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Selling Berlin by the Pound:

A Critical Study on Urban and Demographic Outcomes of Post-

Touristic Berlin's Commodification

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Commodification

Berlin'i Kiloyla Satmak:

Post-Turistik Berlin'in Metalaşmasının Kentsel ve Demografik Sonuçları Üzerine
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*To my mom,
And to my dad.*

Abstract Focusing on the case of Berlin, this thesis explores how the cases of Holocaust, Cold War and 90's deindustrialization uses the negative spaces of the city, and their transformations into touristic attractions. While each case has a similarity when they are examined in the scope of post-tourism and negative space usage, all are unique cases and very different outcomes. Through the study, counter-memorials of the Holocaust, Wall's affect on Easterners, the *Ostalgie* phenomenon, results of 90's deindustrialization, and gentrification of Kreuzberg are examined.

Öz Berlin örneğine odaklanan bu tez Holokost, Soğuk Savaş ve 90'ların de-endüstriyelleşme sürecinde kentteki negatif mekanların kullanımını, ve turistik etkinliklere dönüşmelerini incelemektedir. Bahsedilen durumlar post-turizm ve negatif alan kullanımı üzerinden benzerlik gösterse de, her biri özgündür ve farklı sonuçlar doğurmuştur. Çalışma boyunca, Holokost'un karşı-anıtları, Duvar'ın Doğulular üzerindeki etkisi, *Ostalgie* fenomeni, 90'larn de-endüstriyelleşmesinin sonuçları, ve Kreuzberg'in soylulaştırılması incelenmiştir.

Keywords Berlin · Memory · Urban space · Berlin Wall · Holocaust · Ostalgie · Post-Tourism · Deindustrialization · Gentrification

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1. INTRODUCTION

1. 1. Berlin, Voids and Tourism

'A cheap holiday in other people's misery'
Sex Pistols – Holidays in the Sun

In Hitler's utopian envisagement, where *Drittes Reich* wins the Second World War and Germany becomes a world dominating empire, Berlin was planned to be transformed into *Welthauptstadt Germania*, a world capital that can only be compared with Ancient Egypt, Babylon or Rome (Jochmann 2000). The dream of legendary *Germania* shattered as the war ended, while Allied and Soviet forces invaded Berlin. Let alone the ironic breaking down of centralized *Germania's* singularity into four pieces, dominated by The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (CCCP), France, United Kingdom (UK) and United States of America (USA), *Drittes Reich's* urban sovereignty over Berlin left its place to a competitive division, and converted the city into a symbolic playground for the actors of the Cold War. For both clashing ideologies Berlin was a showcase that must be shaped. The division existed till 1989 and in 1989 the *Wall* dividing two Germanys fell to pieces reuniting people and cultures of two different countries. Today, more than 25 years after *Wall's* dismantling, the society of united Germany includes many divisions in itself, some of which do not have a relation with the *Wall*.

The demographic separation becomes visible especially in Berlin, the city that has been divided in to two for decades, and ruled by totally different

ideologies. Berlin contains a diverse population because of immigration, division and reunification. This diverse mix has an inevitable reflection on urban geography. Berlin also contains traces of its history as memory landscapes, most of which exist as voids in the urban texture. The voids can be seen and named as *negative spaces*. *Negative spaces* of Berlin can be divided into three main groups. First of all there are counter-monuments of Holocaust, which use the negative space in order to challenge Germany's modernist fascist monumentality. Secondly there are remaining voids of the *Wall*. They are spread to the city as urban cavities of empty spaces, former *DDR* buildings, gentrified districts in the center, and mostly empty mass housing districts on the outer side of Berlin. Thirdly there are the remaining buildings of Berlin's deindustrialization process; most of which are squatted or used as art galleries, clubs, bars, and open-air cinemas. Berlin's economic conditions position tourism as a main source of income; and beside their everyday usage, three forms of negative landscapes listed have touristic usages. Their interactions with tourists result unexpected major changes in social context and repositions cultural and ethnic minority groups of Germany.

Traveling and being a tourist is a part of modern life. Urry (2005), who works on tourists and tourism, argues that the tourist is a result of modernity and modernity's regulative structure. Modernity makes a division between the ordinary and extraordinary, and the tourist steps out of its repetitive everyday life into the sphere of extraordinary. According to Cohen (1979) 'tourism is essentially a temporary reversal of everyday activities – it is a no-work, no-care, no thrift situation' (p. 181) and for Smith (1978) a tourist is 'a temporarily

leisured person who visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing change'. The post-modern approaches towards tourism remark that the modern limits of everyday life have been expanded. Due to this expansion some activities attributed to tourists and tourism become ordinary. Lash and Urry (1994) talk about commercialization of today's post-modern societies, and explain relocation of touristic actions into every day life as a result of virtual potentials of mass media and simulated environments. Lash and Urry use the term *post-tourist* to define the outcome subject of post-modernity's consumer attitudes. Wickens (2002) points out tourists' tendency to seek individual experiences rather than predestined industrial touristic tours. Similarly, Munt (1994, p. 104) tells that 'tourism is everything and everything is tourism'. For him, any kind of action and any topic can be combined with tourism. The singular predestined touristic attractions are diverged and the boundaries of tourism as a profession are no longer clearly visible.

Adventure, medical needs, sex, culture, space, religion, birth, ecology, drugs, wildlife, sports, festivals, carnivals, art events, sun bathing, skiing, museums, historical places and even suicides, death and disasters can be transformed into touristic attractions. Each type of tourism comes with some activities, goals, achievements, trophies, to do lists and so on. Ironically being a tourist means responsibility. The extraordinary territory must be explored, enjoyed and the whole trip should be narrated afterwards with the support of touristic artifacts. The digital age also tasks the tourists to make status updates, to make check-ins during visits and also to upload photos and videos. From this

point forth it can be claimed that any activity that gives an opportunity of practicing an extraordinary experiment has a potential to be converted into a touristic activity. Today tourism is not only about traveling to a new geography in order to experience some extraordinary involvement. With theme parks, shopping centers, television, cinema, computer games, internet sites, blogs, photographs, videos, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Vine, YouTube and many more everyone is touring everywhere, everyone is experiencing everything and everyone is a full time tourist. However none of the expected touristic actions are fixed constants, they are rather modifiable expectations. In other words tourism has many themes that can be adjusted according to each individual's choice, and turns into a unique experience.

