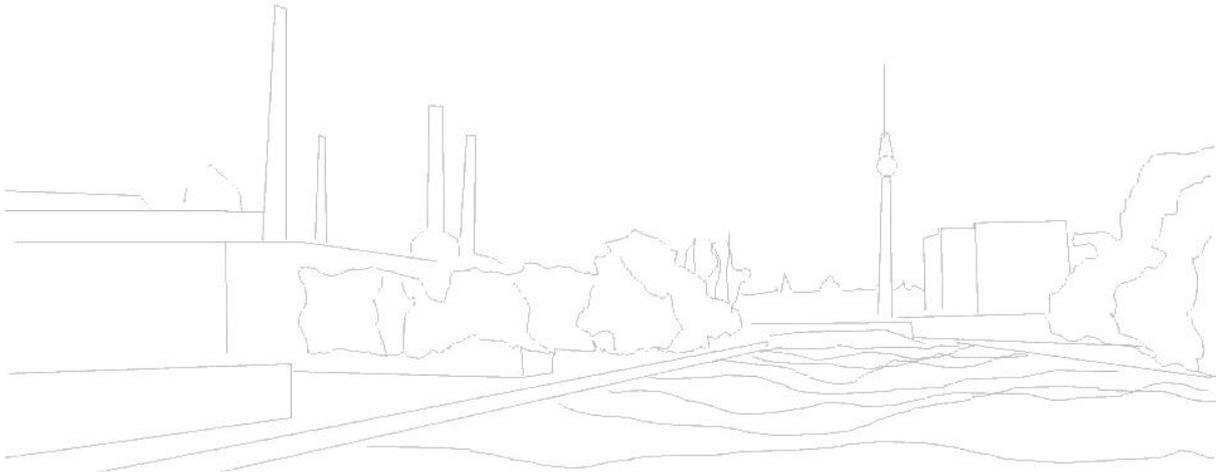


Title:

Formal and informal planning strategies encouraging private developers to realize inclusive, mixed-use housing projects: Urban renewal in Berlin's post-industrial waterfront Spree area.



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Statement of authenticity of material

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any institution and to the best of my knowledge and belief, the research contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the thesis.

Signed

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Maria del Pilar Ospina Valencia". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Maria del Pilar Ospina Valencia

Berlin, Germany 2013

Acknowledgements

“As we look out on the world and on the environments through which we move, we view it from the point of view of our life strategies. What opportunities are there, what constraints and oppressions, what resources can we reach and how are we frustrated? Managing our existence has multiple time-scales-daily and weekly routines, yearly patterns, “career” and personal development trajectories and generational time.” -Pasty Healey-

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Abstract:

Putting together one of the most strategic parts of the Berlin after decades- long division has been challenging and controversial in the task of renewing the Spree urban waterfront in the districts of Friedrichsain-Kreuzberg and Mitte.

With the fall of the wall and Germany's reunification, economic growth expectations conceived an urban dimension unfolding different planning strategies. The inner- city was like a white canvas ready to be coloured and toned. However urban development proposals couldn't fit in the Spree area. Thenceforth, this part of the city continued a piecemeal development, running out of what now has become one of the most important subjects of public interest: waterfront land.

From ambitious marketing of the area in the nineties carried out by the state in partnership with private developers, in the so called "Mediaspree", to bottom-up initiatives consolidating the character of this part of Berlin; the Spree area has gathered along the last two decades diverse urban development proposals conforming a mixture between formal planning strategies and particular initiatives.

Beyond specific urban development plans, this area contains a traditionally aware and active population with regards to urban development processes, which continues demanding for the fulfilment of their urban waterfront spatial ideal. This actor's influence has strengthened throughout time and now plays a relevant role in decision-making processes; even though most of the waterfront land are privately owned and legally defined.

This research will focus current formal and informal planning strategies for urban renewal of the Spree area between the Michaelbrücke and Schillingbrücke. Moreover it will explore the surrounding urban waterfront, to identify relevant urban development interventions influencing the area's conformation. Current private development projects with spatial considerations for the public are going to be presented as a turnabout in the traditional fashion for developing the Spree area. This research will provide an example of how bottom-up initiatives emerge of the interplay between formal and informal planning strategies and how they can trigger new waterfront development concepts; furthermore, it will be evidenced their power to reshape policies pointing urban renewal of Berlin's post-industrial waterfront.

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Acronyms, Abbreviations and translations:

Acronyms/ Abbreviations	German	English
(AGBauGB)	Gesetz zur Ausführung des Baugesetzbuchs	Building Code's Execution Law
(BauGB)	Baugesetzbuch	Building Code
(BEP)	Bereichsentwicklungspläne	Area Development Plans
(BlmA)	Bundesanstalt für Immobilienaufgaben	Institute for Real State Assignments
(B-Plan)	Bebauungsplan	Local Development Plan
(B-Pläne)	Bebauungspläne	Local Development Plans
(BSR)	Berliner Stadtreinigungsbetriebe	Berlin city cleaning company
(BV)	Betroffenenvertretung	Local Representatives
(B-WG)	Bau-und Wohngenossenschaft	Construction and Housing Cooperative
(DDR)	Die Deutsche Demokratische Republik	The German Democratic Republic
(eG)	eingetragene Genossenschaft	Registered Cooperative
(e.V.)	eingetragener Verein	Registered Association
(FNP)	Flächennutzungsplan	Land Use Plan
(KoSP)	Koordinationsbüro für Stadtentwicklung und Projektmanagement	Urban Development and Project Management Coordination's office
(LEP B-B)	Landesentwicklungsplans Berlin-Brandenburg	Regional Development Plan Berlin-Brandenburg
(MSV)	Mediaspree Versenken	Sink the Spree Media
(PI)		Private Investors
PW	Planwerk	Work Plan
(PWI)	Planwerk Innenstadt	Inner-city Work Plan
(PWIS)	Planwerk Innere Stadt	Interior City Work Plan
(PPP)		Public-Private Partnership
(LFB)	Liegenschaftsfonds Berlin GmbH & Co. KG	Property Fund of Berlin
(SG)	Sanierungsgebiet	Urban Renewal Area
(SGe)	Sanierungsgebiete	Urban Renewal Areas

(SenStadtUm)		Senate Department for Urban Development and the Environment
(StEP)	Stadtentwicklungspläne	Urban development plans
(SUmOW)	Stadtumbau Ost und West	Urban Re-structuring East and West
(SUmW)	Stadtumbau West	Urban Re-structuring West
(THA)	Treuhandanstalt	Trust Institution
(ZN)	Zwischennutzung	Temporary Use



Source: Eisfabrik 2013.

1. Introduction

1.1 Research background:

Until the nineteenth century, Berlin's infrastructure was focused in its water ways; with the boom of industrialization and the progress of the railway infrastructure, some of the industry moved to other sites in the periphery of the city. Despite new development possibilities offered by the railway; in Berlin's case, urban planners concentrated expansion and development on the waterways and canals until the twentieth century (Meuser 2004).

Although trade was traditionally carried out through the water ways, with the progress of industry more warehouses and railway connections were required by the merchants. One example of this is the East-side Harbour, built in 1907 as part of the connection for the industry between the east and west of Berlin. The area was chosen between the Oberbaumbrücke and the Treptower rail bridge, due to the width in this part of the Spree and because of being connected to the railway system. With this infrastructure development, numerous warehouses and granaries settled along this area in the beginning of the twentieth century (Meuser 2004). The East-side Harbour, located currently in the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, was one of the biggest loading points of middle Europe in the first decade of the twentieth century, the most important port of East Germany's inland and the single one of East-Berlin until the DDR times (SenStadt 2001b).

Development plans elaborated in the middle of the twentieth century, were mostly oriented towards expansion of the city and vehicle infrastructure; contrary to the present days, they were concerned with behaviours of close relations between working, living and recreation, generating unhealthy inner city areas. On the other hand plans were assertive considering a future transformation of Berlin in size like it

is today, as well as thinking in Berlin as the capital of a reunified Germany (SenStadt 2001b).

In the times of Berlin's division after the 2nd world war, Friedrichshain was a city-district and the capital of the DDR, while Kreuzberg was a district of west Berlin (Senstadt 2001b). This means, that until the fall of the wall in 1989, this part of the city had to be divided for more than four decades.

With the Reunification of Germany in 1990 the city began the way through several administrative, politic, economic and spatial changes. The city had to be reorganized and re-constructed; moreover it was soon to become the capital of the country (SenstadtUm 2012 j).

The reunification was followed by a period, where development forecasts predicting an economic boom and population growth, triggered development strategies focused on housing and office spaces supply, in order to respond to the predicted population and investments (Bodenschatz 2005). New state enterprises like the Trust Institution "Treuhandanstalt" (THA) were created in the nineties to deal with transformations regarding land ownership of former DDR state's assets, making possible privatization of public land. As result of these measures, by 1995 most of the land in Berlin belonged to private landowners (Bodenschatz 2005, pp. 198-201, Hofmann et al 2010, p. 23).

In this period, the inner-city was an open arena, ready to be consolidated as main location of German government institutions. Development tasks were centred on attracting and encouraging private investment in the city, therefore strategic areas were defined and later developed in the form of urban development contests. In the inner-city, development was focused on the construction of mixed uses with office spaces (Bodenschatz 2005).

The early nineties' development orientation was soon realized inadequate for Berlin's declining financial situation and taking into account its particular challenges as former divided city. By the end of that decade, ambitious inner-city projects were no longer affordable for the city and urban development issues such as brownfields and empty buildings in the city centre, result of different politic systems in the past, had to be overcome. Furthermore the sub-urbanization of housing, promoted short after the reunification as part of housing development policies, was realized unnecessary as well as unsustainable, thence it had to be stopped (Bodenschatz 2005).

The Inner-city Work Plan (PWI) of 1999 was the official recognition of the special condition of Berlin as former divided city. However the aimed replication of the "critical reconstruction" of IBA times considered for this plan wasn't practiced in the

whole city. Efforts were mainly pointed towards dealing with gaps of previous years' neoliberal practices (Bodenschatz 2005).

The first zoom in made specifically to the Spree area of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg was in 2001 with a "Concept" establishing development guidelines for this part of Berlin (SenStadt 2001b). Despite this development concept recognizing the area's potential and emerging local initiatives like Temporary Uses (Zwischennutzungen ZN)) as part of that promising character, it continued addressing big investment projects, ignoring relevant aspects of local conditions and of its community, which later would turn into a contradictory local-international development (SenStadtUm 2012d).

The Spree Media (Mediaspree) project between 2001 and 2008 along with the local governments' support , helped widen this "development gap" by conceiving and partially inserting foreign unwanted bodies or new buildings and projects without the capacity of evolving positively or gaining significance, either within the neighbourhood or in city (Hofmann et al 2010, Bodenschatz 2005). Thenceforth, this former area of conflict, years of separation became the new battle field for citizens and policies addressed by the city. Citizen's movements rising as response of these interventions revived the traditional character of the neighbourhood in the seventies (SenstadtUm 2011); claiming access and spatial quality along the waterfront, but more importantly creating awareness in the city with regards to this area.

Sale of public land along the waterfront became one of the most relevant topics in the city. Parts involved in this process and experts began to question the lack of use of available planning and legal instruments to tackle development as well as the need for finding a common policy at different government sectors responsible for the urban development practice in the Spree area (SenStadtUm 2009a).

Priority of the state-owned subsidiary's politics, the Property Fund of Berlin (LFB), has been selling properties to bidders with the highest economic proposal for fulfilling their purpose of "maximizing revenues in favour of Berlin's heavily indebted budget" (LFB 2011, p. 9). Nowadays the Spree Area object of study, between the Michaelbrücke and the Schillingbrücke, as well as the area in general has mostly privately owned areas.

Even though most of the land of this sector belong currently to private landowners, polemic regarding the area's development has continued; subjects like the purchase of public land to private investors along the waterfront, likewise policies of the city in

the early nineties and of the first decade with “Mediaspree”; as well as project features and possible impacts in the neighbourhood still matter of discussion. This time with less state- owned land, moreover with previous development experiences underpinning claims for new ways of dealing with waterfront development.

Changes in Berlin’s social structure as well as its growing population generating a housing shortage is a challenge, currently object of concern and work. In this sense the Senate for Finances of Berlin has rethought publicly the Property Fund of Berlin politics’ orientation towards a more social policy; with a current public discussion regarding its implementation (Senatsverwaltung für Finanzen 2012).

The planning system of the city allows flexibility for the expected changes in its population and for the formulation of new development goals (chap.10); those have been adapted to the pace of change, but managing this part of the city involves beyond spatial plans, a variety stakeholders and policy-making and coordination at different levels of governance (Healey 1997).

Although citizens’ participation is diversely established in Berlin (SenStadtUm 2012d) and citizens have shown their ability to mobilize in the *Spreeufer für alle Referendum* (MSV 2009) in 2008 besides many other citizen’s movements; experiences show that collaborative planning processes still can be improved on the implementation in order to go beyond merely consultative results. Despite the lack of legal scope of these movements in development processes, there have been changes. Citizens’ ideals have reached, through networks, politic circles which are at the same time, now bringing the discussion to higher levels of governance.

Berlin is a city of social, cultural and spatial mixtures, which allows some way to find spaces for own initiatives. Nowadays in the area of study, other concepts are emerging with alternatives for waterfront development, which seem to be giving something back to the city in the future; something that hasn’t happened in this, so far, exclusive location. It is therefore relevant in this research, to understand how these mixed-use housing proposals of private developers in the form of cooperative associations, result from their own initiative and seeking to fulfil their living ideal affordably and sustainably. Furthermore their projects’ concepts appear to give a space to the neighbourhood’s character as well as to citizens’ demands for a more accessible and inclusive waterfront development.

At this juncture, seems like previous development orientation in the Spree area is being reconsidered; private projects could be a shift in a direction which might be

suitable for a more inclusive conformation of the area, as well as for the market's demands. Private Investors (PI) are joining forces to reach what the real-estate market hasn't fulfilled; moreover they are aspiring to an integrative development for the waterfront. On the other hand, government programs are trying to deliver their services on behalf of citizens by implementing their renewal plans. This task requires balancing several interests and negotiations with PI for the realization of the city projects in their waterfront properties.

As most of the land in the Spree area of work is privately owned and legal conditions of these properties are already defined; this paper will study processes of emerging private projects in the area. Furthermore mixed-use housing projects like the Spreefeld and Holzmarkt are going to provide examples of what could be a more inclusive private development approach to urban renewal of the waterfront. Among those will be found processes of "*collaborative strategy making*" in search of fulfilling their interests and needs for housing, but also reflecting their motivations to put in the practice their vision of how the city should be (Healey 1997 p. 285). Likewise will be examined current interventions carried out by the city as part of its renewal programs and their interaction with stakeholders involved. On the research area will be found the interplay of formal and informal planning strategies, furthermore available urban planning instruments' implementation. Alternative planning tools explored for this case will be suggested aiming to grant control of public land along waterfront; what could be if not for this area, a lesson learned for further remaining public areas in this part of the Spree, as well as for other waterfront sections of the city.

2. Definition of the problem:

As it was presented in the background information there are contradictions in development of the area between the Michaelbrücke and the Schillingbrücke, defined as the area of study.

Since the 90's, policies and urban development in the Spree area's waterfront have lacked public acceptance. The resulting spatial character of piecemeal interventions conforming this area have not achieved an integrative development; therefore an old debate regarding land sale policies of the city is now being re-opened, focussing the importance of project's development concepts over maximising revenues for healing Berlin's budget. However, it still prevails for the city to cope with financial duties rather than to strive for a sustainable urban development.

Nowadays, plots available in the Spree area are mostly privately owned. Urban development plans legally define the scope of interventions for this area, leaving little space to the city for re-thinking spatial integration.

The city and its agencies have to deal with private property, while at the same time achieving their goals on behalf of citizens. In addition, the legal scope of the city within private developments is reduced and there are few possibilities of setting new spatial quality standards. Economic conditions of Berlin doesn't allow at this point affording comprehensive interventions for extensive master plans, because it would imply to re-negotiate already privately owned plots. Private ownership in this special area also has negative issues such as land speculation and an on-going socio-spatial segregation.

This part of the city, as former border area in division times has a very special significance for Berlin, but the lack of physical access to the public and development carried out until these days, have contrarily spatially isolated it. Moreover original inhabitants of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and Mitte have a remarkably different character and social conditions, compared with facilities and buildings erected as part of development policies of the city.

Berlin is growing in population and there is housing need at all population levels; however, not only is the question of housing provision in numbers, it is also a matter of affordability, sustainability and new living standards, unfortunately not everyone can afford currently building or living in waterfront locations of Berlin's inner-city.

The area of work is therefore beginning a transformation process with these two mixed-use housing projects. It is thus necessary to revise and foresee possible impacts in the existing neighbourhood's structure and in the urban fabric.

3. Purpose of the study and research objectives:

Most of the areas in the unit of study are privately owned, nevertheless there are emerging some proposals that could provide some good lessons to the area. Therefore the main objective of this research is:

finding which planning strategies are encouraging PI towards current urban waterfront development proposals. Thence it is relevant to meet the following objectives:

- To explore available formal and informal planning strategies in urban renewal of the waterfront in the Spree area while evidencing the importance of generating inclusive planning strategies. Besides, this would help to identify other planning strategies and tools for this task.
- To study how are conceived private mixed-use housing developments in urban renewal of the waterfront; finding aims of people realizing them.
- To be able to analyse how citizens are or could be included with this projects.
- To research how the city is approaching waterfront development. Departments participating, programs conducted and which is their action scope. Furthermore to find their mechanisms for granting an inclusive waterfront development to citizens.
- To analyse the stakeholders involved in urban renewal of the waterfront, their functions and how they interact.
- To find out how private mixed-use housing developments can be integrated and become an inclusive element in urban renewal of the waterfront.
- To analyse how media influences waterfront development.
- To research how urban renewal projects can affect the existing neighbourhood and to find how these impacts can be mitigated.
- To find how citizens are integrated in waterfront urban renewal processes. To be able to understand how they also can influence this setting.
- To develop recommendations for future urban renewal of the waterfront.

4. Research question:

How can private investors be encouraged to realize inclusive mixed- use housing developments in the renewal of a post-industrial urban waterfront?

4.1 Sub-questions:

1.	Which planning strategies are being used in this area?
2. 3.	Which planning tools or approaches can be explored to incentive sustainable urban developments organized by private investors - when they are building in strategic areas?
4.	How are now private investors assuming a more social role?
5.	In what ways is it possible to realize affordable housing and mixed-use developments as key elements of urban renewal planning strategies?
6.	How can Berlin's urban waterfront be developed by private investors but at the same time granting the appropriate conditions for all citizens?
7.	How is the city's approach for waterfront development? Which role is the city playing?
8.	How can inclusive urban renewal strategies invite and include all people to live, work and play in the area?
9.	How can access to the urban waterfront become an initiative of private developers?
10.	How can be mitigated/ avoided impacts of private developments such as gentrification?
11.	How could IBA provide a platform for this purpose?

4.2 Hypothesis:

Formal and informal planning strategies and tools are encouraging private investors to realize inclusive mixed-use housing developments in urban renewal of the waterfront of the Spree area between Michaelbrücke and Schillingbrücke.

5. Research design and methodology:

5.1 Conceptual Model:

Issues	Concepts	Findings	Expected findings
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Public disapproval with waterfront urban renewal. •Socio-spatial segregation in waterfront urban renewal. • Mostly privately owned areas along the urban waterfront. •Lack of modification of urban development plans in privately owned areas due to possible legal issues. •Gentrification happening. •Affordable housing need in Berlin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Planning strategies •Inclusive •Urban Renewal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Citizen movements and Media's pressure producing a turn over in waterfront development. •Citizen movements and media constituting a planning strategy for waterfront development. •Conflicts of interests. •Social networks. •PI assuming a more social role in waterfront development. •Politics changing according to new environments and networks. •Lack of legal instruments to bind citizen's demands to urban development plans. •Lack of information for citizens about interventions in the waterfront.. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning strategies and tools supporting an inclusive waterfront development. •Legal instruments are including citizen's demands legally in urban development plans. •Possible partnerships between private developers and the city. •State- owned land management for the general interest.

Table 1 Conceptual model

Source: Own design

5.2 Research Process:

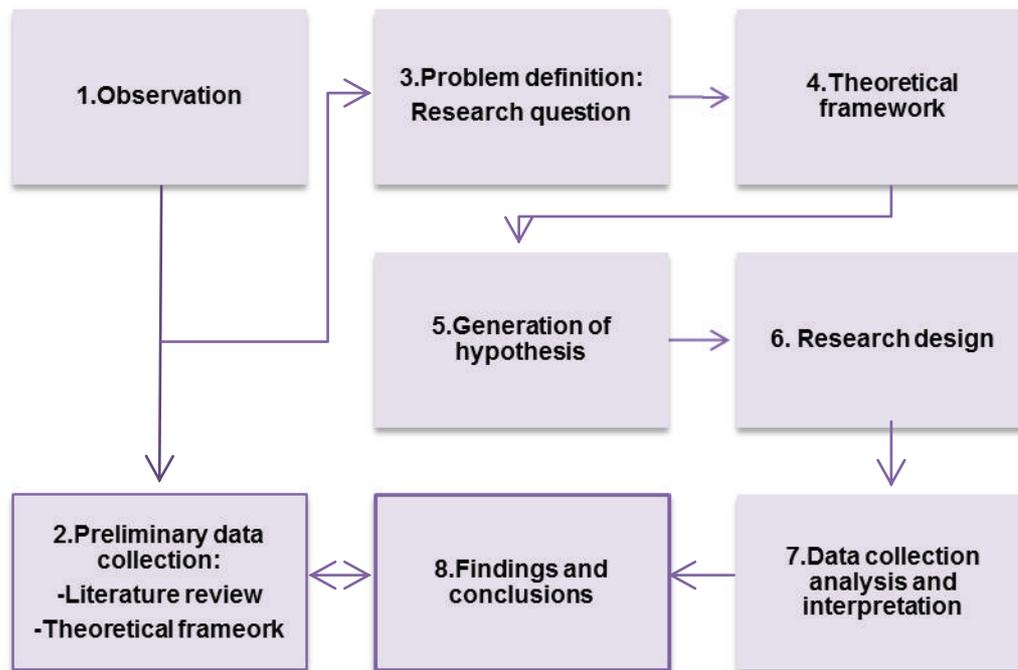


Figure 1 Research process

Source: Own design

5.3 Research design and methodology:

The initial stage of this research is based on an initial informal exploration of the area, participation in workshops such as "Green Moabit" 27th August- 7th September 2012, Berlin; min to max – International Architecture Symposium / December 10th – 11th 2011, Berlin, Experimentdays 2012, Berlin case studies, Urban Management's Housing seminar. With this information is possible to clarify the subject of interest for the master thesis research and to think in the case study. A preliminary data is collected in order to study information about current conditions of the area of interest, moreover this area demanded to review historical urban development events. This includes understanding the area as one of the main waterways for transportation and loading points of the country, as well as the situation of former border area in DDR times (Meuser, P. 2004, SenStadt 2001b). This allows identifying current issues related to urban renewal, besides information of newspapers and previous explorations allows identifying a set of preliminarily stakeholders.

Thus is possible to define the topics of research, moreover to identify the problematic, thereby formulating the research question. Due to controversies regarding private urban development interventions in the “Spree Area’s” waterfront of the last decades, highlighting lack of integration to the local context as of public acceptance; forthcoming projects open a new debate, wherein a question arises:

How can private investors be encouraged to realize inclusive and sustainable mixed- use housing developments in the renewal of a post-industrial urban waterfront?

Along with this question unfold other sub-questions and propositions that will guide the research, establishing points to address. In this stage is also possible to define the unit of analysis, knowing the relevance of other information contained in surrounding areas, thereby leaving a flexibility degree.

“For case studies, theory development as part of the design phase is essential, whether the ensuing case study’s purpose is to develop or test theory” (Yin R. 2003).

Already defined the research’s problematic and scope, is necessary to review literature of the following topics: Planning strategies and practices, Urban Renewal, and Inclusive Planning, moreover Berlin’s Planning Framework and Practices are investigated to conform the theoretical framework.

“Every type of empirical research has an implicit, if not explicit, research design. In the most elementary sense, the design is the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study’s initial research questions and ultimately, to its conclusions” (Yin, 2003 p.20).

At this point is possible to shape the research design (see figure 2) and to define the research strategy.

This case will trace the process in which two projects are emerging in the “Spree area” (which is how the unit of analysis will be called), thus being a contemporary event wherein the question formulated is “How”, exempt of events’ control; whereby the strategy for the research will be a qualitative case study (Yin R. 2003).

The case selected contains currently different urban development processes result of the operational local planning framework. Programs like the “Urban Renewal

Area” (SG) are being carried out, as well as other local programs like the “Urban Restructuring West” (SUmW). Moreover mixed-use housing developments are under the process of being implemented, with different planning strategies, assumed by private investors. The unit of analysis is the “Spree area” between the “Michael” bridge and the “Schilling” bridge, a privately owned area along the Spree waterfront. One part of the area of study belongs to the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg’s and the area located in the other side of the river belongs to Mitte’s district. The population studied related to the unit of analysis includes some organizations, individuals and representatives of groups (see appendix 1). Nevertheless the unit of analysis requires flexibility for the sake of the research. The time framework will be within the last 2 years. Furthermore it was needed to consider some historical relevant facts, significant for the area in study, part of the data collection.

5.4 Data collection methods

The data obtained is a result of the analysis and interpretation of all the literature found related to the area of study, the observation, interviews (formal and informal) realized, questionnaires and workshops attended.

Observation

The data based on direct observation is the result of the visits to the area (field visits), and assistance to workshops and lectures where issues related to the topic of research have been discussed; this information is complemented by diverse informal encounters previous to the structured interviews with actors involved in the subject. This allowed to understand the context of work and to have first perceptions to conduct the initial approach.

Literature review

In the beginning of the research literature was reviewed concerning Planning strategies, urban renewal and inclusiveness.

Documentation:

Literature concerning the local context is examined: Local planning framework (programs, tools and policies). Previous discussions and works carried out by German experts helped to understand current status of the investigation. Great part of this literature is available online in the Senate Department for Urban Development and the Environment’s (SenStadtUm) website.

Statistical information is collected to understand the current housing situation as well as demographic change.

Newspapers:

As this research is a “*contemporary event*” newspaper articles were relevant to be informed about the sequence of development of the subject. This data could also be compared with the information received by the interviewees.

Archival records:

Statistical, maps or old brochures were collected from official webpages or provided in interviews.

Field Work and interviews

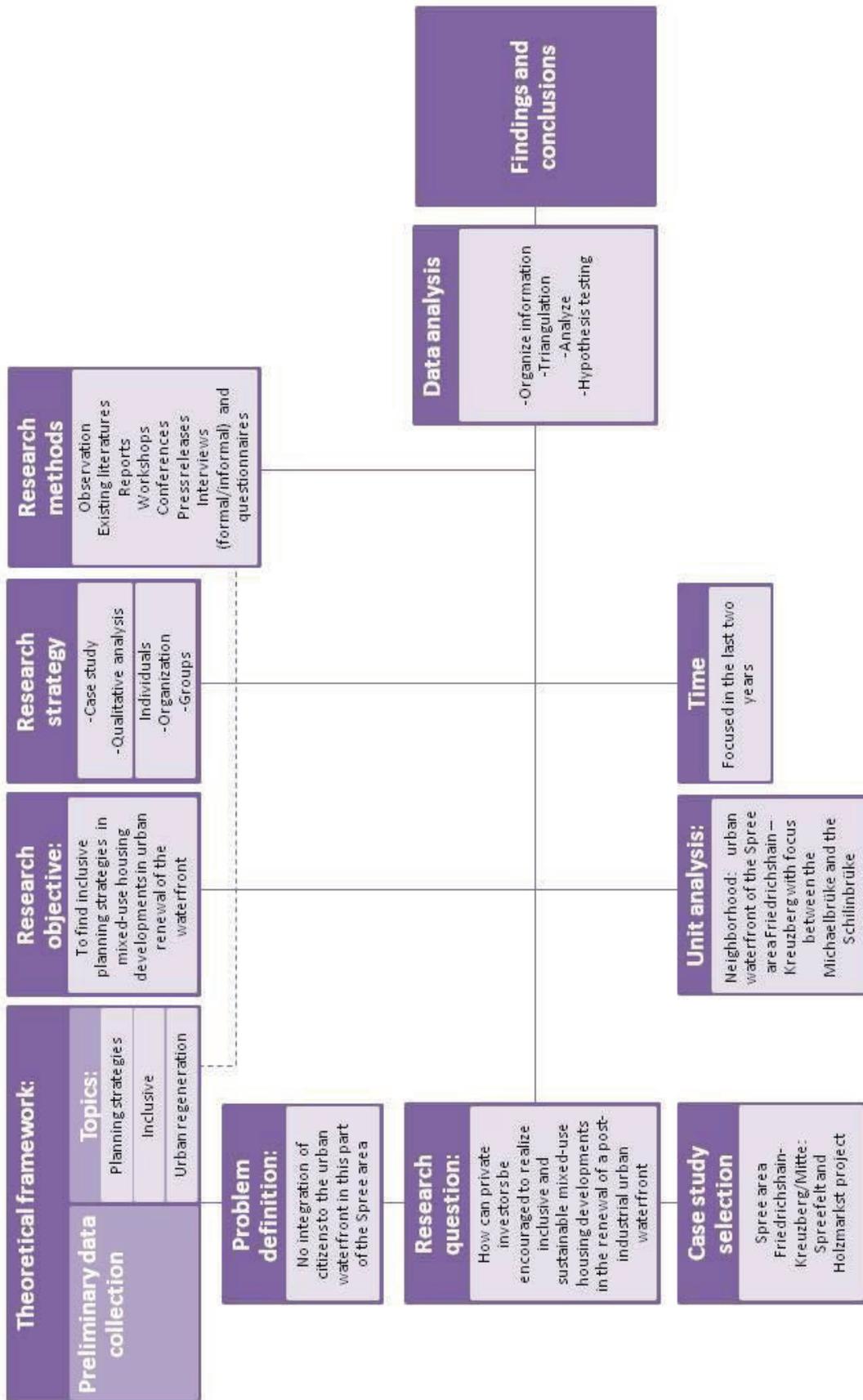
Key actors are identified in the area and interviewed conducting semi-structured interviews. Those include experts in the area from the academic sector involved in research projects in the Spree area, officials of programs carried out by the SenStadtUm, members of citizen’s movements and project developers (see list of interviewees in the appendix).

In these meetings is possible to obtain a varied qualitative input guided by the set of questions focusing the discussion on the selected topics (see appendix 2).

Data analysis and interpretation:

After collected data, information is organised in tables classifying the information received by the multiple sources in categories. Then the evidence is cross-checked and analysed. The analysis will be based on the research questions and other propositions. With the findings some conclusions regarding the topic will be generated.

Figure 2 Research design.
Source: own design



6. Theoretical background:

6.1 Formal and informal Planning Strategies

Planning Theory:

Urban planning and the labour of urban planners have had different connotations through history. Development of cities always linked to politic, economic and social structures, define in a way or other the arena in which urban planning has to interplay. Through examples of planning approaches and evolution of cities, it is clear that urban planning is not only a discipline containing tools and theoretical approaches providing answers to challenges; it is a dynamic activity relying on feedback and on its social, political, economic and spatial contextualization for validity and success in its implementation.

Authors have identified various urban planning approaches, concepts are constantly re-adapted and analysed, as a response of how the theoretical framework or trends are reflected in the practice. Patsy Healey describes economy, physical development and policy analysis, as traditional means of spatial planning in the North American and European context in the twentieth century.

Economic planning main focus is efficiency in production and distribution in cities towards economic growth. On the other hand, spatial planning strongly developed in the middle of the twentieth century, addresses the organization of a functional, effective city; taking into account aesthetics and a healthy environment. Elements such as building regulations, land use plans and master plans have been tools for this kind of development, but the complexity of city issues have turned from the urban form, to the analysis of policies concerning social, economic and environmental changes in cities and regions (Healey 1997).

Policy analysis in relation to planning implies the evaluation of policies based on technical and rational analysis to achieve goals in urban planning, managing efficiently public affairs. This analysis have evolved and transformed through questioning how planners and the planning process should co-exist and interact with decision-making and under which precepts planning should be assumed to fulfil its purposes. Therefrom it can be found, that the latest concern on the field is to understand the dynamics of economic, social, spatial and environmental structures in which people are evolving. This approach enables the creation and implementation of more inclusive policies (Healey 1997).

It is important to recognize that Healey's planning interpretations are closely linked to how each context responds to change. As one setting differs from other; it can be concluded that there is no answer or tool that should be established or strictly followed for the planning labour; flexibility, test and mistake or mainly the evolution of cities are determinant factors to understand processes of change and achieve better solutions.

