also try and help improve practice. There is a significant need to address the inequalities of urban society on the basis of which gentrification thrives (Atkinson, 2003a, p. 2350). Due to increasing global urbanism, cities are moving up the global scale, as they become sites where flows of capital and people both make their way. Cities thus become sites for potential social conflicts due to economic polarization and the competition for scarce resources. Global processes can be studied and managed on a smaller scale of neighborhoods to make cities more sustainable. An attempt was made to help improve policy through the research question. “Gentrification has made its way into the planning manifestos of urban policy agendas around the world” (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2008, p. xxi). Under these changing circumstances, cities become key players in the guarantee of the human rights of those marginalized or discriminated minorities. Various local human rights charters have been adopted since 2000 like the European Charter for safeguarding of human rights in the city (France 2000) signed by more than 350 European cities, the World Charter on the Right to the City drafted in World Social Forum (Brazil 2001), the Global Charter Agenda for Human Rights in the City (Caracas 2006) etc. According to Liz Ford:

One of the principle goals of the sustainable development goals (SDGs) is to make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable. The SDGs expand on millennium development goals (MDGs), which were agreed by

governments in 2000, and are due to expire at the end of this year. SDGs are a new, universal set of goals, targets and indicators that UN member states will be expected to use to frame their agendas and political policies over the next 15 years. (Ford, 2015)

Through the research question, I tried to examine the social displacement of German Turks in Berlin's Wrangelstrasse. Located in Kreuzberg, the homes as well as the commercial establishments like shops, cafes and restaurants in Wrangelstrasse were explored. Government urban planning departments like the Quartiers Management and Nachbarschaft Zentrum (neighborhood Centre) were also included in the study. At the same time organization like the Mosque was examined for its contribution to the social and cultural place bounded activities in the neighborhood. In order to study the new areas to where the German Turks moved from Wrangelstrasse, the research was limited to two sites of Marzahn and Rudow. Both these sites are located far off from Kreuzberg and in the margins of Berlin. In these two sites, the study was limited to the government urban planning departments known as Quartiers Management. All these considerations led to the development of the central research question of this thesis: how did gentrification affect the social displacement of German Turks at Wrangelstrasse?

State of the Art

2.1 Gentrification is complex

Gentrification is an economic, cultural, political, social, and institutional phenomenon. Ruth Glass, a British sociologist in 1964, first coined the term gentrification. Glass observed:

One by one, many of the working class quarters have been invaded by the middle class - upper and lower (...) Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a

district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed. (Glass, 1964, p. xvii)

With passing time the definitions of gentrification have also evolved. According to Neil Smith (1982, p. 139), it is “the process by which working class residential neighborhoods are rehabilitated by middle class homebuyers, land-owners and professional developers”. The 1980 Oxford American Dictionary defined ‘gentrification’ as the “movement of middle class families into urban areas causing property values to increase and having the secondary effect of driving out poorer families.” In the 2000 Dictionary of Human Geography, Neil Smith defined it as, ‘the reinvestment of capital at the urban centre, which is designed to produce space for a more affluent class of people than currently occupies that space’ (as cited in L. Lee, T. Slater, E. Wylie 2008, p. 9). The term coined by Ruth Glass in 1964 has been extensively used to refer to the residential factors of this process but this is alternating with the evolution of gentrification (N. Smith 2000, p. 294). Peter Marcuse (1985b, p. 206) has defined exclusionary displacement as “the process when the residents cannot access housing in the nearby areas as it has been gentrified or abandoned”. He defines displacement pressure as “the dispossession suffered by poor and the working-class families during the transformation of the neighborhoods where they live” (Peter Marcuse 1985a, p. 206).

2.2 Global to neighborhood scale

Neil Smith was the first gentrification scholar to bring to light the relation between globalization and gentrification. He argues that:

Gentrification is a global urban strategy. He says there are two main features of this relation. First, the neo liberal urban policy now represents capitalist

reproduction rather than a social reproduction. The neo – liberal state is now the agent of rather than the regulator of the market. Second, that gentrification has now gone global. It is a generalized strategy related to global capital and its circulation. (Neil Smith 2002, p. 443)

The literature review revealed that some scholars have argued that gentrification has descended down from global to urban scale (Dutton 2003, p. 2565.) Butler and Lees 2006 assert that globalization and gentrification literature except Neil Smith (2002) and Atkinson and Bridge (2005) have paid little attention to each other (as cited in L. Lee, T. Slater, E. Wylie 2008, p. 169). N. Smith and Atkinson and Bridge links between globalization and gentrification by discussing neo liberal urban policy regimes, the mobility of global capital and workers, the increase in the wealth of the cosmopolitan class and so on. The gentrifiers are seen as “emissaries of global capital flows” in these literatures (L. Lee, T. Slater, E. Wylie 2008, p. 169). Rofe (2003, p. 2512) holds that gentrifying class is an emergent global community “the spatial occurrence of the gentrifying class in a number of prominent cities around the globe lends this group a global geography.” For him, the local and global duality is an artificial one. N. Smith (2001, p. 157) too argues “such a duality is based on the false assumption that the local remains static while the global is dynamic”. However, this is not the case. With Globalization, a global process can jump scales even from local to global and form transnational networks. The literature on globalization has not paid much attention to the level of neighborhood as “the site of the reproduction of a wide set of power relations and contacts which operate at local, urban, regional and international level” (Atkinson and Bridge 2005, p. 7).

Lees, 2006 (as cited in L. Lee, T. Slater, E. Wyly 2008, p. 172) finds three causes for scaling down of the levels of urban hierarchy, up to the level of neighborhood. First, is economic reason that rent gaps are now sought out in new neighborhoods as spaces in big metropolitan cities get exhausted. According to Neil Smith's rent gap framework, "The rent gap is the shortfall between the actual economic return from the land parcel given its present land use (capitalized ground rent) and the potential return if it were put to its optimal, highest, and best use (potential ground rent)." The rent gap explains gentrification as the result of investment and disinvestment in the urban land market. As this gap widens it leads to land use change. Gentrification is one way of closing this gap (L. Lee, T. Slater, E. Wyly 2008, p. 51). Second, the values and meanings of gentrification due to media are spreading from global metropolitan cities to the periphery. Third, is for policy reasons that seek to replicate regeneration policies from big cities. L. Lee, T. Slater, E. Wyly (2008, p. 187) agree with Neil Smith (2002) "that gentrification has become generalized in to a global urban strategy, but just as the way globalization and neo liberalization processes is different in different places leading to uneven development (Tickell and Peck 2003, Harvey 2006 b) so are gentrification processes". Thus, depending on the context, locality, and temporality, gentrification is different in different places (L. Lee, T. Slater, E. Wyly, 2008, p. 187). In this thesis, Berlin's neighborhood Wrangelstrasse would be studied to understand the trajectories and experiences of gentrification related social displacement unique to it.

Academic inquiry in to gentrification so far has focused on the constitution and practices of middle class gentrifiers. This has shifted the attention away from non- gentrifies or those displaced. According to Butler with Robson 2003, Hamnett 2003 (as cited in L. Lee, T. Slater, E. Wyly 2008, p. 121) an example of this is how the work that shows gentrification linked to education does not include qualitative study of working class

people and wherever mentioned it relates them as 'others' to the middle classes. The way gentrification has been described as the coping strategy of the middle class as stated by Butler with Robson 2003 (as cited in in L. Lee, T. Slater, E. Wyly 2008, p. 122) also diminishes the importance of other classes. "Next to nothing has been published on the experiences of non – gentrifying groups living in the neighborhoods into which the much researched cosmopolitan middle classes are arriving en masse". Freeman, 2006 (as cited in L. Lee, T. Slater, E. Wyly 2008, p. 122) is a recent exception. In his work he analyzes the experience of gentrification for residents of two predominantly black New York City neighbourhoods. In the academic enquiry the main focus has been on middle classes. In her work, Winifred Curran, 2004 (as cited in L. Lee, T. Slater, E. Wyly 2008, p. 123) studied displacement of work not residence. She says that small businesses are being displaced and jobs lost because of transition of manufacturing sector. This underlines the importance of more research on residential displacement.

Due to the lack of possibility of quantifying displacement, there has been a lack of policies on displacement as if it does not happen on a big scale, Hamnett 2003 (as cited in L. Lee, T. Slater, E. Wyly 2008, p. 218). The literature review on gentrification and displacement generally reveals the scarcity of information on social displacement. Amongst the scholarly research on gentrification and displacement centered in Berlin, work of Prof. Dr. Andre Holm at the Humboldt University particularly stands out. According to the writings on his blog on gentrification, incremental reforms of German tenancy law have enabled landlords to force through "energetic modernizations" of their properties and pass down up to 11% of their costs to the tenants. In some areas of Berlin including Kreuzberg, there have been numerous reports of landlords abusing the "energetic modernization" rule, which allows them to remove old tenants by announcing

expensive renovations, only to then immediately put the flats on the market at a higher price without having made any significant improvements (Oltermann 2014).

2.3 Gentrification in Kreuzberg

In his work on gentrification, Dr. Holm asserts that in Kreuzberg there has been rental gentrification and the displacement due to changes in lifestyle brought about by gentrification of social spaces. He points out that gentrification in Kreuzberg began in 1987 in the first phase of gentrification, which went from 1987 to 2007 (Holm, 2011). Supplementing his writings are his views gathered in a personal interview with him in 2014. There he admitted to the lack of research on social displacement. He emphasized on the need to discover the coping mechanisms of children who have to at times share the small houses with other family members. He further added, that there is a need to explore if the pressure of displacement on children and their aggressive behavior in schools and public places is somehow interrelated.

The literature review of policy documents that studied the city development projects such as the Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept for Kreuzberg area dated May 2012 revealed that those areas that were distinctly having above average social housing were also having highest migrants and foreigners. According to the document that captures the city development project from 2008 to 2010, the number of migrants and foreigners has slightly declined. Particularly the counting of Turkish and Arabic citizens was declining in that period. A decline of migrants and foreigners from these areas could be the indication for advanced displacement of low-income households (Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept, Aktionsraum plus Kreuzberg - Nordost, 2012, p. 10). This research lacks in depth study of social displacement. The policy documents of quarters management in Wrangelkiez lack any statistical data on displacement of individuals. The

reason cited for absence of such data by the Quartiers Manager of Wrangelkiez was that since “the apartments are private properties and belong to individuals it is not possible to go from one private apartment to another collecting data on people who move out.”

Thus, there is definitely a need for more research on social displacement and empirical data in the neighborhood of Wrangelkiez and the research site of Wrangelstrasse to fill in the gaps in academic as well policy research.

Background

3.1 ‘Gast Arbeiters’ in Kreuzberg

Berlin is not referred to as a global city in the global city discourse nevertheless it is a city, which has witnessed many global processes. From the Cold War, to the Fordist capitalism and labor migration in the form of ‘Gast Arbeiters’ (guest workers), to the free market economy allowing people from all corners of the world to live in Berlin even to this day. Even though, Berlin might share many similarities with other cities across the globe, it is distinct in so far as its political and human geography is concerned. Till its fall in 1989, the Berlin Wall divided not only the country and its people but also the economic and social system of Germany. The fall of the Wall signified the victory of capitalism over socialism and ushered in the forces of globalization into the reunited Germany. One of those forces was global urbanism. Germany’s growing economy has attracted internal and external migration leading to increasing gentrification.

Figure 1 Map of the district region Nordliche Luisenstadt of Freidrichshain Kreuzberg district.



Source: Bezirksamt Friedrichshain – Kreuzberg von Berlin; Amt. f. Jugend, Familie, Schule sowie Amt für Stadtplanung, Vermessung und Bauaufsicht – Fachbereich Vermessung.

In Figure 1 No. 5 depicts Wrangestrasse.

The research site of this study is Wrangelkiez, in Berlin’s Friedrichshain Kreuzberg district. Bordered on three sides by the Berlin Wall, Kreuzberg is important due to its moving historical legacy. In the course of the Second World War, bombing destroyed many institutions of the Third Reich situated in this district. Due to the disinvestment by

the government in this area of Berlin there was not much reconstruction of houses. They were in dilapidated conditions. The poor condition of the houses here was also due to the rent policies before the fall of the Wall. In order to guarantee that all citizens could afford housing the state kept strict control of the rents. Rents were frozen at levels that had been set in 1938 by the National Socialist regime. According to A. Holm, rents were generally set at one Ostmark per square meter, and no plan for increase was incorporated into this decision (as cited in Huron, 2002, 19). This meant that, throughout the time of the GDR, people spent around five percent of their income on housing costs. The rents were set so low that landlords could not afford repairs, and owning a building was not a profitable endeavor. There were additional subsidies that the city received from the federal government in order to make it a “showcase of socialism” (Häußermann and Strom 1994). Due to the cheap housing, this area attracted many immigrants. The immigrants who settled there had primarily Turkish origin. They settled in Kreuzberg and set up their own businesses there, from the little stall selling Mediterranean vegetables to exporting kebab meat throughout Europe. Kreuzberg was henceforth thought of as a Klein-Istanbul (little Istanbul), where kiosks selling doner kebabs are open 24 hours a day (Rouzeau 2009). The centre of the Turkish community in this area is mainly situated around Wrangelstraße in the East of Kreuzberg (Sprachenatelier Berlin n.d.).

Silke Botsch’s documentary film Kreuzberg *Bleibt Unhöflich*, has captured the themes of gentrification and displacement in this ever-changing area. While narrating the synopsis of her film, she states that due to gentrification Kreuzberg SO 36 has been sold out. International real estate speculators have bought up all that they could. As a result of which, old residents are being thrown out on the streets to make room for those who are willing to pay the most. She says that the new stores, bars and restaurants created due to

gentrification profit from the flow of tourists, jobs have been created and open attitudes towards new cultural influences have increased financial investment. But the less privileged communities who can no longer afford to live here have paid the price for that (Botsch 2012).