Agamben's (2007) explanations of *profanation* and capitalism's tendency of *museification* have an interaction and a parallelism with the mentioned definition of post-tourism. According to him capitalism acts like a religion; and just like religion, it uses *play* in order to *profane* the *sacred*, which is excluded from the common use. For Agamben, late capitalism's aim is to create *absolutely unprofanable*, and he gives museums as an example. If *profanation* is the counter-*dispositive* that enables a common usage, the *unprofanable* is created by an impossibility of usage. As a *dispositive* is unattached and incorporated through capitalism, it travels from sacred sphere to common sphere. Replaced object turns into an object of consumption just like everything else. Turning everything into objects of consumption is late capitalism's tendency; and when something exists only in order to be totally used up, it can no longer be freely used. Post-touristic

activities and touristification of everything function as *play*. Touristification is attached to *museification*. They return things back to common sphere, but because of late capitalism's structure they can never provide a free usage.

The main purpose of this study is to analyze Berlin's commodification as a post-touristic city. Considering Berlin and its touristic activities, the traumatic past that stands on the city's shoulders cannot be skipped. While Berlin is famous for its street art, wild nightlife, squats, and cultural enclaves like Kreuzberg and Neukölln, it also includes the remains of the Holocaust, and the Berlin Wall. From *Reichstag's glass dome* to *Tränenpalast*, from *Check Point Charlie* to *East Side Gallery* all historical layers are connected to each other, and the whole city is designed as a reminder of the past. For this study three cultural and/or ethnic minority groups, these groups' projections to the urban domain and domains' reformation through tourism are investigated. Besides academic works on the topics, amateur documentaries, museums, tourism booklets, flyers, videos, photos and personal touristic experiences are used through out the study.

In the first chapter, memorialization of the Holocaust and its touristic value are examined. The outcomes of Germany's counter-monumentality movement and the negative-space usage and tourism's affect on remembrance and positioning of Jews are also listed as topics of this chapter. In the second chapter, Cold War division and the impact of reunification are studied. West Berlin's appearance as a fantasy space in Eastern gaze, the disappointing outcomes of united post-*Wall* Germany, *Ostalgie*, and commodification of *DDR* are examined.

Finally in the third chapter, deindustrialization of Berlin and its urban results are discussed. Creation of *Kreuzberg mix*, Kreuzberg's construction as an *urban abject* and tourism-based gentrification are explained.

2. HOLOCAUST

2. 1. The Monumentality

*'Time won't find the lost
It'll sweep up our skeleton bones
So take the wheel and I will take the pedals'
They Might Be Giants – Road Movie To Berlin*

Independent from the state's ideological position, the monument is an artistic structure of official history, which occupies an urban area and obliges the observers to remember. The monument lays the burden of thinking and holds the observer responsible for remembering. It also forms the method and the content of the act of remembrance. For modern states, spatiality is important to construct both collective and individual memory; it guides people in order not to get lost in their imagination.

Halbwachs (1996, pp. 137-8) claims that *collective memory* is constructed with the help of collective identities, forged by social attachments. The social groups cannot be independent from the physical space that they exist in; and the monument creates the needed fixation to form a unity, connected to the past. On the other hand it is a question if any object, whether public or not, can have a fixed meaning. Till (2005, pp. 9) opposes the fixed definition of places' meanings and defines them in a continuous process of remake. The meaning is never stable; it is redefined constantly; and it can change in time. Rosenberg (2012) draws attention to subjective experiences. For her, the public memorial 'gathers the many strands of discrete, individual memories and gives them a common meaning— breaking down the unitary concept of collective memory to "collected

memory”.’ (p. 134) Monument can never achieve modernity’s mission to form a national unchanging collective memory. Same events are experienced, understood, and remembered differently by different individuals. Even meaning of an event changes in time without having any stability.

Besides the impossibility of a stable meaning there is more. Huyssen (2003 a) lists some other properties of the modernist monumentality, to demonstrate its problematic structure:

The monumental is aesthetically suspect because it is tied to nineteenth century bad taste, to kitsch, and to mass culture. It is politically suspect because it is seen as representative of nineteenth-century nationalisms and of twentieth-century totalitarianisms. It is socially suspect because it is the privileged mode of expression of mass movements and mass politics. It is ethically suspect because in its preference for bigness it indulges in the larger-than-human, in the attempt to overwhelm the individual spectator. It is psychoanalytically suspect because it is tied to narcissistic delusions of grandeur and to imaginary wholeness. (p. 38-9)

It is clear that monument, its success and its necessity still remain as debates to be argued.

Young (1999), points that the designated primary usage of the monument as a fixed point with a fixed meaning in the public sphere in order to shape memory and strengthen ideology, is highly used and abused in Germany during the Nazi era. Considering the solid relations molded through 30’s and 40’s, the contemporary artists need to break the monuments’ possible existing bonds with fascism. They have the task to built monuments, which challenge the modernity’s understanding of monumentality. Young (1999) sorts out duty of anti-fascist monument:

A monument against fascism, therefore, would have to be a monument against itself: against the traditionally didactic function of monuments, against their tendency to displace the past they would have us contemplate—and finally, against the authoritarian propensity in monumental spaces that reduces viewers to passive spectators. (p. 3)

To sum up, in the hands of modernity the monument was used as a *dispositive*. It supported the construction of the *collective memory* in the urban space, and aimed to strengthen the national unity. In the eyes of nation states, it was seen as a fixed point that reminds the necessary historical events. Leave alone differentiating individual memories, monuments fixity of meaning is debatable. It is also problematic in the terms of its aesthetics, and its existence as a product mass culture. Last but not least, Germany's transformation into fascism, left strong and still existing direct bonds between with the nation state, its ideology, and monumentality. Today, Germany needs to remember its catastrophic past, but it needs to find an alternative to modernist authoritarian monumental singularity. This quest for reckoning gave birth to *counter-monumentality*: monuments against monumentality itself.

In Agamben's (2009) definition, a *dispositive* is 'literally anything that has in some way the capacity to capture, orient, determine, intercept, model, control, or secure the gestures, behaviors, opinions, or discourses of living beings.' (pp. 14) Considering the *monumentality* and its mission as a unifier of national identity, every monument stands as a *dispositive* formed in order to recreate the discourse for the selected historical event that it is dedicated to. The monument's urban geography is dominated by a *monumental dispositif*, which regulates the visitors' behaviors. In the next parts, *counter-monumentality* movement, some

examples from Berlin, and their relations with tourists will be examined.

2. 2. Countermonuments

*'Over and over I ask myself is this a dream?
I can hardly imagine the sadness the city has seen
There will come a day
When its chains will fall away'
Lonestar – The Bells Of Berlin*

Berlin is famous for its examples of *counter-monuments* that are spread all around the city, but as Young (1999) mentions there are three prominent examples that should be discussed: Christian Boltanski's *The Missing House*, Micha Ullman's *Denkmal zur Erinnerung an die Bücherverbrennung* [Monument for Book Burning], and Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock's *Orte des Erinnerns* [Places of Remembrance]. Unlike monuments, all these there places use the strength of the void to turn the viewers in to active spectators. By embodying the lack. Sometimes it is the lack of people, sometimes it is the lack of material objects, and sometimes it is the lack of visibility. They provoke observers to complete the picture in their minds. Each completion creates an individual relation and breaks stability of *collective memory*.