In planning theory, is discussed the difference between form and content related to policy- making and its practical implementation. Relationships between actors involved in the planning process are analysed as well as their hierarchies and evolving interactions to pursue "validity" in planning as a multi-disciplinary process. It recognizes the existence of procedures and ideal goals in planning but also its limitations and alternatives to have a realistic and "*positive theory of planning*", thereby emphasising on the need of complementing planning theoretic objectives with empirical findings (Faludi 1973, pp.5).

Urban planning concepts and models emerge with various approaches, responding to urban challenges; comprehensive planning, disjointed incrementalism, mixed scanning, collaborative planning, strategic planning go hand in hand or "*co-exist with specific governance modes*" (Healey 1997, pp. 205). Since the last decade of the twentieth century, in the modern concept of urban planning there is a broader perspective for managing collective affairs which includes social and environmental conditions, assuming the importance of interactions between stakeholders involved in the planning process. Thus, urban planning is a complex discipline that requires more than theoretical frameworks or managing tools to be understood and to succeed in its implementation on existent and future challenging environments (Healey 1997, Davidhoff 1996).

The planning project and governance:

Governance is the process of rules and decision-making related to social, spatial, economic and environmental issues concerning the public. Similarly, *spatial planning* involves decisions and deliberate actions within the same "*human existence*" arenas, but focused on space; moreover it includes the organisation of space according to changes in the social structure and to population's needs. Within the administration of activities of the "*collective concern*"; those deliberate actions pointed to certain areas aiming to tackle urban development challenges, can thus be understood as the planning activity in governance. Therefore the planning activity makes part of governance processes (Healey 2010, p. 49, 1997, p. 206, Heinrichs et al 2010).

The importance of recognizing the relation between governance and planning processes lies in the way theoretical and practical approaches in the form of ideals, regulations and types of implementation have; according to change, trends and outcomes; shaped public policy in time (Faludi 1973, Healey 1997, 2010).

In the first decades of the twentieth century, centralization and formal government structures didn't allow to take care about people's concerns regarding their living places. Social structures formed in the industrialization period derived conflicts in which better conditions were demanded for the working class. In Western Europe and in North America this had as response governance approaches like the "*welfare state*", whose objective was to provide employment based on industrial expansion, creating a system in which education, health and a prosperous economy could be granted for all the population (Healey 2010, 1997).

Industrialization and economic growth meant more people leaving in urban areas, therefore it was required to take care of people and their living places. At this point, planning focused the organization and use of space to serve economic and socio cultural objectives. This task was mostly assumed at the time by politicians, who ultimately were in power because of their particular privileged situation (Molotch 1976). Land use plans were developed to provide infrastructure, as well as for uses' control. This context made necessary to separate living areas from industrial activities and its contamination; furthermore, as cities were the centre of work opportunities increasingly attracting people, land use plans focused expansion control (Healey 2010).

Scientific technical knowledge addressing citizens' issues was the base in the social and economic project for shaping policies in the "top-down" approach of the "welfare state" times in the middle of the twentieth century; nevertheless this interventions were soon identified not being sufficiently objective when managing collective issues. Despite the planning project in decentralized systems sought an emphasis on citizens and a more democratic and competent public administration; it faced hurdles like particular interests influencing planning tools at the local level and others concerning the planning framework and development projects. In the latter two, strategies pointed national territories and were implemented similarly in different settings, therefore not recognizing and tackling particularities of each local context (Healey 2010).

In "The city as a Growth Machine" Harvey Molotch presents the moment when growth was no longer related to economic prosperity and development. Between the sixties and seventies people began to question the consequences of growth mostly in relation to the environment; citizens' movements expressed inconformity with policies and planning promoting growth disregarding the local environment and conditions (Molotch 1976).

The role of politicians as citizens' representatives was also questioned and associated with personal interests. As result of this trend, local policies began to transform influencing further levels, thereby re-shaping policy- making as well as planning institutions and practices (Molotch 1976, Healey 1997).

Rethinking policy- making implied to expand the existing base of "*instrumental reason and scientific knowledge*", including several other elements found relevant after implementation processes and its results (Healey 1997, p. 28).

Healey highlights as vital element in the planning activity the "*politics of place*" due to the stake that local communities have in development of urban areas, moreover their involvement in this processes. These local concerns and interactions for tackling change in local environments; conform what she calls "*political communities*" (Healey 2010, p.13).

Since movements claimed for more environmental awareness in the seventies, more attention has been paid to *politics of place* within the planning task. Consequently social and economic aspects have been included in the planning project in different ways; however it still is questioned how local or particular issues are assumed in the planning project taking into account diversity and its derived conflicts of interests.

In "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning", Davidoff recognizes in planning a tool for fulfilling citizen's demands and explores the challenges of inclusionary participation processes, as interactive input for local policy-making. In this respect, he highlights the need of a balance between scientific knowledge and the diverse nature of local settings, therefore proposing planning as a means of citizens' inclusion part of a democratic political process (Davidoff 1996).

Thenceforth, a set of different concepts related to participation levels were developed; one of the most representatives, the one presented by Sherry Arnstein in 1969 in "A Ladder of citizen Participation", wherein was clearly presented with practical examples, the scope of both "bottom-up" and "top-down" planning approaches according to power and its associated decision-making processes (Arnstein 1996). This vision although simple is strong because it identifies the presence of different stakeholders', types of relations and power conflicts in urban development. Thus it was clear, that planning and public policy consisted in a balance between technical and scientific knowledge and the feedback given by

social interactions and outcomes of contextually-based processes (Arnstein 1996). In the “*communicative planning theory*” formulated by Healey, she sets the collected planning bases for this focus, highlighting the relevance of both knowledge and practical analysis in planning; the particularities of social contexts and its derived interactions; the diversity of interests generated within a specific context; the inclusion of both knowledge and practical analysis for accountable policy-making; the potential sustainable-oriented change in institutional approaches through consensus-building practices and the close relation of the planning labour and its dynamics with social processes (Healey 1997, pp. 29-30).

In the last two decades of the twentieth century along with globalization trends, public policy was rather than being formulated, object of assessment and evaluation evoking again the technically-based approach of the mid twentieth century. This time the responsibility of the state in policy-coordination tasks is reduced and becomes more devoted to the formulation of clear policies. The role assumed by the state is what was called the “*Techno-corporatist state*”; whose influence in urban development is reduced, nonetheless with the challenge of tackling local environments’ issues. Therefore this system recognizes the existence of several actors in governance processes, thereby leaving part of the social burden and policy-coordination tasks to key entities in the economic structure and to the civil society, mostly in the form of citizen’s initiatives (Heinrichs et al 2010, Healey 1997).

Concerns regarding fragmentation at all levels and socio-spatial exclusionary processes, moreover the evident environmental decay of the end of the twentieth century, brought to the governance and planning discussion terms like “*sustainable development*”, wherein is stressed the relevance of complementing and taking care of the multiple dimensions of the “*human existence*” in urban development without compromising the environment for future generations. Accordingly, the social, economic and environmental dimensions began to constitute the base of governance and planning approaches as a deliberate way for counteracting the before mentioned phenomena (Healey 2010, pp. 16-17).

How should be planned?

In the spatial planning activity, changes in the social structure in urban areas and the complexity of relations and interests found in diverse spaces have demanded collective actions based on collaboration between multiple stakeholders part of political communities, seeking not only to alleviate their concerns regarding their living places, moreover to work on improving its conditions. This process of managing collective concerns and collaborating for re-shaping a shared space,

through communication and interaction between several actors involved; enabling new institutional settings for this type of exchange; is called by Healey the “*collaborative planning process*” (Healey 1997 p. 312). From these local actions it is possible to tackle issues of local concern; but this collaborative process has the potential to impact on several other levels of governance ultimately re-shaping policies. This “bottom- up” approach for decision-making is likewise transforming spatial planning in spite of the predominant groups’ prevalence in power structures. The challenge is therefore to be able to find mechanisms and organized ways for counteracting this power forces. Social mobilization as an expression of local actors involved in the transformation of local communities is one of these counteracting forces, e.g. attaining awareness about specific issues and in more advanced stages reaching support from several other actors; finally accessing and having a degree of control on matters which couldn’t have been handled as merely individual concerns.

In the following case study is possible to evidence how this theoretical background of governance processes along with spatial planning are taking place and the way Berlin’s urban waterfront is being influenced by the existing power forces and actors in the process of re-building the public realm in a fashion which expresses the character and approach of this local community for urban development.

7. Inclusive

As the term inclusive can have many interpretations, it is important to clear the scope of this definition within the research, therefore some concerns will be posed, giving examples of situations of *exclusion* and other of *inclusion* until drawing the pointed definition.

To begin with the most basic interpretations, the dictionary defines inclusive as: “*Including a wide range of people, ideas, etc.*” (Oxford 2010 p.787) and exclusion as: “*The act of preventing somebody/something from entering a place or taking part in something*” (Oxford 2010, pp. 528). Despite these definitions being too simple and at the same time leaving open meanings, both are related to people which includes society and they refer to “wide range” and “access”. In addition, the focus of inclusion in this research will be related to space; nevertheless for this purpose is necessary to understand other existing forms of social exclusion.

With globalization not only new boundaries were traced but also structures of society and spaces transformed, i.e. new systems of power re-shaped cities; forms of control emerged establishing access' limits to life activities and interactions affecting what Healey would describe as the "*local environment*", thereby intensifying socio-spatial polarization (Healey 1997, p. 115, Mandanipour 1996, Brenner et al 1996). One example of this is the physical or social division of public and private, it could be land, it could be personal life, or an event; in all of them there are explicit access limitations which finally are formalized within a system of "*exclusionary processes*" currently embedded in social life (Mandanipour 1996, Quick et al 2011).

7.1 Dimensions of social exclusion to understand inclusion:

There are different dimensions of social exclusion and inclusion, one can overlap other or lead to another. These can be found in the economic, political or cultural life's spheres. In the economic sphere, lacking access to employment and resources can result in poverty; ultimately associated with social exclusion. In the politic realm of democracies, the power and extent of decision-making by voting is a way of inclusion, likewise the lack of representation in politic power spheres would represent exclusion. In culture, group minorities around same beliefs which are mostly differentiable in language, religion and nationality; are often excluded from standards set by major groups in daily life activities, like consumption models. When encompassing all of these dimensions of social exclusion, means to reach its highest level.

In the planning context, since the middle of the nineteen century influenced by pluralistic concerns; due to the limited capacity on planning scope to address social issues in cities, Davidoff proposed as planner to shape cities using technique and knowledge not just to focusing physical space, but also recognizing diversity among citizens, therefore he sought to improve conditions of disadvantaged citizens taking part through his "*advocacy planning*" (Healey 1997, Davidhoff 1996). Then with the challenges to pluralistic conceptions which conceived social diversity as the ability to achieve resources; was created Sherry Arnstein's ladder of participation as example of the struggle between elites and citizens for power. Then in the 90's more than inequality, systems of power producing such things as exclusion were questioned and analyzed. "*Weberian power relations*" related social status to the conditions and opportunities achieved and unfolded from birth, which would lead to unequal competitions in society and then the "*Marxist concepts of power relations*" detached this phenomena from the past of the individual and linked them to capitalism and the exploitation of the worker class by the capitalists (Healey 1997).

Summarizing these approaches and debates related to inequality; exclusion, oppression and other social phenomena are until these days, linked to economic and politic powers. But how can be this related to space? In the spatial dimension, this would be represented e.g. in policies addressing social housing promoting spaces which aren't integrated to the city, thus generating socio-spatial segregation. Nevertheless, the point wanted here is not regarding poverty or economic capacity; it is about citizen's integration to the local context; someone without economic means can be integrated through spaces to the city, if these are available.

Concentred on the built environment, Madanipur highlights the relevance of access and exposes a direct relation of the amount of social exclusion to the spatial limitations of individuals. Moreover explains three forms of spatial barriers. The physical, which includes elements like topography and symbols; the mental, concerning fears or preconceptions regarding activities happening in certain spaces; and the social control barrier, which is determined by legal limitations to spaces like, political boundaries of nations or public-private divisions (Mandanipour 1996).

In the neighbourhood scale, processes of exclusion can be encouraged by the planners in their task of understanding changes in the social structure and of physical differentiations of spaces; while citizens have a different perception of the neighbourhood's scope. Therefore this process of division made by planners would be an example of exclusionary delimitation of segregated neighbourhoods composing the city. Another way of spatial exclusion is the fragmentation made by land property market, wherein space is merchandised encouraging separation of classes according to projects offered; other approach is the realization of large scale housing projects without integration either to the city or within the project, strengthening divisions between the rich and the poor with new parameters for access to land (Mandanipour 1996).

This type of spatial fragmentation ultimately generates fear in society; people becomes protective of their environment, trying to avoid relations with the ones who cannot access easily to the powers mentioned before, leading to social polarization, thereby entering in an *"on-going process of socio-spatial segregation"* (Healey 1997 p.121) reflected in everyday spaces, such as schools, neighbourhoods and even in the medical services institutions.

7.2 Private property and public space:

There is also “*an institutional approach to power relations*” (Healey 1997 p.118) consisting in networks made by people based on power distribution; groups with a higher level of power can access to social cultural and economic benefits; just as other encounter barriers and remain excluded. In this case Healey invites to challenge this exclusionary links with strategies aiming social change.

One of the divisions already mentioned in the physical barriers are legally constituted and institutionalized forms like public and private property; including the latter those who are “entitled” and excluding who aren’t. On the other side, public space, despite of being for the public, is sometimes managed by public agencies, for private interests which is an exclusionary event (Mandanipour 1996).

Large construction projects carried out by the finance industry and development companies have contributed to the privatization of space. Either for security or management reasons these spaces are clearly differentiated of public space creating large sections of the city inaccessible to the public in many forms e.g. under security control, gated communities, malls or private commercial streets (Mandanipour 1996). As it was seen in all of these exclusionary and other inclusionary examples, space can have a very negative connotation for society. Therefore solutions should be reflected to overcome these natural hurdles of social life by creating spaces of integration on the built environment. Moreover including through urban space, it would as Healey proposed “*challenge the environment*” and a greater balance countervailing exclusionary processes can be achieved.

8. Urban renewal:

8.1 Urban renewal in Berlin

Both for Berlin and former Kreuzberg, today a merged district; urban renewal has played historically and still plays a relevant role in urban development. Kreuzberg was epicentre of protests in the seventies against renewal policies and still moves and have influence when these interventions attempt to affect their local environment (SenStadtUm 2011).

The first urban renewal program in Germany dates from 1963 and was accompanied by policies of demolitions and redevelopment carried out by redevelopment agencies or private developers financed with public funds, within the framework of the *Social Housing Development Program* (Holm A. et al2011). The urban renewal program

addressed extensive demolitions and reconstructions called the “*Kahlschlag-Sanierung*” with the aim of reducing inner-city’s density and improving it physically addressing living and healthy conditions in buildings (it was expected to separate the close relation between working and living), through the provision of social housing (SenStadtUm 2011).

Despite these comprehensive interventions sought to be social, they resulted providing new housing units with rents three times higher than of the not renewed buildings (SenStadtUm 2011). Throughout this process inhabitants had to face the expulsion from their houses to the periphery of the city, moreover breaking their social circles already created in the original neighbourhood; a process currently called “gentrification” (SenStadtUm 2011).

After the cold war in the 1970’s was foreseen a long term division and economic and demographic stagnancy for West Berlin, this derived comprehensive subventions from Bonn which were pointed to stabilize west Berlin with average German living standards. These measures were introduced through funding programs within the framework of the *Urban Construction Law* (Städtebauförderungsgesetz) established in 1971, later integrated as a special part of the German Building Code (BauGB) in 1987 (SenStadtUm 2011).

Therefore movements showing inconformity with this renewal approach took place between the seventies and the early eighties, this followed by occupation of buildings or the so called squatter movements; centre of the citizen movements was the former Kreuzberg district in the inner-city of Berlin (Holm A. et al 2011).

Consequence of these movements was the change in policies in the late seventies made official in 1983, with the motto “careful urban renewal” (behutsame Stadterneuerung) promoting renewal of old buildings avoiding big demolitions, executing works gradually, and including affected stakeholder in the planning and implementation process; in that period were created participation institutions like the Local Representatives (Betroffenenvertretung- BV) aiming to mitigate impacts of renewal measures (SenStadtUm 2010b). Nowadays, the BV can be considered the main official citizen participation means in urban renewal areas.

In this renewal approach, properties were transferred to redevelopment agencies but mainly managed by the state (Holm et al 2011).

The IBA (International Bauausstellung) with a first stage between 1978 and 1987 focussed the *careful urban* renewal and set the space for developing concepts like the “self-help” addressed to the legalization of house occupiers through renewing dwellings by sharing costs between the dweller and the program, covering the latter

until 85% of them (SenStadtUm 2011) This concept was implemented also after the reunification in East Berlin.

The latter stage of the IBA was in the late eighties and pointed a *critical reconstruction*. It was centred on preserving the historical city but considering new demands, like functional public spaces (SenStadtUm 2010b).

Like planning in Germany, urban renewal entered in a new stage with the fall of the wall in the nineties. In this period many things had to be managed; goals for sustainable development were established globally in agreements like Agenda 21 and Habitat II, neo-liberal policies were permeating the global realm and Berlin and Germany still had to cope with the reconstruction and reorganization of decades-long division (Couch et al 2011).

At the European level, urban renewal has been oriented recently through agreements like the Leipzig Charter in 2007 and has built supra-national institutions like The European Union Structural Fund is established seeking “*addressing regional and urban disparities*” (Colantonio et al 2010 pp. 21). The goals of this fund have been recently oriented towards convergence, i.e. targeting regions below an European Union’s (EU) average gross domestic product (GDP); regional competitiveness and employment and its third goal, cooperation (Colantonio et al 2010).

After the reunification, properties in the city had many unclear landownership agreements and also properties of the former DDR didn’t have clear re-use conditions; land was sold to private developers in the middle of this confusion and most of the state-owned land turned into private property (Bodenschatz 2005, Hofmann et al 2010). This period marked a change in the government’s approach for urban development turning from a social capitalistic orientation to a private investors’ development controlled by the public sector (Bodenschatz 2005).

Neoliberal policies since the beginning of the nineties and the “*growth euphoria*” of post reunification times were the bases for the realization of ambitious projects in the inner city through Public Private Partnerships (PPP) until 1993. The main tool was urban development contests (Bodenschatz 2005). Also urban renewal was carried out by property owners as result of land restitution processes in the east of Berlin; instead of following the traditional procedure of transferring properties to redevelopment agencies, the city this time exhausted possibilities given by the Urban Development Legislation, additionally negotiating with landowners or private developers owning the housing stock (Holm et al 2011). During this change took place communicative processes and new institutions were introduced like urban

renewal offices and the affected stakeholders also were demanding more participation means and building their social networks (Holm et al 2011).

Literature regarding urban renewal in Germany points how physical interventions of urban renewal had to be complemented with other programs addressing economic and social issues in the areas of intervention. Policies of the Federal government addressing funds for regeneration of in the so called “new states” (former east of Germany) were implemented as result of economic and social issues, in 1999 was introduced as cooperation between the federal government and the states the *Social City* program, aimed to counteract social disadvantaged areas result of the country’s change process. Latter in 2004 were introduced by the Federal government the *Urban Restructuring Program* for both East and West Germany. Two years before this measure was limited to the East of the country, due to the empty housing stock left by migration to the west of people looking for better living opportunities after the reunification, but latter to both sectors were included (Couch et al 2011).

8.2 Urban renewal today:

The approach of urban renewal has changed in time; in late definitions it is a multidisciplinary approach and it involves different levels of governance. The work on this discipline has to consider sustainable development in economic, social, physical and environmental conditions of the areas where it takes place (Roberts et al 2000). As it was explored throughout history of urban renewal in countries like Germany, renewal measures focused in past times merely a physical improvement; but in the implementation, meet challenges with communities involved (chap. 8.1). These processes involve life of individuals and their sensitive environment; however renewal measures can represent opportunities; e.g. changes in physical facilities can signify benefits for a community in terms of economic development through the reactivation of an area. Nevertheless risks like expulsion processes cannot be ignored and should be countervailed by collaborative planning (Roberts et al 2000). Urban renewal projects need collective, multidisciplinary and multilevel approaches. It involves different levels of governance and programs addressing different aspects of a community. Stakeholders and social networks create dynamics that need to be organized and institutionalized for granting effective decision- making processes, like the neighbourhood representatives or in some cases citizen’s movements (chap.8.1).

Definitions of urban renewal gather different activities towards enhancing or improving quality of live, spaces and physical, economic, environmental or social

disadvantages; moreover it includes the task of reducing gaps and of addressing a sustainable development (Holm et al 2011). Stakeholders vary between the state and a community; in later definitions it doesn't specify who is responsible for what.

This definition provided by Roberts and Sykes addresses in urban renewal the main arenas of human existence; for them urban renewal is a

“comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change” (Roberts et al 2000, p. 17).

Another more recent definition at the European level is:

“(...) integrated urban regeneration as a strategic tool for achieving a smarter, more sustainable and socially inclusive urban model, and particularly to address the current urban challenges and implement the objectives of the Europe 2020 strategy in the existing urban fabrics and built environment” (EUKN 2010, pp. 4).

Processes of urban renewal encompass in the first definition, the main aspects of urban life including sustainability and in both examples are highlighted “integrative urban renewal” as a new definition of this task. This aspect also is remarked in urban renewal periods in Germany of the last decades of the twentieth century; the last approach after the *cautious renewal* and the *critic reconstruction* in the nineties is defined by literature as the period of “integrative urban renewal” due to the various programs addressing the planning approach and complementing each other (Couch et al 2011, pp. 27); however, in other texts can be found that the official last approach was more an effort to fit in neoliberal trends, disregards the economic crisis of post-reunification times in the late nineties (Holm et al 2011, Bodenschatz 2005).

The Europe 2020 strategy included in the second definition is a strategy for the next decade and focusses the economy. It aims to achieve *“high levels of employment, productivity and social cohesion”* through *“smart, sustainable and inclusive economy”* (European Commission 2013). The EU aspires to reach through cooperation five goals based on *employment, innovation, education, social inclusion and climate/energy* (European Commission 2013). Separately each country has own

priorities but the idea of this agreement is to have a framework around the same priority areas (European Commission 2013).

Changes in the urban fabric and policies concerning it should think in positive impacts. Regarding physical conditions, properties can be considered an object of value and also as an opportunity for diversity in land uses and altering the environment where humans interact is a chance of improving their life arenas, i.e. economic, social, environmental, physical, sustainability (Roberts P. et al 2000). Furthermore it is an opportunity for providing housing, ensuring healthy environments, ensuring social benefits through economic progress, it can be implemented as a measure for controlling development, or as a means for policy changing e.g. by founding new institutions, programs, partnerships and models (Roberts et al 2000).

For a sustainable urban renewal is relevant the analysis of the local setting and its inhabitants; the urban fabric will be altered as well as its contained power interactions, i.e. their local environment. The main strategy should be comprehensive in terms of integration and open for more strategies, therefore it should have a degree of flexibility in the implementation; objectives of renewal should be public and possible to proactively be assessed, as well as re-thought and should enable cooperation at all levels (Roberts et al 2000) .

Urban regeneration in post- industrial cities includes dealing with empty facilities of former industrial uses. These settings have the challenge of re-structuring and re-conditioning areas wherein the major challenge is the “change” within a rapidly changing society (Roberts et al 2000). In the next box is a practical example of renewal interventions in a post-industrial urban waterfront.

Best practice in urban renewal: Hafen city (Hamburg)

“Urban renewal depends on the construction of highly effective consumable spaces is not the planners but the markets who are real city architects” (IBA Hamburg 2012 p.159)

Urban renewal in the *“Hafen city”* was focused on the market but also had to fulfil inhabitants’ interests. Relevant topics for this project were public spaces parks and open spaces. Through them was aimed to reinforce the concept of shaping democratic spaces, furthermore attracting citizens from all over the world.

Giving uses to brownfields; houses were provided to the ones needing it, thereby vulnerable inhabitants were protected from impacts of a renewed area. As people already had solved the provision of housing, local inhabitants weren’t threatened to be expelled by a new market.

Around 850 houses were modernized including citizen’s participation in planning. Apart from housing, public space was the flag project. Besides IBA projects planned for 2013, there is a garden show; a *public modern park praising society* of local inhabitants (IBA Hamburg 2012 p.159). Industrial infrastructure will be integrated creatively to public space. This comprehensive strategy is accompanied by programs encouraging arts and crafts of their population in partnership with privates, NGO’s and other institutes. The IBA also is accomplishing quality living standards according to current technologies and energy standards.

Source: IBA Hamburg 2012

9. Case study:

9.1 Spree area between Schillingbrücke and Michaelbrücke in Berlin: Spreefeld and Holzmarkt projects.

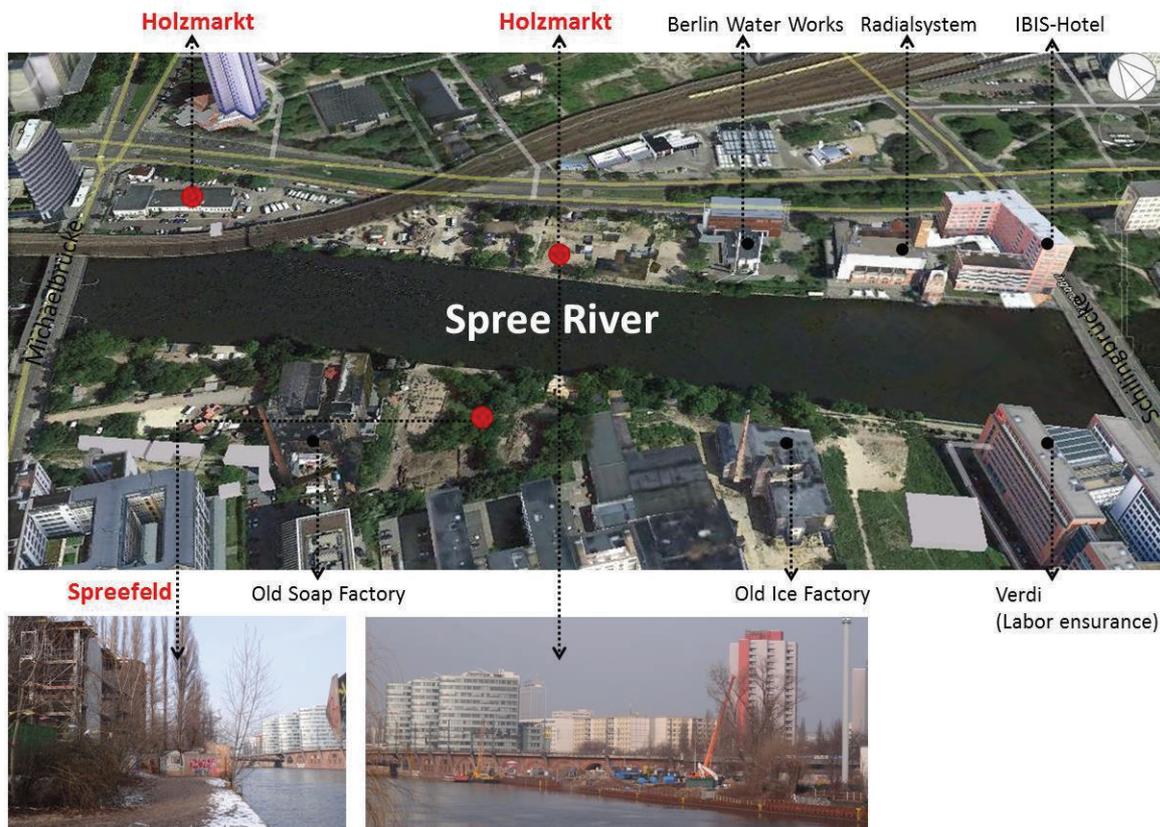
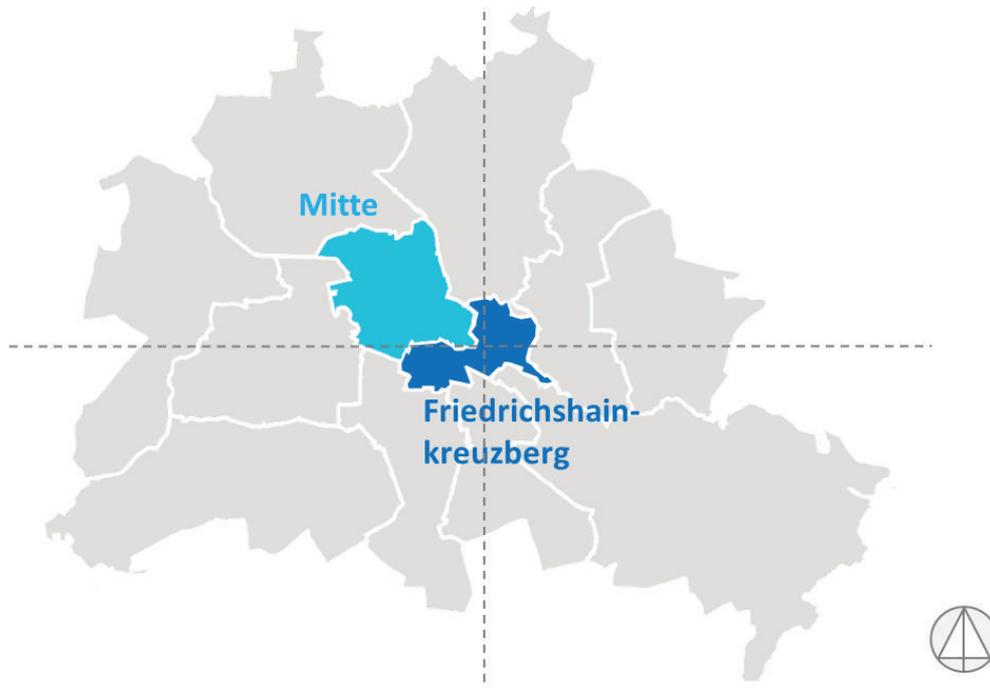


Image 1 Unit of analysis (close up).

Source: Map adapted from Google earth (2013).

Photographs Gaviria Gloria (2013) Spreefeld and Holzmarkt project, Berlin

Holzmarkt and Spreefeld projects are located in the inner-city of Berlin along the Spree area respectively in the districts of Friedrichshain- Kreuzberg and Mitte. The area will be delimited for research focus purposes, between the Michael Bridge “Michaelbrücke” and the Schilling Bridge “Schillingbrücke” (image 1). However, it will be included the closer context of the Spree area comprising along the Spree urban waterfront between the “Janowitz” and “Elsen” bridges (map 2).



Map 1 Districts location of the unit of analysis

Source: Adapted from IBB 2012

The case study will be based on the urban development process that preceded two different projects. Both are in an initial stage and despite of not being fully implemented, their particular features and concepts are clearly identifiable, enabling an analysis around them.

The reasons behind the realization of these projects can be useful for further analysis of similar cases and to contribute to the current related debate in the city. Nevertheless it would be necessary to develop a further study in a more advanced stage, to find their implementation impacts in the Spree area's setting.

Here will be presented how both projects have been conceived and their objectives. Moreover expectations and inputs of different actors involved in the area and in Berlin's urban development are going to be exposed, guiding the research through finding the real character of these proposals; either as alternative planning approach, or as a continuation of traditional development in carried out in the Spree area.

For the aim of this research is necessary to clarify at this stage that mixed-used housing developments described in the title, are pointing to identifying the character of both projects developed; but it is not intended to focus a specific land use as main part of this research. Also mixed-uses are not pointed to argue inclusive developments; it is clear that land uses can give certain character to the area as well as bringing positive repercussions; but uses will not be identified in this research as an inclusion guarantee. When referring about realizing "inclusive mixed use housing

projects” is because these two projects are mixed-use housing forms considered more inclusive as a whole.

The following cases will be first contextualized in Berlin. Then as each of them belongs to a different district, an overview of both settings is going to be exposed. Urban development programs taking place in the Spree area like the SG and SUMW (see map 2.) are going to be explored as part of the case studies, as well as analysed according to the input received by both offices. This will be followed by the specific two projects taking place currently in the area of study.



Map 2 Unit of analysis and sub units.
 Source: Own, modified from goggle maps.

Berlin:

Berlin is a city and at the same time one of the 16 states of the Federal Republic of Germany.

In 1991 after the Reunification, Berlin was declared by the German Parliament the capital of the country. At that time, it was divided administratively in twenty three districts until 2001, when in The Districts’ Reform, they were reduced to twelve (Berlin.de 2013). Berlin’s districts have own administrative bodies, responsible of local politic- and administrative tasks which are the District’s Office, composed by its major and four City Councils and the District Assembly.