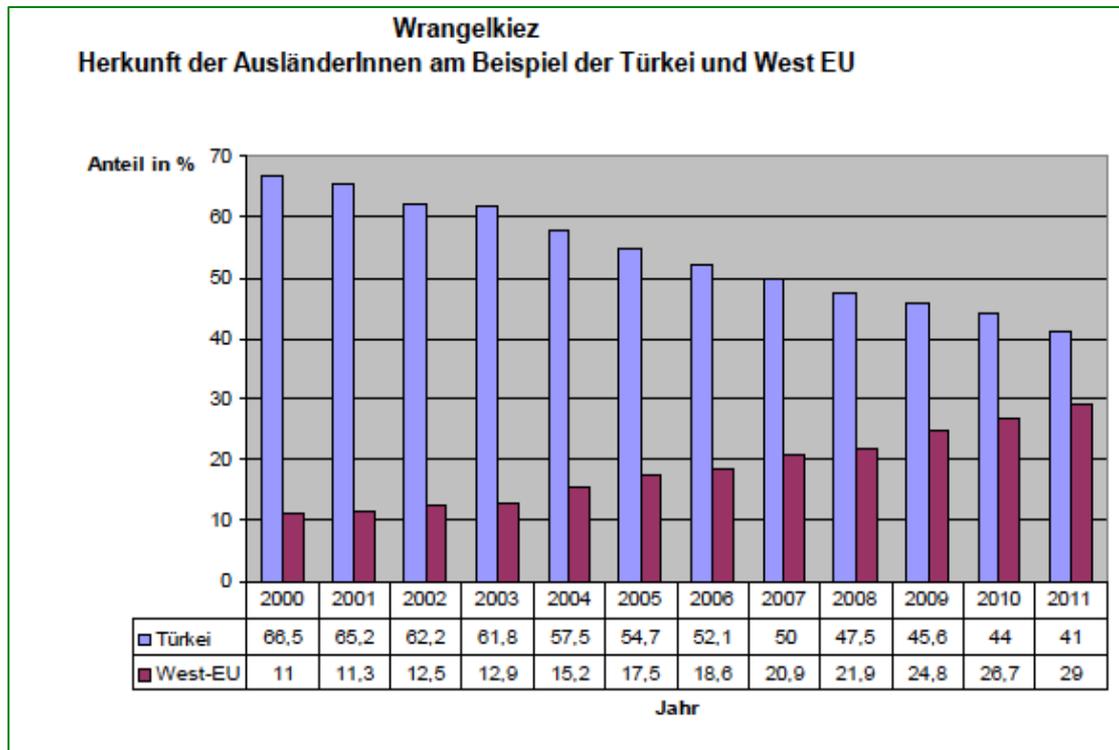
3.2 Introduction to Wrangelstrasse

The spatial structure of the district Wrangelkiez, where Wrangelstrasse is located is highly compressed. The natural boundary to the north constitutes the Spree, the Landwehr Canal to the east and the Görlitz Park in the south. Composed of 46-hectare area next to the Gorlitz Park and the Lohmühlen Insel, it is built as a large residential neighborhood close to the surrounding greenery. The Skalitzer and Schlesische streets are the main roads with a very high volume of traffic (Handlungs Konzept, QM wrangelkiez n.d., p. 2)

The current rent index in the Handlungs Konzept (Action Konzept) of Quartiers Management (District Management) Wrangelkiez classifies the area as “einfache Wohnlage” or simple living location. The apartments are predominantly contemporary in design. The proportion of flats for families with a number of rooms is 2.5 and 53% respectively is relatively high. The sharp rise in the apartment rents is particularly visible to the new tenants. After the Apartment Market Report of IBB of 2012, from 2010 to 2012 the rents in the area has on an average increased by 15 - 20%. This also reflects the increasing fear of lower - income populations from displacement once again. The conversion in home ownership is progressing well in Wrangelkiez. In the past two years, in each year, about ten multi-family homes sought seclusion certificates for home ownership (Handlungs Konzept, QM wrangelkiez n.d., p. 4).

The population structure in the Handlungs Konzept shows that 12.125 residents live in the district. The proportion of the population with the status "Foreigners" at 31.6% is well above the district average (Friedrichshain Kreuzberg) of 21.9 % and Berlin average of 14.1 %. The proportion of residents with Migrationshintergrund (migration background) is 47%. With 39.9 %, the Turkish residents form the largest non - German national group of neighborhood residents. At the district level, Friedrichshain - Kreuzberg their proportion is 30.3 %. According to the report, it is striking that the proportion of the Turkish population in the last decade which was at a dominant position (formerly 68 %) has decreased drastically and the proportion of the population of the western EU states in the same period has risen from 11 % to 29.5% (Handlungs Konzept, QM wrangelkiez n.d., p. 4).

Figure 2: Percentage of population from Turkey and E.U. in Wrangelkiez district from 2000 -2011



Source: Handlungs Konzept, Quartiersmanagement Wrangelkiez, p. 3.

URL:http://www.quartiersmanagement-berlin.de/fileadmin/content-media/Bilder_2013/News_2013/News_2013_2/Iheks/IHEK_2013_Wrangel.pdf

The above graph shows that from 2000 to 2011 there has been a steady decrease in proportion of Turkish residents in the Wrangelkiez area where Wrangelstrasse is located and simultaneous increase in the proportion of EU residents. This change in population structure is a clear indication of displacement of Turkish residents. This is a compelling reason to study, where did the Turkish residents simply go away and why did they go away. When data from the graph, the data indicating rent increase and the fear of displacement of lower income group as mentioned in the management concept are

combined, the rent increase could be seen as one of the reasons for the displacement of Turkish residents from Wrangelstrasse.

An analysis of the social situation by the management concept documents reveals that the percentage of unemployed people in the area is 9.5 %, which is slightly lower than the average percentage for all other neighborhood management areas at 9.7% but significantly higher than the overall proportion of Berlin at 6.3%. The proportion of recipients of transfer income is decreased slightly in Wrangelkiez at 24.8% is significantly lower than the proportion of all other neighborhood management areas at 37.2% but well above the Berlin average of 14.6%. In the Monitoring Social Urban Development 2011 Wrangelkiez has risen to Group 2 (medium development index) from the monitoring of 2009 due to its confirmed positive development. Based on this data, the proportion of unemployment rose slightly, while the long-term unemployment has decreased slightly and youth unemployment changed to slightly above-average level as compared to overall Berlin. Child poverty still remains very high at 46.1%. Old age poverty also remains high in this area as 16.5% receive pension from age 65. This is well above the District level at 10.3% and Berlin average at 4.4%. Thus, the rise in unemployment barring the long-term unemployment and the poverty levels of old people could have also led to unaffordability of rising rents. 96 % of the accommodation in Kreuzberg is rental and in the whole area is 85.5 %. But the rate of conversion from rent to home ownership could rise in the future. The GSW housing report (2011) said that the district Friedrichshain Kreuzberg ranks very high in attracting investments % (Handlungs Konzept, QM wrangelkiez n.d., p. 3).

In terms of the economic structure, according to the Social City document, in this action area of Kreuzberg Nordost, the ethnic economy has a concentration of people with

migration background that has a particular meaning and gives a special image to the streets (Integriertes Stadtteilentwicklungskonzept, Aktionsraum Plus Kreuzberg – Nordost, 2012 p.26). However, this part of the local economy has till now very few statistics. This affects the research, as there are no statistics that can concretely indicate how much did the ethnic economy change. The diversity of businesses is huge. With the most important branches being gastronomy, house keeping industry, retail shops of textiles or groceries and car showrooms. There is competition for common spaces and that together with rising rents and the spending capacity of people in the areas is affecting these single businesses. The relationship between industry and corporations is developable. A qualification in marketing or operations management is necessary to work in these businesses. The potential number of training places is low in many small businesses.

The general understanding of Kreuzberg and Neuköln from the state documents is that, in overall Germany, Kreuzberg and Neuköln have been seen as problematic areas for a long time (Integriertes Stadtteilentwicklungskonzept, Aktionsraum Plus Kreuzberg – Nordost, 2012 p.14). This shows the delicate social setting where these urban phenomenons have been going on. There is sort of a dormant volatility. Due to the presentation in media of the social facts, there was a concentration of social problems in these areas. The assumptions were statistically proven until 2008. 9 out of 11 planning areas of A+ Kreuzberg Nordost showed low and very low development index (where low means many problems and very low means even more problems) but very low is even worse. Lower the index the more problems there are. This seems to be changing. In Kreuzberg there are upgrading tendencies, its getting better which can be found due to strong or highly internal differentiation (this depends on areas) positive changes in displacement, more people coming in than going out (veränderungen) in Wrangelkiez

and Graefkierz, as can be seen in Figure 3. In contrast, in the areas of Southern Friedrichstadt, which is known for social housing, displacement is going negative, so more people are going out.

Table 1: Development in the number of inhabitants in different regions of Friedrichshain Kreuzberg district

Tabelle 1: Einwohnerentwicklung (Planungsraum, Bezirksregion, Aktionsraum, Bezirk, Gesamtstadt)				
Gebiet	Einwohner 31.12.08	Einwohner 31.12.10	Veränderung absolut (Basiswert 31.12.08)	Veränderung in % (Basiswert 31.12.08)
<i>Südliche Friedrichstadt</i>				
Askanischer Platz	6.320	6.059	-261	-4,1
Mehringplatz	12.786	12.610	-176	-1,4
Moritzplatz	14.652	14.747	95	0,6
Wassertorplatz	4.995	4.927	-68	-1,4
<i>Tempelhofer Vorstadt</i>				
Rathaus Yorckstraße	-	5.431	-	-
Urbanstraße	11.989	11.628	-361	-3,0
Graefekiez	18.099	18.017	-82	-0,5
<i>Nördliche Luisenstadt</i>				
Oranienplatz	9.344	9.097	-247	-2,6
Lausitzer Platz	13.160	12.981	-179	-1,4
<i>Südliche Luisenstadt</i>				
Reichenberger Straße	14.914	14.635	-279	-1,9
Wrangelkiez	11.369	11.056	-313	-2,8
<i>Südliche Friedrichstadt</i>				
Südliche Friedrichstadt	38.753	38.343	-410	-1,1
Tempelhofer Vorstadt ¹	30.088	35.076*	4.988*	16,6*
		29.645**	-443**	-1,5**
Nördliche Luisenstadt	22.504	22.078	-426	-1,9
Südliche Luisenstadt	26.283	25.691	-592	-2,3
<i>A+ Kreuzberg-Nordost</i>				
A+ Kreuzberg-Nordost	117.628	121.188*	3.560*	3,0*
		115.757**	-1.871**	-1,6**
Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	262.257	261.090	-1.167	-0,4
Berlin	3.362.842	3.387.562	24.720	0,7

Daten: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg und Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung 2011
¹bezogen auf den im Aktionsraum liegenden Bereich der Tempelhofer Vorstadt
* inklusive des Planungsraums Rathaus Yorckstraße / ** exklusive des Planungsraums Rathaus Yorckstraße

Source: Amt für Statistik Berlin – Brandenburg und Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung 2011

Table 1 gives the displacement in these regions in absolute and in percentages. Under the region Sudliche Luisenstadt the details of Wrangelkiez is stated. Wrangelstrasse is a street in this neighborhood. The number of inhabitants in Wrangelkiez has decreased between 2008 and 2010 from 11.369 to 11.056. The displacement has been - 313 in absolute terms and - 2.8%. This indicates more people coming in the neighborhood than going out.

Table 2: Development index of different regions of Friedrichshain Kreuzberg district.

Tabelle 5: Entwicklungsindex

Gebiet	Statusindex ¹		Dynamikindex ²		Entwicklungsindex (Summe) ³		Entwicklungsindex (Gruppe) ⁴		Rangplatz (1 - 434) ⁵	
	MSS	MSS	MSS	MSS	MSS	MSS	MSS	MSS	MSS	MSS
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
<i>Südliche Friedrichstadt</i>										
Askanischer Platz	83,0	80,0	58,5	36,8	366,2	313,6	4	4	406	412
Mehringplatz	95,6	93,7	60,0	30,9	406,8	342,7	4	4	430	424
Moritzplatz	96,1	100,0	55,6	34,2	399,4	368,4	4	4	427	433
Wassertorplatz	100,0	96,1	52,5	29,1	404,9	346,6	4	4	429	427
<i>Tempelhofer Vorstadt</i>										
Rathaus Yorkstraße	49,7	45,9	54,0	34,0	257,2	205,7	2	2	306	281
Urbanstraße	41,8	40,7	53,3	37,6	231,8	197,3	2	2	264	270
Graefekiez	63,4	56,1	57,7	35,9	305,4	240,2	3	2	362	330
<i>Nördliche Luisenstadt</i>										
Oranienplatz	93,3	81,4	53,6	30,5	387,0	305,0	4	4	416	402
Lausitzer Platz	75,8	68,7	50,8	38,9	329,1	284,1	3	3	381	387
<i>Südliche Luisenstadt</i>										
Reichenberger Straße	63,2	60,0	57,5	37,1	304,6	254,2	3	3	359	352
Wrangelkiez	63,2	56,5	59,5	37,0	308,4	243,5	3	2	366	336

Daten: Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung 2008 und 2011 (Ende 2009 wurde die Anzahl der ins Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung 2008 einbezogenen Planungsräume nachträglich korrigiert. Aus diesem Grund weichen die hier angegebenen Werte von denen des ersten INSEKs ab.)

¹ Werte von 0 (positiv) bis 100 (negativ) möglich

² Werte von 0 (positiv) bis 100 (negativ) möglich

³ Der Entwicklungsindex wird in einem Verhältnis 3:2 von Status- und Dynamikindex als Summe berechnet. Daraus ergeben sich mögliche Werte von 0 (positiv) bis 500 (negativ).

⁴ Anhand der ermittelten Rangfolge beim Entwicklungsindex erfolgt eine Zuordnung der Planungsräume in Gruppen von jeweils 10 % (Dezile). Die beiden Dezile mit den niedrigsten Werten werden als „hoch“ (Gruppe 1) eingestuft, die beiden mit den höchsten Werten als „niedrig“ (neuntes Dezil = hohe Problemdichte; Gruppe 3) bzw. als „sehr niedrig“ (zehntes Dezil = sehr hohe Problemdichte; Gruppe 4). 60 % aller Planungsräume weisen einen mittleren Entwicklungsindex auf (Gruppe 2).

⁵ Tatsächlich existieren 447 Planungsräume, allerdings werden 13 von ihnen nicht in die jährliche Analyse mit einbezogen.

Source: Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung 2008 und 2011 (Ende 2009 wurde die Anzahl der ins Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung 2008 einbezogenen Planungsräume

nachträglich korrigiert. Aus diesem Grund welchen die hier angegebenen Werte von denen des ersten INSEKS ab).

In Table 2 it can be seen that 7 out of 11 areas of A+ have many problems or very low development index. Positive development tendencies have been observed in the east and northwest is getting more and more backward (worse) than others. Wrangelstrasse is in North East so there the situation remains to be unchanged.

There is high child poverty and young people's joblessness among migrants, youth and children. On top of that in North West Kreuzberg there is strongly advanced ethnic cultural segregation because the contact point between migrants and others is less and because of this the social public infrastructure is given special meaning. At the same time in old building areas of South and East A plus area (Kreuzberg Nordost) there is cultural mixing. In past examination young families moved for reasons in living situation with neighbors or because of schooling as soon as children reached school going situation. In all areas it was same even in planning areas.