2. 2. 1. The Missing House

The First example would be the French artist Christian Boltanski (1944), who is famous for his Holocaust related works, and *The Missing House*. Boltanski's *The Missing House* (Figure 1) project is mostly consists of a

preserved empty parcel left from 1945 bombings. He takes this void and instead of erecting a monument on it, leaves it empty. The only things that make a bound with the past are the nameplates of the former inhabitants that are placed on the walls of the neighboring buildings.

While examining Botlanski's work, Solomon-Godeau (1998) focuses on the meaning of absence and its metaphoric parallelism with the loss. 'The gap in the building (...) presents obvious analogies to what is now absent in German national life, namely, the presence of its once flourishing Jewish community.' (pp. 17-8) To tell differently, the Jewish community, once a significant part of the German society, is now perished just like *The Missing House*, and left its place to an invisible absence. The Missing House's negative space unexpectedly stands up, becomes visible, and as a void it bleeds quietly like an open wound the past, and its untold stories.

2. 2. 2. Monument for Book Burning

Micha Ullman (1939), born in Tel Aviv, to a German Jewish family that migrated. He is famous for his *Monument for Book Burnings* at Babelplatz Berlin. On 10th of May 1933 at Bebelplatz, Nazis burned nearly 20 thousand books. The purpose of this action was to clean Germany from un-German literature. To memorialize the infamous book burnings of 1933, Ullman created an empty cubic underground library, big enough to contain 20 thousand books, with a window on top it. (Figure 2) The library's top window lies on the ground level, making it nearly impossible to be seen from a distant place. There are no explanations

directly next to the monument, however a few plates quoting Heinrich Heine's infamous words '*Das war ein Vorspiel nur, dort wo man Bücher verbrennt, verbrennt man am Ende auch Menschen*' [This was only a prologue, where they burn books, in the end they burn people too], and containing explanations of the book burning events lies around. Again it is an example for the usage of negative space. Even though it can stay unnoticed by visitors, and there is nothing that attracts them, once the monument is discovered its lack of books represent what has been ripped of from society on 10th of May 1933.

2. 2. 3. Places of Remembrance

Bayerische Viertel [Bavarian Quarter] was once a cultural enclave of middle class Jews until 1930's. Near 16,000 Jews were living in the neighborhood, including famous figures like Albert Einstein, Hannah Arendt, Walter Benjamin and Erich Fromm. With new regulations of 1930's and strict laws limiting Jewish life, Jews of Germany were turned into second-class citizens step-by-step, and pushed out of everyday life. Quarter's Jewish community disappeared and replaced with Germans.

With the aim to memorialize step-by-step disappearance, Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock created eighty different signboards of anti-Jewish laws from 30's and 40's. (Figure 3) The signs are spread to the public space of *Bayerische Viertel*, as a divided monument. Their work tries to remind people that Jews did not disappeared all of a sudden at one night, but they were rather excluded from the society systematically. The society that Jews were a part of did not cared

about their existence, life conditions and limitations. In a way they become a part of the Holocaust by not standing against it, or simply by not questioning it.

The *Places of Remembrance* installation is not about the tragic result of the Second World War; but it is a reminder of how the members of the society did not react to the Nazi laws that transformed the Jewish life bit by bit. The monument rooted to the district's everyday experience just like the laws spread to Nazi Germany. This monument, dissolved in a whole district, is a mark, with a shocking effect in the collective memory, to bring back the reality of district's former Jewish inhabitants changing lives in an inhumane and discriminative society, which is approved by Germans without even being questioning.

2. 2. 4. Conclusion of Three Examples

The three examples listed above are world wide famous *counter-monuments*. They all are reactions against monumentality and its fascist connotations. In modern societies, monuments are erected structures, which are clearly visible in the public domain. They attract the observers' attention and remind them the official history of the state. The monument is a device that helps to justify the state's ideology. However counter-monuments do not follow the predestined path of monuments. Instead of penetrating through the urban space as a masculine phallic object, they dissolve in it, and have the potentiality to remain hidden or even unnoticed. They all contain some signifiers guiding the observer, some clues about what is once there but today missing; and to the viewer they

leave the responsibility of completing the counter-monument either by discovering or imagining the rest.

Counter-monuments are wounded places constantly bleeding memory. According to Till (2008), “[p]laces described as wounded are understood to be present to the pain of others and to embody difficult social pasts.” (p. 108) By borrowing Ricouer’s (2004) term ‘constructive forgetting’, Till continues:

In countries undergoing political transformation, some wounded places continue to be cared for, even after the formal transition to democracy has been made. They are protected by individuals and groups as places of healing, where social networks and possible futures can be created, imagined and inhabited. In this way, wounded places are both a communal reminder of loss and a personal reserve for ‘constructive forgetting’, both of which are central to mourning and embodied-social memory- work. (p. 109)

As the act of remembering loses its passivity, it converts into an active process that requires effort. The effort needed to digest *counter-monuments*, sets them free from the tourist’s gaze. A tourist cannot shoot a photograph of a missing house to show friends, or an invisible bookshelf. The plates that are demonstrating 30’s and 40’s Nazi laws would only make some fascist representations. They will not supply trophies to bring back home. The only thing that is left after the visit would be the individual’s experience, and narrating it is arguably an interesting memory of a touristic trip.

There are two Youtube videos, *Monument Walk Berlin, Book Burning Memorial* (2012) and *Monument Walk Berlin, The Missing House* (2012), that visualize the people’s relation with *counter-mounuments*. According to the video descriptions, a group of people from different countries visited some monuments

of Berlin and made short documentary films from the interviews they did with people nearby. Their aim was to reveal the ‘societal relevance’ with the monuments. In the videos they ask their interviewees ‘whether they were aware that the monument existed and what they think of the monument.’ In the Book Burning Memorial case, since both the event itself and the place the book burnings happened are well known, most people tell that they noticed the monument, aware of its existence, and know what it represents. However in *The Missing House* case, nearly everyone tell that they were conscious of the void before, but they did not know it was a monument. People are shocked when they realize that they were passing by a Holocaust monument without even knowing and noticing. Similar to today’s missing Jews of Germany, the house was missing there all the time, but they never asked the reason behind it. It was only a void, not needed to be examined. Remained as a cavity in the urban texture. The Missing House’s realization leaves its place to a guilt-like feeling, and that is the exact property, which makes a *counter-monument* striking.