Map 3 Berlin's administrative division

Source: SenStadtUm 2012i.

Berlin is governed by the major and the Senate. The Senate of Berlin is composed by the governing major as chairman and the senators. On the other side, Berliners elect by vote every 5 years their City Council. It is constituted by 141 members and has as main functions to give the legislation, to elect the major and the Senate and to control government's execution.

Berlin has eight Senate Departments (SV); among them is the one responsible for Urban Development and the Environment which like rest of the SV, is directed independently and by its senator's own responsibility (SenStadtUm 2012b).

Migrations from East to West Europe, after the iron curtain's fall in the late eighties, represented an increase in Berlin's population up to 3475 million inhabitants until 1993; contrary to the forecasted growth after Reunification times, when Berlin had 3.433 million inhabitants and population was expected to increase between 800 thousand and 1.6 million inhabitants until 2010 (Bodenschatz 2005). Urban development policies of the early nineties promoting housing in Berlin's hinterland weakened this growing trend. Berlin lost inhabitants mostly in the second half of the nineties, reaching its minimum in the year 2000 with 3,382 million inhabitants (SenStadtUm 2012j).

Berlin's relevant statistics

According to the 2012 report of The Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), Berlin had in 2011 the highest population's size of German cities with around 3.5 million inhabitants in an area of 887.7 square kilometers (km²), after Hamburg with around 1.8 million inhabitants in 755.16 km². The total population's size of Germany in the same year was of 81.8 million inhabitants within an area of 357.121 square km² (Destatis 2012).

Since 2004 Berlin's population has a growing trend, in the end of 2012 there were around 3.513 million inhabitants and is forecasted to continue rising until 2030, between 90 and 400 thousand inhabitants (SenstadtUm 2012h).

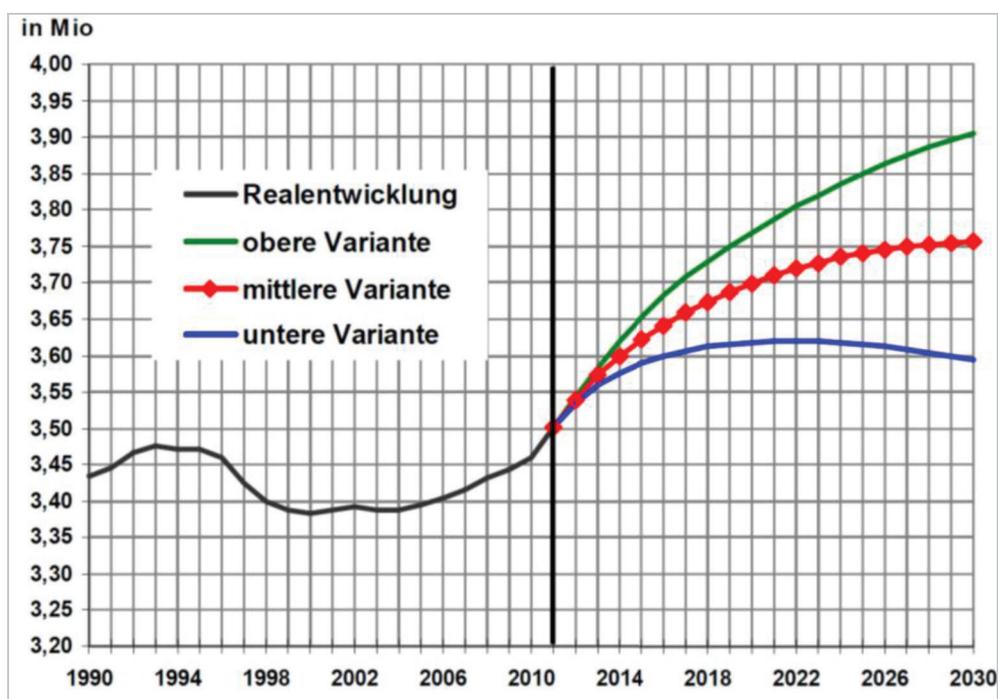


Figure 3 Berlin's population development 1991-2030

Source: SenStadtUm 2012h

Although Berlin continues being the city with the highest unemployment rate of Germany, this trend has been decreasing since 2005 and is expected to continue that way in the following years (DIW 2011).

The positive development of the economy is reflected in the services sector, but also in the construction industry in which has a clear increase in its added value since 2008; between 2009 and 2010 it presented a growth rate of 4,2% (IBB 2011).

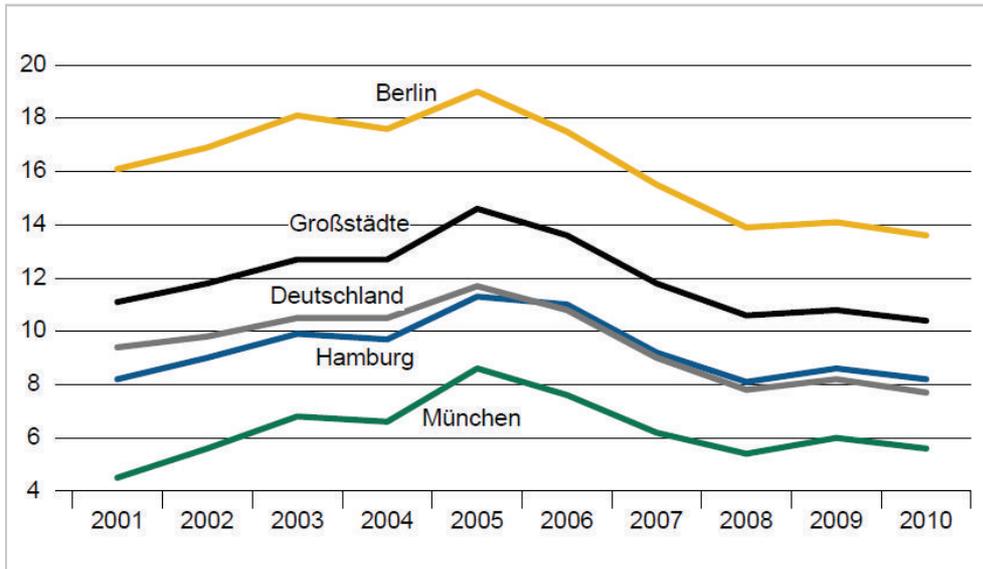


Figure 4 Unemployment rate Berlin 2000-2010 (percentage)
 Source: DIW 2012

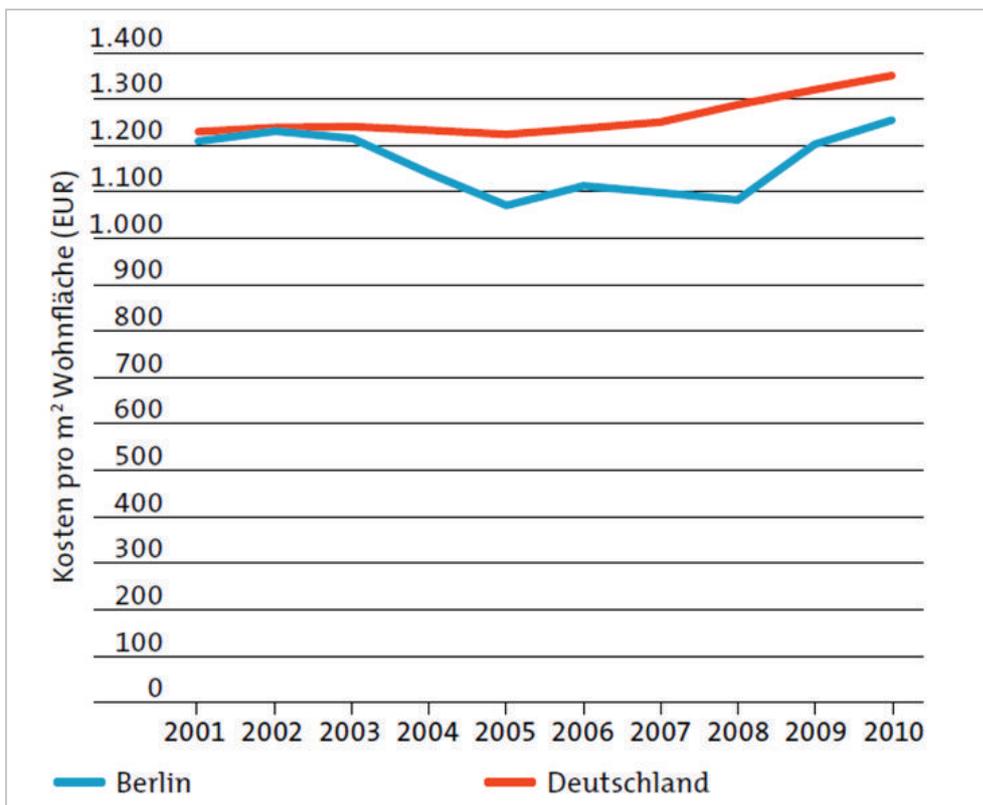


Figure 5 Calculated cost per m² of housing area (new building) in Euro in Berlin and Germany 2001-2010
 Source: IBB 2011

Consequently with the population growth, mostly due to external migration (around 96.800 people has moved to Berlin between 2001 and 2010), the number of households have been increasing, thereby the housing demand (IBB 2011).

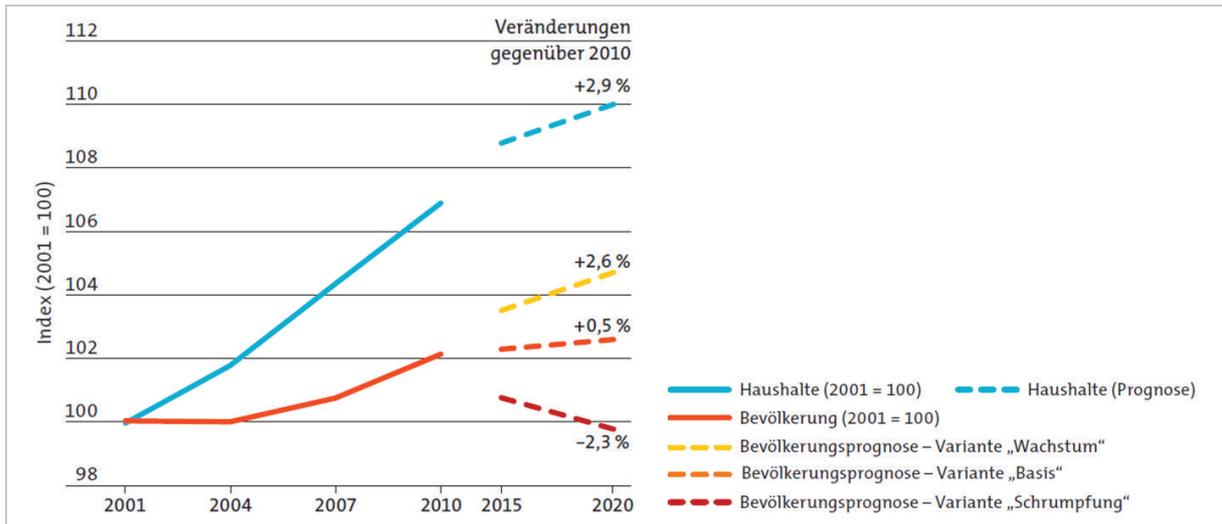


Figure 6 Development of households and Berlin inhabitants until 2010 and forecast until 2020.
Source: IBB 2011

Around 36800 new houses have been built in Berlin in the last 10 years, built in Berlin around 36800 housing units of residential and non-residential building, apart from the negative development of the last 10 years, between 2009 and 2010 the number of new housing units increased in 700 units (IBB 2011).

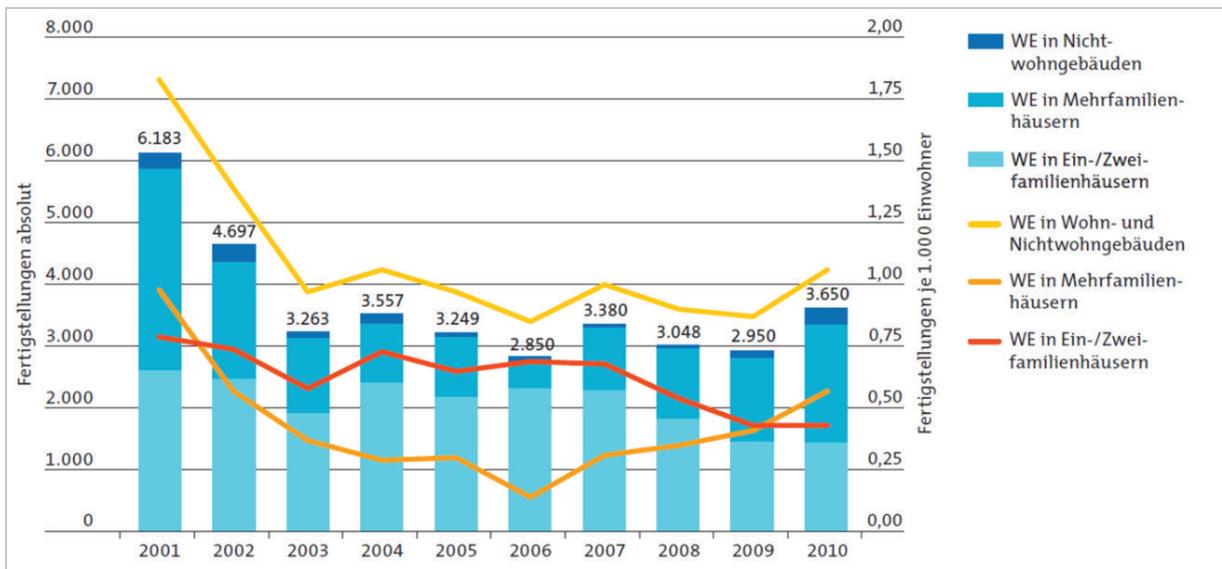


Figure 7 New built houses (residential and non-residential building) in total and per 1000 inhabitants in Berlin 2001 until 2010.
Source: IBB 2011

As it is well known Berlin is a city of renters, 85,8 % of the housing stock is rented and 14,2% is of self-used ownership. Of this stock, 16% are possessed by state-owned housing enterprises, 12% by cooperatives and 72% by private owners (figure 8) (IBB 2011).

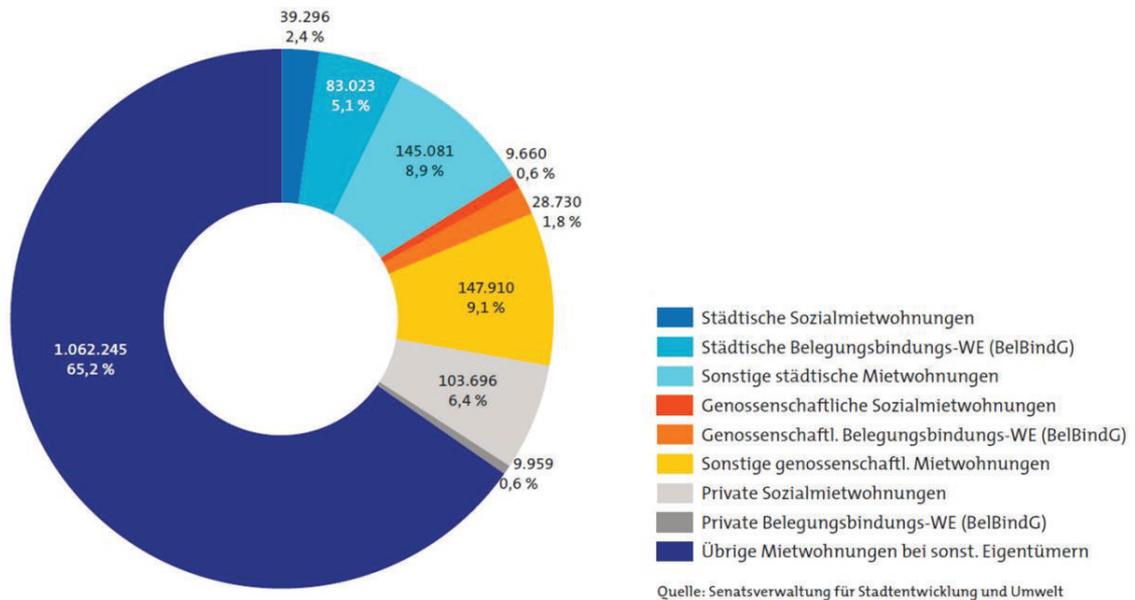


Figure 8 Rented housing according to ownership group and type of housing connection in Berlin 2010
Source: IBB 2011.

With regards to development of housing ownership prices; those decreased between the end of 2004 and 2006, while in the end of the same year began to increase until 2011 (figure 9).

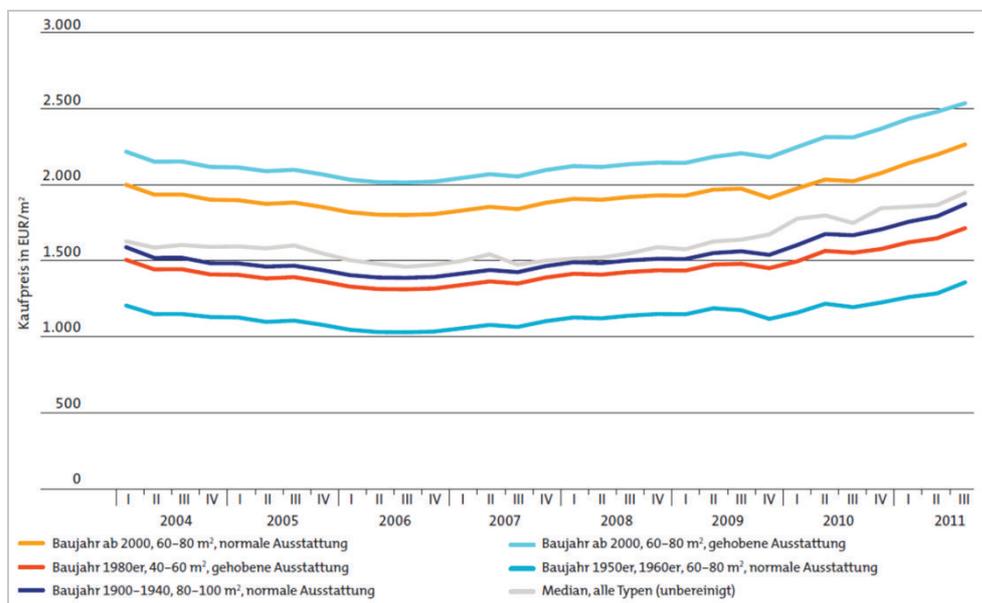


Figure 9 Supply purchase's price development (in EUR/m²) for houses in Berlin 2004 until 2011
Source: IBB 2011

In the rental market, since the beginning of 2010 until the end of the third quarter of 2011, around 199.300 units were offered in the whole city. Since 2007 rent prices have been increasing, the year with the highest increase was 2010 with an 8.4% while in 2011 it was of 5.1%. Prices of rents increase according to the housing purchase's prices, with a delay of app. two years (see figure 10).

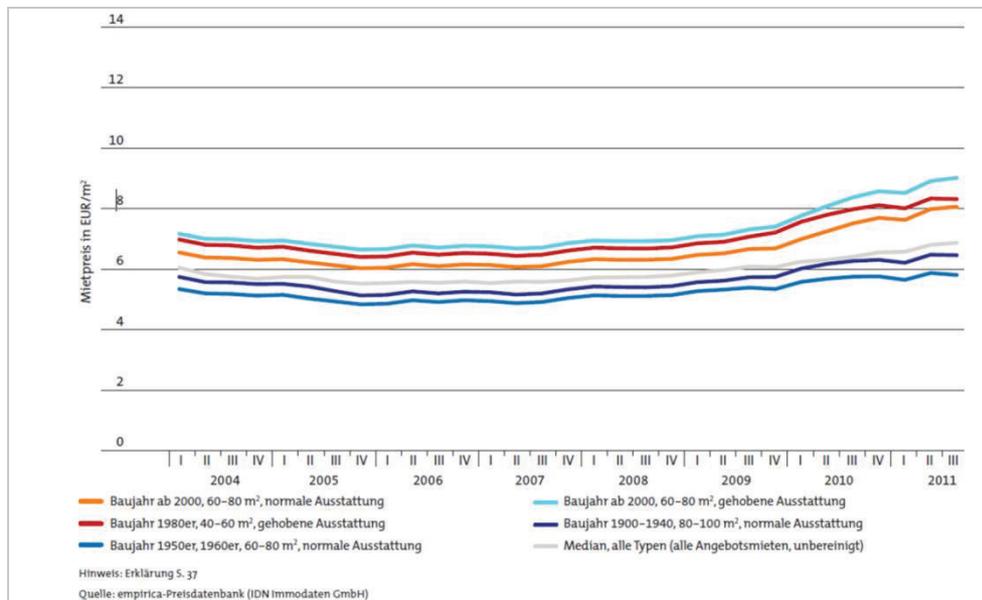


Figure 10 Development of rental supply (in EUR/m²) for houses in Berlin 2004 until 2011

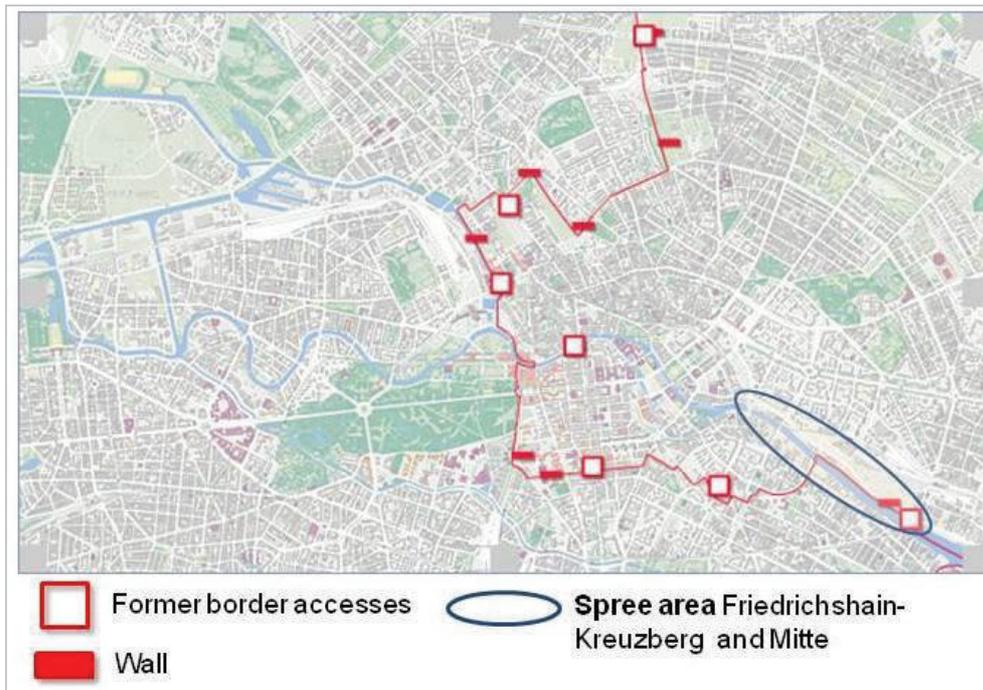
Source: IBB 2011

Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg:

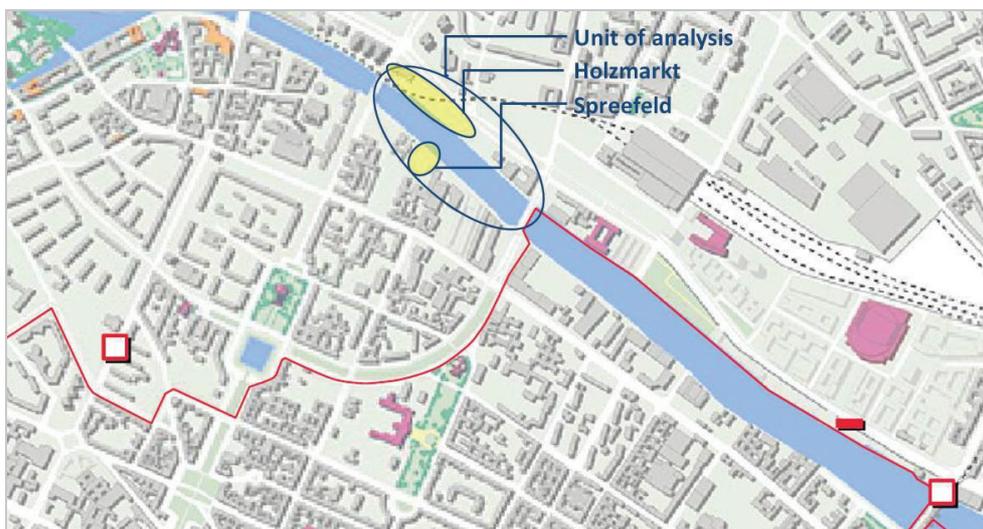
The inner-city district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, bordering on the east side the historic center of Berlin, is the smallest district in Berlin with an area of 20 square kilometers. It is divided physically by the Spree River, the longest river in Berlin, crossing the city along 45.1 kilometers (km) from the south- east to the west until flowing into the Havel River (map 4) (ASB-B 2012).

The physical division made by the Spree, formerly separated the two districts of Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg which in DDR times belonged to East and West Germany respectively. The Wall was built in this area along the Friedrichshain Spree side, in the track between the Schillingbrücke and the Oberbaumbrücke, having the latter one of the Wall crossing points (map 5) (Berlin.de 2012).

Despite of the district's fusion, is usual to continue differentiating Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg when referring to each spatial part of the district, apart from history; due to the river's physical division.



Map 4 Previous location of Berlin's Wall inner-city
 Source: Adapted from SenStadtUm 2013c.



Map 5 Unit of analysis and previous location of Berlin's Wall
 Source: Adapted from SenStadtUm 2013c.

In the 2012 Report of the Statistical Office for Berlin-Brandenburg “Die kleine Berlin-Statistik”, Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg had 274.500 inhabitants, it was reported to be the densest district in terms of population with 135 inhabitants per hectare (ha.), while Berlin has 39,3 inhabitants per ha.

The district has different issues such as a high unemployment rate and a low monthly average net household's income. In 2010 Berlin's unemployment rate was of 13,3% while the one in Friedrichshain- Kreuzberg was of 15, 1%, exceeding more than double of Germany which had 7,1% (Regionaler Sozialbericht Berlin and Brandenburg 2011). Neukölln's district has the lowest monthly net average household's income in Berlin with 1350 Euro while Friedrichshain- Kreuzberg's is the second lowest with an average of 1400 Euro monthly (ASBB 2012).

This district is characterized for having one of the highest share of foreign population in Berlin, along with its neighbouring inner-city district Mitte with 27,9% of foreigners and the also bordering district Neukölln with 22,1%; it has 21,4% of people coming from other countries, Berlin 14,1%(ASB-B 2012).

The district of Mitte:



Map 6 District of Mitte

Source: IBB 2011

In this district are located the Federal Government and Parliament, it has also most of the administrative offices of the state of Berlin and great part of the historical centre. Therefore Mitte is characterized for being along with Charlottenburg and Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg the most touristic district in the last years (ASB-B 2012).

The district was conformed in the District Reform of 2001 with the union of the old Mitte, Tiergarten and Wedding (Berlin.de 2012).

After Kreuzberg, it's the smallest district in Berlin in area; but as it is in the heart of Berlin, hosts in 39 km² a population size of 340.000 inhabitants, representing a density is of 86.1 inhabitants per ha (ASB-B 2011).

The district possess one of the highest unemployment rate in Berlin, after Neukölln with 18.7 %, the rate is of 18.3 and has the highest share of foreign population in the city (ASB-B 2011, ASBB 2012).

The district of Mitte is also crossed by the Spree River from east to west and borders east with the district of Friedrichshain- Kreuzberg where one of the projects is located.

10. Planning in Berlin: an integrated system of formal and informal planning tools

Berlin has an integrated system of formal and informal planning instruments within the competence of different governance levels.

Common plans for areas concerning both states Brandenburg and Berlin are developed since the early nineties and persist in regional plans granting Berlin's integration in this level. While a complete set of planning instruments within Berlin's urban development framework are structured allowing rethinking and keeping updated Berlin's development according to the necessities and challenges of its population. In this segment, some of the most relevant planning instruments of Berlin are going to be explored to understand how they can influence and be implemented in planning and for urban development.

Land Use Plan Berlin „Flächenutzungsplan“ (FNP)

After decades of developing two separate planning concepts, it was resolved by the City Council (Abgeordnetehaus) in 1994 the first Land Use Plan (FNP) for a reunified Berlin (SenStadtUm 2012e).

The FNP is a legal planning instrument for the whole city of Berlin "*part of a differentiated and tiered system of formal and informal spatial planning*", whose relevant function is to guide, coordinate and integrate other spatial planning components in the city (SenStadtUm 2012c, pp. 29).

As Berlin's preliminary Urban Land Use Plan, it encompasses guidelines based on forecasted needs of the population and on long term urban development goals, thereby establishing a planning framework for further planning realizations (SenStadtUm 2012e).

Representations of the FNP, such as the zoning map and texts provide a wide range of information about type and extent of building uses, spatial character of city areas and other legal resolutions concerning spatial development (SenStadtUm 2012 e).

Apart from fulfilling local planning needs, the FNP also sets the standards for the regional level in the context of Berlin-Brandenburg (capital –region). It takes the function of a regional plan through representations of land uses larger than 3 ha, relevant within this scope. Currently, the FNP takes into account concerning regional planning, city centres, highways and main roads, train areas and harbours (SenStadtUm 2012c, SenStadtUm 2012 e).

Changes in the FNP demand by the German Building Code (BauGB) a procedure involving in the preliminary two stages citizens and government authorities for opinions and proposals, followed by the senate’s final resolution, supervised and in agreement with the City Council and finally its public announcement. Until an official report of February 2012, the FNP has been changed in total 175 times (SenStadtUm 2012c, SenStadtUm 2012 e).

A report of the FNP is done every legislation period in connection with the respective plan drawing reprints. After the first publication in 1994, there have been three more (1998, 2004 and 2009) containing effective changes of the FNP within each period. The last publication of 2009 is accompanied by its respective “change sheets” updated with effective changes (SenStadtUm 2012c).

Local Development Plans (B-Pläne) “Bebauungspläne”

A Local Development Plan (B-Pläne) is a legally binding Urban Land Use Plan based on the zoning of the FNP, establishing regulations regarding land uses concerning its respective coverage area, in accordance with the German Building Code (BauGB).

B-Pläne are regularly carried out by the Districts, thereby determining their planning field of action in the city. In this planning level, regulations for plots are defined in a more detailed scope. LDP are legally binding within the city Administration and different to the FNP, they also can affect legally citizens (SenStadtUm 2012e, SenStadtUm 2012c)

Likewise in the setting up of a B-Plan it is possible to change a B-Plan, only when is it is necessary to fulfil city development goals; but basically it should be done before the FNP is set. This process is also carried out by the district but it can be managed by the SenStadtUm in special cases concerning areas of “outstanding political significance”, if the nation requires it, or if the general interest is affected (StadtUm 2013b).

Informal planning instruments: a flexible approach

Within Berlin's planning system informal planning instruments define in a more detailed way, depending on the case, certain parts of the city embracing the city as a whole, or particular areas. They are called informal because they are not bound to legal procedures, this means they can be continuously adapted, granting planning flexibility in the city and sometimes triggering other planning processes. These plans are usually worked before changes or adjustments of the FNP, but essentially they have to be built on its planning framework and development goals. Therefore they represent the FNP's real implementation and completion (SenStadtUm 2012c).

Urban Development Plans „Stadtentwicklungspläne“ (StEP)

Urban development plans (StEP) are part of the informal set of planning instruments which in spite of their advisory character, are anchored to the Building Code's Execution Law (BauGB) wherein is contained their definition, scope and related competent offices (SenStadtUm 2012e).

According to the BauGB, StEP are elaborated for the city-wide spatial development approaching different subject areas like living, commerce, public facilities, transport, free areas, design and environment protection. Each subject of work defines objectives and development guidelines, moreover represents spatially action types and areas and chronological steps according to its priorities.

Work Plans “Planwerke”:

Work Plans (PW) have similarities to StEP in the sense of being informal instruments of Berlin's planning system worked in a city-wide scope and for contributing in creating a base for further development keeping up to date the FNP. But in the case of PW, they are focused on specific spatial sectors of the city considered of “*high dynamic change*” and of potential significance (SenStadtUm 2012c, SenStadtUm 2012 e).

Each of them with a different content, tackle its respective sector of concern in relation to what exists and city development goals; until establishing a comprehensive mid until long term viewpoints with objectives and visual representations (SenStadtUm 2012 e).