The Nachbarschaftshaus Centrum e.V. or the Neighborhood House Association Center (NHC) in Kreuzberg as a family center is the central Facility in the area in cultivating social engagement and improving the social situation in the area. It is a merger of three migrant associations having a long tradition in the neighborhood. Under the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, since July 2007, NHC is also Mehrgenerationenhaus or multiple generation house association. The services they offer range from open and thematic meetings for different target groups, consultancy and integration courses. It also offers help with homework and various educational opportunities with a focus on early childhood education. In the coming years project-based cooperative relations with

the Falckensteinstraße centre aimed at old people would be expanded. Club Joliba promotes intercultural coexistence. Advice, counseling and assistance is given to the homeless and drug addicts. There is also a tenant advisory club at SO36. Religious communities playing a role in the social life of the neighborhood are the two Christian churches, evangelical Tabor community and Catholic parish St. Mary Our Lady and the Fatih mosque of the Islamic Federation. As the research would proceed, the effects of NHC on social displacement of Turkish migrants from Wrangelkiez would become clearer.

Research Methodology

In this research process the data was collected through semi structured interviews recorded in audiotape in multiple sites, observations and documents. The initial plan for the research was not tightly prescribed. The phases of the research evolved after the data collection in the field began. The subjects of this study were residents as well as owners of commercial establishments like shops, cafes and restaurants in Wrangelstarasse. Subjects also included officers in Government urban planning departments like the Quartiers Management and Nachbarschaft Zentrum (neighborhood Centre) were also included in the study. Furthermore, subjects such as the manager of the Mosque were examined for its contribution to the social and cultural place bounded activities in the neighborhood. In order to study the new areas to where the German Turks moved from Wrangelstrasse, the research was limited to two sites of Marzahn and Rudow. Both these sites are located far off from Kreuzberg and in the margins of Berlin. In these two sites, the study was limited to the government urban planning departments known as Quartiers Management.

The data was organized, by building patterns, categories and themes from bottom up. The inductive process of going back and forth between the themes and the database allowed establishing a comprehensive set of themes. Throughout the research process, the focus was on learning the meaning of gentrification or social displacement held by the participants.

4.1 Reflexivity

The research process considered the personal issues brought by my role as a researcher. A reflexive identification of my biases, values and personal background such as gender, history, culture and socio-economic status helped to understand his/her role in the interpretation of the study. As a migrant who has been living in Germany for 6 years and in Berlin since 8 months, i was aware to some extent of the prejudices against migrants in Germany generally and Turkish migrants based on personal experiences. While residing in Berlin, i had observed gentrification and had also experienced exclusionary displacement. As stated earlier, Peter Marcuse defines exclusionary displacement as a type of displacement where the residents cannot access housing easily as it has been gentrified. Since all of the QM officers and the meetings of the German Turks at NHC were of only Turkish females, i being a female might have had an easier access to the research sites for interviews or observations. The common background of me being a migrant and the German Turk participants could have led to more empathy between them.

4.2 Gatekeepers

During the research process, some of the research sites required special permission for access from the gatekeepers. For example, in order to observe the weekly meetings of German Turks organized by NHC, Curvy Strasse, Kreuzberg and held at the QM

Wrangelkiez, special permission was granted by the officer at NHC who was herself a German Turk and attended these meetings. She even introduced me to the other Turkish participant for the interview that was held there.

The data collection procedure included collecting information through semi structured and unstructured interviews, observations, government documents and websites. The interviews were primarily conducted in Wrangelstrasse of Kreuzberg. Kreuzberg has a high concentration of German Turks since their arrival in Germany as guest workers in the 1960s. As opposed to other nearby streets, which are either mostly commercial or residential, Wrangelstrasse is a long street with a combination of both commercial establishments in the form of diverse shops, cafes, restaurants and residential buildings. This allowed a study of the process of gentrification of both public places as well as private residences. The other two sites of Marzahn and Rudow were explored to examine the process of social displacement of individuals who moved to those areas from Kreuzberg based on the data gathered in Kreuzberg. The interviews were both semi - structured and unstructured open-ended face to face and one on one. The interviews were audio taped and later transcribed. Alongside interview notes were also taken. The government officials that were interviewed were the QM managers and officers at Kreuzberg, Gropius Stadt in Neuköln and Marzahn districts of Berlin. The other participants interviewed were shop, café and restaurants owners and residents of Wrangelstrasse, the manager of the Mosque at Wrangelstrasse as well as the attendees of the weekly meetings held by NHC at QM, Wrangelkiez. The participants were chosen in such a way that they would be represent the different stakeholders, government officials from urban planning and city development departments, representatives of the Mosque and the neighborhood community centre, German Turks, native Germans and the rest of the residents as well as owners of commercial establishments in that street.

Some of the data collection through observations was done at the weekly breakfast meetings of German Turkish women at QM, Wrangelkiez. I observed as a complete observer without participating. This helped in understanding why such weekly meetings were so important to the group. What kind of social interaction they had and what kind of social bonding they shared, that motivated them to come to these meetings regularly. During my research I also gathered field notes at the various sites by conducting observation as an observer.

4.3 Data Collection

Multiple observations were made during the course of the study. Through out my research I used a protocol for recording observational data. A part of the information recorded was in the form of descriptive notes (portraits of participants, a reconstruction of dialogue, a description of physical setting, accounts of particular events). The other part of the information recorded was in the form of reflective notes that are my personal thoughts, such as “speculation, feelings, problems, ideas, impressions and prejudices” (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p.121). Some other information recorded was demographic information about the time, place, and date of the field setting where the observation takes place.

During the research process, i initially interviewed all the shop, restaurant and cafe owners on the Wrangelstrasse, approximately around 50 of them. These were short interviews comprising of 5 or 6 questions. The aim was to see since how long have these establishments been there, who is the present owner, who was the previous owner and what was there before in its place. I then studied if this could be an indicator of gentrification there and if Turkish migrants in any way moved out or were displaced or

the social space of those still staying there stays the same. This was followed by approximately 10 long interviews with some shop owners and some residents. In order to get access to statistical data, i went to QM Wrangelkiez, where she interviewed the QM manager. From the QM manager she learnt about the NHC at Curvy Street. I then interviewed the counselor at NHC, Curvystrasse. The counselor invited me to the weekly women's group meeting held at QM, Wrangelkiez. I attended three of those meetings as an observer gathering information on how these meetings are conducted. At these meetings i interviewed two Turkish women who used to live in Wrangelstrasse and moved away to other areas of Berlin but attend these meetings to meet their friends from before who live in that area. Finally based on the data gathered in Kreuzberg, i gathered data in Neuköln and Marzahn to find out about the people who moved there from Wrangelstrasse. I went as an observer to the neighborhood of Ahrensfeld in Marzahn district and Gropiusstadt in Neuköln district to observe the neighborhood composition, apartment situation and population structure. Even though the data collected at Wrangelstrasse indicated movement of people to Rudow due to the absence of QM in Rudow, i had to get the information from the closest QM to Rudow at Gropiusstadt. At the NHCs of these two areas, i interviewed the QM managers to gather documents and more information. After this point due to paucity of time i terminated further data collection.

Discussion

There have been continuous developments in the studies that attempted to understand the processes of gentrification. Initially, there was a focus on the financial and market aspects of it. This perspective explained how financial profit is the biggest motivating factor for individuals, groups and institutions in the urban paradigm.

However, there are some problems with such a perspective. Some of them being, the importance is given to economic aspects and not to individuals. Another problem being establishing a link between so many local cases and the entire global economy where the individuals in every place are seen as basically capitalists. According to Eric Wright 1978 (as cited in L. Lee, T. Slater, E. Wyly 2008, p. 74), such a view negates the opposing class positions. It also negates inequalities of race, ethnicity and other identities according to Freeman 2006, Rose 1984, Lauria and Knopp 1985 (as cited in L. Lee, T. Slater, E. Wyly 2008, p. 74). A counter argument is given by Neil Smith (1992, p. 114) who points out, that individual identities might be important but class is also important. At the individual level, his preference is realized only on the basis of the capital he commands. A negative attribute to such a view is that social inequalities have worsened with neoliberalism being the dominant political movement implementing policies that dictate market justice. This implies that free markets are and should be arbiters of social processes. However, such a view produces social inequalities. “Gentrification is nothing more and nothing less than the neighborhood expression of class inequality” (Lee, Slater, Wyly 2008, p. 80). Another way global inequality is induced by gentrification is through the global character of gentrification. It is intertwined with transnational processes, such as major international developers, world financial markets; local labor markets are intertwined with global urban system. This generates demand for local gentrified space; this is interrelated to transnational circuits of labor migration that are on short-term assignment or freelancers. These individuals while projecting from their local scales on to the global scales, position themselves as a global elite community. Inequality is also perpetuated through uneven development inside gentrifying cities with the extension of rent gap framework. Also, the government is implicit in many cases in producing a form of inequality at an institutional level. The urban property markets have left little chance for resistance as the process now receives governmental support through subsidies to large corporate developers and

policies to target individual gentrifiers. In spite of the shortcomings such accounts are still very important in showcasing the importance of increasing social injustice/ inequality in cities across the world.

On the other hand there is another perspective that looks at gentrification based on the human agency rather than the rational economics or the way capital market operated. This view addressed the role humans and their social interactions played in the development of cities from manufacturing to service based. In early 2000s, David Ley, an urban geographer incorporated human agency into geographical research that studied structural issues (Ley 2003). This perspective positively brought the issue of human agency to a globalization discourse (Ley 2004, p. 152). Daniel bell, an American sociologist, who underlined the importance of human beings in his post - industrial thesis argued that, there has been a transformation from a manufacturing to a service - based economy and new science - based industries with specialized knowledge are becoming central key resource. There has also been a rapid rise of managerial, professional, technical occupations and artistic avant - gardes lead consumer culture as asserted by Bell 1973 (as cited in Lee, Slater, Wyly 2008, p. 94). Ley referred to the new middle - class professionals as a “cultural new class” (1996, p. 15).

However, such a perspective is not devoid of negative affects. By focusing on the gentrifiers, this theory takes the attention away from those that are displaced. “It informs us of the resistance to the established urban identities related to education or class but not so much the resistance to gentrification” (L. Lee, T. Slater, E. Wyly 2008, p. 124). Eventually any explanation of gentrification must take into account the strengths and weaknesses of both these perspectives and should include those displaced not only from work but also residences.

5.1 Interviews in Wrangelstrasse

The cases that were taken up in the study pointed towards two sociological theories of gentrification, one theory being gentrification as an economic process and the other theory being as a social process. In the former process, market influences have dominated in some cases, where especially the people have moved out of the neighborhood because of high rents. This was more apparent in commercial establishments. There are new cafes and restaurants opening all the time due to the drastically increasing rents, when the people move out, as they can no longer afford the rents. Due to the speculation effect people are ready to take these properties irrespective of such high rents. This speculation is said to have started in the year 2004. Those who rented the places for example restaurants continued to stay by paying high rents for that. They would continue for maybe a year and then it would be sold off, as they were not able to afford costs of running it anymore.

From the point of view of the government institutions, the Quartiers Management reports and interviews were a good source of information on gentrification caused due to rent increase. The QM of Wrangelkiez, revealed that gentrification in that neighborhood had started in Falkenstrasse in 2007 and 2008. But in the last 2 or 3 years had spread to Wranglestrasse too. Due to this many restaurants opened there and the old shops like color shops and shops for children have closed down because the landlords have continuously increased the rent. That is how the restaurant businesses opened up in the place of these shops. So the displacement there was due to the rent increase. She elaborated on the demography of the area saying that the Germans who live there are usually academicians and students and the guest generation from Turkey. Explaining why the guest generation people came to live in that area she said that, “ After the fall of the

Wall, there were many old buildings in Kreuzberg that had very low standards. That means no toilets, no bathroom, no light, old windows and very run down buildings. At that time many people from the guest generation came to this area as the apartments were cheap. She said the displacement began in the 1970s. At that time there were very few apartments in West Berlin so people wanted these apartments in East Berlin. She said in some parts of Kreuzberg, like for example Kotbusser Tor, the buildings were all demolished when the Senator decided to renovate the neighborhood. Following which the quality of the buildings improved. She said that, today after reflection she thinks that the displacement was not due to the renovation of the buildings but due to increase in the rent. There was as a result gentrification since the people could not afford the rent any longer. This was true not of just the residential buildings but also of commercial places. For example, as many entrepreneurs and businessmen are there now who earn well and go to restaurants to have lunch, many restaurants have come up in the street rather than shops that would be useful to all the people living there. Shops such as color shops or shops with social initiative are diminishing in favor of consumers who have power and want restaurants. She said that they do not have any official statistics on the displacement as the apartments are privately owned. However, whatever statistics are available on demography point out to the fact that there has been reduction in the Turkish population and an increase in the population of the people from EU member states. She said that from what she knows informally as an employee of QM is that when the displacement took place many people went to Reichenberger neighborhood and Neuköln and some went to Kotbusser Tor area. From an analysis of her points, it can be said that displacement did take place and since the population of the Turkish people reduced, it can be said that those displaced were the Turkish people. She said that the people moved to Neuköln and Reichenberger Strasse. These areas are actually not very far from Wrangelstrasse. So the impact of the movement on social displacement of these

people who moved would be limited. However, there were no official statistics on displacement or any research done on social displacement in this area so far that could help me make concrete conclusions about the people who were displaced. Due to lack of such data it becomes very difficult to believe if the people who were displaced moved far away as revealed by some interviews or they went to nearby areas as revealed by the QM manager at Wrangekiez.