Realizing and understanding products of *counter-monuments* are not always easy tasks to accomplish. When people are exposed to a *counter-monument* rather than a *monument*, and the signifiers are open ended, flexible, or maybe nonexistent, the observer finds itself in an *unheimlich* memorial space. The site is not clearly visible and can be missed out; the knowledge of the people or the events that are being remembered is not explicit, and can stay unperceived; the feelings that the observer should feel are not dictated, and can stay deficient. The memorized routine operation of visiting a monument, attached to everyday life

and touristic activities, is disturbed with the counter-monument; the observer is forced to leave the predestined, presumable monumental comfort zone, and enters into an unpredictable counter-monumental unrest zone. A burden is placed on the shoulders of the observer, with a fear of missing or misunderstanding the details. One more example, which stands in the border of *monumentality* and *counter-monumentality*, would help to explain it further.

2. 2. 5. Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe

In her works Tuğrul (2010 and 2014) details the concepts of *sacred* and *sacrifice*, and lists how their meanings changed with modernity. Both terms are religious notions, but with modernity and the rise of the nation state what they represent, and, of course, their meanings alter. Modern states' signifiers and some elements enter into *sacred* domain through the usage of discourse. The nation, the flag, the land, the monuments or anything evokes a relation with the state become *sacred*, and the citizens are expected to make *self-sacrifices* in order to preserve the *sacred*. While the practices vary, dying for the nation and becoming a *martyr* is one of the most well known acts of *self-sacrifice*. Not all *self-sacrifices* are *martyrs*, but all *martyrs* are *sacred*. Becoming a *martyr* is not only a defensive or offensive action with a purpose to help the nation state's existence, but it also gives a chance to the nation state to support its discourse (2014 p. 155-187). Modernity uses *martyrs*, their braveness, their courage, and most importantly their dedication in their stories, songs, anthems, and monuments. They are selectively

narrated over and over again to resemble the perfect model for a citizen. Tuğrul also talks about different forms of *sacrifice* one of which is *scapegoat's* extermination. According to her, modern states define *pure* and *impure* during their nation building processes, and with their monopolized right to perform violent acts, they manage to purify their nations (2014, p. 338-45). Purification contains definition, selection, separation and extermination of the *impure*. Although the *impure* are seen as a form of *scapegoats*, and killing the *impure* has connotations with *sacrifice*; they are never *sacrificed*.

At this point, Agamben's (1998) definition of *homo sacer* should be kept in mind. Under Nazi rule, Jews became state of exceptions. With this separation, they no longer keep being a part of the political life, and continue their existence in the domain of sacred. Sacred is defined a class of things that are included to society by exclusion. In monarchies sovereignty, the right to state an exception and the right to kill were possessed by a single person; in democracies the sovereignty become a collective responsibility. To build up a national identity and regulate the everyday life, the modern states put to use *bio-politics* and defined the norm with the usage of biology.

Today, in Germany, memorializing the Holocaust seen as an indisputable necessity. Judt (2005, p. 90) tells that '[t]he recovered memory of Europe's dead Jews has become the very definition and guarantee of the continent's restored humanity'. Jewish people, once unmercifully condemned to suffering and elimination, converted into a new form of sacredness, and become victims that are

needed to be remembered all the time. Eisenmann (2005), the architect of *Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas* [Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe], tells that in Germany he remembers his Jewish identity that he forgets in New York. To make the situation more clear he gives an example from Peter Gay's biography, which also gives a bare time line of the production of *homo sacra* in Second World War Germany. Gay tells that in '1933 he was a German, in 1938 he was a German Jew, and in 1940 he was a Jew' (p. 9). For Eisenmann, the extreme sensitivity towards Holocaust, keeps Jews still out of society; and he wants to 'normalize the German relation to the past' (p. 3). Of course it does not mean that Holocaust should not be remembered or memorialized; but what it means is Jews should be integrated back into the society. In other words, Jews are still included with exclusion, similar to the case of *homo sacer*. The exclusion puts them in a sacred state, where they should be commemorated. The solution for including any sacred object back into bios is to make them *profane* again (Agamben 2008). To describe it more briefly explanation of the monument and an up-to-date argument about the tourist visits it should be examined.

Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas [Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe] is one of Berlin's most famous urban structures. (Figure 4) Visiting the site, which is also seen as a duty, is a very popular activity among tourists. The monument covers 19.000 m² with 2.711 concrete blocks, arranged and placed in a strict order of rows. The blocks are not perpendicular to the ground, they all are slightly inclined; and the ground is not flat but rather uneven. When a person encounters the area for the first time, it spots a grey wavy concrete

sea of rectangles; the visitors touring the memorial slowly disappear while walking towards the center. The blocks standing on the edges are rather short; but they become taller as one navigates to the center. The blocks' inclines creates a feeling of being buried and trapped inside. The geometric distribution of the blocks and their physical property filter exterior urban noise, and sounds of other visitors. The audial condition enables sudden encounters with other visitors. The geometrical structure of the memorial also creates an unusual abstract urban composition, and causes extraordinary shadow and light plays. While the visitor walks between the columns, it feels like it is entering into a lake that is deepening. However instead of being able to swim, the visitor is destined to stay on the bottom. Since the blocks are placed as rows, every line's end is an entrance and an exit of the area; this geometrical situation prevents a possible recall of a maze, and transforms the concrete into a drowning experience. The visitor sees the clearly visible entrances, exits and open sky, however they are all far away from its reach. Once a person is in the depths of *unheimlich* Holocaust lake, it is not lost in it, but escaping and surviving seems impossible.

According to Irit Dekel (Shapira 2014) the site is built to create a personal experience rather than reminding the Holocaust itself, and it excludes the older Germans with a direct memory of the Holocaust era, as well as Muslims who constitute more than 5 percent of Germany's population, and who are not seen as a part of collective Holocaust memory. There is also a list of actions that are not permitted at the memorial, such as:

Loud noise of any kind,
Jumping from one stele to the next,

Bringing dogs and other pets onto the grounds,
 Bringing and parking bicycles or similar equipment,
 Smoking and consumption of alcoholic beverages. (Rules of Conduct for
 the Field of Stelae 2014)

The targeted demographics - German, white and, young - clarify who are designated as a part of the collective memory; and the limitations of actions remind them how to behave and remember. So the memorial site becomes a zone of *monumental dispositive* by its selective nature for addressing a personal experience, and the limits it sets to the visitor actions. A recent debate on the topic of visitor selfies, articulated that visitors could spoil the predestined function of the memorial.

When 19000 m² of real estate in the city center of a world famous city is separated for a monument, to argue whether it would be at the focus of tourists is an illogical thing to do. Although the monument aims to simulate an individual experience, which is typical for a *counter-monument*, and lacks main signifiers to narrate why it is built for, its abstract architectural texture, and fame attracts tourists. It is an object to be gazed up on; it is in the focus of tourism. Structurally it is not an alien object or it is not a shock; but rather a familiar object of Berlin. This mixture places the monument in a queer position between *monumentality* and *counter-monumentality*.

Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas is no exception, and it is usually listed as a must see a structure of Berlin. Tourists visit this famous *dark spot*, shoot some photos, and as an obligation of the digital age upload their photos, update their status, and make check-ins. The digital projection of their

material visit stands for a proof of how wonderful their trip to Berlin is. They shoot artistic photos (Figure 5), selfies (Figure 6), group photos (Figure 7), fashion photos for their blogs (Figure 8); they pose by sitting on (Figure 9), climbing on (Figure 10), or jump walking on (Figure 11) the blocks; and they collage the memorial next to other famous Berlin landmarks, bretzels and, traditional German breakfast as an object of cultural diversity (Figure 12). The victims of the Holocaust and their post-modern monumental representation become a detail, and provide a texture for the photographs. The attitudes of the visitors are highly criticized in the world media (Hall 2014 and Marcus 2014), and photo owners were transformed into hate objects by the comments under related articles online.

The discussion on the topic of how to behave around places related with Holocaust is not new. In contrast with the cyber-lynches of Holocaust selfies, there is a mostly appreciated but still controversial example of Holocaust memorial space usage in a viral video, *Dancing Auschwitz* (Holocaust survivor dances to *I Will Survive* at Auschwitz 2010, Broder 2010, and *I will survive Auschwitz* 2010). The video is a reference to Jane Korman's short film. It contains the artist herself, her Holocaust survivor father Adam Kohn, and her three children. They all dance in front of famous Holocaust sights including Auschwitz, while the infamous song *I Will Survive* playing on the background. In the middle of the video Kohn wears a t-shirt, on which '*Survivor*' is written; he stands before an oven used for burning bodies during Second World War and

makes a victory sign. At the end of the video as the screen fades to black, Kohn's voice is heard:

'If someone would tell me here, then, that I would come sixty something three years later with my grandchildren, so I'd say "What you talking about? [laughs] What you talking about?" So here you are. This is really a historic moment.'

With seeing two different examples, a simple question should be raised:

Why are the Holocaust selfies are hated, and *Dancing Auschwitz* accepted?

Agamben (2007) tells that 'entirely inappropriate use (or, rather, reuse) of the sacred' (p. 75) reposition the *sacred* object back into the *profane* domain. In other words through *play* the state of exception is removed and *sacred* becomes part of common usage. In both examples the arguments formed around the usage of *sacred* places. Like it is said before, Holocaust, with its all relations, is still included to the society with exclusion, and stays *sacred*. Both selfies and the dancing video are examples of inappropriately reuse. They *play* with sacred objects, change their meanings; and can be seen as challenging attempts to the monumental *dispositive*. However they dissociate with a bold line in the terms of conformity. The reason why selfies are opposed and the video is acquiesced is about the identities of the persons who are engaging the act. *Dancing Auschwitz* contains a Holocaust survivor, Adam Kohn. His biological existence, of which once turned him into *homo sacer* and threw him in to concentration camps, today gives him the exceptional right to dance in front the camps as a sacred person. Being a Jew and surviving the Holocaust rises as a new form of exclusion. The summary of his condition lies at the description section of one of the re-uploads of the original video: 'What amazes me is that so many people get upset by this

video, I now have this video safe somewhere. This man has been blessed by God, LET HIM DANCE' (I will survive Auschwitz 2010).

'He is blessed by God', so he is placed in a different position than the rest. The Holocaust selfies, on the other hand, stand in the domain of not acceptable, as a result of the identity of their perpetrators. Comparing these two incidents clears that, Adam Kohn's action is not an action of *profanation*, and it is only a new layer in the state of exceptions list; but the tourists' selfies are adding a new meaning to the sacred spaces of memory. They sting as threads to the singularity of the *collective memory* with revealing the possibility that everyone does not share it.

Eisenmann (2005) aimed 'to normalize a condition of being a Jew in the world' (p. 8) and especially in Germany. He wanted the memorial be a part of everyday life experience, and united into urban life. After the memorial was opened for public usage people started sitting around it, reading books, used the place as a meeting point, made small picnics by sitting on the lower blocks, kids played tag in the are. He was gratified with seeing 'the acceptance by the Germans' (p. 4). With the word 'acceptance' what he means was the memorial's spatial usage for ordinary activities without losing its memorializing purpose. In his mind it is a *Mahnmal* [memorial] – not *Denkmal* [monument] – for exterminated – not murdered – Jews of Europe (p. 11). There are no nametags since it is not a grave, and it is a warning rather than a remembrance (p. 11). His understanding of the normalization of Holocaust's memory, and Jews inclusion back into the society lies in a parallel with *profanation* of it. Not forgetting, but

losing the state of exception, and adapting back in life.

In the first chapter the monumentality, its relation with modernism and German fascism are explained. *Counter-monumentality* movement appeared as a necessity to confront Germany's past. The *counter-monuments* usually stay undetected and hidden, but they have a potentiality of turning into a touristic attraction. Tourism brings *play* and *profanation* with itself. Tourists' interactions with Holocaust *counter-monuments* challenge the monumental dispositive and normalize Jews position in German society.

3. COLD WAR

3.1. Berlin Wall

*'Sensurround sound in a two inch wall
Well I was waiting for the communist call
I didn't ask for sunshine and I got World War three
I'm looking over the wall and they're looking at me'
Sex Pistols – Holidays in the Sun*

The *Wall* once stood and split Berlin into two with its presence, according to recent research still exists today. Both Berlin and Germany are still divided in many aspects (Noack 2014 & A Nation Divided 2014). Firstly there is an income gap; the West is still visibly richer. The unemployment rate is lower, and they have the opportunity to consume more goods. Secondly West's population is younger. After the fall of the *Wall*, young easterners moved to West to find jobs. Thirdly more foreigners live in the West. Fourthly the extremists right wing party NPD (*Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands*) gets more votes on the Eastern part. Fifthly habits like popular holiday destinations, percentage of children in day care, percentage of flue shots differ. Sixthly some words' usage in language varies. Finally since pre-unification city bulbs are still used in both sides of Berlin, at night the boarder is still visible. (Figure 13)

The *Wall* still stands with its absence; and in the collective memory it refers to many different denotations some can be seen as contrary. Its memory represents both 'repression and freedom; division and unity. Like the concrete *Wall* itself, which was daubed with colorful graffiti on the western side yet remained grey on eastern side, it cannot be seen through a single lens' (Saunders 2009 p. 11). Koshar (2000, p. 9) tells that 'objectively considered, [...] historical

sites are mere constructions of stone, wood, brick, concrete and steel. Their meanings derive from public action'. Similarly to the foreigners of the German collective memory, to tourists or to specialists the Wall represented different meanings.