According to development requirements of each particular sector, like investment projects or redevelopment requirements, is possible to go deep into a more detailed planning with the “*Concepts*”. Along with other partial space planning strategies,

Concepts, like *Master plans*, *Guidelines* and *Models*, are ought to be managed when necessary, within the respective Work Plan (SenStadtUm 2012 c).

Despite developing PW doesn't require formal procedures, their production implies extensive public participation processes such as conferences, workshops and forums, were a wide range of actors from the politic, city administration, investors and from the public involved in planning, can help to find the best approaches for the areas (SenStadtUm2012c).

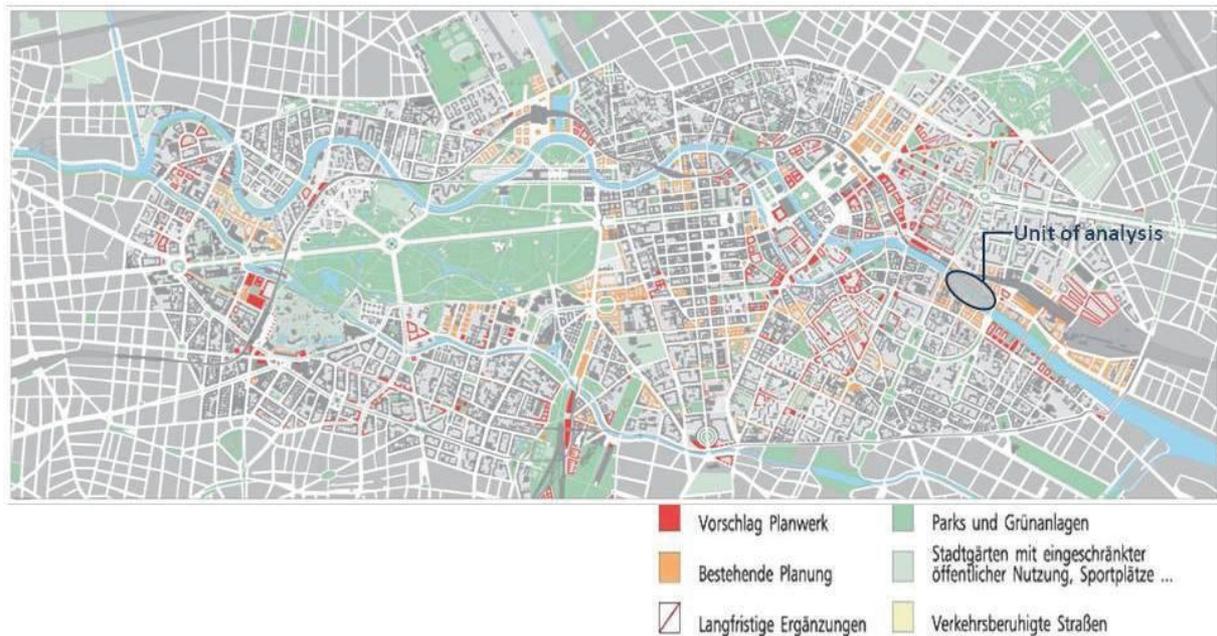
So far there have been published five Work Plans; with considerations to the Spree area are the Inner-city work plan "Planwerk Innenstadt" Berlin (PWI) in 1999 and its extension and completion, the Interior City Work Plan (PWIS) "Planwerk Innere Stadt" in 2010/11 (SenStadtUm2012f).

Although the (PWI) dates from long ago; as it was explained before, these plans represent development goals of the city at that time, as well as their faced challenges. Following is a brief content of these two work plans, both were directly related to Berlins inner- city development, until the present days. Furthermore relevant Models and Concepts developed as part of this work plans are directed to the Spree area also going to be briefly studied.

The Inner-city Work Plan 1999 "Planwerk Innestadt" (PWI):

After the post reunification period with forecasts and planning strategies addressing growth for Berlin but evolving in an unfavourable economic setting, requiring more accordingly to tackle the urban development challenges after the early nineties "euphoria", the "Inner-city Work Plan" (PWI) was prepared and introduced in 1996 by state's secretary incharge in that period. After 3 years of discussion between citizens, planners, City Administrations, representatives of stakeholders and the City council, the PWI was resolved by the Urban Development and Environment Senate in 1999 (Bodenschatz 2005).

The plan continued with the focus on the city centre, this time thinking about recovering and integrating it after decades of division and also aimed to revitalize former wall areas (SenStadt 2001b). The PWI's development strategy envisaged the "compact city" and the well- known "critical reconstruction" of the International Bauausstellung (IBA) in the eighties. The first slogan showed the concentration of the plan in the centre for a sustainable development and the second, the disposition towards experimenting urban development solutions, to address changes in Berlin after the reunification (SenStadtUm 2012f).



Map 7 PWI

Source: Modified from SenStadtUm 2012d

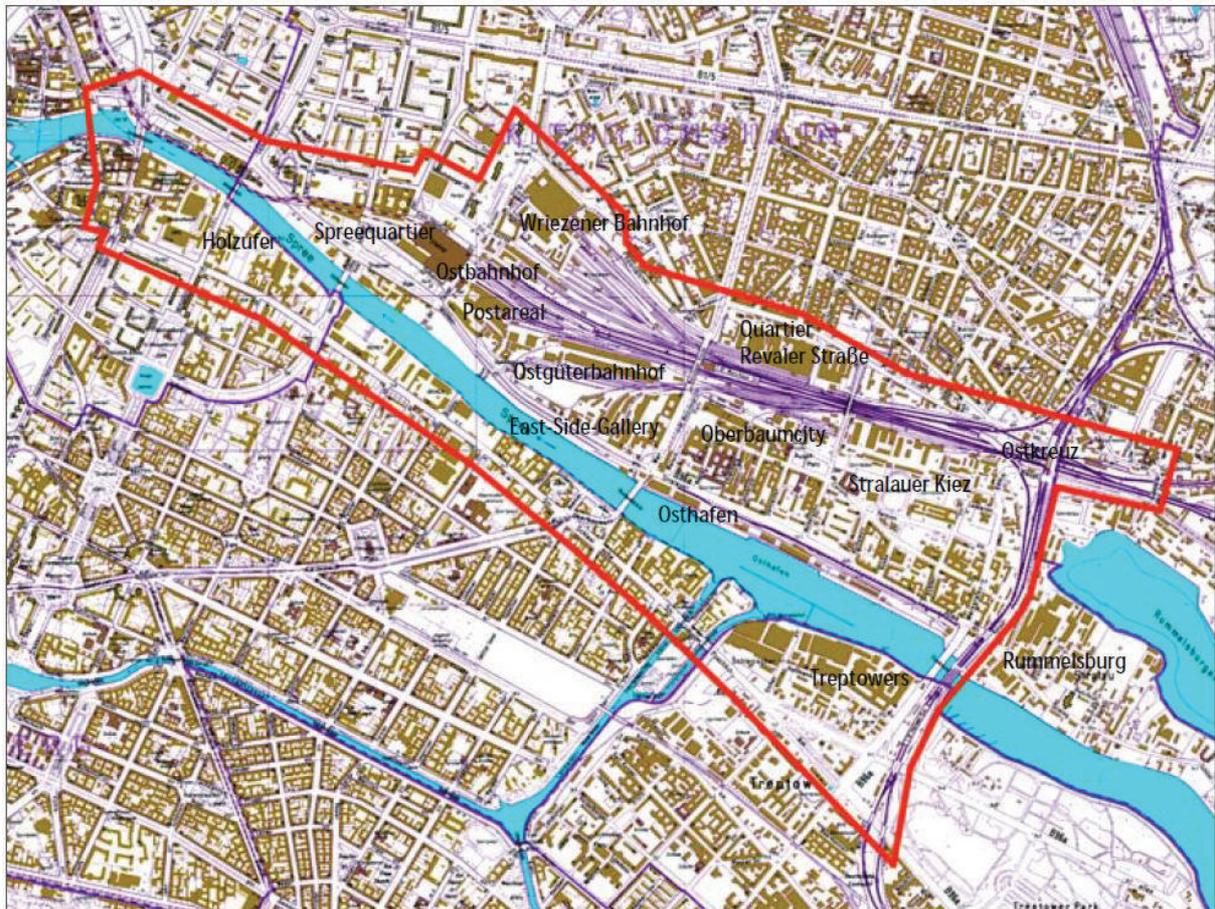
Although the PWI considered various elements which are up to date with current development tendencies such as the re-densification of the inner-city, empowerment of mixed-uses and the relation of life, working and living, as well as other priorities concerning Berlin's particular situation after war and division times; experts mention critically about its lack of spatial coverage of some inner-city areas and about its pretentious development scope similar to the one in the early nineties, in contrast with Berlin's financial and social situation in the time of the work plan (Bodenschatz 2005, p.204, Hofmann et al 2011, pp. 14-17).

Models and Concepts of the Spree area Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg 2001:

The PWI of 1999 didn't manage the Spree area of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg as one relevant development area, but later in December 2001 was presented an update of this plan in "Models and Concepts of the Spree area Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg" ("Spreerraum Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Leitbilder und Konzepte") where is clearly recognized the importance of this area for inner-city development.

The Spree area was targeted by the Urban Development Senate's Administration of Berlin, as potentially adequate for international enterprises of communications, media and design to invest and settle with their main headquarters (SenStadt 2001b). Therefore development strategies like the "Spree Media" took place, in which private investors, owners of land and representatives of the senate, the district and of the Industry and commerce chamber of Berlin merged with the goal of

commercializing the Spree Area in Friedrichshain Kreuzberg between the “Jannowitz Bridge” and the “Elsen Bridge” (SenStadt 2001b).



Map 8 Planning area Models and Concepts of the Spree area Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg
Source: SenStadt 2001b

Planning strategies for the Spree area: Marketing the Spree with “Spree Media”.

This fusion of different stakeholders began in 2001 as “Spree Media Ltd” (Mediaspree GmbH) and was financially supported by the public sector from 2004 as “Spree Media Regional Management Registered Association” (Regionalmanagement Mediaspree e.V.) until 2008, when this sort of Public-Private Partnership (PPP) was dissolved (SenStadtUm 2012a, p. 259 d).

After the reunification, in later called “Spree Area” projects of urban renewal took place, most of them commercial and office’s high-rise buildings like the Treptowers (1998), the Twin Towers (1997), the Trias (1996) and the Jannowitz Center (1997). Later between 2002 and 2004 within the Media Spree framework, i.e. with financial

support from the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district, enterprises like Universal Music and MTV moved their offices to this area (Hoffmann 2011, SenStadtUm 2012e, p.260 d).

The realization of the O2 World International Arena until 2008 is the result of public politics for Spree Area at that time. Since the work plan of 2001 “Models and Concepts of the Spree area Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg”, this project was promoted as an investment booster for the area; furthermore, it was going establish the desired character and image of the Spree Area. One of the main arguments of the Spree Media in order to market projects like the O2 World was the generation of jobs (SenStadt 2001b, Mediaspree 2007).

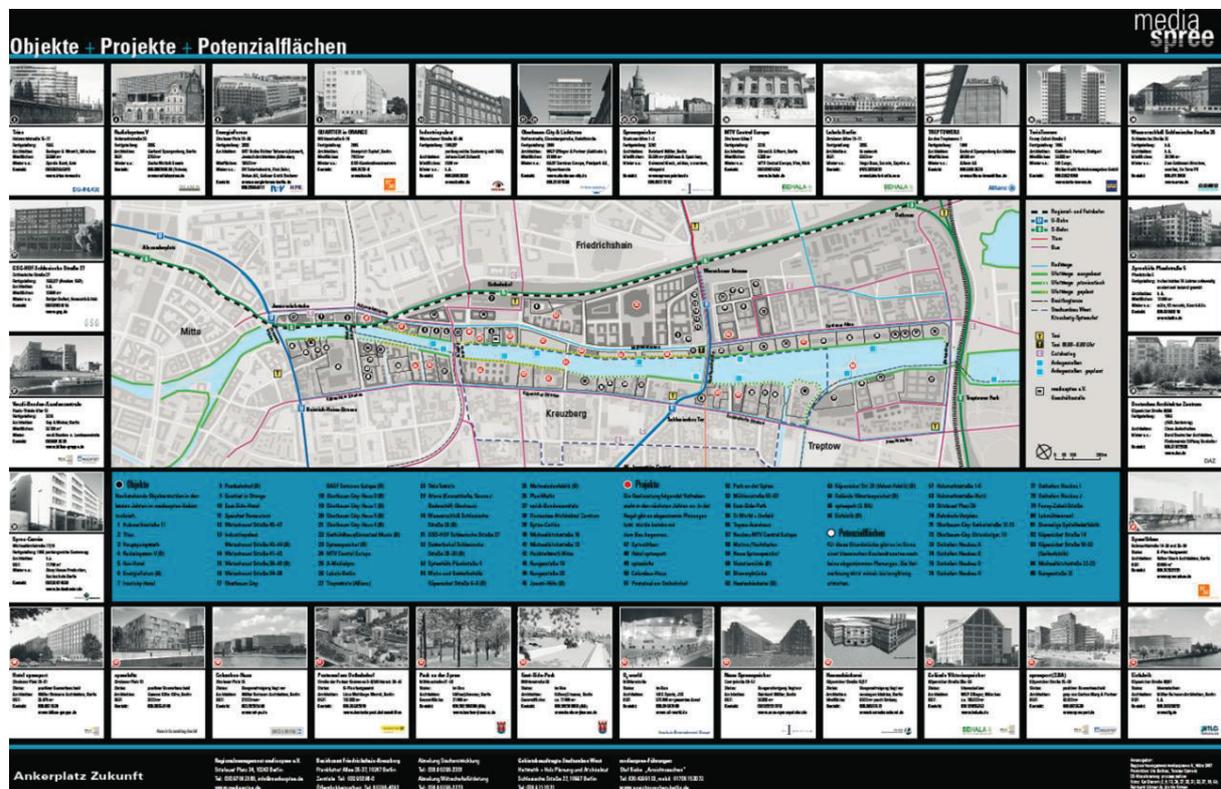


Image 2 Mediaspree
Source: Belkuis U. et al 2007

From Spree Media to “Mediaspree Versenken!”

Developments product of politics in the nineties generated controversy. Therefore citizen movements like “Mediaspree versenken!” (MSV) were founded in 2006, where people began to express collectively their inconformity with this development approach; the claim was for a “Spreeufer für alle!” which translates a Spree shore for everyone (SenStadtUm 2012a Handbuch, p.265). A Referendum took place in 2008 in the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, where around 30.000 people

supported an initiative's proposal of saving the Spree waterfront; along with specific requirements for urban development along the waterfront which included a riverside's corridor of 50 meters wide; to remove a regulation allowing buildings higher than 22 meters and the construction of a pedestrian bridge instead of one for vehicles (Initiativkreis MSV! 2009).

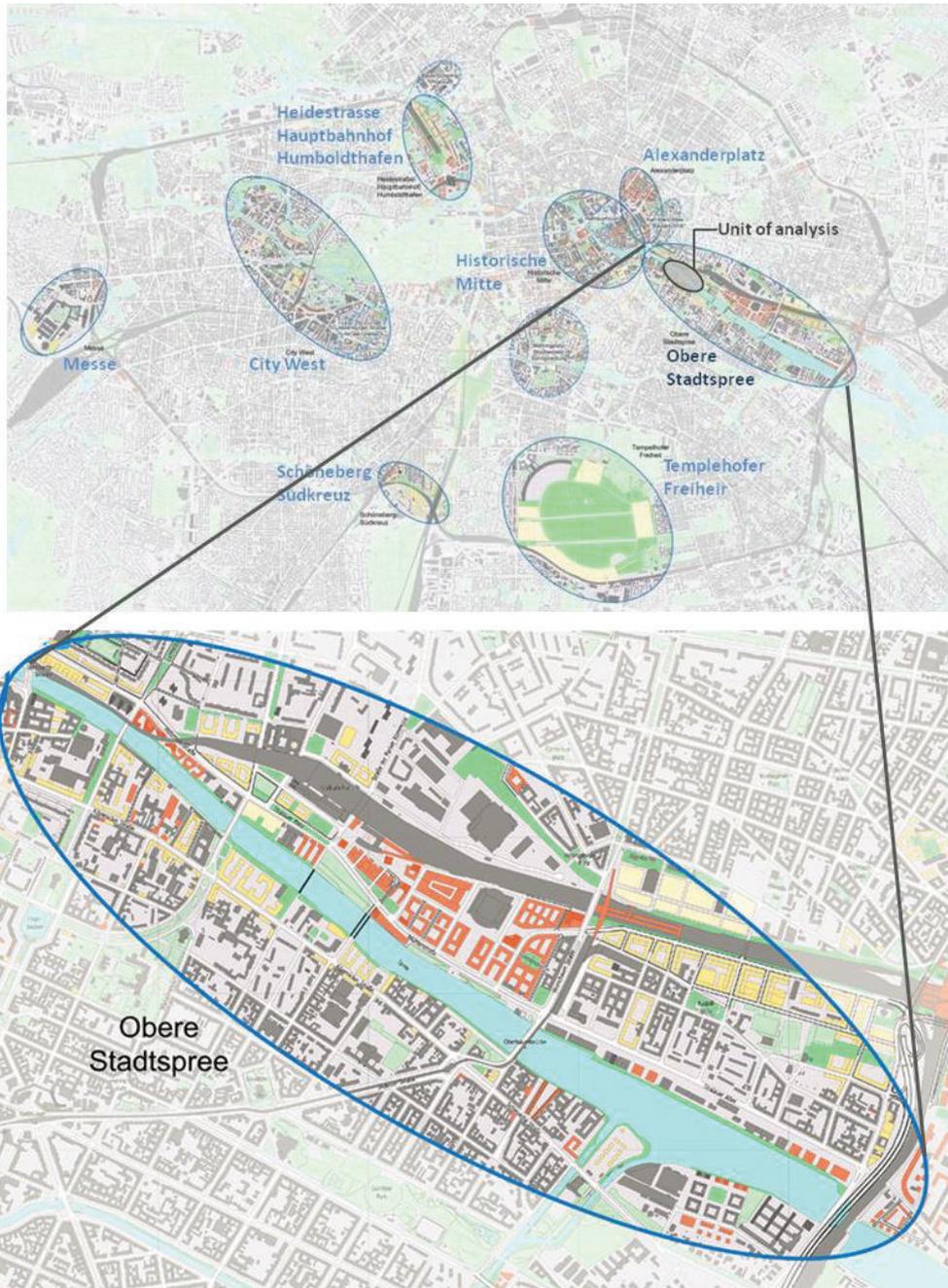
The initiative's demands resulted unfeasible, due to necessary changes in already established urban development plans; which would have led to unaffordable legal issues between the district and landowners. Therefore short after the Referendum a Special Committee of the District level was created composed by different representatives of the city of Berlin, politic parties and representatives of the movement, to examine and formalize petitions between the different stakeholders.

The district focused this work in the plots without valid construction rights or belonging to state-owned companies. The committee was dissolved in 2009, when after a long period of discussion and outcomes regarding the Spree Area's development a final report was submitted by the former district major, which didn't fulfil the initiative's expectations and demands. The citizen movement petitions remained as an advisement, however it set a precedent with regards to implementation of planning strategies and to participation in the local level (SenStadtUm 2012a Handbuch, pp.261-263, Initiativkreis MSV! 2009).

The shore path has been the main topic of this area for the citizen movement since 2006 as well as LFB policies because the aggressive spatial approach of closing access is attributed to big companies settled in the area preventing security issues (Interview Schroth 2012).

Updating the PWI: The Interior City Work Plan 2011 "Planwerk Innerstadt" (PWIS):

Despite the PWI's comprehensive approach, attempts of updating and fitting the work plan to the variable context of Berlin of the last three decades have been done by the SenStadtUm. From 2006 and until 2011 Berlin's Senate had a communication and participation process aiming to extend and complete the PWI; producing as result the "Interior City Work Plan" (PWIS), officially resolved in 2011 (Der Senat von Berlin 2011).



Map 9 PWIS

Source: Adapted from SenStadtUm 2012e

With the bases on the PWI, the PWIS continued with its already mentioned development features, as well as with the orientation towards the city center; this time including other spaces with significant development potentials. Spatially, the work plan is extended until the City Train (S-Bahn) ring surrounding the actual city center. Moreover spatial aspects the plan highlights the importance of including and working on special conditions of each neighborhood and establishes planning tools to develop this task (SenStadtUm 2012g).

Since 2001 there hasn't been officially a further development plan for the Spree Area; it is included in the PWIS in the Upper Spree City of 2010 (Obere Stadt Spree), but explicitly its development and discussion base still is the work plan "Models and Concepts of the Spree Area" of 2001 (SenStadtUm 2012g).

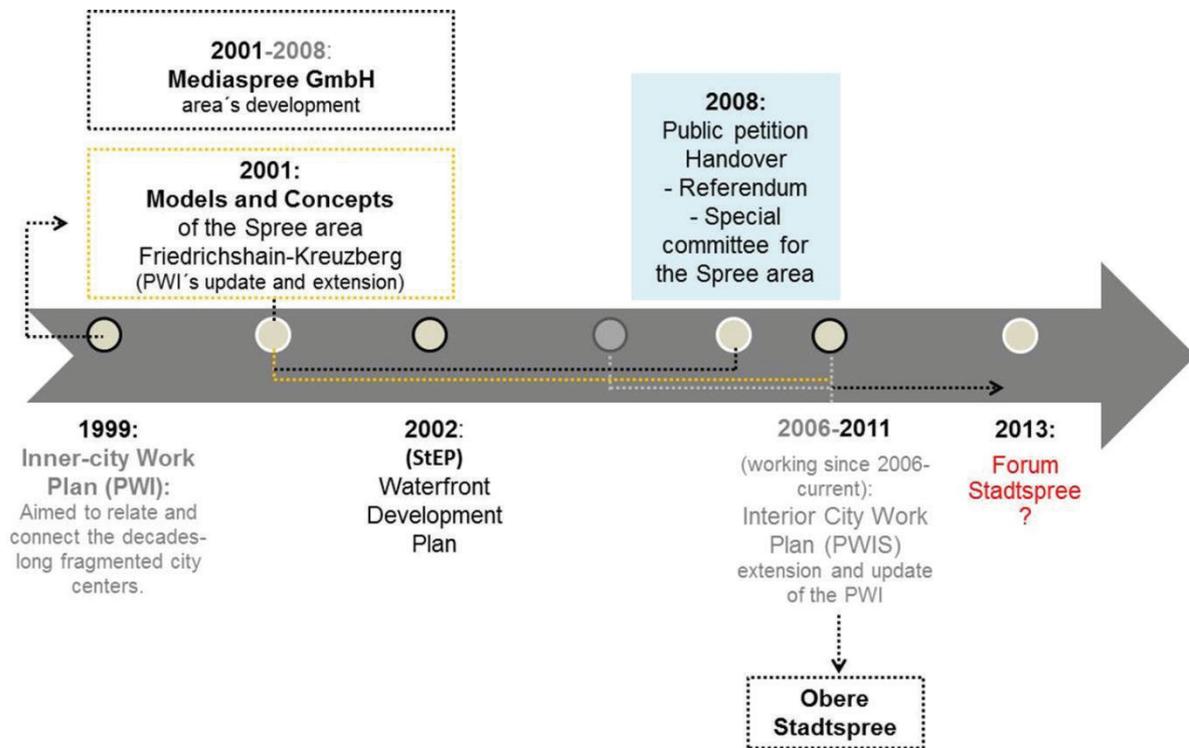


Figure 11 Planning summary related to the case study
Source: Own design

Urban renewal areas (SG) "Sanierungsgebiete"

Apart from the varied planning instruments in Berlin, the SenStadtUm carries out several other development programs that have to be considered within the planning framework. Urban renewal in Berlin is part of the Urban Construction Funding (Städtebauförderung) program, which receives funds from the Federal government, the State of Berlin and from the EU-Structural Fund among others. All related to urban renewal measures, procedures and participants is established in the German BauGB (BauGB 2004 section 136 Städtebauliche Sanierungsmaßnahmen).

For the purpose of this study, specifically for the case of the Spreefeld Project, it is necessary to review special conditions given by urban renewal measures covering the area where the projects are now being constructed. More regarding this specific program of urban renewal in the Northern Luisenstadt area is going to be presented later in the case study.

Urban Re-structuring East and West (SUmOW) “Stadtumbau Ost und West”

The SUmOW is supported financially by the federal government, the state of Berlin and co-financed by the European Union (EU); since 2007 the program is connected with the Future Initiative City Part (Zukunftsinitiative Stadtteil), in which the EU-Structural Fund contributes with fifty per cent of the costs and the other fifty per cent is shared between the Federal government and the State of Berlin, in one third and two thirds respectively (SenStadtUm 2012 i).

This program implemented at the local level, addresses a socially oriented integrative urban development and is focused on adjusting sectors of the city where changes in the population and in the economic structure are identified, thereby providing the required infrastructure to improve their conditions (SenStadtUm 2012 i). These areas are set by the city of Berlin, previously having worked out an urban development concept specifying goals and measures intended for the area.

Although this program concerns the European level, in the planning field, it doesn't affect directly the FNP because it's conceived within the framework of WP (SenStadtUm 2012 c).

Construction Lease (Erbbaurecht):

The building lease is an old legal right established in Germany in 1919 in the Building Lease Law (Erbbaurechtsgesetz - ErbbauRG). This law was addressed to the poor and aimed to promote housing construction, moreover sought to control land speculation (Trias 2007).

A building lease is the “alienable and heritable right” a landowner gives through notarial agreement to an entity of having “ground and property”. It is considered a temporary ownership (Trias 2007).

As part of this procedure that the plot's land register specifies a building lease has been given and the separate land register of the building which mainly constitutes the building lease. Conditions of negotiations are established in a lease contract wherein is defined time frame, usually within 99 years or less time; rent costs normally based on the value of the land; interests according to the property location and other more specific conditions and regulations regarding the agreement (Trias 2007).

It is commonly used by state institutions, churches, or non-profit organizations because in the end through the “reversion”, the property stays for the common, but it can be practiced by any private who owns land (Trias 2007).

This legal tool is now being implemented in the case study area and is seen by experts as one of the alternatives for land control in waterfront development.

11. Urban Re-structuring West (SUmW): Kreuzberg-Spree shore

The Program in the unit of analysis:

Apart from the SG's program taking place in the district of Mitte, the SUmW program is currently working on its adjacent area in the Kreuzberg side of the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg's district.

Despite of not being located between the Michaelbrücke and the Schillingsbrücke, the reason for including this program in the case study is due to the interest of its waterfront development approach and to determine the impact of its interventions in relation to other on-going development processes.

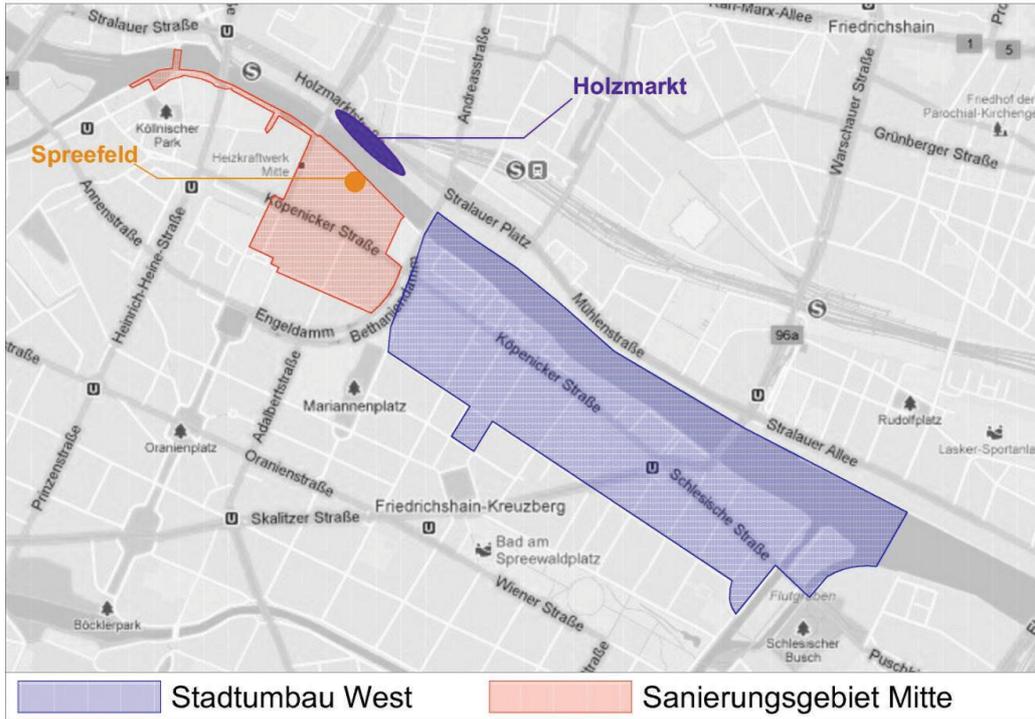
As it was explained before, planning tools in Berlin are formulated addressing the same urban development goal, therefore it is object of this study to analyse similarities as well as particular ways of meeting their objectives between both government programs carried out in the unit of analysis.

This analysis aims to ease the understanding of formal planning tools' implementation and at the same time seeks to manage the Spree area conceptually and spatially in a more comprehensive way.

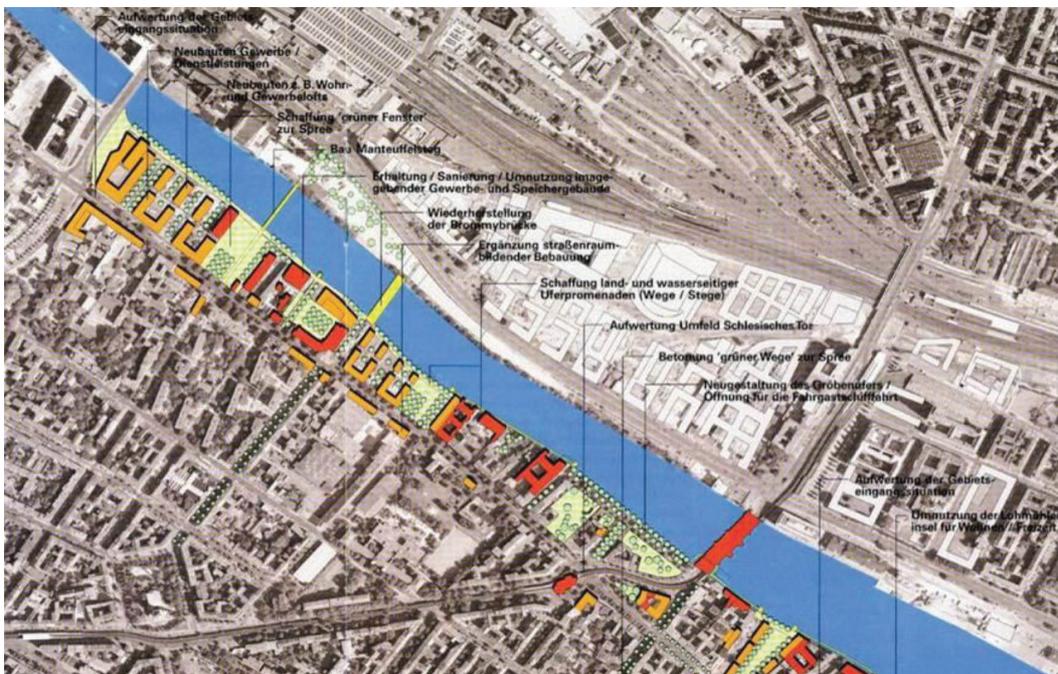
The Kreuzberg shore is one of the six work areas of the Urban Re-structuring West (SUmW- Stadtumbau West) funding program, encompassing an area of 100 ha and 9100 inhabitants. The senate found great potential in the waterfront for integration and development in the neighbourhood, therefore selected this area in 2005 (SenStadt 2008, SenStadtUm 2012c).

In this specific zone, the program has eight areas of work located in the northeast of Kreuzberg's side in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg's district. It contains the Spree waterfront from Treptow-Köpenick until the Schillingbrücke, spatially connecting with the area of the case studies in Mitte (SenStadtUm 2012 i).

Program goals in relation to the Spree waterfront are three; one is its urbanization along Kreuzberg, including the relocation of enterprises' facilities whether requiring great area for operation or lacking integration, taking advantage of future free waterfront areas, e.g. for mixed-use developments. Other, is to connect through a bridge and wooden bridges both Kreuzberg and Friedrichshain riversides and the last one is to grant continuity and access and to re-develop it with green areas (SenStadtUm 2012i).



Map 10 Urban Re-structuring West area
Source: Own based on Google maps.



Map 11 Urban Re-structuring West area
Source: SenStadtUm 2012i

Shore path

The program addresses and works on areas in the city since 2005, which couldn't emerge as consequence of being blocked areas in DDR times.