In residential areas, however, the people were more likely to continue to stay there by adopting coping mechanisms. One of the reasons for that was that people wanted to maintain their social ties in that area. This points out towards the community networks theory of gentrification proposed by Bruce London and J. John Palen (1984, p. 19) according to which a community is an “interactive social group.” The community activity increases with increasing gentrification in the neighborhood as gentrification revitalizes the neighborhood. The Turkish migrants adopted various place making strategies to ground themselves in one area. One such place making strategy is of cultural type through religious institutions like the mosque. On speaking to Tariq, the Chairman of the mosque at Wrangelstrasse, various details about how important is the role of the mosque in the lives of the Turkish immigrants is revealed. The mosque has been in the neighborhood for last 30 years and since four years is situated in the same place, off Wrangelstrasse. On Fridays, around 100 people visit it. Most of the people attending the Mosque are of Turkish origin. According to Tariq, the mosque performs religious, cultural and social work for the neighborhood community. He states “zum beispieleil, wir machen Veranstaltungen mit die Kinder Gruppen, reisen, kleine Pknik und so was, sport, hausaufgaben arbeit und Quran lernen für unsere Kinder und auch für großen so was.” Translated into English, he stated that the mosque arranges workshops with the childrens’ groups, picnics and excursions. “Im sozial bereich, zb, wenn die leute

Anfragen ausfüllen brauchen wir unterstützen was, und wenn sie im eine behörde ihre Problem nicht lösung können unterstützen wir, ja, sprachlich, so ähnliches.” This translates to socially, when the people need something to be marked out and forms to be filled out or they cannot find a solution to a problem with the authorities, or anything similar we guide them through our language help. He stated that in the 30 years of their existence they have changed their location many times. Sometimes the management changed, some times the place was too small and out of such similar small reasons they had to change location several times. He agreed that some people stopped coming to the mosque due to family reasons, some members move to other localities and at other times new people come to the neighborhood. He held that the mosque is actually quite satisfied with the neighborhood and its residents. “ Genau, also hab ich mal gehört aber ich kenne nicht dass jemand das im Lichtenberg umgezogen sind, aber ich hab schon gehört weil diese ost teil, ost Berlin ist ziemlich niedrigen mieten als Kreuzberg aber das ist ganz wenig weil die sind hier gewohn zu wohnen ihre Bekannte hier, Nachbar hier, alles Freunde hier, wenn sie wo anderes umziehen dann sind sie wie Fremd”. He said that he has heard that some people have moved to Lichtenberg but he has heard that from before that this east part of Berlin is relatively cheaper in rent as compared to Kreuzberg. However, such people who move out are very few because they are now used to living in the same place. Their acquaintances, neighbors, all friends are there, and when they would move to anywhere else they would be like foreigners there. On analyzing his words we see that the residents of the neighborhood have place based social relations and when they move out of the neighborhood they become like foreigners as they lose their social connections. They become socially displaced. He says,“ Bewältigungen mechanismus, Miet steigungen finde ich nicht gut, das ist schlecht, das ist Kapitalastische Politik weil wirklich die Mieten sehr teuer sind und die Löhne sind nicht höhe gegangen die Löhne sind geblieben aber Mieten jedes Jahr immer teuer

immer teuer, das ist unkorrekt, unrecht.” Thus, implying that people use coping mechanisms to continue to stay in the same neighborhood even in the face of increasing rents. He said that rent increase is not good; it is a capitalist policy as the rents are really very high but the salaries have not increased but the rent increases every year and that is not right. He says that the people cannot do much about it, at the most they go to the rent authorities, complain or go to Kotti who takes up their cases. They continued coming to the mosque even after moving to a newer neighborhood but later stopped coming, as the distance was nearly 20 kms. With time, they stopped coming due to the long distance. He said that he did see these people in the mosque and spoke to them but does not have any personal contact with them. He held that people moved away due to financial difficulties and not due to discrimination. He also held that in the recent times out of the people who moved in, not so many people moved out of the neighborhood, as there are no new apartments available.

In order to know more about the role of mosques in the life of the Muslim community i interviewed Riem Spielhaus, a German scholar of Islam, whose research and publication is related to Muslim minorities, production of knowledge and dissemination on Islam and Islamic community life. She held that there have been instances when mosques have been told to move. The mosques had contracts that got over and to make new contracts the landlords asked for more rent. So they are focused to move to margins of the city. She elaborated that in some mosques, people living close by come for help with homework or Quran lessons. So to carry out such place bounded activities, the mosques needs to be there and not anywhere else. She pointed out that new apartments are available for rent and it should be considered as to where are they coming from (R. Spielhaus, personal communication, July 15, 2014).

While contrasting the views of Riem Spielhaus' and Tariq, the Chairman of the mosque in Wrangelstrasse, it came to my notice that, while Spielhaus' study revealed that the mosques were being relocated due to increasing rents, the mosque in the research does not relocate for this reason. Also, while Tariq believes that the inhabitants of apartments in Wrangelstrasse continue to live there, as there are no new apartments available where they could move. Spielhaus on the other hand believes that new apartments are available and gentrification could be a reason for that. Some of the interviews supported Tariq's claim that most of the people continue to live there as they would like to live there and everything related to their life is there. His viewpoint was that even the ones who do not have money continue to live there. Thus, it is not possible to generalize; there might be some apartments available but they maybe highly expensive in some neighborhoods while being cheaper in the marginal districts of the city. Also, the effect of gentrification might not affect all the stakeholders in a city equally. Like the mosque had to relocate for entirely different reasons than rent increase.

Another reason for the implementation of coping mechanisms was that there were no new apartments in the city to move into. The apartments in other areas were equally expensive. As one of the interviewees pointed out, "Gentrification is a vicious circle." Gentrification also means that it is not just the people moving out but also the case of people moving in. Though lately it has been difficult to move in due to rent increase. Thus, there is another angle to this problem and that being that it is not so easy for the area to be gentrified anymore due to high rent increase. This in turn means limited displacement. Peter Marcuse identifies this form of displacement as exclusionary displacement.

On the other hand, the sociological theory that views gentrification as a social process holds the perspective that places more importance on human agency as the driving force behind gentrification. Families consisting of small children form a special case. This theory supports the socio cultural theory of gentrification proposed by Bruce London and J. John Palen (1984, p. 16), according to which social and cultural ideas, beliefs, choices, sentiments and attitudes should be used to explain and predict human behavior. The view was reiterated in the interview with an employee of Nachbarschafts Zentrum or the neighborhood center in Curvyrstrasse in Kreuzberg responsible for Wrangelstrasse. She is also the organizer of the weekly meetings of Turkish women at Quartiers Management of the neighborhood. She is a German Turkish and has been working there for 13 years and also works for Kurdish Elderly People Club. Thus, she has witnessed the changes in the neighborhood during this long time period. She said there have been many noticeable changes in the Wrangelstrasse since five years. The composition of the neighborhood has changed a lot. Before that time there were many Turkish and Kurdish families however today it is very mixed and the number of such families has also decreased as compared to previous years. She said that in their centre they have many groups and some women in these groups have moved away. Some of these women now live in Rudow, Tempelhof or even in a different part of Kreuzberg. She listed a number of reasons for the movement of families out of the neighborhood. Some families with small children moved due to reasons related to their schooling, as they wanted their children to have better education in other schools. She explained that as this neighborhood is socially discriminated part of the city, the parents want to put their children in schools in other areas of the city. She said that she has heard in her social interactions with the people that before the neighborhood was like a small village and everyone knew everyone else. The children also had more freedom to go out and play but now due to increasing tourism, the situation has changed. Many unknown people

walk through the area and this becomes a safety issue for the families. She said, “The families that moved away aren’t socially displaced since a part of them is still here. They still continue to visit the neighborhood.” She added that, “their social contact with the people here is not like before but they still have the contact. Even though they moved to other neighborhoods, they still come here out of their own will and take part in the group meetings”. She believed that, “the people who move away feel like foreigners in the new neighborhoods as a part of them still belongs here where they lived for years.” So on analyzing her comments, we see that on one hand she says that the people are not socially displaced as they still have their contacts here but on the other hand she says that the people feel like foreigners in the new places. But the very fact that even though they move a part of them is still there in their old neighborhood indicates social displacement. It could be that due to the fact that they feel like foreigners in the new places that they still continue to come here even from long distances as they feel they socially belong there. Attending the weekly meetings regularly is an indication of this. If they did not come so often and instead came sporadically then it could be more an indicator of the fact that they only want to maintain their social contacts.

As the interview with the Nachbarschaft employee revealed one of the most pressing issues of gentrifiers is related to the schooling of the children. The social relations are often dictated by the performance of local schools (Butler with Robson 2003, p. 157-158). Education thus becomes a strategy used by parents to ensure that the children will also be middle class, thus playing an important part in the reproduction of cultural and social class. It is an attempt to understand the process of gentrification by looking at the education of the gentrifiers’ children. Butler (2003, p. 2484) holds that housing market trajectories are governed by everyday life components like work and consumption and the social production through schools and socialization. The schools then become tools

for converting cultural capital (education) into social capital (social relations and class distinction). Thus, here the focus is on gentrifiers who are class driven even if they are simultaneously viewed as those displaced in the study.

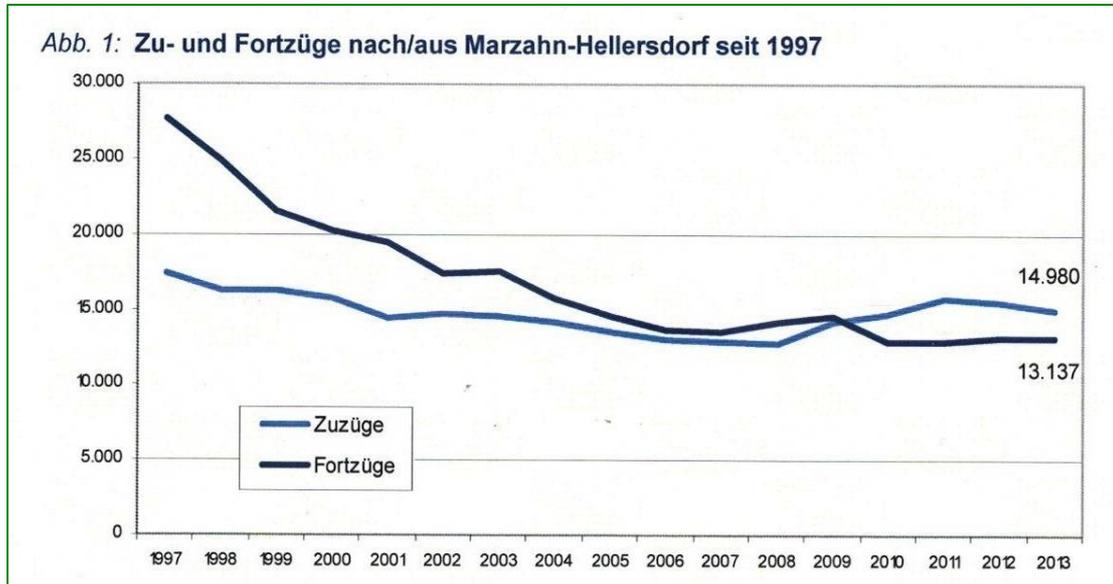
Keeping in mind this, the next stage was to locate the people who were socially displaced. I then decided to go to the neighborhoods of Rudow and Marzahn based on the interviews done in the earlier fieldwork. Here i carried out observation method to study the demography of the neighborhoods. Marzahn area is relatively wide way from Kreuzberg and lies in the far east side of Berlin. Most of the buildings are high-rise and the people who live there are mainly Vietnamese and Russians. On the other hand, in Rudow, which is in the south of Berlin and also quiet far from Kreuzberg, there was a mixed population. But as compared to Marzahn, there were some Turkish people and shops selling Turkish food and goods. Since, it was not possible for me to locate the socially displaced people just by walking around the area, i decided to get any information on the topic from the QM there. After gathering more information on the topic from the government sources, i planned to take further steps.

5.2 Interviews in Marzahn

In order to continue my research i then gathered information on migration figures in Marzahn to check if people who got displaced form Wrangelstrasse could have ended up moving there. I relied on the official data based on the government report obtained from Marzahn Hellersdorf QM based on Statistics gathered in 2012 for the 2013 report. According to this report, the migration balance in 2013 was the fourth consecutive year in which it was positive. That means more people moved in than the people who moved out. As compared to the data collected between 1993 and 2009 the movement of people

in the district was negative. So more people were moving out. Between the years 2004 to 2009 this trend stabilized and since 2010 the migration balance has been positive.

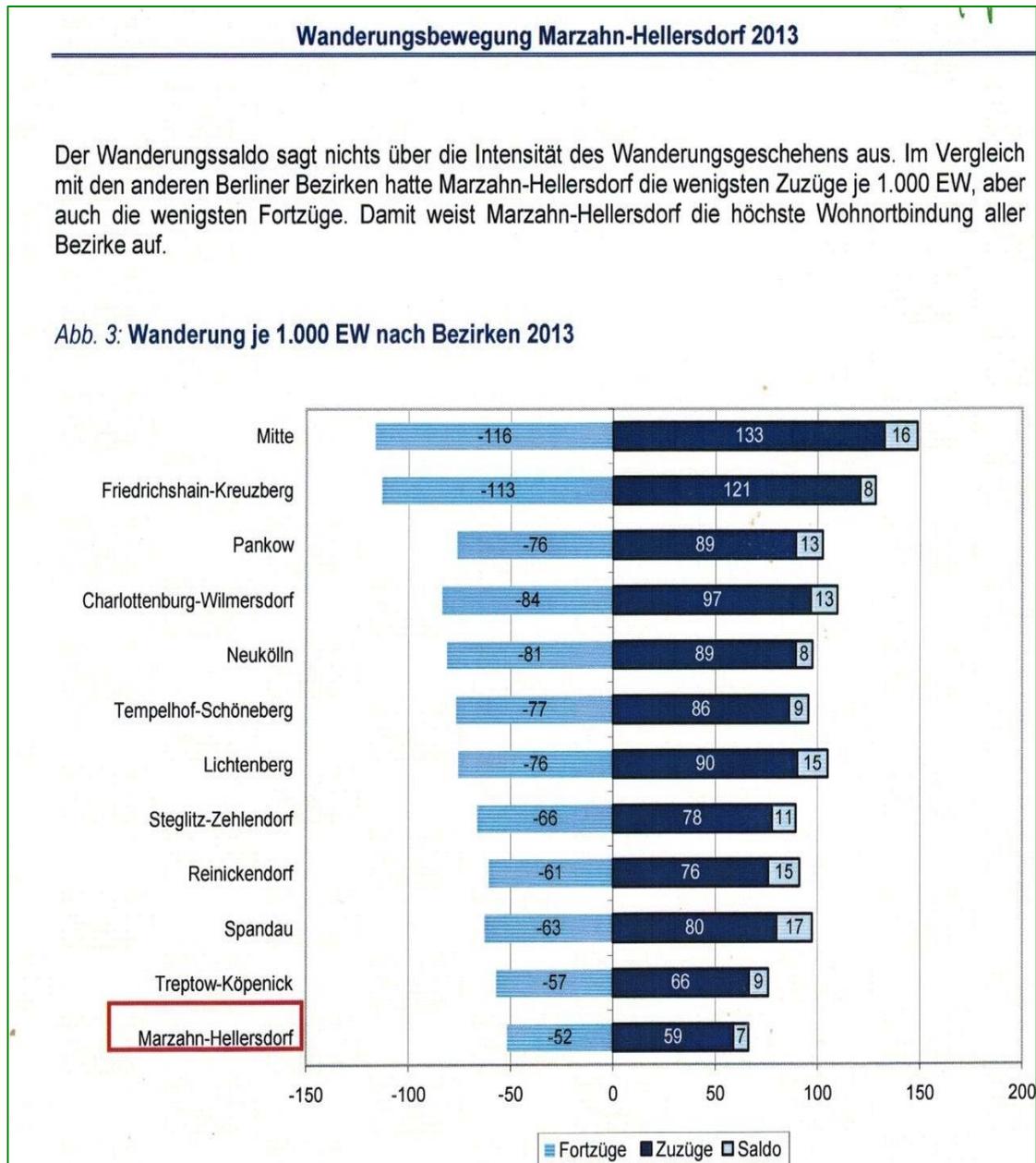
Figure 3: Influx and Outflux of inhabitants in Marzahn – Hellersdorf since 1997



Source: Wanderungsbewegung Marzahn – Hellersdorf 2013, Bezirksamt Marzahn – Hellersdorf von Berlin Abteilung Gesundheit und Soziales organisationseinheit Qualitätsentwicklung, Planung und Koordination des öffentlichen Gesundheitsdienstes

In Figure 3, it can be seen that in 2013 the number of people going out has been 13.137 and the people coming in has been 14.980. As opposed to previous years, the number of people moving in has decreased and the people who moved out remained same so the migration balance was lesser as compared to 2012. The migration balance has turned positive from 2010. This figure does not say much about the intensity of the migration movements. As compared to the other districts in Berlin, this district had the minimum people coming in at 1000 EW but also the lowest people moving out. So this district is most tightly knit as compared to other districts.