In 1970 Rem Koolhaas, today a world famous architect, traveled to Berlin, while he was still a student of Architectural Association School in London. Koolhaas' aim was to complete a field trip for educational purposes. During his visit he threw an architect gaze upon the concrete ring around West Berlin. He examined the *Wall* as an architectural object and wrote an essay about it (Koolhaas 1995). The very first thing Koolhaas (p. 219) notices is *Wall's paradoxical* position. Although it is built around West Berlin, its main purpose is to prevent DDR citizens' possible escapes to the West. So the walled are becomes a sample of *free world* stuck inside Eastern Europe's block of communist countries. The *primitivism* and *minimalism* of the *Wall* are other prominent aspects according to the architect gaze (p. 219). It is literally one of the basic elements of architecture, a wall; and besides being only a wall, in some parts of the city it converts buildings into walls by bricking their window bays and doorways, and embodies them (Figure 14). The architect gaze not only found the *Wall* 'heartbreakingly beautiful (...) like ruins of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and the Roman Forum [a] beautiful remnant of an urban condition, breathtaking in its persistent doubleness' (p. 222), but also saw the *Wall* as 'a very graphic demonstration of the power of architecture and some of its unpleasant consequences' (p. 226). Finally, for Koolhaas 'the wall was not an object but an

erasure, a freshly created absence (...) [i]t was a warning that- in architecture- absence would always win in a contest with presence' (p. 228).

3. 2. Transformation of The Wall into a Commodity Object

*'But if you're wakened by an obscene call
I sprayed your number on the Berlin Wall.
I see the soldiers as they pass it all around.
Imagine all the business you once missed
Because you couldn't fuck the communists.
East or West you're still the best deal in town.'*
Sloppy Seconds – Germany

On the night of 9th November 1989 the *DDR* government announced that its citizens would be able to travel to the West. Soon after, *DDR* citizens rushed to the *Wall*, and the *Wall* collapsed. That night a lot of people picked broken pieces of the as trophies. The pieces stood for many meanings. Division, union, victory, defeat all were and still are some concepts the pieces represent. After it is totally dismantled, *Berlin Wall* turned into a commodity object. Something buyable and sellable, both on the internet and in the touristic souvenir shops of Berlin. Today people can buy variety of sized pieces for variety of prices up to 19.000\$. The pieces usually contain a certificate, proving that it is really an authentic piece broken from the fallen wall (Original Piece of The Wall 2014). One of the promotions of the *Wall* goes like this:

Give a gift which will be treasured for life--Berlin Wall makes a great gift for any occasion including Christmas, anniversaries, birthdays and corporate recognition, or for that special 'thank you'!
Businesses will find this a truly special gift for clients and suppliers as well as for exhibit on desks and in reception rooms. The Wall makes an excellent achievement award, recognition item, corporate gift, presentation prize, etc. Reward the person who "broke down barriers." Custom

mounting or specially inscribed nameplates are available. For a special presentation, the founder of this website is available to speak to your group about his experiences at the Berlin Wall, and how they relate to your industry, event or award. (Own a Piece of History 2014)

Today the *Wall* is consumed for any occasions. Christmas, birthdays, breaking the barriers, literally any occasion can be related to it. The meanings that can be attached to the Wall are only limited by the consumer's imagination. Also on Ebay magazine and newspaper issues of 9th November 1989, pictures, books about the *Wall's* history or anything that has a slightest relation with it are sold. Examining a recent and rather extreme example would be helpful to demonstrate this *Wall* relation-evaluation phenomenon.

During 25th anniversary of the 'Fall of the Wall', there has been an art installation, where once the *Wall* stood. With 8.000 balloons and lamps, the *Wall* was recreated. (Lichtgrenze 2014). The 15 km long project was clearly visible from the sky at night (Figure 15). During the ceremony the balloons were released, and before the lamps were collected some were stolen. One of the stolen lamps ended up on Ebay. It was tried to be sold for 7999€. (Sind das die Mauerspechte von 2014? 2015) This incident shows that, it is not only the *Wall* itself but everything that is related with it turn into a commodity fetish that can be marketed. In order to explain the mechanism behind *Wall's* transformation into a fetish one should draw a bigger picture. Without understanding East's relation with the *Wall* and its desire of the West, neither the meaning of the *Wall* nor its representation could be understood.

3. 3. West as a Fantasy Space

*'I'm runnin' slow, slow, slow, slow, slow
Got nowhere to go
I'm riding on'
Modeselektor – Berlin*

During division both Germanys constructed a marginalized other through discourse, and tried to inflict the Nazi past on the other. Boyer (2006, p. 369-70) defines how *the other Germany* was labeled on both sides during the Cold War division. In *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (BRD for short and *Federal Republic of Germany* in English) *the other Germany* was seen as a totalitarian state with 'authoritarian traditions' and it had a potential to give birth to another German dictatorship, on the other hand in *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* (DDR for short and *German Democratic Republic* in English) *the other Germany* was symbolizing the aggressive and intolerant structure of 'imperialist imperative of international capitalism'. Both sides portrayed the other as still having an essential connection with their shared dark past of Second World War, and identified the other's citizens 'relatively innocent victims of a criminal regime' (Boyer 2006, p. 370). Both Germanys constructed their identity in a comparison to the other. While they were not denying the joint Nazi past of Germans, they both wanted to exclude the Nazi heritage from their Germany, and emphasized that they are not the ones who are building a new country on top of it. 'For each Germany, the other represented the national-cultural past against which its ideal national futurity could be measured. Neither Germany, in the end, made sense without the other.' (Boyer 2006, p. 370)

The alienation of the other was penetrated in variety of details, and was visible in in the least expected places; like the maps for example. The DDR maps of Berlin usually ended at the western border, showing *Brandenburger Tor*, on edge. The great gate, once part of the city walls of Berlin, was transformed into a dysfunctional monumental structure at the border, as the Cold War's *Berlin Wall* erected in front of it (Figure 16). DDR's most Berlin maps focused the East Berlin in its center and included a small part of West Berlin lying near the border, like the rest has no connection with the city. Even these small segments of a larger urban area, separated from the other half by a 3,6 meters high wall, were usually left blank white (Figure 17). On some other maps that were covering greater areas, omission of the West resulted as even more drastic images: Maps with white stains in the heart of DDR (Figure 18).

All of West Berlin itself always appeared as a void on Eastern European maps: West Berlin of the Cold War as the hole in Eastern European cheese. Likewise weather maps on West German television for a long time represented the GDR as an absence, a blank space surrounding the Frontstadt Berlin, the capitalist cheese in the real existing void. (Huysen 2003 b, p. 55)

With a direct look at the Cold War European map, one will realize the West Berlin as an island inside the communist sea. For the citizens of the island, it was a realm of freedom containing freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom of press, free market... and being surrounded with a wall was not damaging its freedom for two main reasons. Firstly the *Wall* was erected to stop *DDR* citizens' escapes form the country. Secondly the *Wall* was acting like a semipermeable cell membrane and letting Westerners to

penetrate to the East. Besides its appearance as an island, Berlin was connected with the western world, and was also serving as a drain. It was a hole from which you can exit the communist sea by going with the flow.