The ultimate goal of the SUMW, is to be able to open the whole Spree shore from Spandau along Mitte, Moabit included, until the Schillingbrücke, where there's already some mobility. Currently blocked tracks, are planned to be accessed through wooden bridges built over the water, adjacent to the existing buildings, thereby granting better conditions for the citizens, moreover gaining attractiveness for this area¹.

The shore path pilot project is intended from long ago, short after the reunification were developed plans like the Hemprich/Tophof pilot plan of 1993 focused on the Spree attributes and potentials considering among others, a free and 15mt wide shore path (SenStadt 2001b). But the program attributes obstacles in the process to own bureaucratic procedures. One example is that the Spree isn't a state's waterway but belongs to the Federal government; therefore it has to be worked with other levels of government to get permits for any intervention².

Private property negotiations in the area:

The purpose for the SUMW is to ensure future development of non-built up plots through B-Pläne along with the district, from the Köpenicker Street until the edge of the Spree River within their area of work. On the regular basis, B-pläne are set by the districts, but in this case as the SUMW program is being carried out in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, planning must be agreed between both the district and the development program.

In the SUMW area of work are also contained some areas under *Monument Protection* "Denkmalschutz"; another funding program taking place in the area created to preserve the cultural and historical tradition in the physical environment. As these buildings under monument protection are mostly owned by Private Investors (PI); part of the SUMW's work is to negotiate these areas individually with them or to achieve some arrangements regarding uses and activities in these properties in accordance with the program's objectives³.

This effort of creating a sort of Public Private Partnership (PPP) implies, to balance diverse interests in order to enhance the neighbourhood's quality. This incremental approach, similar to the one described by Lindblom in the definition of "muddling through", exemplifies when actions are directed to solve a specific issue; in this case, dealing with private property along or near the Spree urban waterfront (Lindblom 1973).

¹ Appendix 1.8. Interview Schammer 2012.

² See appendix 1.8.

³ See appendix 1.8.

One property owned from long ago by the state-owned company BEHALA (Berliner Hafen- und Lagerhausgesellschaft mbH); is being negotiated between the district and a PI. With regards to the plot's conditions, it is clear from now that the buyer will have to leave at least a 10m- wide shore path for the public. According to the SUmW program this is already ensured by the city with a "Pedestrian and Path Right"⁴.

Although the shore path's design and dimensions could be discussed always by citizens groups, ones more radical than others regarding measures; from this case is possible to remark the importance of the waterfront shore path for the program, moreover a waterfront development approach in which better spatial conditions like accessibility can be established since the beginning in non-built up areas or in state-owned properties.

Other intervention highlighted by the program within its area as an interesting approach, is one concerning a private company and its waterfront property. The company is planning to move out with the purpose of building in the plot. Plans are already presented by the company proposing open spaces, park facilities and the accessible river shore path. The proposal is currently being discussed in the district and represents another private initiative intending to give something back to the city in this privileged location⁵.

Conflicts between policies at the senate level:

Regarding the LFB (Property Fund of Berlin) and its policies for selling land to the "highest bidder" with the aim of more revenues for the city but without considering future uses or concepts; it was mentioned that this practice diminishes possibilities for fulfilling urban development goals. After sold, these properties can only be ensured through B-pläne according to the degree of agreements achieved with PI. Furthermore as the program's interventions are evidently upgrading the Spree area of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg; it is highlighted that PI buy these plots aware of their on-going appreciation. In this way, PI ensure a profit with the acquisition of the so desired waterfront properties, while taking advantage of possible high densities offered by the district⁶.

Nevertheless, this situation has slightly changed according to the program; also from the senate's side along with sharp discussions about mixed forms, favourable prices

⁴ Appendix 1.8. Interview Schammer 2012

⁵ See appendix 1.8.

⁶ See appendix 1.8.

and topics like how to avoid expulsion effects like the so mentioned gentrification; or in which ways could be preserved the neighbourhood mix⁷. Currently this is a relevant matter within the senate wherein negotiations are being conducted with the Senate for Finances (SF). In this respect, one of the actual measures achieved is the instruction given by the SF to the LFB, in which available plots managed by the latter have to be available for alternative housing projects and concepts, instead of going through the traditional procedure of putting them for sale to the “highest bidding price” (SenStadtUm 2012k).

Although this change in policies is not directly related to the program but to the current need for affordable housing in Berlin, it is mentioned that this approach could have influenced the criteria for selling the Holzmarkt property. In the actual case it didn't happen, because the agreement between the senates was done after the property was already purchased (SenStadtUm 2012k).

Participation in planning, how far can it go?

Regarding participation for concrete planned projects of the program, participation and agreements with inhabitants are currently being carried out in the district level wherein inhabitants have the possibility to shape projects and concepts. Nevertheless, it is emphasized that a district committee has existed from 30 years ago since renewal times and interventions carried out within the IBA (International Construction Exhibition) framework in Kreuzberg. Therefore, it is seen as a traditional practice in this part of Berlin, protests and participation of inhabitants in urban development processes (SenStadtUm 2010, interview Schammer 2012).

In the more recent case of the MSV citizen movement, agreements were attained with the district to define which plots should be developed, how and which of them should be put on the market, or where changes could be made. In this process, some of the B-plan procedures were object of drastic changes wherein already planned high-rise buildings had to be rethought. But this approach resulted conflicting at the same time, because under these changes PI's properties lost value, thereby earnings initially calculated by investors⁸.

Arranging a B-Plan for a property requires first its definition and then a contract is done in the respective government level. The difficulty demanded by procedural changes involving a B-plan lies on the type of pacts made, which determine its legal base. When a B-plan procedure is already established with commitment allowing a

⁷ Appendix 1.8. Interview Schammer 2012.

⁸ See Appendix 1.8

preliminary construction request, already signed with seal; then is just possible to go back with the district or senate's help. In this stage, the investor has the right to pass the bill with its losses to the city and that is something the SF would not consent; that was also discussed with the MSV. When procedures are not in an advanced stage, it is possible to "tilt" projects and concepts can be proposed as well as new inputs; otherwise neither the district, the senate or own initiatives can have access to changes⁹.

This exemplifies how changes in privately owned waterfront properties are subject to the extent of planning and contract processes agreed with PI; but it also evidences how citizen movements like the MSV had a direct impact in legal planning instruments like the B-Pläne. It is also important to notice that issues concerning waterfront development in this setting imply dealing with both legal conditions of private property and citizens demands.

In the BEHALA plot's case where 10 mts shore path for public use are already ensured as a prerequisite, investors are not "queuing" for the plot; it is not attractive for them and in this case the district will not change this condition¹⁰. This case is highlighted because as it was explained before, it has not been the traditional approach for waterfront development to put conditions to PI; so far they have been establishing development conditions as part of their demand for these properties.

The current district major of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg has supported ideas for creativity and leeway and efforts have been made to improve what is still possible; however as there are two different politic levels in the district and in the SenstadtUm which also sometimes compete in the elections; decision-making can become a political issue. Thus two different parties want to get votes and gain popularity, making difficult to always agree on everything between both governance levels.

Currently the StadtUmW works close with district levels; in this case specifically with Friedrichshain- Kreuzberg which differs from the political line of the SenstadtUm level, i.e. the major of the district belongs to another party. In spite of that, according to the program, there have been so far ways to agree¹¹.

⁹ Appendix 1.8. Interview Schammer 2012

¹⁰ See Appendix 1.8.

¹¹ See Appendix 1.8.

Inclusive mixed-use Housing projects for waterfront development:

From the program's point of view it is not easy for Berlin to recognize its waterfront potential because they have more issues to deal with than just improving it physically. Unlike other European cities, by exploiting its potential they have fear of creating predestined locations, i.e. triggering socio-spatial segregation or expulsion processes. Therefore the program agrees with movements claiming to leave, "where is possible", the shore path open for all population layers, moreover it is mentioned to ensure the waterfront for new housing forms, social mixtures and also to support housing cooperatives as an alternative instead of traditional investors¹². When highlighting "where is possible" remarks the before mentioned procedures where the extent of agreements directly hinder this alternatives or proposals.

Despite of these considerations, other senate levels don't think everything can be put available for the public, due to the prevalence of other priorities like economic development. Accordingly, the economic administration level considers these plots preferably for enterprises to settle in the classic inner-city planning model. In this sense, is more relevant for them to achieve e.g., that offices settle along the waterfront with the respective capital to generate employment opportunities for the local population; this also justified by the high unemployment rate of the district⁵.

Thus seeking to balance population's needs, would set an ideal of a mixture encompassing living, commerce and services. However, new developments are in great part dependent of the politic direction of the senate; it can be economic or socially oriented. Consequently, development would turn on the predominant direction, thereby making difficult to balance diverse goals in the same levels of governance, as well as having the challenge of being able to influence other positions, like in this case the ones involving the SenstadtUm and the SF¹³.

Changes in the city's social structure along with gentrification processes have been recognized and are matter of concern at the senate's level right now. Rather than ignoring these subjects, it is clarified that among their priorities are "to redirect them". It is also affirmed, that this issues are already part of the senate's programs, even though the implementation's scope isn't jet clearly defined. Furthermore, works on these issues are forecasted to be prolonged for the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg as well as for other areas in the city. According to the information provided in the interview, right now the attention is focussed in certain areas based on a general monitoring of the city made by institutes. These studies are expected to

¹² Appendix 1.8. Interview Schammer 2012.

¹³ See Appendix 1.8.

lead to new alternatives and living forms, finally representing the proper approach to these social phenomena.

Regarding alternative forms, more specifically ZN as one of the areas' recognized planning instruments, also essential part of its spatial character; is considered viable as a way of "starting" a business. The program agrees with these developments, but finding a reasonable mixture and scope contributing to stabilize the area in the long term. This subject is more reflected and discussed, therefore the relevance of finding proper alternatives for groups or initiatives wanting to develop projects in one of these plots but without having to buy. In this respect, there have been proposals like long term leases "Erbbaurechte" for 50 years with the state of Berlin not only to allow this alternative uses of land but also as a choice for the city to stop the practice of putting its values "on the free hand" or to the purchase, thereby losing control of land moreover of social responsibilities. A re-direction is expected and this is considered already an ongoing process. Nevertheless it is clarified that this hasn't happened from long ago and that these are long term processes, commonly changing every four years and which can take decades to be empowered and to ultimately succeed because they are part of politics and urban cycles, thus its final realization depend on how long it remains a subject of public interest (interview Schammer 2012).

As stated by the senate's program, projects like Holzmarkt, if is well implemented, can show that the lease model is applicable, moreover if it encourages public uses, it can be forecasted that the social structure will be strengthened.

How to encourage PI?

To encourage more inclusive developments in privately owned properties, the SUmW program considers the B-plan a suitable available planning instrument, but first the development goal would have to be set and therefrom uses types and forms could be defined to "direct" the aimed development.

As it was explained before, this would be a legal procedure within the planning framework in Berlin, but as B-Pläne are set by the respective district, accordingly, it would have first to be agreed with it and therefore could be a prolonged and difficult legal procedure.

SUmW supports and considers relevant PPP for urban development and suggest as an additional approach, to incentive PI with programs offering favourable loans and credits not available in other institutions, or taxes reductions for a certain period. Furthermore it was remarked that there are much more of these legal and planning

instruments to incentive PI, but their implementation depend on wanting them, i.e. on the existing political direction.

For the senate's program Mediaspree's failure was due to the images developed in this setting, which were opposite to what inhabitants expected for their area to turn into. When the wall and border were removed, they counted with the use of the river for the local community; on the contrary, they were frightened by the high-rise buildings and international business introduced there, "feeling the danger" of expulsion and consequently rejecting it.

To conclude this part of the research, the program attributes in great part the difficulty of spatial qualities interventions to the legal condition of the Spree as federal waterway and its derived bureaucratic procedures; nevertheless is highlighted their intention to find ways of achieving the shore path by other means like building bridges over the Spree.

With regards to social impacts, it is expected that development goes in a direction focused on preserving the right social mixture up to the point of attaining an influence on market. The actual moment is compared by the program to MSV times, when investors in order to avoid confrontations with the citizen movements, withdrew and took the chance of investment somewhere else; likewise, they expect new type of developments happening in the area to change the image and conception of the Spree area unfolding other similar approaches with more "socially oriented" considerations.

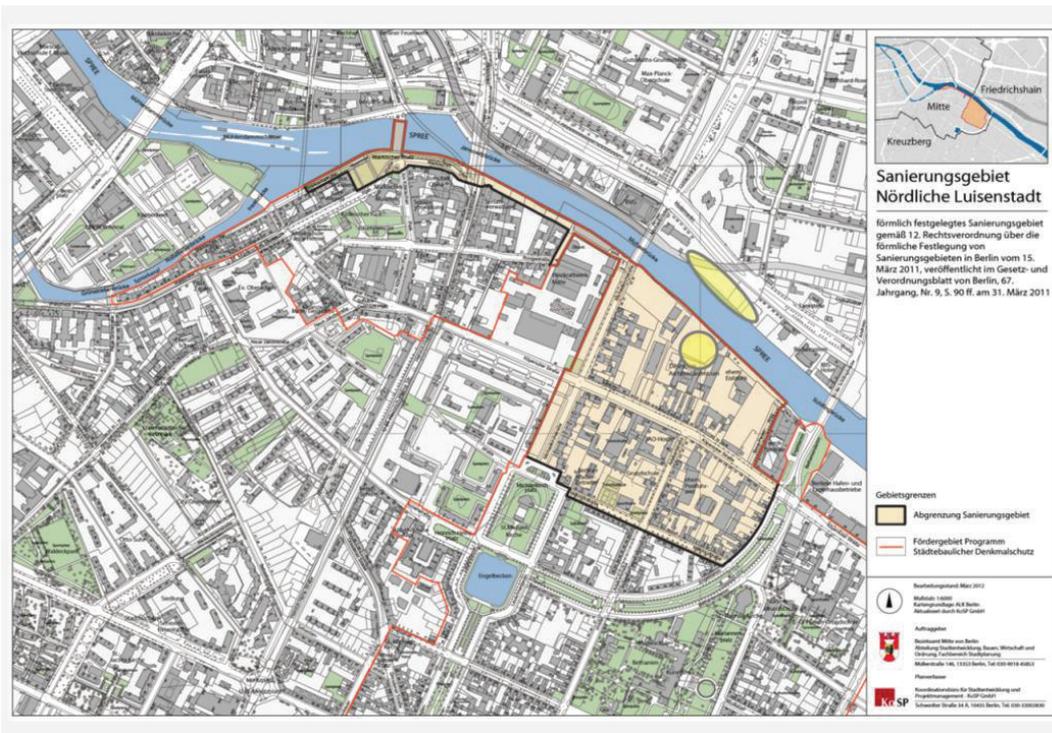
12. Urban renewal area of Northern Luisenstadt "Nördliche Luisenstadt" (Mitte).

After the first urban renewal program for the whole Berlin resolved by the SenStadtUm between 1993 and 1995, were defined in March of 2011 within the same framework, other seven Urban Renewal Areas (SGe) "Sanierungsgebiete" in five different districts of Berlin, for being carried out in a fifteen- year timeframe. One of them is the Northern Luisenstadt's Urban Renewal Area (SG) in the district of Mitte (SenStadtUm 2012 h).

The SG of Northern Luisenstadt, inhabited by 1470 people, has an area of 26 ha comprising 119 Plots and includes the so-called Wood Harbour neighbourhood (Holzuferblock) between the Spree, Köpenicker Street, Bona-Peiser-Way and Michaelkirch Street; which conform the zone where Spreefeld project is located (see Map 9). It limits in the south with the East and west Melchior neighbourhood and

then north goes along the Spree riverside area from the Schillingbrücke until connecting with the “Markisches dock”; and the east limits with the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg’s district.

The SG program foresees the re-construction of the proposed “Waisen bridge”, one of the oldest and most famous bridges in Berlin destroyed in 1945; and the connection between the “Runge” street and the Spree dock. The project has an estimated cost of 13.4 million Euro (SenStadtUm 2012 h).



Map 12. Urban renewal map Nördliche Luisenstadt
 Source: KoSP.. GmbH 2012

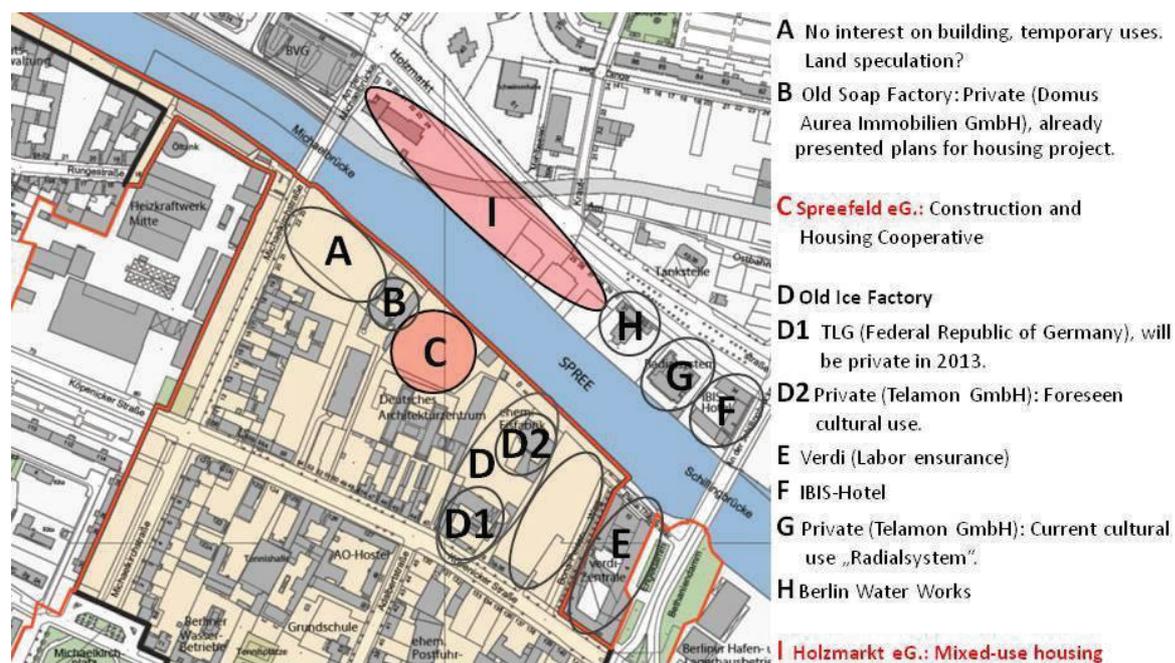
According to the Urban Development and Project Management Coordination’s office (KoSP), one of the most relevant reasons for establishing this SG, was to develop the Spree waterfront open to the public, in special a corridor along the Spree possibly from Kreuzberg until close to the historic centre¹⁴.

Among the before mentioned goals, the office aims to reconstruct the damaged urban space, to close gaps of war and after war demolitions, to connect and give access to back areas (towards the waterfront due to isolation), to renew buildings which haven’t been renewed and to add value and a use to empty plots and buildings of this area. For that purpose, there are goals set and an Urban Development Framework Plan (Städtebaulicher Rahmenplan) called “Luisenstadt” which foresees among others, the reactivation of the old Ice Factory “Eisfabrik”,

¹⁴ Appendix 1.2. Interview Bachmann 2012

finding a new use for it, possibly cultural⁶ (SenStadtUm 2010 a). The unit of analysis also contains one building contained in the “Urban Development Monument Protection” program (Städtebaulicher Denkmalschutz) which is the ice factory next to Spreefeld (map 13), but this development program is not going to be analysed deeply in this research.

This former factory, as explained in the interview, is owned by different investors; the main part at the Köpenicker Street belongs to the Federal Republic of Germany’s enterprise TLG (Treuhand Liegenschaftsgesellschaft) a subsidiary of the former THA (see chapter 1) which in the end of 2012 or beginning of 2013 should be sold to a PI and therefore that part of the building will be privately owned soon. The other part in the back, where the old ice factory was located, belongs to another PI “Telamon Ltd.” which has been thinking on developing a cultural and artistic use. To this investor belongs also Radialsystem wherein cultural activities currently take place; it is almost right in front on the opposite side of the river (See Map 10). Regarding this possibility, the office points how cultural approaches are welcomed in this area by the city (interview Bachmann 2012).



Map 13 Spree area actors
 Source: Modified from KoSP GmbH 2012

Conflicts of interests from a long ago:

The “Eisfabrik” building is under monument protection, i.e. a demolition would be exceptional, but it is well known that part of this building was demolished by the TLG in 2010 (Interview Bachmann 2012, Eisfabrik 2012).

This demolition was a big discussion between the TLG and the city centred on the freezing warehouses' preservation. It is explained that the city agreed in this situation with the demolition because of arguments given by the owner. In these exceptional cases there have to be arguments such as the sake of the public interest, or due to specific cultural, artistic, historical or architectural reasons. Other strong arguments for demolishing are e.g. if future uses are important for the city, or when dysfunctional conditions of the property are demonstrable by the property owner. Then the city can concede it, however this also can become a political decision¹⁵ (Grundlach 2011).

In an interview of the Berliner Morgenpost in 2011 with the owner of one part of the Ice Fabric, the Telamon Ltd.; the landlord expressed the contradiction of the Federal Republic of Germany's interests, represented in the TLG, demolishing the old factory, which is considered part of the general interest, as it is under monument protection. In addition, this demolition was with the aim of developing a luxury housing project (Grundlach 2011).

The KoSP confirmed that almost all the areas in their SG belong to PI, nevertheless as one of the goals of the SG program is to develop the river shore path or "Spreeuferpromenade", the city has plans to buy from landowners the corridor area along the Spree. According to the office, the scope of this purchase "depends on what is built there"; it is estimated to buy between 17 meter and 26 meters (Interview 2012 Appendix). This number doesn't really represent much with regards to continuity along the waterfront, but it would attain by the city some control of small areas along the Schillingbrücke and Michaelbrücke, which can later be connected and extended through other interventions with the same goal like the ones of the SUmW program.

It is evident that behind waterfront properties located in the SG are many interests at stake. The interests of the city, represented by the KoSP, are the citizen's interests; being the most representative to achieve continuity along the waterfront. But this doesn't constitute land owners' interests; they are interested in having the maximum profit of their properties. However, landowners know the goals of the city with regards to the waterfront path, also that the city tries to ensure this use through contracts with landowners involved and ultimately will buy these areas¹⁶.

¹⁵ Appendix 1.2. Interview Bachmann 2012

¹⁶ See Appendix 1.2.

Benefits of the SG in for properties in the area:

For the SG's office the role of PI is relevant, they are ultimately the ones who realise most of the projects in the area. Furthermore they are going to be benefited by the access to the plots through the streets that are going to be built as part of the office's program. This properties couldn't be reached before and not only access will be provided, but also public services like sewage, electricity and water; moreover attractiveness with a new access to the Spree River from the Köpenicker Street.

All these costs are initially assumed by the city and later when renewal works are finished, PI will have to pay a "compensation amount "Ausgleichsbetrag", what means that they will have to give back to the city part of the investment representing the valuation of their property after the intervention. In general, the area is going to be upgraded by these interventions and other projects in the SG office's plans; e.g. in the Michaelkirch Street there will be a green stripe with an attractive pedestrian path connecting the Spree riverside with one important neighbourhood square Michaelkirchplatz¹⁷.

Taking into account the SUmW program explanations regarding PI knowing about valuation of their plots with interventions made by the city; currently where the SG works are going to be carried out, can be found empty plots, which is a sign of the areas' vulnerability to land speculation.

A strong planning instrument:

Even though the establishment of SGe seems to be a good instrument to ensure waterfront access to citizens; it cannot be expected that it always fulfils this urban development objective. The city of Berlin is the one who defines an SG and reasons to do it are very limited. There are some prerequisites like "urban development deficiencies and bad conditions or functional deficiencies and bad conditions"¹⁸. Bad conditions are e.g., old and deteriorated buildings which haven't been renewed, or also when a city goal like the public use along the Spree cannot be achieved through regular Urban Development Legislation (Städtebaurecht SBR). There is normal and special SBR and SGe belong to the latter. As example of one functional deficiency, the office mentioned that fifty per cent of the Spree's SG isn't currently used and is not developing in any way. Therefore the city looks for special legal instruments like the Renewal Right (Sanierungsrecht) in order to remove this type of urban development issues as well as to conduct a more precise urban planning. This legal instrument enables also big interventions in SGe, nevertheless intended projects

¹⁷ Appendix 1.2. Interview Bachmann 2012

¹⁸ See Appendix 1.2

require legal concession and approval and moreover they would have to match renewal goals established by the city¹⁹.

Although the goal of having a public river shore corridor is established since the nineties it hasn't been successful. According to the office, this is because of land owners not being prepared to give these areas. The project could have been done despite privately- owned areas, but different conflict of interests is the reason of failed negotiations of the city with landowners. Due to the lack of consensus regarding collective goals, the city resolves to establish stronger instruments and ultimately realizes the project²⁰.

The definition of SGe constitutes indeed a powerful planning instrument; it can influence uses or densities, thereby giving the possibility to address development according to renewal goals using the B-plan as main planning tool. As mixed-uses are among urban development goals, restrictions or requests aiming certain uses can deliberately be made by the program, like e.g. asking for commercial areas in a planned project; just without specifying which kind of commerce; this intervention power to direct development is difficult to get outside a SG²¹.

There is currently a design of the area's B-Plan, where renewal goals are set and defining how dense this SG can be developed; it is oriented towards an enhancement of the existent and the assurance of a healthy living environment with free areas and high quality living standards, thus density has certain limits; furthermore technical values determining densities and heights in the urban renewal area have to be agreed by the city²².

From this last point can be deduced a slight change from the previous waterfront development approach, mentioned by the SUmW program and also in this interview, wherein high densities were the predominant fashion for attracting private investment and profits for the city.

Citizen's participation in SG: Local Representatives (Betroffenvertretung)

Citizens' participation is relevant for SG interventions, therefore when the area of study was established, there was a public event prepared by the KoSP and the city, where the citizens got informed about the associated city goals; this event was attended around by 120 people with great interest. Afterwards there was a second event, where Local Representatives (BV Betroffenvertretung) of the SG were

¹⁹ Appendix 1.2. Interview Bachmann 2012

²⁰ See Appendix 1.2.

²¹ See Appendix 1.2.

²² See Appendix 1.2.

formed. In this moment, the Spreefeld cooperative project, located in the SG, has one representative in the BV, as the KoSP confirmed in the interview.

In future BV meetings should take part all inhabitants; that includes renters, owners, retailers, merchants, local initiatives or anyone who works or lives in the SG. They will be directly bounded to development of the area with their participation, which is a relevant fact both for citizens and the SenStadtUm²³.

In the BauGB (BauGB, 2004, section 137) is already established the early- stage information to the BV regarding SG plans; but in the future, the office confirmed that there will be also a meeting once each month, with the respective SG's district and the SenStadtUm. In this space, information regarding the process is going to be exchanged, also there will be the possibility to vote if it is necessary, to agree on something; moreover if the BV has some petition, it can be taken to the city level and the city will have to provide an answer.

This will represent a legal right for citizens; it is in the process of being established, but already working and planned to be formally implemented in Berlin around May or June²⁴.

Social issues: Gentrification

Regarding processes of gentrification in the area, the KoSP explains that for severely deteriorated buildings object of a comprehensive renewal; the city is obliged to develop a Social Plan Procedure "Sozialplanverfahren", setting in the site a Renter Council (Mieterberatung) who represents the interests of affected renters or towards landlords. When people definitely cannot afford a renovation, they either receive money, or the city assumes costs of relocating people who can't live while renewal works in their dwelling to another and later bring them back²⁵ (BSM 2013).

This is the current approach for specific areas which are going to be renewed and is focussed on the period of action made by the program with short term actions; however it doesn't have a further scope considering mid or long term impacts in the social structure, beyond the Physical intervention.

In other SG near the area of study there was once established a "rent upper limit" (Mietobergrenze) in which the renewal permit was only given to landlords with the condition of maintaining the rents up to a certain limit. Against the landlords will, it still was done like that, until the German Supreme Administrative Court declared it an

²³ See Appendix 1.2. Interview Bachmann 2012

²⁴ See Appendix 1.2.

²⁵ See Appendix 1.2.

illegal procedure as result of one landowners' sue. This event was around 7 years ago and since then, the city cannot oblige landlords to put rent limits like that²⁶.

Therefore is difficult for the city to hinder these social processes and possibilities of avoiding expulsion effects result of high rent costs for the city are reduced. Real State and rent's development produce this kind of effects, ensure the SG office; "furthermore it is going to be built in this area and that will have an effect on the real-estate market as well as on rent prices"²⁷. It is also remarked that Berlin doesn't have currently public financial support for new housing constructions, or a program for new social housing unlike other cities in Germany, where owners receive public financial support for maintaining rents low.

Therefore an on-going trend of losing the social mix in Berlin's population is recognized by the program; not only in that area but in the whole city from long ago. Nevertheless, the KoSP office mentioned some existing construction- housing cooperatives in this district like the "Berolina eG", which somehow will grant rent price control within their areas in spite of the SG interventions. Considering this last point, housing cooperatives could be a legal alternative for controlling part of the negative social phenomena unfolded when upgrading an area; or at least this legal instrument could be promoted and implemented in order to maintain rents low in areas of interest.

Regarding Holzmarkt und Spreefeld projects:

For the office, both projects containing housing units are result of Berlin's population growth and high housing demand, which is currently making housing "easy to put in the market", moreover this area constitutes one of the last empty areas of Berlin's inner city and therefore is interesting for PI. "Nothing had happened in the last 22 years because the real- estate market wasn't interested and also property in this area was considered difficult to deal with" confirmed the renewal office²⁸.

When looking at the charts of figures 3 and 5 until 10 representing Berlin's population growth and the real- state's market development, these affirmations gain validity; the moment for the realisation of these projects coincides with the housing need in the city and also with other issues mentioned by the SUmW programs like affordability and changes in Berlin's social structure.

Regarding the character or these two projects, it is questioned by the office if those are really going to offer uses aimed to integrate the public. It's highlighted both projects' potential for developing an ideal relation with the public enabling access,

²⁶ Appendix 1.2. Interview Bachman 2012

²⁷ See Appendix 1.2.

²⁸ See Appendix 1.2.

continuity and permanence; in other words, both projects could offer an interesting river experience to the public. Nevertheless, to achieve that requires according to the KoSP finding agreements with local stakeholders clarifying and establishing which is exactly going to be offered to the public, as well as their future accessible areas²⁹.

The office is optimistic regarding these agreements in the SG area; one of these examples is the communication and agreement established with “Spreefeld” for the boat house “Bootshaus” (map 14). The latter, is an existing building originally intended to be demolished by the SG for shore path’s purposes; instead of that, “Spreefeld” proposed leaving it for later using it as a café or in something attractive for the city. There is already a contract in which “Spreefeld” is the owner of this building, therefore when the city of Berlin buys the shore path area along the river, this building will be excluded³⁰.

Next to the “Spreefeld” project, the old soap factory (map 13, 14) is another property where a PI is preparing an agreement wherein the shore path’s area will be sold to the city. However independently of the shore path’s ownership character, the office expects that PI integrate somehow their properties to the shore path, furthermore considered attractive for commercial purposes³¹.

Despite of these efforts made by the city in the SG for attaining a public shore path, the office is conscious of being fulfilling the ideal development; it is recognized that strategic land has already been sold and that the city is not financially capable to get this land back; therefore it is consented that good concepts should be additionally encouraged by the city¹¹.

²⁹ Appendix 1.2. Interview Bachman 2012.

³⁰ See Appendix 1.2.

³¹ See Appendix 1.2.



Map 14 B-Plan 1-32 a (Design –not yet legally binding)
Source: Modified from Bezirksamt Mitte von Berlin 2008

13. Other institutions:

Temporary uses (ZN) “Zwischennutzungen”:

Temporary uses (ZN) are a legal form characteristic of the Spree area, as it still has some empty facilities and buildings of industrial times and empty plots result of the war. In Berlin as in the rest of the country, this use takes usually place in the areas mentioned before and in state-owned properties (BBSR 2008).

This legal use practice has been recognized in the national and local level as a sustainable and alternative strategy to make use of these spaces before the concrete landowner’s use. It represents advantages for both sides; for the landowner it prevents vandalism in his property; depending on the deal, it reduces the costs and management responsibilities of an unused property, as well as it can reactivate and value the property. For the user it is an opportunity of “starting” a business without high investment costs, bureaucratic procedures and on a short term basis wherein creativity and “uniqueness” can give it a chance of becoming a profitable business at some point. Moreover in the regular practice of ZN, the property in question would not be affected by changes of ownership or in its planning law (BBSR 2008).