Figure 4: Comparison of migrational movement in different districts of Berlin and Marzahn – Hellersdorf district in 2013

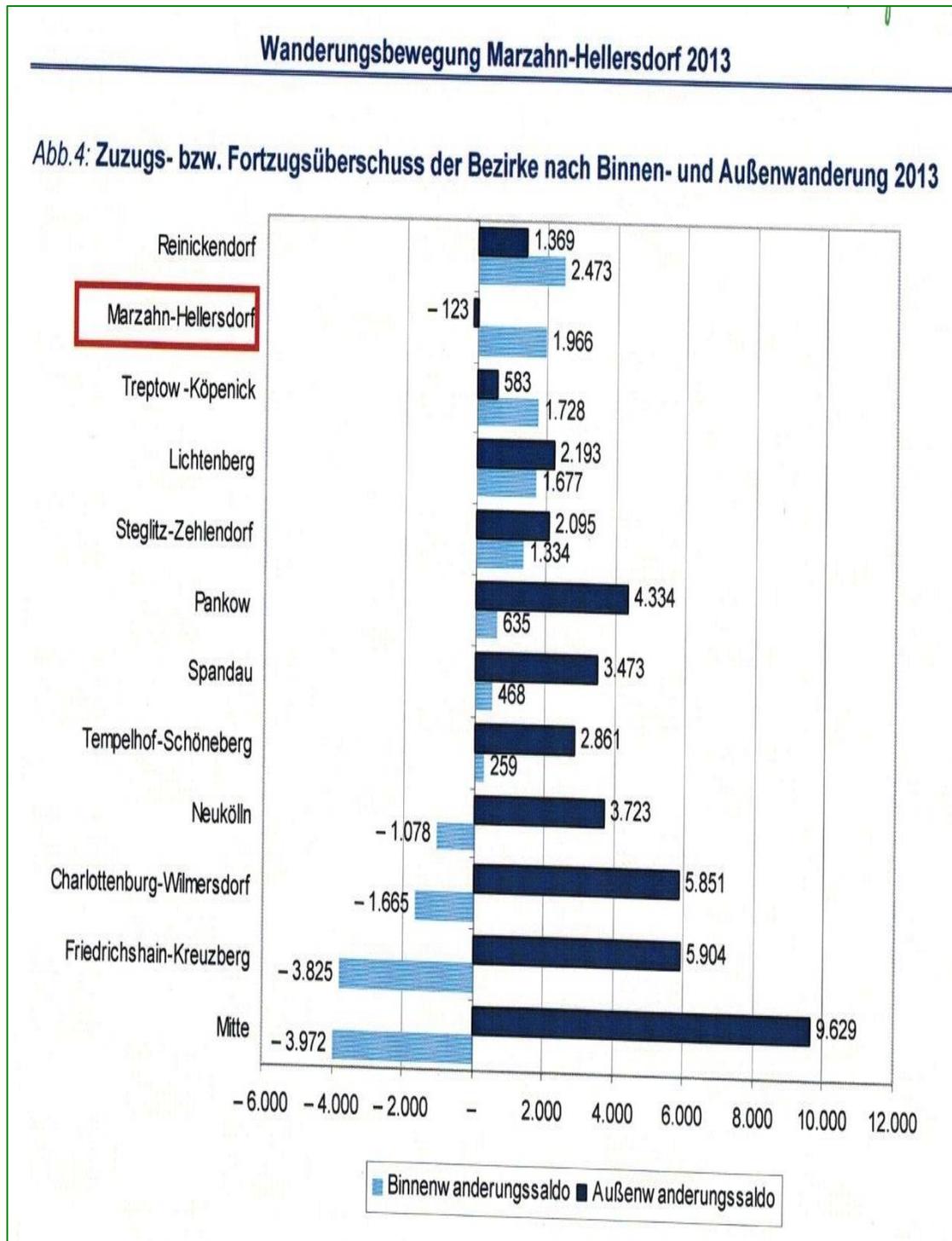


Source: Wanderungsbewegung Marzahn – Hellersdorf 2013, Bezirksamt Marzahn – Hellersdorf von Berlin Abteilung Gesundheit und Soziales organisationseinheit Qualitätsentwicklung, Planung und Koordination des öffentlichen Gesundheitsdienstes.

In figure 4, one can even see how there has been a maximum movement of people out

of Freidrichshain Kreuzberg. The maximum number of people moved in Spandau followed by Mitte, Lichtenberg and Reinickendorf.

Figure 5: Comparison of internal and external net migration in different districts of Berlin and Marzahn –Hellersdorf district in 2013



Source: Wanderungsbewegung Marzahn – Hellersdorf 2013, Bezirksamt Marzahn – Hellersdorf von Berlin Abteilung Gesundheit und Soziales organisationseinheit Qualitätsentwicklung, Planung und Koordination des öffentlichen Gesundheitsdienstes

In Figure 5 one can see that in this district, the movement of people out was the minimum as compared to any other district in Berlin. While the movement of people internally in the district is second highest as compared to other districts in Berlin. According to the report, in this district the rent in comparison to other districts is low and big apartments are available that are affordable and good for families with children. It is clear that the families, which move there are those that are socially weak or low income group and cannot afford the rent in the central areas of the city. This includes families from Mitte, Friedrichshain - Kreuzberg and Neukölln. The same figure shows that the out movement has been highest in Mitte followed by Friedrichshain Kreuzberg.

The project leader from Nachbarschaft Zentrum, Marzahn said that in this area, since 1990s many Russian Germans have moved in. So around 20 % of the population is from there as the relatives of these people have moved to Germany. Some relatives speak only Russian and some speak very little German. The other group is of Vietnamese people. However, not so many people are from Turkey. This area is not like Neukölln or Schöneberg. Here people are all mixed and many Germans come here too. The reason being that the apartments are not with all amenities and that is why the rent is not so high. The staff member showed me some buildings that were orange in color and that have been modernized with more amenities with the help of public funding. These houses are worth the money and affordable. But there are no more free apartments.

5.3 Interviews in Rudow

The next step in my study was to then explore the region of Rudow in Neukölln as it was mentioned in the interviews as the place where the people could have moved to from Neukölln. After visiting the QM at Neukölln i found out that Rudow does not have a QM

and therefore Gropiusstadt being the nearest QM is the one that could be visited. On analyzing the data gathered from QM Gropiusstadt, quite a few facts came to light. The staff at the QM was very forthcoming in the interview and in providing statistical data and even explained the data with much enthusiasm.

Figure 6: Registered inhabitants with migration background in different regions of Neuköln district in 2013.

Melderechtlich registrierte Einwohnerinnen und Einwohner mit Migrationshintergrund am Ort der Hauptwohnung in Berlin am 30.06.2013 nach Bezirken															
		Ins- gesamt	Darunter aus Herkunftsgebiet												
			Euro- päische Union (EU) ¹	darunter									ehe- maliges Jugo- slawien ²	darunter	
				Frank- reich	Griechen- land	Italien	Öster- reich	Verei- nigtes König- reich	Polen	Bulgarien	Rumänen	Bosnien und Herze- gowina		Kroatien	Serbien
08 01		86121	23159	1780	1207	2274	870	1288	6134	2485	2288	8661	1661	1034	3564
08 02		20100	5807	120	238	433	199	126	3312	400	409	1836	282	361	782
08 03		15839	3809	48	135	142	76	25	2906	122	100	1183	132	162	633
08 04		11188	3320	100	142	209	145	75	2020	116	99	1278	158	217	648
Neukölln		133 248	36 095	2 048	1 722	3 058	1 290	1 514	14 372	3 123	2 896	12 958	2 233	1 774	5 627
Berlin		971 758	296 167	21 584	14 898	26 529	13 979	15 958	101 904	20 471	13 930	69 349	14 062	13 002	26 246
			in % von allen Bewohner /innen	in Prozent von allen Bewohner/innen mit Migrationshintergrund in Bezirksregion											
08 01		52,63	26,89	2,07	1,40	2,64	1,01	1,50	7,12	2,89	2,66	7,12	1,93	1,20	4,14
08 02		29,15	28,89	0,60	1,18	2,15	0,99	0,63	16,48	1,99	2,03	16,48	1,40	1,80	3,89
08 03		43,56	24,05	0,30	0,85	0,90	0,48	0,16	18,35	0,77	0,63	18,35	0,83	1,02	4,00
08 04		21,73	29,67	0,89	1,27	1,87	1,30	0,67	18,06	1,04	0,88	18,06	1,41	1,94	5,79
Neukölln		41,59	27,09	1,54	1,29	2,29	0,97	1,14	10,79	2,34	2,17	10,79	1,68	1,33	4,22
Berlin		27,85	30,48	2,22	1,53	2,73	1,44	1,64	10,49	2,11	1,43	10,49	1,45	1,34	2,70

Regionen												
Darunter aus Herkunftsgebiet												
ehemalige Sowjetunion ³	darunter			Islamische Länder (OIC) ⁴	darunter				Vereinigte Staaten (USA)	Vietnam	nicht eindeutig zuordenbar ⁵	
	Russische Föderation	Ukraine	Kasachstan		Türkei	Iran	Arabische Länder ⁵	dar. Libanon				
2148	680	404	196	38321	23850	374	11886	5278	1210	437	6950	
1178	475	164	254	8056	5303	78	2009	987	151	89	2275	
1603	649	200	430	7190	5114	62	1258	518	49	266	1805	
521	191	96	87	3685	2632	110	669	275	105	153	1576	
5 450	1 995	864	967	57 252	36 899	624	15 822	7 058	1 515	945	12 606	
113 885	48 175	16 631	20 250	311 497	176 834	11 729	72 510	24 725	21 114	22 097	75 794	
2,49	0,79	0,47	0,23	44,50	27,69	0,43	13,80	6,13	1,4	0,51	8,07	
5,86	2,36	0,82	1,26	40,08	26,38	0,39	10,00	4,91	0,8	0,44	11,32	
10,12	4,10	1,26	2,71	45,39	32,29	0,39	7,94	3,27	0,3	1,68	11,40	
4,66	1,71	0,86	0,78	32,94	23,53	0,98	5,98	2,46	0,9	1,37	14,09	
4,09	1,50	0,65	0,73	42,97	27,69	0,47	11,87	5,30	1,1	0,71	9,46	
11,72	4,96	1,71	2,08	32,05	18,20	1,21	7,46	2,54	2,2	2,27	7,80	

Source: Melde registrierte Einwohnerinnen und Einwohner mit Migrationshintergrund am Ort der Hauptwohnung in Berlin am 30.06.2013 nach Bezirksregionen, Quartiersmanagement Groppiustadt

Figure 6 reveals that people of Turkish origin are the largest number of people in Neuköln with a migration background at 36.899, with their number being lowest in Rudow and highest in North Neuköln. In terms of percentage, the Turkish comprise

27.69 % out of the whole population of people with migration background in Neuköln and 18.20 % of the total population in Berlin.

According to the interview with staff members at QM, the Turkish people who came here came after the fall of the Berlin Wall and not because of gentrification. It was because the apartments available in that area at that time were cheaper so people bought them. Also, people who moved there could afford to live there by buying their apartment so it is not like they did not have the financial resources to pay rent in other areas. Also, there were no more apartments left for people to move into. The staff held that since last five years there was very little fluctuation. Since past seven years there are no empty apartments in the area. According to them, there has been a movement of people there but it goes back to many years. When Gropiusstadt was built many people came there from Kreuzberg. After the fall of the Wall the second big movement of people took place. Many people dreamt of having their own house and moved out to their own homes. Then there were many apartments where people from North Neuköln and Kreuzberg moved in. Many of these people had a migration background. But that had nothing to do with gentrification. Gropiusstadt became a potential area for people to move in since the apartments in the area were cheaper as compared to other parts of Berlin. In 2009 and 2010 the population in this area was less but since then it has been increasing. Even though there are no empty apartments there anymore. In some cases when the rent has increased some families had more people living in the apartments or the children were not moving out early from the apartments due to financial reasons. Again coping mechanisms as in Wrangelkiez are mentioned here. For Rudow there is no data. There is no data on who moved in or who moved out. There is data only on how much of the monthly income is spent on rent or how do the migrants live with each other etc. According to the staff at Gropiusstadt, Rudow has no QM as there are no

finances for it. They admitted that they even lack the capacity for it. They clarified that Gropiusstadt is not like other areas where gentrification took place. It is the area where people moved into in the first place. To get the apartment in this area people need special papers as this area is taken care of by public funding. They added, there are no free apartments here or students' community. They concluded by saying that gentrification is not one of their topics. From this interview and the observations made it can be said that there is no conclusive evidence that German Turks moved here from Wrangelstrasse as there are no new apartments available here and one needs official papers to get an apartment here. It might be possible that some German Turks moved in from Southern Friedrichstadt area where there is social housing and the displacement is negative. These people could have even got the official papers for this move. But, there is no data on this and even the area Southern Friedrichstadt is beyond the purview of the research site.