Most citizens of *DDR* did not have a chance to travel to the west, but *Berlin Wall* was not totally impassable. The ideological barrier had some cracks through which signifiers of the West were reaching to the eastern side. Some of these signifiers were part of the material culture like high quality consumption products or banned movies and music albums, which were sold in the black markets; and some others were narrative rather than material, like radio and television frequencies, and stories of Westerners who visit the East as tourists.

Bach (2002, p. 550) tells about the situation:

The authentic product, linked to the authentic self, was located in the West. Its relics consistently seeped into East German consciousness through advertisements on western television, gifts from western relatives, and various accounts of visits “over there” by the fortunate few.

As a result, *DDR*'s voided West Berlin was reconstructed in the minds of *DDR* citizens, with the help of Western signifiers. Of course the oozing signifiers were always insufficient to demonstrate an entire picture, or to tell the whole story. They were not only distorted images and interpretations leaking from the cracks of the ideological barrier, but also each signifier carried a different meaning to each citizen that received it. To be able to picture these distorted images, and wrong interpretations of the West, one can think of pinhole cameras. A pinhole camera, produced without any calculations or calibrations, will not be able to focus the objects it is pointed at; also its users will not be able to know

whether it is getting enough light or not. The photographic results of this experimental device would probably be out of focus, blurred, under or over exposed and shaky. They would contain some elements of the real image, however they will never be able to reflect the actual objects that are being photographed. Similarly, the signifiers, guiding the Easterners' gazes, were never enough to reflect a real picture of the West. The rest of the void was filled by the imagination of the individual who was dreaming of the West and every DDR citizen was fantasizing a different West. To put it another way, in DDR citizens' minds West Berlin was a fantasy space. Žižek (1999) defines the fantasy space as follows:

It seems that as soon as we walk in a given space, there is more of it "inside" than it appears possible to an outside view. Continuity and proportion are not possible, because this disproportion, the surplus of inside in relation to outside, is a necessary structural effect of the very separation of the two; it can only be abolished by demolishing the barrier and letting the outside swallow the inside. What I want to suggest, then, is that this excess of "inside" consists, precisely, in the fantasy-space—the mysterious thirteenth floor, the surplus space which is a persistent motif in science fiction and mystery stories. (p. 20)

According to Easterners, West Berlin was literally a walled area, totally out of reach. The white stain appearing in maps contained the infinite world of fantasy, and reconstructed over and over again with insufficient signifiers. It lied as an incarnation of what *DDR* citizens were lacking, and rose as a wish to be whole again. The desire to be a part of the West resulted with fetishization.

[DDR's] longing was premised on an unattainable object of desire, the "fully developed Self" promised by both socialism *and* western materialism. The longing for a socialist utopia was therefore perversely connected to a fetishism of western material culture. (Bach 2002, p. 547-8)

In Lacan's terminology (Lacan 1989 & Fink 2004) the subject enters the *reel* domain through language. During *stade miroir* (mirror state), by seeing its own reflection, the subject defines a perfect *Other*. The *Other's* gaze, and the *Other's* desire become the guiding key elements that shape the subjects own desire and behavior. The subject lacks its pre-birth wholeness, and lacks something missing inside it. Desires are narrated in the domain of language's symbolic order, but languages do not have the capacity to define any feeling or situation by fully covering it. Even the subjects itself cannot achieve to name its own desire perfectly. The desired missing part, required to be embodied to become a whole again is named *objet petit a*. As soon as a subjects reaches its the goal, achieves its desire, embodies its *objet petit a*; it realizes that the achievement is not enough to make it whole again. The circle of desire, achievement, disappointment, is named as *jouissance*. In Berlin's case the city was a split subject; and the East constantly desired the West. Embodying the missing part, the white hole in the *DDR* map, not only physically but also in a psychoanalytic manner would make the Easterners whole again. However each fantasy was far away from depicting the *real* West Berlin and the *real* Germany lying on the other side of the border. The ultimate goal was to reach the fantasy space and to be part of it, but hardly anyone knew what would happen in a possible reunion.

The situation of East's desire of the West is well-indicated Leander Haußmann's *Sonnenallee* (1999). *Sonnenallee* is a movie about everyday life in the *DDR* during 70's. It focuses on the protagonist Micha, an adolescent who is

living in an East Berlin district near the *Wall*, and his relations with his family and friends. With its one end on the East Berlin, and the other end on the West, Sonnenallee (Sun Alley) symbolizes the division of unity. Through its checkpoint, citizens of the West travel to the East to visit their relatives, to make touristic trips, or for black marketing. The teenagers in the movie wonder about the West, and desire it with a passion; however the action of *desiring the West* is nothing special in the *DDR* and generally it is a very routine state of mind. Most people have, and carry this desire with them. It is something ordinary, unnecessary to be put in words.

While the movie screens the everyday life of *DDR* in a humorous absurdity, the ending is even more surreal. Wuschel, one of the teens of the alley and a *Rolling Stones* enthusiast, finally buys his dream album from the black market. He goes to Micha's house and together they close their eyes and get ready to embrace the long waited and desired music. From the very first sound Micha realizes that the album is not the original recording, however not to disappoint Wuschel, he manages to avoid his doubt and convinces him that they are listening to a very rare recording of The Rolling Stones, no one has ever heard before. As the volume of the music rises, Micha and Wuschel start dancing on the balcony. The whole district corresponds to them, and start walking towards the border as they dance. Micha and Wuschel jump of from the third floor of the building and join the crowd. The guards at the checkpoint do not resist and they open the gates. In the final scenes just before the movie ends, the colors fade to black and white, and the camera moves into the Western territory backwards, while it is facing the

East. The last image before the screen fades to black is the empty Sonnenallee. The camera, traveled to the long desired Western part never turns around, and the West Berlin is never seen. Being a domain of fantasy space is the explanation of the never appearing West Berlin in film. Upon these kids, passing the border was a surreal event. The other side of the *Wall* was poorly pictured in their minds; but they were never able to draw an accurate image. On the one hand they desired the west passionately, but on the other they had no idea how it looked like if they crossed the border. On the one hand citizens of *DDR* wanted to reunite with the Western world, but on the other they had no idea how their lives would change drastically.