Flexibility on the user and use is highlighted as an important factor; but this is something ambiguous or at least needs for attention, because at the same time there has to exist clarity in the contract regarding special conditions that can merge of this exceptional use. The 2001’s WP highlighted ZN as part of the Spree area’s potential to be managed, as well as the LFB has this legal form as part of their working scope since 2005 (BBSR 2008, Liegenschaftsfonds 2011, pp.19-20, SenStadt 2001b, p.32).

Current ZN located in the Spree area part of the debate concerning the LFB politics (See LFB chapter), due to the potential of public land for supporting this kind of alternative uses in the city (Bezirksamt Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Berlin 2012).

The Property Fund Berlin (Das Liegenschaftsfonds Berlin (LFB))

It is a relevant part of this research to have a brief overview of the Property Fund of Berlin (LFB) (Liegenschaftsfonds Berlin GmbH & Co. KG) and their land sale processes.

The LFB was founded by the Senate of Finances of Berlin in January 2001, as wholly-owned subsidiary of Berlin’s State to manage unused public properties. From that time, the company had around 33 million square meters of trust assets from which according to recent reports of the LFB, around 14 million square meters have been sold. From the negotiations of properties after sold, around 60% of the gross added value goes to Berlin, either for new projects or to modernize their objects (LFB

2011). The objectives of the LFB when purchasing a property have been to maximize revenues, therefore processes sale are traditionally carried out in a “highest bidder” procedure.

This has been strongly criticized by various society sectors, but the main discussion and the one concerning this topic, is the one regarding urban development of Berlin, focused on the contradiction contained in the LFB’s main goal of “*selling land oriented towards urban development, economic, and housing politic objectives of the state of Berlin*”, moreover “*maximising the property’s potential value*” (SenStadtUm 2012b, p. 24). The second part of the goal has so far influenced the assessment of the LFB results, based on revenues and on healing Berlin’s budget, which leaves the first part of the goal, pointing urban development, incomplete and subordinated (SenStadtUm 2012b).

The SenStadtUm has exposed as main points concerning this issue, the increasing reduction of available land for public purposes, the uncertain relation of public land with planning and the set of planning instruments available in the city, population growth with its respective housing demand; furthermore it is questioned by experts on the field how public land could be used for ensuring quality in urban development and the lack of use of legal instruments for land management such as the Building lease (SenStadtUm 2012b). Summarizing, the problematic refers to urban development goals currently hindered by the lack of a common objective or policy between the SenStadtUm and the LFB.

In September 2012 the Senate of Finances of Berlin resolved a new “concept” for managing state-owned properties. It continues focusing the before mentioned goal; but maximising revenues won’t be the priority, this proposal highlights, in accordance with the *Social housing politics’ alliance* of September 2012 issued by the SenStadtUm, the prioritization and direct handover of land for housing projects to be carried out by state owned housing construction associations, as well as considerations regarding land identified for the general interest (SenStadtUm 2012k Senatsverwaltung für Finanzen 2012a, Rada U. 2012). This still is a subject of debate and currently is taking place in City Hall round tables with the LFB, representatives of different politic parties and civil society groups (Initiative Stadt Neudenken 2013).

Triggered by development policies of the nineties more specifically with the Mediaspree, the spree area has been the “battle field” for LFB sales and PI project development. Thenceforth, state-owned property sale processes in the Spree area unfold public criticism, which recently has captured the attention of the public sector

both at district and city level, ultimately leading to solutions like the reassignment of land for granting the use of a waterfront property as park through changing the B-plan, found e.g. in one plot between the “East train station” and the “Oberbaum Bridge”, or like in another case, the relocation of a ZN culturally representative for the city like the “Yaam”, thus evidencing a new attitude towards waterfront development (Heiser 2012, Bezirksamt Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Berlin 2012, Interview Schroth 2012).

14. Spreefeld

Project characteristics

The Spreefeld project is being built in the southern urban waterfront of the Spree correspondent to the district of Mitte. The project is proposed as *“living and working in community in the inner-city”* and since this area is controversial, they see this project as an opportunity to put in the practice what could be a contribution for the area (Spreefeld 2012).

The basic spatial features of the project proposal are as follows:

Plot area: 7000 square meters (m²)

Housing area: 6000-8000 m²

Number of housing units: 60 units (UN)

Commercial area: 1500 m² (optional for commerce, community and public use).

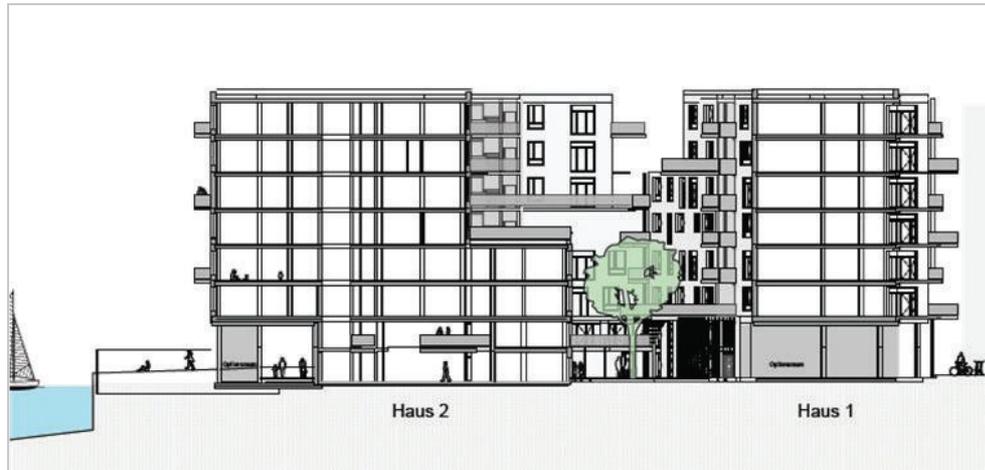
Legal form: Construction Housing Cooperative

(Spreefeld 2012, Wohnportal Berlin 2013).



Map 15 Spreefeld exterior plan

Source: Carpaneto S. et al 2011



Map 16 Spreefeld exterior plan

Source: Carpaneto S. et al 2011

Plot's purchase process and initiators

Before the plot was acquired by Spreefeld Berlin Ltd. a group of 15 people, it was owned by the Federal Agency for Property Assignments “Bundesanstalt für Immobilienaufgaben” (BImA), a public enterprise under the right and surveillance of the German Finance Ministry; which among its responsibilities, has the sale of public land when this is not required for government purposes (Bundesministerium der Finanzen 2013, Leber 2010).

The purchase's process was carried out, as it is usual, in a higher bidder procedure with the participation of international bidders, wherein the projects' concept wasn't officially relevant. This was a two- year sale procedure that lasted until the end of 2010, when finally the plot was granted to Spreefeld Berlin Ltd.³² (Leber 2010).

By the time of the purchase, the plot was under a ZN contract between a “beach bar” called “Kiki Blofeld” and the BImA. According to the local newspapers, the beach bar finished operations one year after the plot's purchase, after operating in the site for 7 years (Leber 2010). The event drew the attention of the media, as it usually happens when a recognized ZN is “expulsed” of the spree area; this time, with the additional component of being a state or nation-owned property.

One of the project initiators, developer and executor, architect Christian Schöningh considers that “people who develop this kind of projects are mainly in the place wherein those later are going to be realized”. This was pointed out because two of

³²Appendix 1.9. Interview Schöningh 2012.

the project initiators used to live and work in the adjacent plot, finding out of its sale while being there³³.

Initially the investment group only had the idea of a housing project, not knowing exactly which legal form or details; it required like every investment project an initial time for discussion and decision- making, for the definition of the project's conditions and framework. The limited company which was the initial plot's owner finally made the shift into a Construction and Housing Cooperative (B-WG) in 2012.

The cooperative

The decision of a cooperative form was according to Schöningh, "to make each other stronger and to support each other"; it was compared with a big company but where "common goals are pursued". Now the cooperative is constituted by 60 members which is the same amount of housing units, i.e. the project already completed its total shareholders. As the project is currently under construction, they meet every 4 weeks to make common decisions regarding the project³⁴ (Spreefeld 2012).

The cooperative form allows them to participate in credits with low interest rates offered by Federal entities like the Reconstruction Bank (Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW)), which helps financing energy efficient buildings and also with the acquisition of cooperative shares. Furthermore they are experimenting with the "community-dwelling" (Gemeinschaftswohnung) model of 600 m² and 800 m² dwellings to attain less square meters per person and thereby less costs. With this community form and the low interest rates of the financing options they are expecting to achieve "relative" cheap rents for new houses, e.g. for people without own capital for the share acquisition; in the interview was calculated an expected rent costs around ten and fourteen (10-14) euro per square meter including public services (warm) and around seven point fifty (7.5) euro per square meter without public services (kalt)³⁵.

But the definition of cheap can be questioned by many, e.g. one of the experts in the area and citizen movement representative Wilko Schroth, considered the before mentioned rent prices are not favourable enough according to Berlin's rental market³⁶. This point is going to be analysed later in the study (table 4).

As it was mentioned by in the KosP interview and remarked by almost all experts interviewed for this research, the lack of a social housing program in Berlin leaves

³³ Appendix 1.9. Interview Schöningh 2012.

³⁴ See Appendix 1.9.

³⁵ See Appendix 1.9.

³⁶ Appendix 1.10. Interview Schroth 2012

little action field for social considerations, if there's not a common politic for affordable housing between state offices concerned with development.

Tools for granting a wider social access to waterfront development projects seem to require a previous land ownership by the city. Another alternative in this case suggested by professor Ekhart Hahn, apart from the construction lease is the "urban development contract" (Städtebaulicher Vertrag); he finds it suitable due to its adaptability and flexibility to the context for projects developed between the city and PI³⁷. About this legal instrument can be found in the BauGB, it is described as the simplified process for cooperation with private investors (BauGB, 2004, section 4 § 11 Städtebaulicher Vertrag) wherein costs of public infrastructure are transferred to the PI or conditions according to the population needs can be demanded; this contracts are made by municipalities. Example for this tool implementation is the redevelopment of Alexanderplatz in the inner city of Berlin in 1994 made through urban development competitions (SenStadtUm 2012a).

Professor Hahn mentioned the possibility of using this instrument also through urban development competitions establishing first general conditions promoting the aimed development conditions, like new development groups and forms, or mixed –uses in the case of the Spree area. For this purpose were highlighted the Französisches Viertel in Tübingen and the Vauban in Freiburg as best practices examples where this instrument was successfully implemented, in these cases developers were mainly construction groups (Baugruppen)³⁸.

Construction groups were also pointed out by the Spreefeld project's initiator as a way of having a real participation right and commitment within development projects; he remarked this after referring to the lack of participation and inclusion found in public urban development processes like B-plan procedures. This lack of public interaction was also mentioned by Shroth and moreover it's criticized that despite citizens having established participation means, most of the information is limited to the internet and that these events are not enough publicly promoted. Thus it can be inferred that these actors perceive a lack of will from Berlin city's side to get citizens really involved in planning processes³⁹.

The Spreeacker as ZN alternative:

According to the initiator, it is planned to leave approximately (app.) 40% of the plot's area for the "Spreeacker" (Spree field), an open space available for the neighbourhood or public use, which aims to be sort of a continuation of the ZN, so

³⁷ Appendix. 1.4. Interview Hahn 2012

³⁸ See Appendix 1.4.

³⁹ Appendix 1.10. Interview Schroth 2012 and Appendix 1.9. Interview Schöningh 2012.

characteristic of the Spree area. This is also written in the online project's profile and refers to an offer, suitable for the existing cultural and alternative character of the neighbourhood, to be carried out by individuals or constituted groups (Spreefeld 2012, Wohnportal Berlin 2013).

If the SG's office is questioning how emerging private developments are going to interact with the public, this ZN proposal in Spreefeld, which mainly is a residential project, would be one of the desired uses for the city; so long the space attains to integrate the public shore. Despite this being one of the PI's potential proposals for a more inclusive shore path within the SG, it's not granted everyone's participation in this ZN; this depends on what are going to be the priorities for this place, i.e. which services are going to be offered and who is going to take part on them.

Since Spreefeld took the plot, it has been open to the public and they express to not having intentions of closing it; in fact, the perception is that landowners are the ones who have opened lately their properties by will.

However they are concerned by the city's purposes with the SG interventions along the shore path, it is questioned the lack of initiative, creativity and the time that the city took to propose something for this part of the Berlin. They are aware of the old Spree shore path's idea in urban development plans, but now is also a question of how are going to be designed these areas and which uses will they have; which is ironically the same question the public sector is having with regards to new PI's projects or plans in relation to public areas⁴⁰.

From the initiator's point of view; despite the B-WG's approach of considering spaces for public neighbourhood activities, there still is a debate taking place with the district due to the SG's project, wherein is planned to do a river path along the Spree right in front of their property (see Map 11). Despite this street being proposed as a pedestrian in the Spreefeld property's section, it has access to cars in the contiguous plots. Schöningh expresses that a street along the Spree is not appropriate, besides that none of the neighbouring landowners wants it. Therefore this issue has already been discussed in the district meetings organized by the KoSP with the Local Representatives (BV), which is composed by among others, by one representative of the Spreefeld project⁴¹.

This statement with regards to SG plans, confirms the difficult issue of negotiating with PI after land is sold, nevertheless the KoSP highlighted the instrument of the BV as a means for the citizens to get involved in the development process⁴². This so

⁴⁰ Appendix 1.9. Interview Schöningh 2012

⁴¹ Appendix 1.2. Interview Bachman A. and see Appendix 1.9.

⁴² See appendix 1.2.

mentioned conflict of interests was also highlighted by one of the experts in the area in the interview, when referring to the Spree area “there are many point of views; there is the state which wants to do things and on the other hand there is an ambitious development and problems with the land”⁴³. In this specific case, the street was planned 22 years ago, but first the city didn’t have any money, then landowners wanted to build it individually, but the city rejected this offer; now it is the SG’s objective to improve these areas where initially PI couldn’t balance their interests and were blocking each other (Interview Bachman 2012). It is important though, to take into account that this issue is currently under discussion and there is an interested local community creating a *politic of place* in which agreements for the benefit of all parts can be achieved.

15. Holzmarkt:

The Holzmarkt project is going to be developed in the Friedrichshain’s side of the Spree, opposite to the before discussed Spreefeld project. It is in an earlier stage compared to Spreefeld, what leaves it in a “concept status” for the moment. However, as it is developed in the legal form of a Cooperative, its organizational structure is already defined and running. Likewise the other case study, the process leading to its current stage will be described and analysed relying on the Spree area’s most recent events.

Project characteristics

The Holzmarkt (Timber Markt) will be a cultural town in the inner city of Berlin with an area of 18.000 m². The idea of their creators is a mixed –use housing development complex comprising a commercial town (including the residential area), a Restaurant, a Club/Theater, a founding centre located in the workshop corner “Eckwerk”, student dwellings, a Hotel and its flag project the “Mörchenpark”; a public park with an area of 6000 square meters (m²) (table 2) next to the Spree River which would be integrated with the river shore (figure 12, 13) (Holzmarkt 2012).

⁴³ Appendix 1.1. Interview Alfaró 2012.

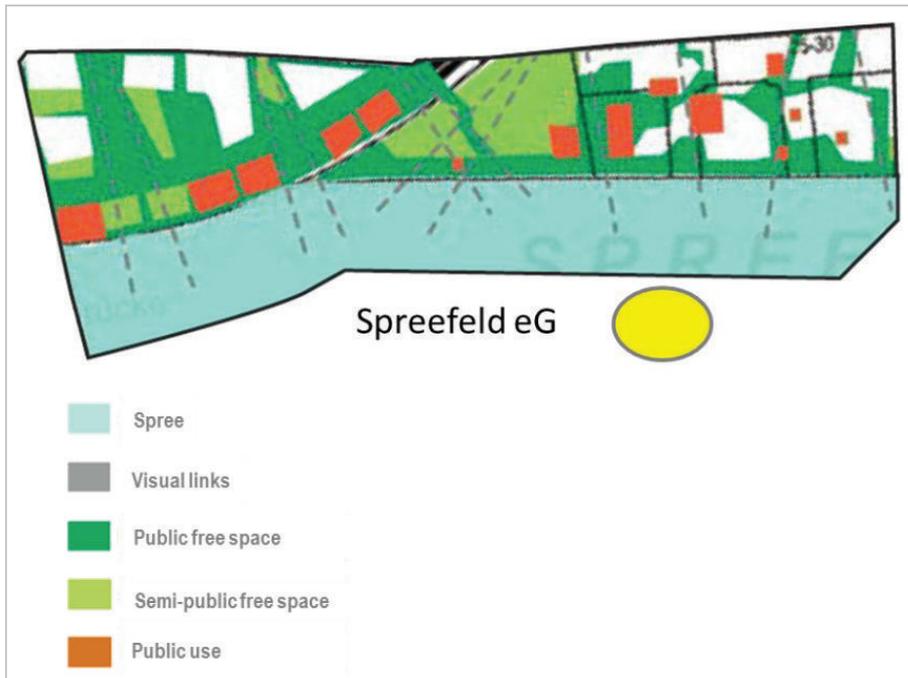


Figure 12 Project's spatial character
Source: Holzmarkt 2012

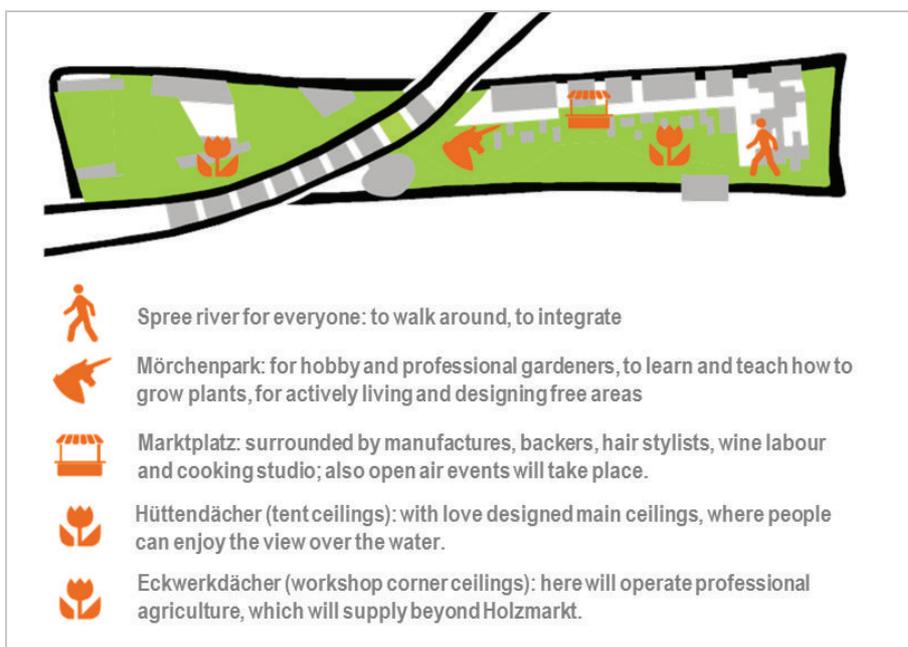


Figure 13 Project's land use concept
Source: Holzmarkt 2012

The project's plot area is of 18.000 m² from which the owner is allowed to build 80.000 m² gross- floor area. It was highlighted by developers that this area was bought as buildable area, i.e. they are not building a buildable area and instead of that, leaving as park which is going to be called the "Mörchenpark". For project members this represents a contribution to the city, which is in accordance with the

concept of the citizens' movement "Spreeufer für alle"; but beyond that, they feel they are transcending with this approach from the protests to the implementation⁴⁴. Uses proposed for the park include a wide range of public and educational activities in cooperation with schools like urban agriculture and fish farming, therefore is clear for them since the beginning, a proactive use of space which will require commitment from actors involved in the park project.

	SIZE UNITS	NUMBER UNITS	NUMBER PLACES	SUM USABLE AREA
Mörchenpark				6000 m2
Stock, Sales				135 m2
Commercial Town				3.870 m2
Halls	130-300	4		840 m2
Huts	40-60 m2	47		2.150 m2
Multifunctional halls	630	1		630 m2
Side rooms, Basements	240 m2			
Spa				125 m2
Kidz Klub				125 m2
Restaurant				400 m2
Side rooms, Basements	110 m2			

	SIZE UNITS	NUMBER UNITS	NUMBER PLACES	SUM USABLE AREA
Club / Theater				960 m2
Side rooms	350 m2			
Ground floor: Bar, Dancefloor				600 m2
Exterior Space	250 m2			
Upper floor				210 m2
Ceiling Terrace	180 m2			
Office				150 m2

⁴⁴ Appendix 1.9. Interview Schöningh 2012

Eckwerk				
	SIZE UNITS	NUMBER UNITS	NUMBER PLACES	SUM USABLE AREA
Founding center				14.670 qm
EG				1.920 m2
Commerce	50-400 m2	5-10		1.400 m2
Optional spaces	60-120 m2	4		520 m2
Adjacent areas	300 x 2 m2			
Parking areas	250 x 2 m2		40	
Bike parking areas	100 x 2 m2		100 (+ 400)	
Stellplätze Fahrrad				
Commerce				12.750 m2
Optional spaces	26-160 m2	30-150		10.350 m2
Optionsraum	25-140 m2			2.400 m2

	SIZE UNITS	NUMBER UNITS	NUMBER PLACES	SUM USABLE AREA
Student dwellings				458 12.000 qm
2er WG	55-70 m2	12	24	
3er WG	72 m2	32	96	
4er WG	101-124 m2	10	40	
5er WG	124-144 m2	20	100	
10er WG	253 m2	6	60	
Cluster-Whg 10	277 m2	6	60	
Cluster-Whg 13	453 m2	6	78	
Community areas				900 m2
WG: shared dwelling				
Whg.: dwelling				

Hotel				
	SIZE UNITS	NUMBER UNITS	NUMBER PLACES	SUM USABLE AREA
Hotel				3.480 m2
Foyer, administration, hall				510 m2
Rooms		12-54 m2	120	2.970 m2
Adjacent areas, basement	900 m2			

Table 2 Project composition and areas

Source: Holzmarkt 2012

The student residences will have a usable area of 12.000 square meters, providing 458 dwellings; with this information, the average calculated area of the residences

per person will be around 26m² per person (Holzmarkt 2012). The catalogue of the project estimates a rent price of 340 euro per person per month, (it doesn't specify if it includes or not public services supply); but as it is, an estimated of the rent costs with this information would be around 13 Euro/m². For a wider range of an approximate price per square meter, also can be considered the examples in the table of "student dwellings" (3er WG) with 32 dwelling units with 72 m² and of 6 dwelling units with 453 m² (Cluster- Whg 13) providing 96 and 78 places respectively (table2); from which result areas between 24m² and 35m², what would represent respectively, according to the price of 340 Euro per person, a cost of 10 and 14 Euro per/m² (Holzmarkt 2012).

Is important to clarify that this information is based on the here exposed available preliminary data which is here being object of analysis and doesn't correspond to definitive project calculations, therefore lacks precision for assessing it in comparison to berlin's real- estate market. Preliminary information lacks clarity in terms of the coverage scope e.g. if public services are included or not, the exact areas per person (which would require first a more specific design). Nevertheless it can be deduced that in this case, the monthly rent prices will be compensated with smaller areas, therefore reflecting an experimental approach mentioned by experts like Professor Hahn, in which strategic locations like inner city areas are sought to be accessible for more people through reducing dwelling areas, or like in the Spreefeld through shared areas like the "community-dwelling" concept which in the end reduce the area used per person⁴⁵.

Plot's purchase process and initiators

In this case, initiators of this project, the so called "Katerholzig team" is also a local actor. They were since 2004 in the same area where currently is going to be carried out the Holzmarkt project; occupying informally the plot until signing a ZN contract with the state-owned enterprise "Berlin City Cleaning Company" (BSR) for the operation of a beach bar called "Bar 25".

As ZN contracts are regularly for a short- term period, it is reported that the BSR tried to finish it several times, but the bar operators could rent the place until the end of 2010, when the contract could finally be finished by the BSR due to urban renewal works in the property which required the empty plot (Jekosch 2008, Kittel 2010). Expulsion attempts made by the BSR can be found in the local newspapers; in the meantime, the beach bar gained a name worldwide and local support from the cultural scene as well as from some politic sectors of the city (Leber et al 2012).

⁴⁵ Appendix 1.4.Interview Hahn 2012.

After moving out from the BSR's plot, the "initiators" continued with their presence in the Spree area in June 2011, when they moved to the other side of the river, next to the actual Spreefeld property in the Friedrichshain's side, this time as temporary users of an old soap factory "Seifenfabrik", where until today they still operate a night club called Katerholzig (Kittel 2010, Mösken 2011). In this old factory, as the KosP confirmed, the property owner has already plans for a residential project (Interview Bachmann 2012).

The plot owned by the BSR was sold just until October 2012 in the middle of controversy. The "Bar 25" or the more recently called "Katerholzig team" announced publicly their participation on the bidding process in the middle of 2012, as well as their project intentions; the concept was a cultural town called the "Holzmarkt" (Rapp T. 2012).

Besides this plot being of a state-owned enterprise, the participation of this group with the "cultural town" concept triggered a discussion around the LFB policies reaching politic and cultural circles of the city. Politic leaders began to ask publicly to take into account the project's concept both for the sale and for the future area's development. But it was already clarified by the BSR in August of the same year, that for managing other sale criteria different from the economic, such as an urban development related; it was necessary the plot's purchase by the state of Berlin (Schönball 2012, BSR 2012).

Therefore is important to clarify, that the legal condition of this property and its development possibilities were publicly exposed in the BSR's statement before most of the public controversy was spread around it.

In the middle of the purchase's process, which according to press reports lasted almost half year, two important things happened; one, the district passed to the SenStadtUm a B-plan proposal with a lower density for the Holzmarkt plot and the second, the Senate for Finances of Berlin issued a new *Concept for managing state-owned properties* in accordance with the *Social housing politics' alliance* (chapt.13), one month before the plot was sold (Schönball, Spangenberg 2012, Weißmüller 2012). The first event officially proposing a reduction of the allowed density, made by the district of Kreuzberg, coincided with Holzmarkt's proposal, in which the plot's density is deliberately reducing by half the one established.

Holzmarkt concept as the opportunity for making public and discussing the need for the LFB implementing new approaches for selling land (Schönball 2012, Spangenberg 2012).

As it was already announced by the BSR in its statement, the purchase of the plot was done in a “highest bidder procedure”; which means that the concept within this deal wasn’t relevant. Nevertheless, the plot was bought by a Swiss Institution which presented the highest economic offer and later gave the property under a building lease to the Holzmarkt eG (Holzmarkt cooperative) for a 99- year time frame (Holzmarkt 2012). It was explained in the interview, that in the bidding process other participants had the intention to build the whole area making use of the density allowed by the original B-plan⁴⁶. Another particular point highlighted is that since the plot leaseholders were legally making use of the plot in the ZN, they had in mind to return to that place, i.e. the impulse was clearly made by local actors⁴⁷. Therefore they didn’t find relevant who ultimately owned the plot as long as they could use it for developing their idea; in fact, they considered the purchase of the plot just in the case they couldn’t get the construction lease.

Cooperative administrative structure:

In the Holzmarkt project there are two cooperatives and one association. One cooperative collects the money, the Genossenschaft für Urbane Kreativität eG (GUK eG.) with app. twenty people by November 2012; its share cost is 25.000 Euro, it has one voice and puts the money in the Holzmarkt eG (Holzmarkt cooperative), which is the one ensuring the creative structure of the complex, i.e. concepts will be made, planning services produced and orders distributed.

The Holzmarkt eG will be also constructor, acting like construction leaseholder. It’s constituted by the ones that initiated the project, “the creative heads”, the main characters, which according to Schöningh, “raised significant public support in the last year”. This is a group of 10 people, the so called “Katerholz Team” plus him⁴⁸.

In the association, the Mörchenpark eV, everyone can participate; there is a quote of 25 Euro yearly. In November 2012 there were 400 members; who are the ones incharge of giving form to the park and also will take care of it, this association is at the same time member of the Holzmarkt eG with one representative with voting right.

⁴⁶ Appendix 1.9. interview Schöningh 2012

⁴⁷ See appendix 1.9.

⁴⁸ See appendix 1.9.

They divided this structure, according to the interviewee in “money and creativity” reflected in two different organizations. The money, for specific interests and tasks will be organised in the GUK eG, with a representative with voting right in the Holzmarkt eG and the project ideas, the creativity and the construction happens in Holzmarkt eG which are the initiators of the project (figure 14).

The cooperative’s structure is formed aiming to have transparency with money and for decision-making through mechanisms for money investment and control, “the intention is that money doesn’t influence rights”⁴⁹. If the initiators, the Holzmarkt eG, want to operate a bar or restaurant within the project they will have to pay the usual market rent costs and the GUK eG will have to supervise this requirement fulfilment; furthermore there are control rights and certain veto rights already established, e.g. the GUK eG has a veto right for the Park which is that it can never be built; in addition, this structure grants that the project will be developed, controlled and managed ultimately in a small circle⁵⁰.

The GUK eG’s administrative structure is composed by the General Assembly, where members share their concerns and make decisions regarding the cooperative; they also elect the members of the Supervision Council and each member has a voice (GUK eG 2013). The Supervision Council supervises business management of the Direction Board, they demand constantly reports, moreover revise books and records of the cooperative. It is constituted minimum by three members who are selected by the general assembly (GUK eG 2013). Finally, the Direction Board leads and manages the cooperative’s businesses according to the established guidelines and laws. These are minimum two persons, who legally represent the cooperative signing or giving statements, i.e. in and outside the law. This chair has to be active by demand of the Supervision Council for 5 years (GUK eG 2013).

⁴⁹ Appendix 1.9. Interview Schönigh 2012.

⁵⁰ See Appendix 1.9.

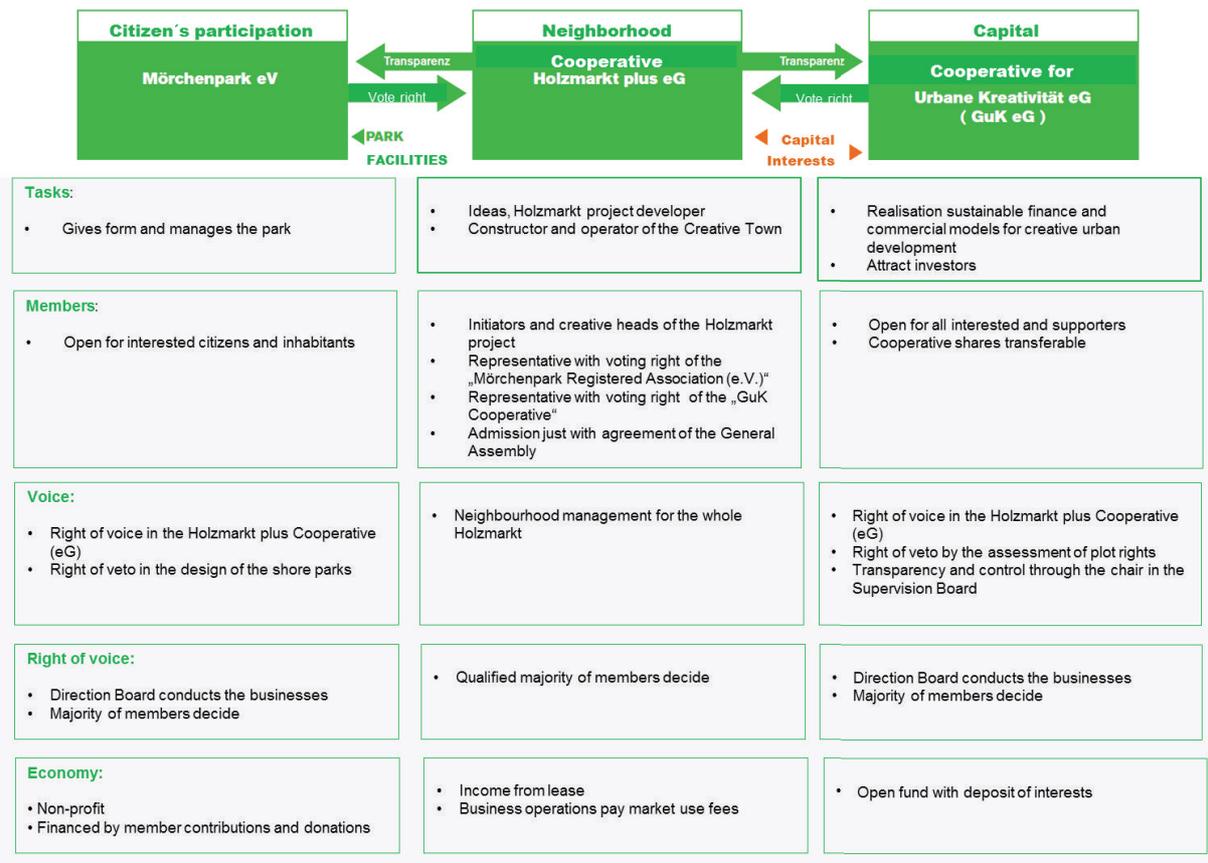


Figure 14 Cooperative's administrative structure

Source: Adapted from Holzmarkt 2012

Strong politic attraction:

In the Holzmarkt project is evidenced a stronger public attention and thereby political influence. All of the interviewees, part of the civil society and the private sector stated that there wasn't an official way supporting this project because of this plot's acquisition in the traditional sale procedure. It is also highlighted that politicians used this opportunity to appear supporting it, when on the contrary, politics traditionally used to hinder this bottom-up alternatives. In the interview with Professor Hahn, he explained this new reaction as consequence of an outdated urban planning in the area and active groups fighting for new ideas; he attributes great part of Berlin's success and attraction as a city to these initiatives which just recently are having more space and support, due to a late realization of the senates of their official policies' failures⁵¹. Furthermore, this project is being developed in a situation where politicians believe that pioneer uses and alternative uses are a solution to affordable housing and social issues in Berlin, topic which already was discussed in the SUMW chapter. Therefore "good projects" are an advantage for any politician seeking to gain voters and sympathizers and becomes also a question of showing in the

⁵¹ Appendix 1.4. Interview Hahn 2012.

senates of Finances and Urban Development, who is doing more for the sake of the city; either regarding the economy, saving money to pay the debts of the city; or at the urban development level, ensuring Berlin's properties' development for a sustainable future⁵².