Findings plus Literature review

Comparing the findings of the field research with the social city document and the QM documents becomes an aid to understanding the social displacement process. This approach is thought to be suitable for the inductive process of qualitative research. Whereby, part of the literature review guides the study but part of it becomes an aid once patterns or categories have been identified.

6.1 Social Displacement caused due to social changes

6.1.1 Social Changes due to Increasing Rents

According to one of the theories of social displacement, the socioeconomic status of the individuals' neighborhood would determine his behavior and future. Social displacement in a neighborhood is the effect of the changing social hierarchy that accompanies gentrification. This theory allows us to understand how social displacement is caused due to the theory of gentrification as an economic process. As revealed through the interviews and the government documentation those who were at the lower order of the social hierarchy could not afford the high rents and were eventually displaced. Those Turks who belonged to low-income households and could not adopt coping mechanisms were the ones to be displaced. According to the social city document accessed from the city urban planning department, after the slight increase in the counting of residents in the past examinations, since 2008 there has been some decline. According to Table 1 in Wrangelkiez area, the inhabitants have decreased from 11.369 in 2008 to 11.056 in 2010 (Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept, Aktionsraum plus Kreuzberg - Nordost, 2012, p.8). The displacement in absolute terms with 2008 basis was -313 and in percentage -2.8 %. This is a strong indicator that the inhabitants have decreased. The report states that as in the whole city in Friedrichshain Kreuzberg, the number of migrants and foreigners has also slightly declined. In Südliche Luisenstadt, which consists of Reichenberger Straße and Wrangelkiez the decline has become stronger. Despite the current majority of population decline tendency, the percentage of migrants in Kreuzberg as before is above average high as compared to other parts of Berlin. The percentage of migrant children under six years in some planning areas crossed over 90 % (Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept, Aktionsraum plus Kreuzberg - Nordost, 2012, p. 10). However, there are internal differences in entire Kreuzberg area. According to the report, in the beginning it was seen that there was the strongest decline of migrants and foreigners in the area Tempelhofer Vorstadt. The report holds that this could be the indication for advanced displacement of low-income households in particular areas of

Kreuzberg (Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept, Aktionsraum plus Kreuzberg - Nordost, 2012, p. 10). Since there has been strong displacement in Wrangelkiez, it is possible that there was displacement of low - income households there. This could have been due to the increasing rents.

In the studies of the social city, it was specially detected that out of all the parts of the district Südliche Friedrichstadt the colonies that were formed in 1970s and 1980s led to a strong cultural segregation and polarization. The initially stated decrease in the migrants and foreigners in the district Tempelhofer Vorstadt, whose planning concept by Monitoring Social City development was very distinct can be viewed as an evidence of advanced displacement of low income households from distinct districts of Kreuzberg. A similar assessment in the displacement of foreigners within the structure of A+ region of the planning concept (Kreuzberg Nordost) where Wrangelstrasse is located revealed during the counting, the number of Turkish and Arabic citizens in all districts is declining. For the Turkish citizens the decline was from 0.6% to 2.4%, but there is growth in the number of citizens from EU 15 states in the districts Südliche Friedrichstadt, Southern Luisenstadt and Northern Luisenstadt from 1 to 0.9 % (Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept, Aktionsraum plus Kreuzberg - Nordost, 2012, p.11). This information in the social city project is juxtaposed to the results of my field research. During the interview with the QM of Wrangelkiez, she held that statistics that are available on demography point out to the fact that there has been reduction in the Turkish population and an increase in the population of the people from EU member states. She said that from what she knows informally as an employee of QM is that when the displacement took place many people went to Reichenberger neighborhood and Neuköln and some went to Kotbusser Tor area. From an analysis of her points, it can be said that displacement did take place and since the population of the Turkish people

reduced, it can be said that some of those displaced were the Turkish people. But, she also says that the people moved to Neuköln, Reichenberger neighborhood or Kottbusser Tor. Considering how these places are not very far from Wrangelstrasse, the extent of social displacement that might have taken place is hard to measure. But distance could be seen as an indicator, where further the distance, higher the social displacement, simply based on the fact that the long distance makes it difficult to maintain regular contact. At the same time how measurable social displacement is goes beyond the scope of this research.

In order to understand the social displacement caused due to economic reasons it is also imperative to study the landscape of the neighborhood. In terms of housing there are 98 apartments more than in 2007 in Kreuzberg. The area per person in the period from 2008 to 2011 has increased a little bit from 35.9 sq. m. to 36.2 sq. m. for an average size of the apartment to be 66.6 sq. m. With that Friedrichshain Kreuzberg leads second after Lichtenberg in the average number of persons per apartment (Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept, Aktionsraum plus Kreuzberg - Nordost, 2012, p.29). This information gives a case to explore that if the number of housing has increased over the years then it is not lack of housing that is a problem but rather the access to this housing. This information also points out to the coping mechanisms of people in the presence of rising rents.

This aspect of inaccessibility of apartments is brought to light by the further information in the social city document. The report states that with the living situation on offer there are many problems because of the presence of a large number of low-income households. The fierce situation of the apartments intensifies as the apartments with lower rents have more rent increase as compared to the bigger apartments. Also, there

are not enough apartments whose rent is under 8 euros / sq. m. So there are lesser affordable apartments. Kreuzberg is the most favored area in the whole of Berlin, so there is also the question of high rent, which in particular is increasing because of the newcomers (Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept, Aktionsraum plus Kreuzberg - Nordost, 2012, p.29). This reality is in contrast to the housing market here, which is marked out by vacant housing. The vacancy in the district was already noticeable in the past. IBB housing market survey put it at 5.9% for 2010. In 2011 it went more down. The vacancy of more than 6 months was criticized by BBU, and by city's builders at 3.6%, which was seen as a necessary fluctuation reserve. For the area Kreuzberg Nordost where Wrangelkiez is located, there are long-term vacancy quotes from 5 % to less than 6 % (district 2) and fewer than 5 % in other districts were seen (Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept, Aktionsraum plus Kreuzberg - Nordost, 2012, p. 30. There can be differences in small or special segments of the apartment market. This vacancy is to create a fluctuation in the market. The housing is vacant due to unaffordability and also pushes the rents up in general. The rise in prices in the rent in the district since 2008 has been manifold because of the high demand. Kreuzberg remains as one of the most favored living areas and this puts an enormous pressure on it from outside of Berlin. The average rent is 7.51€ per sq. m. That was already in 2009 above the average for Berlin at 6.49 per sq. m. After GSW apartment marketplace report 2011 the average rent is 8.02 € per sq. m. which is the highest in the city. But on the other hand there are also areas with low rents in all these areas. These areas are in high-rise buildings or where there is a lot of traffic. Such areas are concentrated in Moritzplatz, Mehringplatz, Wassertorplatz in the region Südliche Friedrichstadt. The most increase in the rent has been around Görlitzer Park, the Wranglestrasse and in Graefkiez. Here the rent has been 16.3% to 21.1%. The rent is high due to the minor changes in the income of people. The people have to pay 28 % as cold rent and 37 % as warm rent more than their net income

(Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept, Aktionsraum plus Kreuzberg - Nordost, 2012, p.31). Thus, the report clearly indicates there has been most rent increase in Wrangelkiez. This when tied up with the fact that there has been displacement of low - income population from this area, clearly indicates that the high rent increase was certainly one of the reasons for displacement.

There is a higher moving in population to the east as compared to the west part of Kreuzberg. Wrangelstraße falls in the east, so according to this information in the report, there are even people coming in there. This is due to the higher immobility in the west where there are many low - income families found. These low-income families are found more than average in social housing in Southern FriedrichStadt because these areas are full of social housing. So to say that all the low-income families are displaced is not true as a lot of them even live in social housing. In my study i looked at the people who live in social housing in the west part of Kreuzberg Nordost to see how these low – income group continue to stay in the neighborhood. In terms of social housing over 60% of the households in Freidrichshain Kreuzberg because of low income are getting social support. In this aspect, the area leads the whole city. In the action room of the project there is on 29.02.2012 12.757 social housing and 93.7% of all social housing in the area Friedrichshain Kreuzberg are covered in this. Approximately, 16.8 % of the apartments in Kreuzberg have social housing. The concentration with more than half of the whole district lies in West Kreuzberg, particularly in Südliche Friedrichstadt. You find lesser in Nördliche Luisenstadt or in Templehofer Vorstadt. The number of social housing in the area had in the time period between 2009 to 2012 around 448 WE that is reduced by 3.2 %. With the extra costs or costs for utilities, the rent is 11 € sq. m. The households tried to match up to the high rents. At the same time the quality of the apartments was going down (Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept, Aktionsraum plus Kreuzberg - Nordost,

2012, p.32). Thus, not only the number of apartments in social housing was going down but the rents of these apartments were also increasing.

What is observable is the coping mechanisms of people who continue to pay the high rents or many people living in the same apartment. In area A + most families have above average family members due to the fact that there are many families with migration background. The classic family model is seen especially in Turkish and Arabic families (mother, father, children) at 85.6% for Turkish and 8.5% for Arabic in Sudlich Friedrichstadt. On the other hand in old building regions more one and two persons households exist. This is an indication of the coping mechanisms. There are less people living in renovated old buildings usually having double income households. On the other hand in the social housing there are more people than the houses available. This phenomenon is more visible even statistically in the areas of Wrangelkiez, Graefkiez, in quartier management areas and increase of inhabitants in Duttman Sieding, Mehring Platz and Wassertorplatz. There are more people due to more migrants from EU states. There are two facts that come to the forefront from the continuous displacement of low-income household in parts of Kreuzberg. There are more people coming in than going out in Wranglekiez and Graefkiez but compared to this in Reicheberger Strasse there is more loss of inhabitants. So the problems are just moving from one place to another.

The people with Hartz IV live in social housing that has bigger areas than they should be living in. They are asked to move out. But they try to live together in a community. So there is overcrowding. People who live on the basis of transference payments mainly occupy all the major social housing complexes. A big amount of them have a migration background. Because of the concentration of social housing problems several interdependent negative problems have come up. Firstly, there is the problem of social

segregation. It is due to the fact that the flats are to be occupied by only the people who should live in social housing. Secondly, the rent increases due to scarcity of housing. The marketable costs of the apartments go up depending on the market. As the market rate goes up, they too go up. So the social housing can increase the rent after some time to market rates. Thus, there is over crowding of houses. There is also sometimes forced moving of retired people after rising of rents. Social housing gives directions for social living and social development but from aspects of urgent freedom to make changes they have very small choice to make because their freedom is very limited at the district level. There was in 2010-2011, an attempt to increase social mixture. To develop social structure to allow general people who donot live on social welfare to mix in. For example, they allowed people who are not social welfare receivers to move in to 130 renovated flats. More than half of inhabitants of households of Kreuzberg have a right to get social housing because they have low income. But only 16 % is official social housing and this figure is bound to decrease in coming years. This puts limitations on the number of social housing available to the low-income families. So based on the earning capacities the families cannot find adequate number of apartments with affordable rents. There is also competition from the students and the people who receive social benefits. Such cramped housing conditions have negative aftermath on the children and the youth. They develop psychosomatic illnesses and there is increase in the aggression potential. This is more obvious in the public areas because that is where the youth and the children spend most of their time (Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept, Aktionsraum plus Kreuzberg - Nordost, 2012, p.32). That is the reason why aggression potential is rising in public spaces. In an interview, Dr. Andre, a Professor at Humboldt University, Berlin, held that there is a lack of research on the coping mechanisms of the people who live in cramped houses. He even mentioned that this cramping leads to aggressiveness in the youth (A. Holm, personal communication, July, 2014).

Adding to these observations the comments made by the QM manager at Wrangelkiez confirms the fact that the displacement was due to rent increase. So those Turks that were socially displaced were those from low-income households who could no longer afford the high rents.

6.1.2 Social Changes due to Demographic shifts

6.1.2.a Families with Children Moving Out

Another variant of social displacement in Wrangel Strasse has been due to the theory of gentrification as a social process. The next observation in the social city document brings the research to the point where the families move out of Wrangelkiez and other neighborhoods because of the children. The migration turnover of A+ (Kreuzberg NordOst) is lower than downtown lowest level. Small increases are observed particularly in the old building areas of the Tempelhofer suburb (1.1%) and Southern Luisenstadt (0.9%). There is a negative tendency of 1.3 % people moving out (-1.3%) inhabitants in Nord Luisenstadt and 1.8% (-1.8%) in Süd Luisenstadt. You can explain this loss of inhabitants due to the clearly negative number of families moving out with children under 6. Especially in old building areas the decrease in (people moving out) is more than 6 % is still high. Within these areas there is an internal difference. In recent years, the planning areas that were affected very strongly were Wrangelkiez and Graefkiez, which had more decreases. But now there is lesser decrease from 4.3 % for Wrangelkiez and 6.7% for Graefkiez (now decrease 3.7 % from 8 % and 1.5 % from 7.2 %). There are different reasons for this movement. If you consider the whole A + region you see that families move before the children join the school because parents are concerned about their school education. This is because most of the children in these areas are non-native German speakers, which is often seen as a problem. The mother tongue became a

defining characteristic of the quality of the nurseries. When the number of children in these nurseries having migration background was high the nursery got a negative image. Because of this reason on comparing different schools in the Kreuzberg region, it was seen that there was a moving out of children under six years of age because of anxious parents. In most of the regions of A+ there is a secondary school but a high school is missing. The situation in the schools from the perspective of the teachers, parents, politicians and administration is seen often as problematic. The main point of contention is the children who are non-native German speakers. This tendency is seen in all schools, haupt, real and gymnasium. 59.2% of the Berliners who go to haupt and real schools have a migration background and 66.1 % of them are in Freidrichshain Kreuzberg region. From those who go to gymnasiums 37.6% are in Friedrichshain Kreuzberg region. So only a few of the children from this district go to the level of university education (Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept, Aktionsraum plus Kreuzberg - Nordost, 2012, p. 34- 38). But an analysis on smaller scale does not exist so we cannot say if this general trend for the whole district applies to Wrangelstrasse as well. Though, these concerns were seen in the interview with the Turkish woman who moved out with her family to Köpenick and the officer at the Nachbarschafts Zentrum at Curvystrasse.

As noted in the social city project another problem is that some schools need learning assistance aid. Most of these schools are in Südliche Friedrichstadt region. The area administration takes only part of the responsibility of the students who receive this aid and the rest of the costs are borne by the students. Thus, such schools, which have a high number of these students, are affected badly in many ways. So on one hand in these schools some children get 90 % assistance and others get under 30 %. Because of all the problems discussed above, there are problems not just in schools but also in the job market. The children often lack social and language competence and have a knowledge

gap (Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept, Aktionsraum plus Kreuzberg - Nordost, 2012, p.20).

This point was reiterated according to the officer who was interviewed at the Nachbarschafts Zentrum, Curvystrasse. According to her some families with small children who moved due to reasons related to their schooling, as they wanted their children to have a better education in other schools. The interviews with the officer and the attendant of the weekly meeting of Turkish women at QM point out to the fact that families with children move out due to their children, as increased activity in the street disturbs them or the families find it unsafe to carry out their activities freely like before. An analysis of this process reveals that those people who could be identified to be socially displaced could be themselves gentrifiers. It is not due to gentrification that they are socially displaced. They choose to move away from their neighborhoods to newer ones for better schooling of the children. In the process becoming gentrifiers and also being socially displaced. This indicates that they exercised a choice.

6.1.2 b Elderly People

Social displacement can be based on demography. In terms of demography of the people displaced, it was not only the families with children but also some elderly people as revealed by the interviews in the field research. In Kreuzberg where there are many old people reaching retirement age (the guest workers) who they donot want to return to their country of origin and often had precarious jobs. This is making the social situation of migrants worse because of poverty of old people. In total Berlin has 2 % older people receiving basic protection but in A+ areas it is over 20%. So there are many older people in this area (Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept, Aktionsraum plus Kreuzberg - Nordost, 2012, p.17). This will be an important element in future examinations.

According to the interview with the owner of the flower shop at Wranglestrasse, most were elderly people while some were young people with children who move away as there is a lot of activities in the streets now. From her generation sometimes the older people who moved away did not have any relatives anymore and were forced out of their apartments. Since it was done using legal measures they had to accept what was proposed to them even though the salaries had not increased and the rent continued to increase. While trying to understand why the rents of housing went up it is also important to study the commercial structure aside from the residences.

6.2 Social Displacement due to Economic Shifts

Social displacement caused by the economic shifts reflects the understanding of the theory of gentrification as an economic process. The economic structure in this area is multi perspective and dynamic. In terms of economic infrastructure, in Freidrichshain Kreuzberg, in 30.04.2011, there were 15.081 firms with 88.085 employees having social insurance. Around 92 % of these firms have atleast 9 employees. According to percentage, the different economic areas that characterize the economy are health and sociology 15.6 %, economy related services 14.8%, information and communication 10.2 %, other services 9.7%, freelancer 8.5%, trade and repair services 7.5%, commerce and industry 5.6% and hospitality industry 5.3%. In the area of study that covers Kreuzberg NordOst where Wrangelstrasse is, till 31.12.2008, 8.811 active firms were registered in Berlin's official number of firms. Most of the active firms are in Tempelhofer Vorstadt, while most of the socially insured employees work in Southern Friedrichsstadt, those with big number of employees were having around ten employees. The greatest diversity in the economic structure was seen in Tempelhofer Vorstadt. Near the potential business colonies there are also many unoccupied utilizable areas. For these empty spaces there is a competition for utilization and interest. It is seen that these new businesses lead to

displacement of long established businesses in the favor of uni - directional industrial structure for example hospitality industry, designer shops, galleries etc (Integriertes Stadtentwicklungskonzept, Aktionsraum plus Kreuzberg - Nordost, 2012, p.24-28). This view is reiterated in the interviews conducted by me in the field research. In the long interviews, the owner of the laundrymat and the flower shop very strongly criticized how shops that existed since long time like toy shop or bookshop were being replaced by mostly hospitality industry etc. However, in the interviews that were conducted with the shop owners, restaurant and café owners in the Wrangelstrasse, quite the contrary was visible. The interviewees were from Azerbaijan, Turkey, Germany, Asia, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and Sri Lanka but maximum were from Turkey and Germany. Only in one café there is an indication that social displacement could have taken place. As the new café is owned by a German and was founded in place of old café whose owner was Turkish. In most cases, the previous shops have undergone gentrification and in their place restaurants have come up. In some cases gentrification has taken place but since the ownership has been from Turkish to Turkish there is no indication of social displacement or relation of social displacement and ethnicity. Only in one case there is a removal of a bakery. But, since the owner did not change, this case is also dismissed. There is no indication of change in shops in a way that could lead to social displacement. Infact, in one case there was a big Turkish grocery store that came into existence. And a bookshop in place of a café and toyshop in place of a bar came into existence.

One of the aspects that comes to light in the research is that it is true that social displacement takes place but its effect varies on people with different ethnicities differently. It can be argued that if people moved out due to unaffordable rents those people included people of other ethnicities too not just German Turks. But, at the same time, the effect of social displacement on German Turks who are still trying to integrate

into German society while meeting their needs through cultural organizations like the mosque or NZC this effect could be greater. Any official data on the people who move out would greatly help future researchers to navigate this black hole.

Conclusion

My research has been able to answer the central question of how gentrification led to social displacement of German Turks in Wrangelstrasse. It has put forth the idea that social displacement does take place and can be of various types depending on different sections of society it affects. The research adds to the existing literature by placing importance on preventing social displacement by controlled gentrification on one hand and on the other hand supporting those who are socially displaced. The fact that people engage in coping mechanisms is also ascertained in the study.

The study stands out in its ability to capture a sensitive topic of social displacement through the perception of the people who suffer from it. Since the topic is sensitive and many people might be uncomfortable talking about it, i could gently probe many questions from an in depth understanding. The number of interviews with the different stakeholders in different research sites gives a bigger picture of this phenomenon. The ability to gather reports from government sources through personal networks has been an added advantage as many times it can be difficult to get such sensitive information, which might not be accessible to the general public. Some of the interviews were also arranged through my personal networks. Thus, the wealth of information available to me helped to get a well-rounded view into the topic. This presents a wholesome study that finds linkages in the entire system between the housing markets, state run institutions like the NCM or QM, landlords, people living in rented apartments, people having commercial establishments, the mosque and the community. On the other hand one of

the weaknesses of this study involves limited statistical data on people who underwent displacement. There has been no effort made on part of the government to gather such data. Due to this it becomes very difficult to study social displacement. Another weakness was the limited number of research sites. The research sites that were chosen to study the social displacement of people who moved away from Wrangelstrasse did not allow me to identify these people. As the interviews with QM and NHC staff in these neighborhoods rule out any possibility of people moving from Wrangelstrasse to these areas. But, i chose these sites based on the interviews conducted at Wrangelstrasse. So this is one of the dilemmas that i faced, that is how to chose further sites of research and how many should be chosen to give more conclusive research results. One of the paradoxes that were revealed in the research was that the people who are socially displaced are also the gentrifiers in the new areas. In such a case it becomes difficult to see who suffers more due to social displacement. When it is a matter of choice then there are some positive advantages to this social displacement such as better life chances and education of children.

Some of the findings of the research reveal that statistics on demography point out to the fact that there has been reduction in the Turkish population and an increase in the population of the people from EU member states in Wrangelkiez. But there is no exact information on the people who moved out and where did they move. Statistics also point out that there has been a displacement of low-income groups due to high rents. So there exists a subset of people who were Turkish and also belonged to low-income group who got displaced.

Some of the other findings of the research reveal that people who identified to be socially displaced could be themselves gentrifiers. They make the decision to move away

from their neighborhoods to newer ones for better schooling of the children. In this process they become gentrifiers while being socially displaced at the same time.

A significant finding of the research was that place making strategies that the people use to ground themselves in one area can be an important factor in determining their social displacement such that greater the place making strategies, greater the social displacement. One such place making strategy is through institutions like mosque. Another finding was that people use coping mechanisms to continue to stay in the same neighborhood even in the face of increasing rents as new apartments with affordable rents are diminishing in number. When unable to afford the rents people move out and are socially displaced.

Also, gentrification does not affect all the stakeholders in a city equally. There were found to be more evidence for the production theory of rent increase especially in the interviews of commercial establishments due to the housing market dynamics. The rise in prices in the rent in the district since 2008 has been manifold because of the high demand. Kreuzberg remains as one of the most favored living areas and this puts an enormous pressure on it from outside of Berlin. The most increase in the rent has been around Görlitzer Park, the Wranglestrasse and in Graefkiez. Here the rent increase has been 16.3% to 21.1%. The rent is high due to the minor changes in the income of people. Thus, the report clearly indicates there has been most rent increase in Wrangelkiez. This when tied up with the fact that there has been displacement of low - income population from this area, clearly indicates that the high rent increase was certainly one of the reasons for displacement. Thus, not only the number of apartments in social housing was going down but the rents of these apartments were also increasing.

On the other hand the new restaurants came up to cater to increasing tourists points out towards the consumption theory. Due to this some of the old shops closed down.

The study shows that the apartments, which are not under social housing have increased over the years. This gives a case to explore that if the number of housing has increased over the years then it is not lack of housing that is a problem but rather access to this housing. So there are lesser affordable apartments. This reality is in contrast to the housing market here, which is marked out by vacant housing. For the area Kreuzberg Nordost where Wrangelkiez is located, there are long-term vacancy quotes from 5 % to less than 6 %. The housing is vacant due to unaffordability and also pushes the rents up in general. What is observable here is the coping mechanisms of people who continue to pay the high rents or many people live in the same apartment. So there is overcrowding. This also leads to the problem of social segregation. It is due to the fact that the flats are to be occupied by only the people who should live in social housing. The cramped housing conditions have negative aftermath on the children and the youth. They are prone to developing psychosomatic illnesses and there is the danger of increase in their aggression potential. This is more obvious in the public areas because that is where the youth and the children spend most of their time. That is the reason why aggression potential is rising in public spaces.

If social displacement continues to occur then in future there could be more impediments to social integration and this could lead to social segregation. It is also possible that this increases aggressiveness in some children. If there are systemic changes that would discourage and reduce social displacement then there are more chances of social integration and reduction in social problems. As the research shows that there is social displacement then the state should try and collect data on the people who got

displaced due to gentrification so that in future studies it becomes possible for me to know in which area to start the study.

How can one measure the impact of social displacement or if it can be measured at all is something that goes beyond the purview of this study and can be a future topic of exploration. Perhaps, age, financial status, family status and the distance from the city could be some of the indicators. As revealed by the owner of the flower shop that old people who were socially displaced suffered a lot. Families with children chose to move to far off parts of the city because of schooling or to live in bigger apartments that are cheaper. So even if they were socially displaced, they had a choice in the matter. Since, the rent becomes cheaper in far off areas, financial status also becomes an indicator of how far the individuals move. These could be some of the indicators but this list is not exhaustive.

One of the ways the government planning could curb the tendency of people to move away is through regeneration of schooling systems. The government projects have decided as a general future strategy to have positive development in Kreuzberg areas in general while focussing on schooling systems. These could bring about long-term systemic changes. It is because of this reason that the area of education gets the highest priority in the Kreuzberg NordOst region. The understanding of education is not just school education. Not just the pre - school but after school education was also point of focus. The goal is to make a prevention chain from birth to employment. For avoiding or decreasing such an effect there can be for example industrial monitoring tips to avoid poor development for the job market. There is also a need for suitable instructions for manifold industrial development to be deployed. Another problem in the action area is the divergence of interest between the demand and supply of apprenticeship place in the

company. This involves having a position for apprenticeship for which no one has interest in applying or there are small companies, which are not offering any apprenticeship position. This is an area of concern for District Alliance for Economy and Work, (Bezirklichen Bündnisse für Wirtschaft und Arbeit), the network of apprenticeship in Friedrichshain – Kreuzberg and is also broached as an issue in the frame of work of QM.

References

Source edition is classified as primary and secondary. Primary sources comprised of reports made in the field that included interview reports, field notes including observation notes. Juxtaposed to this, secondary sources comprised of various categories of publication. These were characterized by bibliography, studies, newspapers and research reports, government reports.

8.1 Primary Sources

Field Notes from 20 .05. 2014 – 30.03. 2015

Interview Transcript 1, Flower Shop Owner, Wrangelstrasse, Kreuzberg, Berlin, 13. 11. 14

Interview Transcript 2, Turkish lady who moved out of Wrangelstrasse, Quartiers Management, WrangelKiez, Kreuzberg, Berlin, 19.12.14

Interview Transcript 2, Tariq, Mosque owner at Wrangelstrasse, Kreuzberg, Berlin, 09. 12. 14

8.2 Secondary Sources

8.2.1 Bibliography

Atkinson, R. (2003a). Introduction: Misunderstood savior or vengeful wrecker? The many meanings and problems of gentrification', *Urban Studies* 40,12: 2350.

Atkinson, R and G. Bridge (eds.) (2005). *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism* (London: Routledge), 7

Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (1992). *Qualitative research methods for education*, 121

Butler, T. (1997). *Gentrification and the middle classes*. Ashgate Publishing.

Butler, T. (2003) 'Living in the bubble: Gentrification and its "others" in London', *Urban Studies* 40, 12: 2484

Butler, T., with G. Robson (2003) *London Calling: The Middle Classes and the Remaking of Inner London* (London: Berg), 157-158.

Davidson, M. & Lees, L. (2005). New-build 'gentrification' and London's riverside renaissance. *Environment and planning A*, 37(7), 1177.

Dutton, P. (2003). Leeds calling: the influence of London on the gentrification of regional cities. *Urban Studies*, 40(12), 2565.

Glass, R. (1964) 'Introduction: Aspects of change', in Centre for Urban Studies (ed.) *London: Aspects of Challenge* (London: MacKibbon and Kee), xvii.

Hamnett, C. (1991). The blind men and the elephant: the explanation of gentrification. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 180.

Häußermann, H., & Strom, E. (1994). Berlin: the once and future capital. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 18(2), 335-346.

- Holm, A. (2011). Berlin: On the way to the citadel economy. <https://www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2011/august/das-recht-auf-die-stadt>
- Huron, M. A. (2002) Gentrification and Individualization: The Case of Fehrbelliner Straße 6. <https://core.ac.uk/download/files/153/7035676.pdf>, 19.
- Lee, L., Slater, T., & Wyly, E. (2008). Gentrification. Nova York/Oxon, Routledge.[Links], xvii, xxi, 9, 51, 74, 80, 94, 121, 122, 123, 124, 169, 172, 187, 218
- Ley, D. (1996). The new middle class in Canadian central cities. City Lives and City Forms: Critical Research and Canadian Urbanism, University of Toronto Press, Toronto-Buffalo-London, 15.
- Ley, D. (2004). Transnational spaces and everyday lives. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 29(2), 152.
- Marcuse, P. (1985a) 'To control gentrification: Anti-displacement zoning and planning for stable residential districts', Review of Law and Social Change 13: 206.
- Mueller, Claus. (2005-06). Integrating Turkish Communities: A German Dilemma, p. 5. http://www.fulbright.de/fileadmin/files/togermany/information/2005-06/gss/mueller_communities.pdf
- Palen, J., and B. London (eds.) (1984) Gentrification, Displacement and Neighborhood

Revitalization (Albany: State University of New York Press), 16, 19.