Private planning strategies: Discussion.

Contradictions surrounding this area represent great chance in the view of some actors. It has strong citizens' engagement since 2008, which has evolved into a sort of "*cultural thinking*" later politics have arrived for the first time⁵³. This is also explained as part of the process for collaborative planning of Healey when actions and different efforts for improving conditions of shared spaces evolve, "*strategies become thus active through this shaping effect, as culturally- shared efforts in making futures*" and points that in this case, formal settings are not necessary for developing this kind of actions (Healey P. 1997, pp. 284).

This project's effect is also seen as the result of a specific group of people called by the experts "*social pioneer groups*" which more than money, contribute with a high social capital and networks⁵⁴. The initiators of these projects were active people in citizen's movements like the MSV because they were already local actors in that period⁵⁵; in fact both projects Spreefeld and Holzmarkt have one initiator in common, therefore it is interesting for some experts in the area to find who are next intervening this area with a similar approach, because it is considered so far influenced by the same group network⁵⁶.

In some cases, like explained by Professor Hahn, these groups are better than an "urban development contract" (*städtebaulicher Vertrag*), because this type of people sometimes want to go beyond what is established with positive and proactive actions⁵⁷. These people are usually "high educated and belong to an upper middle class" and have the time and the will to do these particular projects⁵⁸. They are looking to escape from the rigid infrastructure of governance procedures through democratic processes serving their purposes and achieving coordination in local planning; it results closer, feasible and also can be a very powerful instrument. The recognition and support of these processes by government agencies should be present for this local political acts but without "creating new bastions of unequal power" (Healey P. 19979, pp. 288).

⁵² Appendix 1.5. Interview Hofmann 2012.

⁵³ Appendix 1.10. Interview Schroth 2012.

⁵⁴ See Appendix 1.5.

⁵⁵ Appendix 1.6. Interview Joost 2012.

⁵⁶ See Appendix 1.5.

⁵⁷ Appendix 1.4. Interview Hahn 2012.

⁵⁸ Appendix 1.1. Interview Alfaro and see also Appendix 5.

16. Case study assessment and analysis:

Knowing how both projects have been so far developed, stakeholders involved in the area of study, having expert opinions and further information regarding the topic of study and moreover possessing the theoretical bases for interpreting their inputs; makes reasonable at this point of the research to analyse specific research points for drawing conclusions. After that, based on the information collected and the data interpretation, a review of stakeholders involved is going to further evidence their behaviour towards the area.

Both projects are compared here on the basis of relevant features researched evidencing the before mentioned aim of both being “more inclusive mixed-use housing projects” carried out by private developers.

Mixed-use housing projects: Development analysis		
PI	Spreefeld	Holzmarkt
Plot acquisition	Plot bought to the Federal republic of Germany.	Plot bought to state-owned company
Criteria for plot's purchase	Highest bidder procedure (2010)	Highest bidder procedure (2012).
Buyer/ pioneers/project initiators.	15 initiators the Spreefeld Ltd. Then change to Spreefeld Cooperative	Swiss institution “Stiftung Abendrot” Then gave construction lease “Erbbaurecht” to Approx. 10 initiators (part of the Holzmarkt Cooperative).
Definitive legal form	Construction and Housing Cooperative. Already 60 housing units belong to 60 shareholders.	1. Holzmarkt Cooperative. Closed, just initiators.
		2. Cooperative for urban creativity (GUK eG). Share cost: 25.000 Euro.
Public park 6000 m2	X	3. Park Association “Mörchenpark eV”. Everyone in the city can participate with a yearly quote 25 Euro. Right of Veto for park design. Has voice in Holzmarkt Cooperative.
“Spreeacker” area for alternative uses like ZN	40% of the plot's area for alternative uses. The use and who operates the space is determined by the cooperative members.	X
Berlin real-estate's average price for new housing rent 8.06 Euro/m2 net (IBB 2011, pp. 46).		

Student residences	X	Student residences, prices estimated between 10 to 14 Euro/m² or 340 Euro per person/ per month (see Holzmarkt chapter).
Dwellings for people without own capital	20% of the housing units, which correspond to 12 units, available for rent. Rents around 7.4 Euro/m² net.	X

Table 3 Development analysis: Private mixed-use housing projects.

Source: Own design.

Stakeholder in Urban renewal of the waterfront	
Actors identified	Stakes
Public sector	
Urban Development and Project Management Coordination's office (KoSP).	Private Company supporting the district of Mitte in the execution of the Urban Renewal Area (SG) program. The program receives funds from the Federal government, the state of Berlin and the European Union's Structural Funds (EU). The office's interest apart from renewing its area, closing gaps and reactivating empty unused buildings; is to ensure a shore path along the Spree in its area of coverage. This office and the district will make possible a direct and legally binding citizen's participation in the area of work through the establishment of the BV.
Urban restructuring West (SUmW) office	SUmW program supported by the federal government, the state of Berlin and co-financed by the European Union (EU). Kreuzberg is one of the six areas of work in the city. Its focus is adjusting sectors of the city where changes in population or in the economic structure generate adverse effects. Among its current works are the urbanization of Kreuzberg's waterfront, connecting through a bridge two separate sides of the district, granting continuity and access along the river and greening the shore.
District of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	Currently working with the SUmW's office and actively involved in development of the area. Incharged of setting B-Pläne.
District of Mitte	One of the five districts of Berlin designated with a SG, therefore working with the SG of the "Northern Luisenstadt Area". Responsible of setting B-Pläne.

The Property Fund Berlin (LFB)	Wholly-owned subsidiary of Berlin's state managing unused public properties. It was in charge of the Holzmarkt plot's sale process. Objectives of the LFB when purchasing the property: to maximize revenues, therefore sales have been carried out in a "highest bidder" procedure.
Civil society	
Media	Media follows urban development events of this area constantly, reporting the approach of all society sectors to the area: politicians, PI, citizens, the LFB, the city, etc. Informs about properties' purchase processes and reports project plans or current realizations.
Politics	Political parties are recently present in this area, supporting bottom-up initiatives with their opinion, like the Holzmarkt project. Their interest is to gain supporters through exposing such alternative development proposals, in the middle of an affordable housing need and social challenges like socio-spatial segregation in Berlin. Some of them use this opportunity to criticize the LFB's policies for selling land without taking into account urban development implications and only looking for the maximum revenues.
Citizen's movements	They have been involved since 2008 in the area protesting when projects with considerable heights, mass, or blocking the shore path are going to be realized. They have achieved creating awareness in the city of development in this part of the Spree, taking this subject to politics and to the city level. Their most relevant representative has been the "Mediaspree versenken" (MSV) movement, but there are several other citizens' groups involved in this area. Through protests they have achieved the withdrawal of investors in the area, as well as changes in B-Pläne.
Technical University of Berlin (TUB)	The university has been involved carrying out research projects, multidisciplinary and academic field work with students; developing proposals for the area through the Urban Research and Design Laboratory. Their focus of interest is the remaining public space of the Spree area.
Private actors	
Holzmarkt eG GUK eG Park Association	The Holzmarkt project with its two cooperatives and park association, aims to develop and achieve a sustainable "cultural town" in Berlin's inner-city. Currently is in the design's phase; their plans are to begin building in 2013.
Spreefeld eG.	The Construction and housing Cooperative's interest is to live and work in community in the inner-city. Currently it is under construction.

Table 4 Stakeholder analysis in waterfront urban renewal

Source: Own design.

Stakeholder Analysis:

These analyses show different actors involved in the case study and their influences with regards to the stakes highlighted as important for the area like revenues obtained from the land, the open or accessible shore path and the so discussed urban development concept of the area.

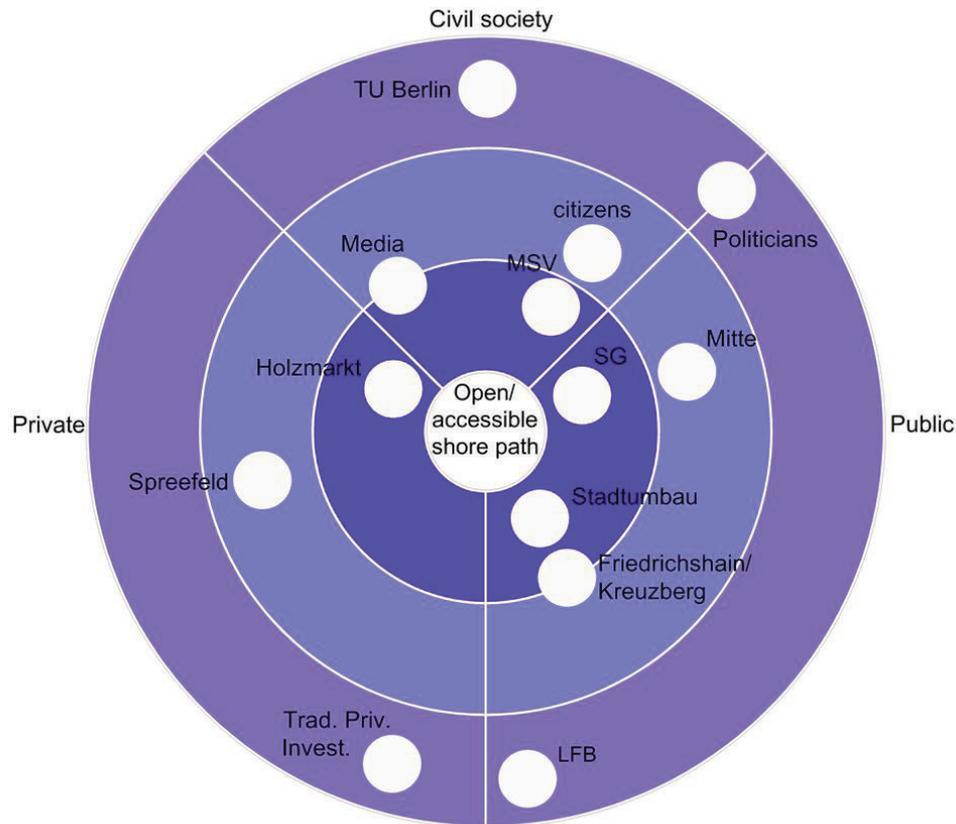


Figure 15 Stakeholder analysis: Open or accessible shore path.

Source: Own design.

In the case of the open accessible shore path, it should be noticed the approach from the traditional private investors in relation to both cooperatives Spreefeld and Holzmarkt. Holzmarkt is more interested in the shore accessibility and therefore directly influencing this aspect by means of leaving a park integrated to the shore path. On the contrary in Spreefeld's case, they are criticized by citizens' movements for the reduced distance left between the river and their buildings; nevertheless since the plot was bought, they have opened it for different uses to the public and their expressed intention is to keep it accessible. Also in this case the MSV citizen movement is a primary actor for their actions' impact regarding this topic in the

areas' development. The media has also influenced this development as communicator of events related to the interaction between these actors and thereby creating awareness of the shore path- subject.

In the case of the urban development concept, the analysis represent who are currently making efforts for giving priority to project's integrated urban development concepts instead of only considering making revenues through waterfront development and land in this part of the Spree. Two actors are explicitly showing an interest in urban development and are influencing it with their actions; these are the SenStadtUm in the public sector and Holzmarkt's cooperative in the private sector. The citizen movements represented in this case by the MSV, are also influential supporting and claiming for an integrated urban development of the area, therefore again they are among primary stakeholders. Spreefeld is interested in the urban development concept of projects developed in the area, but doesn't include many elements in their project integrating it to public space, the waterfront or both.

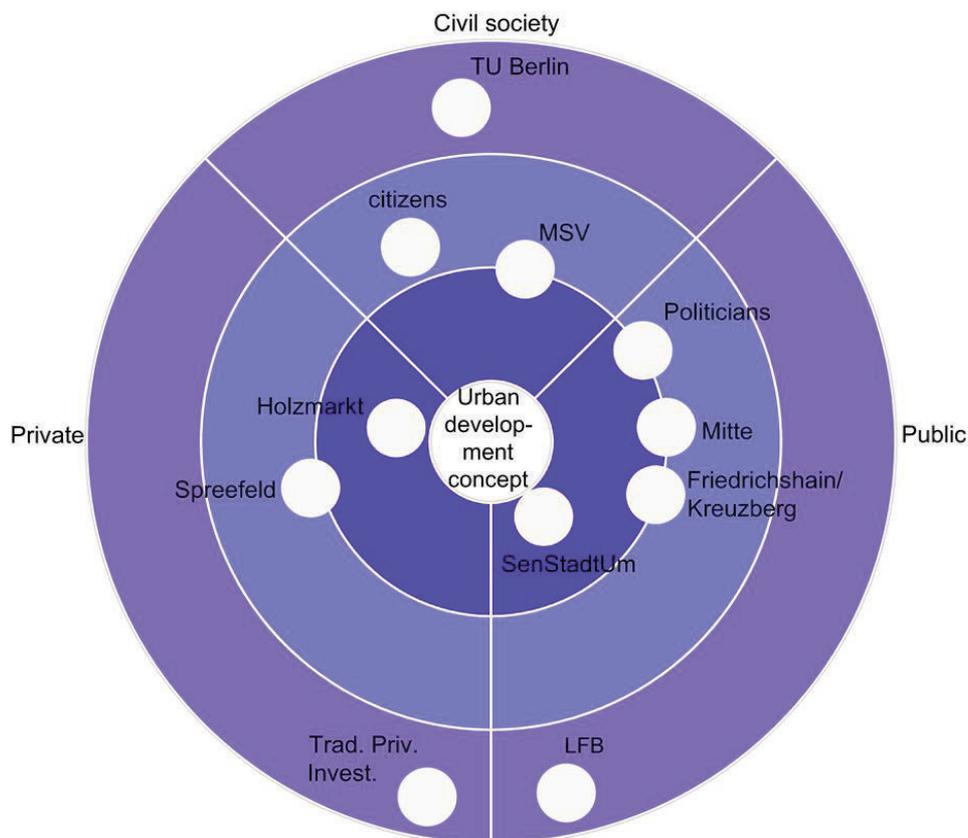


Figure 16 Stakeholder analysis: Urban development Concept.
Source: Own design.

The aspect of obtaining revenues with land sale or development in this area is mostly an interest of the LFB and of traditional private investors; ironically citizens (that includes citizen's movements) are also among primary stakeholders. For them is important to make revenues in general for healing Berlin's budget and therefore this analysis contradicts previous analyses where citizens have an interest of the areas' sustainable development regardless economic profit. This situation explains the difficult task also for government offices when balancing citizen's interests and the common good.

On the contrary of traditional PI, Holzmarkt is far from being prioritizing revenues, they might achieve this though the future uses of the project, but now it is granting part of its buildable area for the city as a park. Spreefeld is also a cooperative and doesn't have the aim to make revenues by putting the property on the market; nevertheless they are taking more advantage of their buildable area than Holzmarkt.

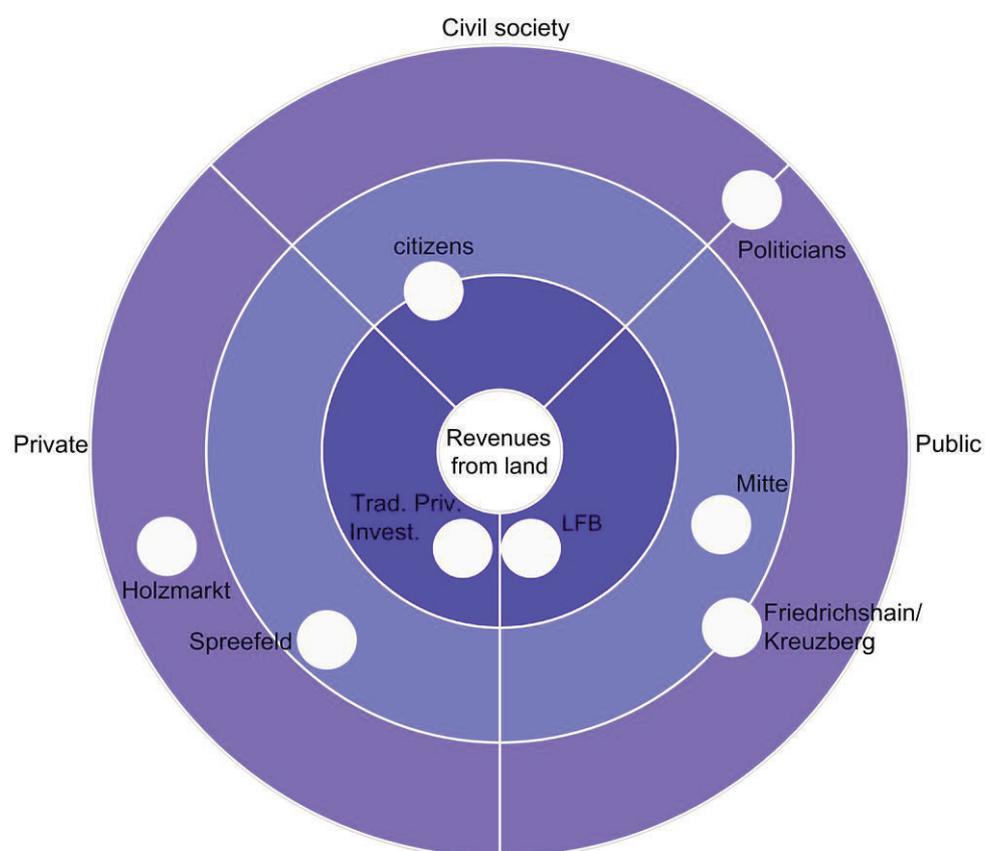


Figure 17 Stakeholder analysis: Revenues from land.

Source: Own design

Findings:

During this research have been exposed several facts arising from different data collection methods. Information was collected pointing to solve many of the initial questions or thesis formulated in the beginning of this research.

Planning strategies of the area vary between formal and informal planning instruments and bottom-up initiatives. Like governance and development policies, planning strategies have varied through time, this could be evidenced by the spree area's planning timeline and by development programs currently taking place. Strategies have evolved enabling an institutional setting (forums, discussions, the future BV) which now is relevant part of this local political community.

In this part of Berlins' post-industrial urban waterfront were identified two informal planning instruments; one Urban Development Concept called "Models and concepts of the Spree Area of Friedrichshain Kreuzberg" developed in 2001 and continued in the Focal Point "Upper Spree City" of 2010 and the second one, the Urban Development Framework Plan "Luisenstadt" of Mitte's district dating from 2010. Furthermore were found two urban development programs, which are making use of the B-Plan for directing development. One program is the established SG which is currently working with an existent B-Plan and on this stage is making contractual agreements for granting the shore path in its area and carrying out information events for its plan implementation. The other is the SUmW program which is ensuring through B-Plans a sustainable use of non-built up areas.

In Holzmarkt's case, the plot already has an established B-Plan; it is located within the before mentioned concepts and focal point areas part of the informal planning existent in the area, but it isn't included in any of the before discussed development programs, nevertheless its density change proposal could lead, if it's considered pertinent, to a future change of its B-Plan.

These last examples wherein B-Plans are used to accomplish different objectives show that in spite of the B-Plan being presented as a strong, not flexible planning instrument, still offers proper alternatives on its way to implementation, i.e. by giving stakeholders involved a chance of assessing and understanding development objectives.

This area's planning history also exemplifies changes in development goals of stakeholders throughout time conflicting with planning instruments like the established B-Plan of Holzmarkt area. As this project will manage less density than

allowed in the B-Plan, it is currently opening the discussion of rethinking development goals and plans for the area.

Bottom-up initiatives have exposed alternative waterfront development approaches which now are being recognized by public offices and considered suitable for the city's economy and spatial development. This certainly could mean the commencement of a change in policy and planning priorities for the Spree area, taking into consideration the power already acquired by its local political community.

Media is one stakeholder of the area but also has represented here a powerful development instrument. As it was analysed before, it has given a voice to other stakeholders involved in this area during the whole project planning and implementation phases. Therefore, apart from Berlin's planning framework, media could be considered an urban planning instrument bridging the gap between this type local initiatives and formal governance systems. Likewise, citizens' movements are a stakeholder creating awareness of urban development issues. In this case movements began at the neighbourhood level but with the help of media and social networks; their concerns could be shaped evolve and finally access formal planning processes, first through a referendum and later by hindering investment either with agreements of B-Plan changes or making investors withdraw by their sole unwanted presence.

In this research could be identified several ways of incentivizing sustainable urban development projects carried out by private developers. One indirect incentive found, was the B-Plan's density change, publicly announced and carried out by the district of Kreuzberg, before the Holzmarkt plot's bidding process begun. The density proposed by the major was similar to the one proposed by Holzmarkt project, halving the allowed density of the plot. It is important to clarify here that, this is not an official incentive, but it can be inferred that this official action openly supported developments of that nature and not the traditional carried out and rejected by local citizens.

The construction lease "Erbbaurecht" is a legal instrument used in this case between two private entities; however, it was confirmed throughout interviews with experts and the literature that is one of the possibilities for managing state-owned land allowing urban development control in PI's interventions. Experts also suggested other instruments like the urban development contract "Städtebaulicher Vertrag" managed through urban development competitions; it has already been used

successfully in the German context between private developers and the local government, but in Berlin's case revenues have been of prime importance.

In summary, here could be learned that Berlin's planning framework offers a wide variety of legal instruments, moreover development programs and informal planning instruments which can direct a sustainable development, nevertheless those can be effective so long prevails the will for implementing them.

In this case study were found two emerging projects located in Berlin's Spree area. The comparison of table Nr.3 is part of forthcoming projects' analysis for determining their contribution to a more inclusive area's development. The basis of these considerations is inclusion through space, as it was defined in the theoretical background. Despite this concept's spatial orientation, a social process was additionally evidenced preceding both spatial proposals, such as the conformation and development of social networks through the local setting. Both projects initiators coincide being local actors from long ago, active on citizen's movements which later turned into private developers of this area; moreover it was identified a common initiator between those.

By all factors mentioned in the research, the Spree area constitutes the setting where ideologies and purposes of these individuals, (in this specific case related to living, working and playing), are shared and shaped in community. Holzmarkt and Spreefeld are projects whose conception and development demand a high social capital i.e. collaborative planning processes, therefore both count with a powerful instrument which is a strong social network bound towards developing sustainable ways of living. The ideology replication and continuity of these approaches along the waterfront cannot be granted, besides, this private actors still are independent on their concepts' implementation and have the possibility of rethinking their ideals at any time; thus these events shouldn't be just happening as a parallel event to local government's social duties.

An established urban renewal area in Berlin can serve to direct development, even with the right, if necessary, of demanding mixed-uses through B-plan changes; however this cannot ensure affordable housing for citizens. Both cooperative projects presented in this study are a way of seeking favourable costs for a specific social group. As confirmed by the analysis of real-estate market's prices for new housing rent below both projects' proposed prices, it is clear that both projects are not pointing low income settlers. Therefore affordable housing in kind of setting would depend either on the re-establishing a government social housing program subsidizing housing, or on the use of legal planning tools and instruments when

dealing with state-owned land achieving agreements with developers or landowners. However, most of the land in the area of study is already developed and land is already owned by private entities. The example can be valuable for analysing other significant waterfront properties in Berlin though.

Promoting affordable housing in the Spree area part of this study hasn't been a priority for Berlin's administration and would need to be established as an urban development goal for its realization. Like the literature showed, rethinking development policies rely on many power forces part of governance processes; in this case these forces have been conflicting from long ago, but also have been undermined among others, by local political communities throughout trial and error cycles. At this juncture, a new policy development cycle could be expected as result of Berlin's housing shortage and emerging policies like the *Social housing politics' alliance*. Furthermore, forthcoming mixed-use housing developments presented on this research are currently influencing the local setting with their collaborative approach. Nevertheless, for rethinking waterfront development policies would be needed a collaborative planning process focussing local stakeholders concerns until reaching consensus between prevailing governance power forces and those shaped in the local environment.

Despite being problematic for the city having waterfront development control after selling land, agreements with PI proposing win-win situations can be attained through planning and legal available tools. This could be evidenced by the achieved PI's relocation whose initial plans were the construction of a high-rise building (chapter 13 The Property Fund Berlin), also by agreements with landowners for modifying densities through B-Plans in non-built up plots like in "Mediaspree versenken!" times and more recently, with the Holzmarkt project. In addition, the StUmW is currently developing agreements with PI in its area for ensuring sustainable use of spaces through relocating factories or facilities not using the whole space or without activities fitting the local conditions and also is focussing buildings under monument protection which should be preserved for specific purposes owned by PI.

Processes of negotiation for waterfront accessibility depend on what has been built in private properties, moreover on different particular interests which are not easy to balance. This could be found in Mitte where SG program will ensure the river path and develop other streets, part of them pedestrian, gaining waterfront and plots accessibility, moreover it will provide public services to plots by assuming costs

initially. Although Spreefeld and other landowners don't want the street in front of their property, SG program has already achieved some negotiations in this same area and has reached through contracts agreements with landowners regarding properties, e.g. the "Bootshaus" agreement and the purchase of shore path land in front of the old soap factory (Map 14).

Other conflict of interests was identified in the old Ice factory's case. It's record includes the demolition of part of the building under monument protection and a long time conflict between its two landlords, leading to an empty factory; however, as it is located in SG's area of competence its reactivation will be granted. This case additionally evidences that is possible to make use of special legal instruments like the *Renewal Right* in order to tackle urban development issues when private developments or ownership are hindering the fulfilment of development goals.

This Urban Renewal Area, established in 2011 and the Urban Restructuring Program (Stadtumbau West (SumW)) in 2005, are relatively recent local government's actions that make possible to infer an also late acknowledgement of the various development issues in the area. On the contrary, the public has been aware of the area's character since the creation of first citizen movements around it in 2006 and has claimed since then, in spite of properties' legal conditions, a development redirection through the use of available legal and planning instruments as well as through participation means. Failures managing this area since the beginning of Mediaspree developments are being recognized now at the government level, which simultaneously is seeking tackling efficiently local concerns regarding urban development within the formal institutional governance settings.

This area has evidenced political conflicts regarding policies for selling land and urban development goals between the SenStadtUm and the Senate for Finances of Berlin.

While urban development programs and plans are still aiming an integrated urban development of the area, policies of the LFB for selling land still have as priority healing the local budget with high revenues from the sale, whereby leaving this waterfront property in private hands; this could be proved in Holzmarkt plot's sale wherein the character of the forthcoming urban development, i.e. the concept, wasn't assessed.

Nevertheless Berlin's housing shortage and changes in its social structure have demanded additional policies like the *Social housing politics' alliance* addressing to set out available land for housing projects. Therefore new LFB policies along with

discussions regarding alternative ways of living and new affordable housing models are gaining relevance in the local government; whereby its representatives, are expecting to find new waterfront development best practices examples through projects like Spreefeld and Holzmarkt. However the “rolling back” of the state, leaving social responsibilities to economic power forces or private entities has already showed to fail in the area, what makes existing official development programs powerful tools result of policy-making and planning.

Bureaucratic procedures were found as an issue in urban renewal of the waterfront; the SUMW program encountered obstacles for implementing development goals like the Spree being a Federal waterway. This fact demands long procedures for achieving permits that allow the realization of any intervention.

Strong political influences in the area have hindered development goals. Although the river shore path along the Spree was established since the nineties after the reunification, until today, this goal it hasn't been fully accomplished.

In this area were identified two marked political lines at different government levels in the district and Senate's level. Both political leaders are publicly supporting current alternative development proposals happening in the area to gain political support. The district representing one political line (the Green Party), is proactive in an urban development redirection for the area and took action in Holzmarkt's plot density change, while on the other side, leaders of the senate's political line (the SPD Party) appear now publicly supporting these type of concepts and generating debates around them creating awareness of their commitment with urban development and housing issues.

This political interplay according to power and interests can affect project realizations. Due to the area's popularity and its awareness- capturing- power; project implementation can be used in this arena for benefiting or affecting political candidates, e.g. the district major can be directly benefited either by striving populist actions or through successful implementations and on the contrary, projects are subject to be hindered or stopped at the senate's level for not favouring the image of the district candidate in election times, i.e. the opposite political line.

The fact that urban planning in Berlin is based on the same development framework previously defined by the set development goals, allow other planning instruments and programs to make further contributions and to connect among them. This is the case of the SG and the SUMW development programs, one of them focusing physical regeneration and the other responsible for providing infrastructure

demanded by changes in the social structure. Between them was found as common goal the accessibility along the Spree shore and mixed- uses along the waterfront.

SG count with some mechanisms like the *Social Plan Procedure* to attend socio-economic issues while interventions take place, however it tackles merely the physical interventions' impacts and lacks a long term social plan coping with issues such as gentrification. The strategic presence of the StadtUmW program represents great chance for addressing economic reactivation, together with social measures provided by other the SenstadtUm programs present in the area like the *Social City*. These programs together, have the potential of granting to the local community a positive participation in the area's urban renewal, thereby undermining expulsion effects.

Urban renewal strategies can include everyone also by ensuring physical access and spatial quality for all citizens to the waterfront. Planning tools and strategies available for the area were already presented in these findings, however participation of stakeholders involved in the planning processes has been found as a key factor among these technical actions; however its effectiveness depends on its realization before formal planning instruments such as the B-Plan are established.

Berlin has diverse citizens' participation means like the researched *Referendum* used in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg in 2008. Both development programs studied have their main participation instruments at the district level. In the case of StUmW was highlighted the district committee dating from 30 years ago. In the SG, the SenStadtUm and the district are currently working on the legal establishment of the BV which is expected to be legally bound to development in the middle of 2013 thereby becoming a formal instrument for citizens' participation. Meetings of the BV were found to give local stakeholders involved in SG like Spreefeld the opportunity to express their opinions regarding interventions; as an example, currently the street/shore path is a subject under discussion in this public event, which already has captured citizens' attention.

Nevertheless, citizens and local actors are not satisfied with participation in their local environment, this discomfort is attributed to lack of information for citizens about events related to new interventions in the area and information often limited to internet websites, therefore means for participation aren't considered strong enough to have a real voice in waterfront development according to these groups. PI developing new projects consider that the urban society is the one developing the city, therefore new development proposals allow them to participate finding

common and democratic solutions in order to achieve their desired way of living. Through self-made projects they achieve a legal and voluntary commitment whereby they have a voice and a right.

Access to waterfront has been in Berlin's plans and among government programs' goals from decades but in the Spree area of study opening access to the public has depended so far on private initiatives. Furthermore this has happened just in exceptional cases like in Spreefeld or Holzmarkt; therefore this area is characterized by its lack of continuity. Private investors' initiatives caring about waterfront access are found in this research in both projects studied; their motivation is linked to their urban development conception, therefore initiators of these projects claim to be finally putting on the practice what has been asked through years by citizen's movements.

Gentrification could be mitigated in this case through government programs ensuring affordable housing like former social housing programs or with housing subsidies. Furthermore it could be learned about other legal instruments allowing the city to make some requirements to developers pointing the common good like the Urban Development Contract, but the latter depends on land ownership.

Socio-spatial segregation processes are ironically taking place as consequence of official programs' interventions like StadtUmbau und SG; new developments in the area could trigger them as well. Both programs are aware of this, but currently there is no legal instrument to countervail this effect. This issue has been recognized at the Senate's level and not only is recognized as a "sectoral" issue i.e. not only is happening in specific areas, more than that, this phenomena covers the whole city and currently is being monitored and researched by official development programs and research institutions.