Rofe, M. W. (2003). 'I want to be global': Theorising the gentrifying class as an emergent élite global community. *Urban Studies*, 40(12), 2512.

Smith, J. (2000). The Space of Local control in the devolution of US public housing policy, *Geografiska Annaler B* 82, 4:294.

Smith, N. (1982). Gentrification and uneven development. *Economic geography*, 139.

Smith, N. (1992). Blind man's buff, or Hamnett's philosophical individualism in search of gentrification. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 114.

Smith, N. (2001) 'Giuliani space: Revanchist city', in 1. Miyares. M. Pavlovskaya, and G. Pope (eds.) *From Hudson to the Hamptolls: Snapshots of the New York Metropolitan Area* (Washington. DC: Association of American Geographers) 70-78.

Smith, N. (2002). New globalism, new urbanism: gentrification as global urban strategy. *Antipode*, 34(3), 430, 435, 443.

8.2.2 Studies and Research Reports

Bündnis für soziale Wohnungspolitik und bezahlbare Mieten, Jahresbericht 2012/2013, Senatverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt.

Integriertes Stadtteilentwicklungskonzept Aktionsräume plus Kreuzberg - Nordost, 2012, Senatverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt, Referat IV B - Soziale Stadt.

Wanderungsbewegung Marzahn – Hellersdorf 2013, Beiträge zur integrieren Gesundheits – und Sozialberichterstattung, Abteilung Gesundheit und soziales, Bezirksamt Marzahn – Hellersdorf von Berlin.

Wohnmarktreport Berlin (für 2010 und 2013), GSW AG (Hg.), Berlin, 2013; Veränderungen: Eigene Berechnungen QM Gropiusstadt.

8.2.3 Newspapers

Ford, Liz (2015) Sustainable development goals all you need to know, URL: <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/jan/19/sustainable-development-goals-united-nations>, last file call up 03.02.2015

Oltermann, Phillip (2014) Unaffordable cities: Berlin the renters' haven hit by green fog of eco – scams, URL: <http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2014/feb/11/unaffordable-cities-berlin-rent-green-laws>, last file call up 21.07.2014

8.2.4 Websites

Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg, URL: <http://www.sprachenatelier-berlin.de/en/topic/3523.friedrichshain-kreuzberg.html>, last file call up 19.05.2014

Rouzeau, G. (2009). Berlin, Kreuzberg forever, URL:
http://travel.michelin.com/web/destination/Germany-Berlin/news-Berlin_Kreuzberg_for_ever-Reichenberger_Str_177, last file call up 17.06.2014

8.2.5 Film

Botsch, Silke. (2012). Working Title: 36 is Drifting. A documentary film by Silke Botsch,
URL: http://www.silkebotsch.de/silkebotsch_36isdrifting.pdf, last file call up
24.06.2014

Appendix

9.1.1 Interview questions for short interviews with all the commercial establishments on Wrangelstrasse (Shops, Cafes, Restaurants, Bars)

- Since how many years is this shop here?
- Do you know what was here before in place of this shop?
- Do you know what was the nationality of the previous owner?
- Have you noticed that people moved away from this street over the last few years?
- Have you noticed that some shops have changed on this street over the last few years?
- Since when are you in Berlin?
- What is the nationality of the owner?

9.1.2 Interview questions for long interviews with some owners of commercial establishments and residents on Wrangelstrasse

The interviews were semi structured but still some questions were used to navigate all the interviews, though not strictly in this sequence.

- How old are you?
- What is your occupation?
- Since how many years is this shop here?
- What was here before in place of this shop?

- Have you noticed that some shops have changed on this street over the last few years?
- Have you noticed that people moved away from this street over the last few years?
- Do you know the reasons why did those people move away?
- What type of people moved away?
- Do you know where did those people go?
- Are you in contact with them?

9.2 Interview Samples

Transcription 1

Interview with an old lady who has a flower shop in Wrangelstrasse since 50 years.

Location: Wrangelstrasse, Kreuzberg, Berlin

Date: 13.11.14

1. Blumen Laden (Flower Shop)

I: Was machen Sie von Beruf?

P: Das ist meinen Blumen Laden.

I: Wie alt Sind Sie?

P: 65 Jahre alt.

I: Wer ist der Chef?

P: Das ist meinen Blumen geschäft.

I: Seit wann ist das Geschäft hier?

P: Etwa 50 Jahre.

I: Was war hier vorher?

P: Eine Drogerie Zeifenlosch.

I: Haben Sie gemerkt dass die Leute wer haben hier gelebt sind umgezogen?

P: Ja die Sind teilweise weg, vertrieben und weil die Miete so hoch steigen und Mann weißt auch nicht immer wo Sie abgeblieben sind oder wenn welche zuruck kommen und gucken und sagen ah wir wohnen so weit draußend.

I: Wissen Sie wo sind die Leute umgezogen?

P: Weiß ich nicht, nay, da habe ich keine Adresse.

I: Was für Leute waren die, wer umgezogen sind?

P: Ja meisten altere Leute oder auch junge Leute mit Kinder denn nicht so gefällt viel bewegung hier ist.

I: Haben Sie kontakt mit diese Leute?

P: Ja, gibt es oft, geht Mann vorbei, ah da ist es schon wieder was anderes, weil die miete einfach so drastisch so hoch schnellen.

I: Gibt es eine andere Blumenladen?

P: Nay, es gibt noch eine, und für 40 Jahre waren wir acht Blumen geschäft und jetzt nür zwei.

I: Wollen Sie selbe darüber etwas reden?

P: Oft sind die Leute ja alt, die haben keine Verwandtschaft mehr. Die waren Regel Recht aus gekocht aus dem Wohnung. Ja dann müssen Sie annehmen was Ihn vorgesetzt dort. Das ist schön. Meine in 40 Jahre wie ich da hier bin, da sind zwei Generation also da sind auch mitteleweile viel gestorben.

Transcription 2

Turkish woman who moved from Wrangelsstrasse to Köpenick in the weekly meeting at Quartiers Management, Wrangelkiez, Kreuzberg, Berlin.

Location: Quartiers Management, WrangelKiez, Kreuzberg, Berlin

Date: 19.12.14

I: Wie heißen Sie?

P: Ayesha Jinman.

I: Wie alt Sind Sie?

P: 50 Jahre alt.

I: Wo wohnen Sie jetzt?

P: Ich wohne jetzt im nähe Schönberg, also Köpenick.

I: Wo haben Sie vorher gewohnt?

P: Im Wrangelstrasse. Ich bin 1900, 1980 also im Wrangelstraße gewohnt bis 2000, 2000 mitte Juni, also ich bin Treptow Köpenick umgezogen.

I: Sind Sie alleine oder mit die Familie umgezogen?

P: Ich bin mit ganze Familie, wir sind junge Leute, 3 Kinder, mein Mann und ich.

I: Warum sind Sie umgezogen?

P: Ja ich bin wegen mein Kinder, also hier ist viel nur Ausländer oder Arabisch Familien natürlich Kinder, und mein Kinder nicht richtig Deutsch gelernt, ich hab auch wegen Schule bißchen Theater gemacht, schriftlich und so was. Wir möchten damals also die Kanal hinter seite Boschstrasse anmelden mußten, aber wir können nicht die ändern also wir haben nicht angemeldet weißt du, des wegen wir haben unsere Kinder nicht Boschstrasse geschickt. Wir haben so geargert und dann okay wir bleiben hier noch ein Jahr und danach sofort hier umziehen, wir haben ein Haus gekauft schnell, und wegen mein Kinder so gemacht und war einzigste Türkischen und ein paar anderen Länder Kinder, aber wegen alle zusammen Deutsch sprechen.

Damals war älteste Sohn 10, jetzt ist 24, ja wir haben schon lange und die kleinste ist erste Klasse hier gegangen Grundschule und jetzt ist Universität gegangen und mein Tochter arbeitet.

I: Was machen Sie von Beruf?

P: Ich habe immer Reinigungskraft, mein Mann also Kraft Fahrer, er arbeitet immer.

I: Warum wollen sie dass Ihre Kinder gut Deutsch sprechen.

P: Nay weil ich nicht richtig Deutsch spreche, also ich wollte mein Kinder richtig Deutsch gelernt, natürlich schuftend, für Kinder immer. Nay also wie gesagt wegen Schule, naja wenn hier leben, müssen wir richtig Deutsch lernen oder deswegen mein Kinder muss auch so. Ich hab auch eine Deutsch Familien hier kontakt weil grund.. Vorschule seit einzigste Deutsch Familie mein Kinder Klasse. Ich hab auch kontakt mit

Ihnen. Manchmal lade ich Ihnen ein und manchmal gehe ich immer wegen nicht vergessen sonst ich kann also auch so wie ich nicht spreche, weisst du.

I: Ist das nicht so weit weg von Wrangelstrasse?

P: Ja weit weg, nay, ich bin so gut gefallen, jetzt ist auch viele guten Deutsch Nachbarn. Ich hab echt so toll gute Nachbarn. Wir machen auch jeden Monat auch treffen, essen und trinken, echt gute, paar vier oder so, ganz gute Kontakt habe ich. Ich habe jetzt vor drei Jahre einzigste Turkische Nachbarn gekommen.

I: Wie oft kommen Sie hier her?

P: Jede Woche, also normalweise, letzte Zeit bin ich nach dem Urlaub seit ganz selten aber sonst jede Freitag mache so Frühstück. Manchmal nach dem Arbeit komme ich nicht mehr Frühstück, also einbißchen quatschen. Also finde ich auch gut natürlich damals ich hab alles paar teil gewohnt.

I: Kennen Sie sich gut mit die Frauen wer hier kommen?

P: Viele kenne ich, alle kenne ich damals vorher, manchmal sehen einbißchen, sprechen ist auch gut aber anderen seite ist auch gut z.b. Wochenende am Sonntag ich hab auch zwei Nachbarn eingeladen.

I: Wann Sind Sie die erstemal im Berlin gekommen?

P: Also ich bin im 1980 gekommen aber nicht im Berlin direct, im Frankfurt am Main. Meine Eltern waren da, ja mit Eltern, mein Vater war dort Rentner geworden. Eltern zuruck gekert. Im 1960 mein Vater ist gekommen. Ich bin auch bißchen später gekommen. Geschwester auch später gekommen.

I: Woher im Türkei kommen Ihre Eltern aus?

P: Antalya

Transcription 3

Interview with Tariq, Mosque owner at Wrangelstrasse.

Location: Wrangelstrasse, Kreuzberg, Berlin

Date: 09.12.14

I: Wer Sind Sie?

P: Tariq, besitzer von diesen verein.

I: Siet wann Sind Sie hier?

P: Seit 4 jahre hier aber diese Verein ist gegrunden vor 30 jahre und seit 4 jahre im gleichen platz.

I: Was machen Sie im diese Moschee?

P: Religion, soziales und kulturelles dinge. Wir leisten religiousich, kulturelle und soziales arbeit. Z.b. wir machen veranstaltungen mit die kinder gruppen, reisen, kleine picnic und so was, sport, hausaufgabe arbeit und Quran lernen für unsere Kinder und auch für großen so was. Im sozial bereich, z.b, wenn die Leute antrage ausfullen brauchen wir unterstutzen was, und wenn sie im eine behörde ihre problem nicht losung können unterstutzen wir, ja, sprachlich, so ahnliches. Bißchen schlecht, wir sind im diesem gebiet seit 30 jahren, jetzt vielmal umgezogen, seit 30 Jahren ein paar mal umgezogen aber jetzt seit 4 Jahre im diesem platz. Und das ist unsere dachverband agentur des wegen würden wir nicht umziehen. Manchmal der Hausverwaltung haben umgekündigt, manchmal sind

das platz für uns nicht so bequem geworden, kleine geworden, wir sind erwachsene des wegen solche kleine grunden müssen wir immer umziehen.

I: Wie viel leute kommen hier?

P: Also am Freitag kommen viele Leute aber sonst so 100 leute. Die kommen aus Türkei meistens. Meistens Türkisch stammisch aber Moschee ist öffentlich für sozial deswegen darf jede kommen und deswegen auch kommen so Deutsche Muslime selten aber kommen auch Arabische.

I: Haben sie gemerkt ob die Leute von diese Strasse umgezogen sind?

P: Ja, eigentlich ja ist eigentlich auch mit Familienisch grunden, einige mitglieder sind wo anders umgezogen aber neue mitgliedern hier her umgezogen unterschiedlich und das weil manchmal kommen fremde gesetzlich dann merken wir das neue hier im diese Kiez umgezogen sind. Aber wir sind mit unseren Nachbarschaft und einwohner eigentliches zufrieden, stört uns nur diese Park. Ich hab schon gehört weil diese ost teil, ost Berlin ist zeimlich niedrigen mieten als West aber das ist ganz wenig weil die sind hier gewohnt zu wohnen, ihre Bekannte hier, Nachbar hier, alles Freunde hier, wenn sie wo anderes umziehen dann sind sie wie Fremd.

I: Was denken Sie über bewältigungen mechanismus?

P: Bewältigungen mechanismus, Miet steigungen finde ich nicht gut, das ist schlecht, das ist Kapitalastische Politik weil wirklich die Mieten sind sehr teuer und die Löhne sind nicht höhe gegangen. Die Löhne sind geblieben aber Mieten jedes Jahr immer teuer immer teuer, das ist unkorrekt, unrecht. Also da kann mann nicht viel oder wir machen nicht so viel dagegen höchstens gehen sie sich miete laden, beschweren sie sich und im

Kotti da ist ein zelt eingebaut und da haben sie, die machen noch weiter glaube ich aber da nutze nicht so viel.

I: Kennen Sie solche Leute wer Sind umgezogen?

P: Ja habe ich aber später wird den unkontaktlich weil am anfang kommt wieder hier her besucht später nicht mehr weil es 20 km entfernt kann nicht hier her kommen und Zeit geht bißchen entfehrt.

I: Können Sie mir zu diese Leute vorstellen?

P: Also ich muss mal fragen wie die Telefon haben oder so oder wo wohnen. Ich sehe wenn hier her kommt dann spreche ich guten tag, nein leider nicht, aber kenne ich paar. Aber so gesetzlich, so persönlich, so kontakt verbinden habe ich nicht.