The IBA in Berlin wasn't found as a proper platform for this case study. The IBA promotes experimental approaches to urban development but the area is now mainly owned by private developers, therefore it wouldn't allow a comprehensive development plan to take place unless strategic areas could be acquired by the city. As it is well known and studied, Berlin doesn't have economic resources to afford this type measures. Furthermore urban renewal in the waterfront has already many successful approaches and best practices examples which can serve for the city and its urban development institutions as example for tackling current issues of this area

as well as for other strategic spree areas that allow achieving waterfront integration and ultimately fulfilling development goals.

For finding how private investors could be *encouraged to realize mixed- use housing developments in the renewal of a post-industrial urban waterfront* was needed a balance of all perceptions regarding projects and official programs or plans currently taking place in the Spree area of study, moreover observing the area and analysing correspondent literature and documents. Several reasons were given in order to explain the emergence of both projects as well as to argue development change or a redirection trend in the area of study.

In relation to that, it could be found that there is no deliberated linkage with the character of these projects (Holzmarkt and Spreefeld) and official development plans or policies.

Changes in Berlin's social structure are not a cause of these projects. Those are not addressed to low social income dwellers and therefore here are participating everyone who can afford it, except for the already mentioned public areas (the "Mörchenpark" or the "Spreeacker"), if they are open to the public.

Berlin's housing shortage and the real-estate market as drivers for both projects is not a strong argument for new developments; despite of both being cooperative projects because buying land in this setting implies a big investment. For this reason, people doing these projects are not only looking for affordability and solving their housing needs, they are also paying for their quality of life.

Current housing situation represents an opportunity though for politicians who take advantage of the already gained and positive image of project initiators. The latter are key players in the Spree area; they already have achieved an image through being proactive in development of this setting and therefore have gained public acceptance. Therefore by accepting and supporting this kind of development projects publicly, politicians seem to be some way involved in those while in reality they're not, this specifically happened in Holzmarkt 's case.

Within this last point is also logic to think about citizen's participation; they have also influenced the local setting where all actors are interplaying and therefore more inclusive development projects, (being "inclusive" directly related to spatial accessibility), are here often seen, mostly by citizens, as a result of their political influence.

All of the before mentioned arguments are in relation through the local environment, which has played a very important role encompassing these events. Thus it can be

stated that a vulnerable local environment is subject to be shaped by the interaction of exceptional stakeholders who ultimately will be somehow able to permeate governance processes.

These individuals are striving for their ideals because they are not meeting them in the city they are living and take it as an individual task, this is mostly attributed to the state's current role of not assuming social functions, therefore they feel to do something like assuming this functions. It is mainly found that bottom-up initiatives developed by local actors are carried out for their personal realizations. They have the social capital for reacting to institutionalized governance systems through creating their own governance settings and institutions; this can be exemplified by a parallel economic approach or alternative, which is in this case the creation of cooperatives (Healey P. 1997, pp. 209).

Main findings and recommendations:

	Main findings	Main recommendations
Incentives for more Inclusive Private Developments	<p>As it was evidenced private investors developing these projects are a limited number of individuals who have the character to initiate them. They have an ideal to achieve in this setting, the capacity of getting organized, as well as the financial resources.</p> <p>In this process of collaborative strategy-making they are approaching a common concern which is housing and are tackling it by establishing their own market. Thus they constituted in both cases a cooperative.</p> <p>For these reasons, it can be found that they don't need or want any kind of support from the public sector; that would mean dependency for them.</p>	<p>Initially, private investors should not be encouraged to realize more inclusive projects. In these special areas, the city should have control and make use of planning tools and legal instruments like the leasehold or the urban development contract, through which development conditions can be established.</p>
Redefining Legal Planning Instruments	<p>Private investors are assuming planning by creating their own spatial proposals and by going beyond legal planning instruments.</p> <p>In Holzmarkt their project proposal generated dynamics at the district level, whereby managing their "local environment".</p> <p>The district proposed changes for the already established B-Plan's density fitting new development concepts like Holzmarkt.</p>	<p>Here is evidenced the need for a re-definition of development guidelines and goals for this area. If B-plans should only be changed under special conditions and this is happening like Holzmarkt's case; it means that planning in this area might be outdated to current city demands. Therefore a revision of current plans of this area would be recommended.</p> <p>Furthermore the city could make use in these cases, the before mentioned legal and planning tools for re-directing development in the area.</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">Planning programs</p>	<p>The Urban Renewal Area (SG) and the Urban Re-construction program are carrying out plans in their respective areas of competence.</p> <p>Both programs count with participatory mechanisms addressing their specific areas of intervention.</p> <p>In this case, and due to their similarities in goals like the open shore path and the area's integrated development, they have the potential to complement each other through their participatory planning processes.</p>	<p>It is recommendable to have a collective approach in this opportunity. Currently this is beginning to happen in city forums, which have been created as it has been evidenced during the research by local actors. However it still requires the formation of an institutional setting and the local government's will and support.</p> <p>These two official programs have strong legal planning capacities (more SG, than SUmW) which should be exploited for the sake of this local setting's integration.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Institutional Resource Building</p>	<p>Citizen movements have been present in the area since the so well known "comprehensive demolitions and redevelopment" (Kahlschlag Sarierung) of the 1970's; more recently reflected in the Mediaspree versenken movement, among others. The latter has been able to some extent to change formal plans, but more importantly to raise public awareness concerning this part of the city. Moreover, other social networks were found, which are actively making proposals to the city for dealing with "changes in the local environment" of the Spree area. Discussions already began, were these range of stakeholders are assuming a strategic approach to collective concerns and simultaneously are beginning to build an institutional resource for collaborating in planning of this area.</p>	<p>This opportunity should be used to re-define development plans in the area. It can be worked collectively with current public planning programs taking place in the area and also with relevant stakeholders involved, using this as a broader arena which will allow discussing individual interventions.</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">Legal Planning Strategies and Tools</p>	<p>It was found that plots and properties in this area, except for one public enterprise settled, are completely privately owned. This evidences that the local government hasn't exploited here available planning tools and strategies to gain control of waterfront urban development.</p>	<p>Despite this area being privately owned, there still are mechanisms like PPP's, taxes breaks, conditioned loans, or ultimately to buy land in order to re-direct development. These mechanisms could be applied in private areas which aren't built along the Spree.</p> <p>The construction lease (Erbbaurecht) and the urban development contract (städtebaulicher Vertrag) are suggested legal tools for the public sector to have some development control over these type of areas.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Urban Development Goals and Finances Goals</p>	<p>Differences in development policies within city departments, more precisely between the Urban Development Senate and the Senate for Finances should be re-thought in order to achieve a good solution for land in waterfront locations.</p> <p>After land has been sold it is difficult to get it back, the city loses control of development and embarks on individual negotiation processes for any kind of intervention.</p>	<p>Therefore is important to do a multi-sectoral work in the local government to re-define what is more important for the city and unify development goals, policies and plans.</p>

Conclusions:

Even though Berlin counts with comprehensive and strong planning instruments, those have not been exhausted for the sake of urban development in this area. Development has been piecemeal however there still are chances of taking measures in the whole Spree area making strategic use of state-owned land and by achieving agreements with PI through existing development programs. Collaborations with the academy, regarding this subject like the U-Lab and forums with experts could bring impartial and new inputs for waterfront development

approaches in this area characterized for being loaded with different particular interests.

After lessons learned regarding differences in development policies within city departments, it is important for Berlin to re-think land management in waterfront locations. After land has been sold it is difficult to get it back, the city loses control of development and embarks the city on individual negotiation processes for any kind of intervention. Therefore is required a multi-sectoral work in the local government to re-define what is important for the city and unify development goals.

Policies of the LFB selling land have an impact on activities carried out by the SenStadtUm, nevertheless this is beginning to change, because issues concerning urban development goals like Berlin's housing shortage and affordable housing alternatives are now being discussed and recognized within the Senate.

The arena where new projects studied are being developed has a very high political content and these type of developments can be used at this juncture, to gain public attention and political supporters.

Local actors are here interested in how their neighbourhood develops, therefore they are expecting more communication means to grant their real involvement in waterfront interventions, as well as to establish legally bound mechanisms making effective their participation on the implementation. This setting already has a trajectory of massive citizens' efforts without the expected development results.

Thus for focussing citizens' needs would be required to improve existent participatory mechanisms until ensuring citizens taking active part of planning processes; that way would be unnecessary for them to arrange other systems outside formal institutions demanding inclusion, or striving for agreements which normally result unfeasible at later stages.

Waterfront development in this setting became so controversial due to policy failures of the city pointing it. The local environment now is vulnerable and encompasses the interplay of various power forces conformed by social networks/ citizens, media, politicians and the local government, whose concerns are currently being exposed and have the potential of influencing formal and informal planning events.

Individuals in the Spree could begin their initiatives due to an initial situation and have accumulated along with local actors concerns for their local environment, which ultimately has helped shaping their strategy materialized in new development

projects. Media has boosted this strategy because social networks constituted by local actors have been seen throughout time somehow as citizens' representatives due to their involvement against local government development plans and policies, in other words, initiators of both projects studied were active on the debate of how this local environment could be protected from being exclusive. On the contrary, citizens and local actors don't find official institutions protecting them or "the general interest". With this vulnerable situation, media managed to put pressure; in the city and its institutions, in politics of the city and in politicians which in the end are representatives of citizens. This pressure has positive aspects because it generates reactions and actions but it also can affect the public opinion driving to question political leaders. Thus a well-structured network has the capacity of reaching political circles; their fear of not entering in the network capturing public's acceptance and being left out of the approved trend make them react.

Private investors involved in this local environment are planning interventions which can be interpreted as containing ethical tasks charged with social responsibility and commitment, therefore these projects have the potential of a positive contribution in urban development of the area by replicating and later becoming a development trend; however this ethical and social burden should be carried by formal institutions making and protecting the laws.

Urban renewal showed here to contain aspects beyond physical regeneration; it includes several actors as well as main life arenas of: society, environment, space and the economy. In this case legal conditions of land and the lack of resources of the city have represented major obstacles for developing current development goals. This situation has demanded interactions between private developers and the government agency in charge, because renewal plans are not always welcomed by landowners and not always result possible reaching consensus. Furthermore the establishment of this urban renewal instrument in areas of social disadvantages like both districts worked on is not usually welcomed without additional impact mitigating measures.

As the renewal program has powerful legal support and its action capacity is wide, its implementation has the potential to unfold many social issues at different social layers. The program and the city don't count with mechanisms for ensuring that the neighbourhood fabric stay unaltered and this condition seems also to be feared by the ones responsible for implementing these measures.

None of these programs want expulsion processes, but the structure of regeneration and reconstruction development programs in Berlin don't have the tools for approaching directly these social phenomena in the areas they are working, it

depends on the establishment of other complementary programs. Like in other examples, bureaucratic procedures can be a major factor hindering development processes; for complementing programs concerning supra-national levels of governance like both programs of this research requires discussion and arguing processes at upper levels, where specific local concerns are subordinated by national development policies.

Both private development projects studied in this research have people leading them with the character and capacity as humans to carry out these projects; they can organize themselves and work in community to develop what they need creating and maturing a social network. With these projects, initiated through high social capital they have the opportunity to represent their ideals through participation processes and set their desired living standards; however apart from this human capacity, these types of developments require financial means to be realized; therefore this group leading the social network is considered exceptional.

New projects have the potential of introducing new “ways of living in the urban waterfront” through integrative public activities in private spaces offering access to a local community who has felt excluded so far from urban renewal of the waterfront. Nevertheless it is not granted so far, that these concepts coming from private initiatives will be implemented as described: both properties have legal conditions that protect their private character and except for the urban renewal area, projects can manage and re-think at any time their integration to the local environment.

Main Conclusion:

From this case can be concluded that urban renewal in Berlin's post- industrial urban waterfront includes a wide range of stakeholders which can react to urban development behaviours conceiving a space regardless social costs of the economic activity. Now local actors are proactively reacting; private investors with bottom-up initiatives are assuming clearly a more social role by developing more inclusive mixed use-housing forms according to their city ideal which among others includes *creating places for integration through spaces*.

Governance objectives materialized in urban development policies and in planning programs are examples in this research of the complex relation between government formal institutions and other informal institutions like social networks and citizens' movements, both demanding more flexible government agencies, capable of reacting to population changes. For enabling the feedback between social networks and official institutions demands a social- oriented technical expertise coping with the degree of autonomy of policy implementation but also with external power forces, thereby creating an own feasible *governance style*.

Here planning is clearly defined by the set of formal and informal tools available, moreover these instruments offer flexibility to be re-thought and readapted, however for making them effective would also need a process of "strategic policy-readjustment" addressing a proper and comprehensive use of these tools and other legal instruments through *collaborative planning* and striving for a new conformation of this area of Berlin which, after all, still is offering possibilities for a turnabout in development and for becoming one of its better places.

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Appendix:

List of Interviewees

Interviewee		Position/Institution	Place and date
1	Alfaro Paola	Founder and director of the U-Lab (Urban Research and Design Laboratory), Technische Universität Berlin. Worked on research project in the Kreuzberg's side of the Spree area with multidisciplinary groups and students; focused on public spaces.	Berlin, November 21 th 2012
2	Bachmann Andreas	Office director of the Koordinationsbüro für Stadtentwicklung und Projektmanagement - KoSP GmbH, which is the office in charge of Urban Renewal in Mitte - Nördliche Luisenstadt.	Berlin, November 23 th 2012
3	Günter Joachim	IBA Director International Construction Exhibition - IBA Berlin 2020. Senate Department for Urban Development and the Environment	Berlin, November 20 th 2012
4	Hahn Ekhart	Prof. Dr.-Ing. Professor of ecological urban and spatial development Dortmund Universität. One of the pioneers of ecological urbanism, he introduced the concept and the new research field "Settlement ecology" in 1979.	Berlin, November 6 th 2012
5	Hofmann Aljoshia	Architect scientific researcher in the Technische Universität Berlin, Faculty VI: Planning - Building – Environment. Institute for Sociology. Actively involved in development of post-industrial cities, with focus in the eastern Spree area.	Berlin, October 7 th 2012

6	Joost Carsten	Architect, citizen activist, "Mediaspree versenken" citizen movement co-founder.	Berlin, November 22 th 2012
7	Konrad Daniela	Founder and director of the U-Lab (Urban Research and Design Laboratory), Technische Universität Berlin. Worked on research project in the Kreuzberg's side of the Spree area with multidisciplinary groups and students; focused on public spaces.	Berlin, November 21 th 2012
8	Schammer Brigitte	Stadtumbau Ost und West Program. Senate Department for Urban Development and the Environment.	Berlin, November 30 th 2012
9	Schöningh Christian	Architect, director of the Zusammenarbeiter's office currently managing the Spreefeld project. He is one of the initiators, developers and executers of the project. Active member of the citizen movement Stadt Neudenken. Member of the Cooperative for Urban Creativity (GuK), i.e. he is one of the creative heads of Holzmarkt's project.	Berlin, November 20 th 2012
10	Schroth Wilko	Expert in the area's development, citizen activist, spokesman of Megaspree citizen movement.	München-Berlin December 24 th 2012 (Skype interview)

Questionnaires:

Questionnaire type 1:

General:

Can you briefly introduce or highlight your labour or contributions to the urban renewal of the waterfront, if possible focused in the area between the Schillingbrücke and Michaelbrücke?

Which is your vision for the area, and do you think that urban development of the area is addressing that direction?

Urban renewal in the Post-industrial urban waterfront:

Which do you think have been the most relevant change (s) in terms of urban renewal of the waterfront in the last years? Explain the positive and negative aspects.

Which do you think are the main potentials and challenges of this particular as an urban renewal area?

Which kind of projects do you think would be the most appropriate for the urban renewal of the waterfront?

Mixed- use housing developments:

What do you think about current land uses of the area? (Temporary uses, commercial uses, cultural uses...etc....)

How do you consider mixed-use housing developments can be an inclusive planning tool for this area? - Which do you think could be the positive and negative consequences of these developments?

What is important to consider in mixed-use housing developments of this kind (urban renewal/waterfront)?

Why do you think projects such as Spreeacker and Holzmarkt are beginning to gain strength currently in this area?

Do you think that both projects mentioned before are somehow inclusive developments? – Or can they trigger an upgrade of the area, leading to higher demand and costs of housing?

Do you consider housing cooperative associations the new type of private investor in this area? Do you think it is positive?

Do you think mixed- use housing developments in the urban renewal of waterfront development should be encouraged by the public sector some way?- What would you propose?

Inclusive planning strategies:

What do you think could make this area more inclusive?

How could be balanced forthcoming projects of this area, with existing social conditions in the neighbourhood for avoiding more gentrification? - How can these impacts of private developments be mitigated?

How do you think, could Berlin's urban waterfront renewal be developed in this area by private investors, but at the same time being inclusive (access to the river/ affordable housing/ public space's quality)?

Which planning tools or approaches could be explored to incentive private investors to realize more sustainable and inclusive projects?

Do you think that the IBA could be an appropriate planning instrument for these developments?

Questionnaire type 2:

General:

Können Sie bitte kurz die Arbeit der Stadterneuerungsabteilung zusammenfassen, wenn möglich mit Schwerpunkt auf den Bereich zwischen der Schillingbrücke and Michaelbrücke?

Welche sind die Hauptherausforderungen der Stadterneuerungsabteilung im spezifischen Bereich?

Wie können hier Projekte zwischen Entwicklungszielen, wirtschaftlichem Status und dem gemeinsamen Interesse des Einwohners und der Senate ausgewogen werden?

Urban renewal in the Post-industrial urban waterfront:

Welche Projekte denken Sie sind geeignet für die Stadterneuerung der Wasserlagen im Bereich?

Die Eisfabrik ist eine Gebäude des historischen Erbes von Berlin. Könnten Sie mir bitte etwas über die Zukunft der Eisfabrik mitteilen? Haben Sie besondere Pläne für sie? Gibt es eine definierte Nutzung fürs Gebäude?

Wissen Sie etwas über die Zukunft der alten Seifenfabrik?

Mixed- use housing developments:

Was können Sie über die aktuelle Nutzungen des Areals hervorheben bzw. entlang der Wasserlage?

Warum denken Sie, dass Projekte wie Spreefeld und Holzmarkt in diesem Raum an Stärke gewinnen?

Denken Sie, dass die bevor erwähnte Projekte inklusive Entwicklungen sind? (Inklusive bedeutet räumliche Erreichbarkeit, Zugänglichkeit und Qualität des öffentlichen Raum entlang des Flusses sowie soziale gemischte Projekte).

Wie könnten Wohn- und Mischnutzungsentwicklungen eine inklusive Planungsstrategie im Bereich werden? Wie könnte es beim öffentlichen Sektor gefördert werden?

Denken Sie das die Eigenschaften/der Charakter der künftigen Projekte im Bereich bzw. Holzmarkt und Spreefeld sowie der zukünftigen städtebaulichen Projekten (z.B. die Eisfabrik), andere Projekte unter Berücksichtigung des Allgemeininteresses auslösen könnten?

Inclusive planning strategies:

Eine der Aufgaben der Koordinationsbüro ist die Erschließung und Gestaltung des bisher unzugänglichen Spreeufers sowie der öffentlichen Spreeräume. Welche sind die Pläne und Strategien, um diese Ziele zu erreichen, trotz der besonderen Bedingungen der privaten Grundstücke?

Wie können Privatinvestoren mit ihren Interventionen, eine bewusste Rolle bezüglich der räumlichen Qualität der Wasserlage anzunehmen?

Unter Berücksichtigung des Flusses als potenzielles Stadtvermögen, denken Sie, dass eine nachhaltige städtebauliche Entwicklung hier vom offiziellen Sektor gefordert/gefördert sein sollte? Wie?

Denken Sie, dass die neue Entwicklungsvorschläge im Bereich eine Ergebnis der aktiven Bürgerbeteiligung sind?

Wie könnten zukünftigen Projekten im Bereiches ausgewogen werden, um Gentrifizierung zu vermeiden? Wie könnten diese Auswirkungen der Privatentwicklungen gemildert werden?

Denken Sie, dass die IBA, eine geeignete Planungsinstrument für die Stadterneuerung des Spreeraums sein würde?

Questionnaire type 3

General:

Können Sie bitte kurz die Arbeit der Stadterneuerungsabteilung zusammenfassen, wenn möglich mit Schwerpunkt auf den Bereich zwischen der Schillingbrücke and Michaelbrücke?

Haben sie an Projekte am Spreeufer gedacht? Welche Ideen oder Vorschläge hinsichtlich der IBA Aufgaben könnten Sie sich dafür vorstellen?

Wie ist die Vision der IBA für diesen besonderen Bereich und denken Sie, dass die Stadtentwicklung dort dieser Richtung folgt?

Urban renewal in the Post-industrial urban waterfront:

Welche Projekte denken Sie sind geeignet für die Stadterneuerung der Wasserlagen im Bereich?

Welche denken Sie sind die wichtigste städtebauliche Entwicklungen der Wasserlage im Spree der letzten Zeiten?

Welche denken Sie sind die Hauptherausforderungen sowie die Potenziale des Areals als Stadterneuerungsbereich?
Mixed- use housing developments:
Was denken Sie über die aktuelle Nutzungen des Spreerraums?
Warum denken Sie, dass Projekte wie Spreefeld und Holzmarkt in diesem Raum an Stärke gewinnen?
Denken Sie, dass die bevor erwähnte Projekte inklusive Entwicklungen sind? (Inklusive bedeutet räumliche Erreichbarkeit, Zugänglichkeit und Qualität des öffentlichen Raum entlang des Flusses sowie soziale gemischte Projekte).
Wie könnten Wohn- und Mischnutzungsentwicklungen eine inklusive Planungsstrategie im Bereich werden? Wie könnte es beim öffentlichen Sektor gefördert werden?
Denken Sie das die Eigenschaften/der Charakter der künftigen Projekte im Bereich bzw. Holzmarkt und Spreefeld sowie der zukünftigen städtebaulichen Projekten (z.B. die Eisfabrik), andere Projekte unter Berücksichtigung des Allgemeininteresses auslösen könnten?
Denken Sie, dass die Genossenschaften eine neue Art von Privatinvestoren im Bereich sind? Finden Sie das positiv?
Inclusive planning strategies:
Wie können Privatinvestoren mit ihren Interventionen, eine bewusste Rolle bezüglich der räumlichen Qualität der Wasserlage anzunehmen? Unter Berücksichtigung des Flusses als potenzielles Stadtvermögen, denken Sie, dass eine nachhaltige städtebauliche Entwicklung hier vom offiziellen Sektor gefordert/gefördert sein sollte? Wie?
Denken Sie, dass die neue Entwicklungsvorschläge im Bereich eine Ergebnis der aktiven Bürgerbeteiligung sind?
Wie könnten zukünftigen Projekten im Bereiches ausgewogen werden, um Gentrifizierung zu vermeiden? Wie könnten diese Auswirkungen der Privatentwicklungen gemildert werden?
Denken Sie, dass die IBA, eine geeignete Planungsinstrument für die Stadterneuerung des Spreerraums sein würde?

Questionnaire type 4

Allgemein:

Können Sie bitte kurz zusammenfassen wie Sie sich für die Wasserlagenentwicklung mit Schwerpunkt im Bereich zwischen der Schillingbrücke and Michaelbrücke engagiert haben? Wie beteiligen Sie sich jetzt an dieser Entwicklung?

Welche sind nach Ihrer Meinung, die Hauptherausforderungen der Stadtentwicklung dieses Bereiches? (spezifisch in der Spreeraum Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg)?

Die Initiative:

Wurde die Initiative bisher im Planungsverfahren des Areals gesetzlich inkludiert?

Wie läuft jetzt die Partizipation der Bürger? Besteht es eine Beziehung zwischen Bürgervorschlägen und den städtebaulichen Maßnahmen hinsichtlich der Entwicklung im Bereiches?

Wie wurden die Koordination zwischen Entwicklungszielen der Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, wirtschaftlichen Interessen der Senatsverwaltung für Finanzen und den Ansprüchen der Bürger bisher behandelt?

Urban renewal in the Post-industrial urban waterfront:

Welche Projekte denken Sie sind geeignet für die Stadterneuerung der Wasserlagen im Bereich?

Was denken Sie über die aktuelle Nutzungen entlang der Wasserlage (Zwischennutzungen, Gewerbe, Kultur...etc.)? - Warum denken Sie, dass Projekte wie „Spreefeld“ und „Holzmarkt“ jetzt in diesem Raum an Stärke gewinnen?

Mixed- use housing developments:

Was denken Sie über die aktuelle Nutzungen des Spreeraums?

Warum denken Sie, dass Projekte wie Spreefeld und Holzmarkt in diesem Raum an Stärke gewinnen?

Das Konzept Holzmarkts zielt Räume für die Öffentlichkeit wie der Mörchenpark und Zugang zum Flussufer. Auf der anderen Seite berücksichtigt das Spreefeld Projekt auch Flussuferzugänglichkeit sowie die Entwicklung von alternativen Aktivitäten. Außerdem zielt das Projekt bezahlbare Mietwohnungen zu generieren....

Denken Sie, dass die bevor erwähnte Projekte inklusive Entwicklungen sind? (Inklusive bedeutet räumliche Erreichbarkeit, Zugänglichkeit und Qualität des öffentlichen Raum entlang des Flusses sowie soziale gemischte Projekte).

Denken Sie das die Eigenschaften/der Charakter der künftigen Projekte im Bereich bzw. Holzmarkt und Spreefeld sowie der zukünftigen städtebaulichen Projekten (z.B. die Eisfabrik), andere Projekte unter Berücksichtigung des Allgemeininteresses auslösen könnten?
Denken Sie, dass die Genossenschaften eine neue Art von Privatinvestoren im Bereich sind? Finden Sie das positiv?
Inclusive planning strategies:
Eine der Aufgaben der Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung ist die Erschließung und Gestaltung des bisher unzugänglichen Spreeufers sowie der öffentlichen Spreeräume. Was denken Sie sollten Pläne und Strategien berücksichtigen, um diese Ziele zu erreichen, trotz der besonderen Bedingungen der privaten Grundstücke?
Wie können Privatinvestoren mit ihren Interventionen, eine bewusste Rolle bezüglich der räumlichen Qualität der Wasserlage anzunehmen? Unter Berücksichtigung des Flusses als potenzielles Stadtvermögen, denken Sie, dass eine nachhaltige städtebauliche Entwicklung hier vom offiziellen Sektor gefordert/gefördert sein sollte? Wie?
Wenn Sie an andere Alternativen für das Spreeuferentwicklung nachdenken, welche Anreize würden Sie vorschlagen für die Planung und Umsetzung von inklusiven Projekten?
Denken Sie, dass die neue Entwicklungsvorschläge im Bereich eine Ergebnis der aktiven Bürgerbeteiligung sind?
Wie könnten zukünftigen Projekten im Bereiches ausgewogen werden, um Gentrifizierung zu vermeiden? Wie könnten diese Auswirkungen der Privatentwicklungen gemildert werden?
Denken Sie, dass die IBA, eine geeignete Planungsinstrument für die Stadterneuerung des Spreeraums sein würde?
Welche ist Ihre Vision des Bereiches und denken Sie, dass die geplante Stadtentwicklung des Areals dieser Richtung zielt?

Questionnaire type 5:

General:
Can you briefly introduce or highlight the labour of the City reconstruction's department of Berlin (Stadtumbau Berlin) in the Spree area?
Which are the main challenges for the city reconstruction's department, working in this particular zone (specifically in the Spree area of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg)?

Does the Urban development Senate's Administration have any participation in processes of property purchase carried out by the state's real state companies such as the Liegenschaftsfonds or the BIM Berliner Immobilienmanagement GmbH, when state-owned plots are sold? How is it coordinated?

How is the coordination between the objectives of development of the Urban Development Senate's Administration, economic interests of the Finance Senate's Administration and citizens' demands?

Which kind of projects do you think would be the most appropriate for urban renewal of the waterfront in this area?

Mixed- use housing developments:

What does the Urban Reconstruction office think about current uses of the Spree area (temporary uses, commercial uses, cultural uses...etc....)? - Why do you think housing and mixed-use housing projects such as Spreefeld and Holzmarkt respectively are beginning to gain strength now in this area?

As the Holzmarkt's concept is aiming to generate spaces for the public such as the Mörchenpark and access to the Spree's river side and the Spreefeld projects is considering also leaving access to the river and thinking in generating some alternative activities, as well as some affordable housing renting units....

Do you consider these developments some way more inclusive (inclusive referring to river accessibility, socially- mixed projects and public's space quality)?

Do you think that the character of the projects currently developed in the area more specifically Holzmarkt and Spreefeld could trigger other projects with similar or more considerations regarding the general interest?

Inclusive planning strategies:

As one of the fields of action of the Senate for urban development and their urban renewal section is to open the mostly un-accessible Spree river side and revaluating the public space. How do you think can be achieved this, taking into account the privately owned areas?

How do you think can private investors assume a more conscious role regarding the spatial quality of the urban waterfront with their interventions? Do you think that it should some way be encouraged by the official sector, considering the river a potential asset for all the citizens?

Thinking in some alternatives for waterfront development, which kind of incentives (e.g. taxes breaks, legal or planning instruments...etc.) would you propose for private investors to realize more inclusive projects?

Do you consider that new development proposals for this area such as the ones mentioned before are in part, result of active citizens´ participation?
How could be balanced forthcoming projects of this area, with the existing social conditions in the neighbourhood to avoid more gentrification? - How can these impacts of private developments be mitigated?
Which is the senate´s vision of the area? Do you think that urban development of this area is addressing that direction?

Questionnaire type 6:

General:
Can you briefly introduce or highlight how you have been involved in waterfront development of this area?
Which is your vision for the area, and do you think that urban development of the area is addressing that direction?
Holzmarkt und Spreefeld:
Can you please tell me how each project (Holzmarkt and Spreefeld) initiated and their current stage?
How was acquired each plot? - Did each cooperative purchase it for both cases?
Did the project concepts influenced the process or what can you tell me about the purchase process?
Apart from the fact of both projects being cooperatives, do you consider them inclusive developments? What can you highlight?
How have people been involved in the planning and implementation´s process of both projects?
Holzmarkt Project:
The project plans to generate in the commercial and cultural areas around 300 jobs. As far as I understand, the plot was from the Die Berliner Stadtreinigung (BSR) and through the Property Fund of Berlin (Liegenschaftsfunds) it was sold to a Swiss institution (Stiftung), which was the one who offered the best price. They later negotiated with the Holzmarkt cooperative a legal right to build in this area....
Do you consider that the Property Funds (Liegenschaftsfunds) is encouraging in some way private developers to realize more inclusive projects?
Who is going to maintain the Mörchenpark in the project, the cooperative or the city?

Spreefeld Project:

Is this project mostly going to provide housing? Or has it considered mixed- uses as well?

How has the “Sanierungsgebiet” condition of the plot affected its development?

How have you negotiated public spaces of the project with the city (corridor along the spree river side)? Has this special conditions affected the project, or will it be positive?

Urban renewal in the Post-industrial urban waterfront

Which kind of projects do you think would be the most appropriate for this area (waterfront urban renewal)?

Which do you consider have been and are the main challenges and potentials for developing in this area?

Urban renewal in the Post-industrial urban waterfront

What do you think in general about current uses of the area? (Temporary uses, commercial uses, cultural uses...etc....) and why do you think projects such as Spreefeld and Holzmarkt are beginning to gain strength currently in this area?

Do you think that the two projects mentioned before are more inclusive developments (meaning by inclusive, spatial accessibility and public space’s quality along the river or socially- mixed projects)?

Mixed –use housing developments along the waterfront, grant some way the permanence of people 24 hours, this makes people enjoy the river and avoids having just empty commercial spaces in the night. Despite of this, the land use doesn’t grant inclusive developments. - How can mixed-use housing developments become an inclusive planning tool for this area? How could it be encouraged by the official sector?- Which kind of incentives would you propose for private investors to realize more inclusive projects? (Taxes breaks, legal or planning instruments...)

Do you think that the character of the projects soon to be developed in the area such as Holzmarkt and the Spreefeld as well as the new interventions, e.g. the Eisfabrik’s future, can trigger other projects with more considerations regarding the general interest?

Do you consider housing cooperative associations the new type of private investor in this area? Do you think it is positive?

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Do you consider that new development proposals for this area are result of active citizen’s participation?

How could be balanced forthcoming projects of this area, with the existing social conditions in the neighbourhood to avoid more gentrification? - How can these impacts of private developments be mitigated?

Do you think that the IBA could be an appropriate planning instrument for these developments (urban renewal of the waterfront)?

How do you think, can projects be balanced within the Senates, between the objectives of development, economic conditions of the Berlin and the common interests?