According to Zizek (*The Pervert's Guide to Cinema* 2006) '[w]hen fantasy disintegrates, you don't get reality, you get some nightmarish real too traumatic to be experienced as ordinary reality. That would be another definition of nightmare.' The German reunification process starting from the collapse of the *Berlin Wall* was the disintegration phase of the Eastern fantasy. The disappointed Easterners needed to find something to desire, something missing, something lacking, or in other words a new *objet petit a* in order not to be trapped in a nightmare. They start to miss the good old they spend in *DDR*. It still stays as a desire that they would never be able to fulfill; a new form of nostalgia.

3. 4. Ostalgie

*The heat of the sun
Which is stored in the pavement
Feels so fine
Here stands the innocent
And there it comes oh so wild
That's when you're longing
For a summer by the wall'
Alphaville – Summer in Berlin*

The fall of the *Wall* reunited Germanys and Berlin, as well as announced the West's overcoming the East. *DDR*'s ideology, institutions, people and cultural individuality dissolved in the united Germany, shaped by the West. After reunification, the East Germans found themselves in an imbalanced position as a result of being a cultural minority in Germany. Even *DDR*'s history is not found interesting in the reunited Germany and highly neglected in the education system. (Jarausch 2008, p. 103) The citizens of the East faced a fundamental transformation both by adapting to a competitive capitalist state, and by losing access to *DDR*'s material and cultural products.

Jozwian and Mermann (2006, p. 781-3) draw two sets of analogies on the topic; the first analogy is between East Germans and colonized peoples, and the second one is between East Germans and immigrants. They name the *DDR* era as a 'Sovietification' period, and the unification era as a 'Westernization' period. According to them, both periods are colonization processes with essential changes in the society. Also during the 'Westernization', East Germans were exposed to a 'nation-building process' and consequently converted into immigrants. The East Germans all of a sudden found themselves in a whole different country, society

and people with whole different political, economic and cultural systems, and were expected to assimilate into it. The assimilation of the Easterners procreated the fear of loosing the authentic Eastern identity, created a longing for its lost signifiers, and a force to preserve what is left of it. Today, this nostalgic attachment with the East is defined with *ostalgie*, a combination of German words *ost* (east), and *nostalgei* (nostalgia).

The Westerner gaze not only found East's longing for the past meaningless, but also tried to associate it with a longing for a totalitarian past. Sierp (2009) claims that during 1990's there was an effort to equate *DDR* with Nazi Germany by emphasizing the totalitarian structures of both regimes. To succeed in this task, the Western authorities usually referred to East's state terror towards its citizens, especially Stasi crimes (p. 51). Jaraus (2008) also points to the existent oversimplifying black and white vision of central European émigrés, which is trying to equalize Nazi Germany and *DDR* by emphasizing their totalitarian structures and crimes (p. 105). Still the Western approach towards East, omits its social and cultural structure and most particularly its 'caring, community-oriented nature' (Sierp 2009, p. 49).

Even the conservative effort to equate communist misdeeds with Nazi atrocities implicitly acknowledges that the second remain the standard for judging the first. The totalitarianism approach correctly emphasizes many areas of similarity between the two dictatorships such as repression, propaganda, denunciation and complicity. But a more differentiated comparison between both also reveals rather substantial differences in longevity, ideological thrust, number of victims and especially the destruction of the system. (Jaraus 2008, p. 107)

The Stasi crimes and other oppressions over *DDR* citizens cannot be ignored or forgotten, but trying to create a bond of similarity between the Nazi regime and *DDR* over material and cultural objects of the former German state or labeling any nostalgia towards the times of its existence as a longing for a totalitarian regime is not only reductive but also illogical. Boyer (2006, p. 373) tells that when Easterners criticize the outcomes of the united Germany and its inadequate social structure towards Easterners, the Westerners instantly tag them as unintegrated to democracy and longing for *DDR*. According to him contending the Western discourse, reducing the live in *DDR* to a 'prison camp', was the biggest of the traumas that Easterners encountered. (p. 377)

Blum (2000) summarizes the confusion that Easterners passed through:

[S]ince an entire state, together with its institutions, cultural values, and individual hierarchies, has been swept away, leaving its former citizens with the formidable task to locate themselves in an unfamiliar society, complete with its own rules, values, and hierarchies. While only a few may desire a return of the Stalinist political system of the GDR, the majority of individuals, however, seem to miss a sense of legitimacy of their individual past, together with its own symbols and rituals? (p. 230)

Bartmanski (2011) mentions the same topic:

The older generation began to cleanse its memory of the oppressive aspects of the GDR and remember gratefully the parochial privacy, slowness and predictability of its 'socialist' life. (...) a link was being established between capitalist transitional hardships and communist nostalgic commitments. Just as the loathing of Communism occasioned utopian infatuation with free society, so the subsequent dispelling of some liberal theories in transitional practice seemed to inspire the rise of nostalgia. (p. 214)

In other words, the Easterner nostalgia is a result of sudden and total change of social and economic structures. *DDR* was more caring in the

economical terms, and collective belongings were prior to individual existence.

Similar to colonized people's cultural transformations, *Ostalgie* was materialized, fetishized, abused by businesses, and by politicians for propaganda. Saunders (2009, p. 12) explains that while the victims of *DDR* regime, and their relatives are opposing the abuse of *Ostalgie* for touristic purposes, Berlin's economic situation and high unemployment rate forms a welcoming environment for a variety of touristic attractions. Like visiting the *Wall*, buying eastern products, city safari with *Trabis*. There even exist a *DDR* themed hostel, named *Ostel*.

Besides some small ones, large Western companies and manufacturers also started reproducing old Eastern products that existed during *DDR* era (Blum 2000, pp. 229). Easterners' relations with *DDR*'s commodity goods are also interesting. As *DDR* was formed in the east, the old owners of the firms took away the usage rights of their brand names with them. In the West the firms continued their businesses without an interrupting name change; on the other hand the Eastern market needed to start all over again and created new brands. This was not the only problem, *DDR* had raw material shortages, and it lacked some necessary technical equipment for the production. When they were buying these materials or technical equipment from the West, they had to use hard currency; and hard currency usage along with inflation put the state in a disadvantaged position. Pre-unification transitivity enabled similarities in the product design of both states; and after the *Wall* erected insufficient technology and lack of diversity created a new aesthetic, which was accompanied by necessary consumer

awareness for a sufficient usage of poor quality products. In east with advertisements the state also tried to construct a communist consumption behavior; but it was the users' relations with the items that mostly developed the product identities (Blum 2000, p. 236-41). These practices attached to commodity usage, create a different type of bodily memory; and give the user to simulate a partial life experience related with *DDR*. Today *Ostalgie* is either a longing for lost past of *DDR* citizens, or a touristic attraction. It is reified to the communist kitsch, and recycled into fetishized commodities. *Ostalgie* becomes an object of tourism focused on *Berlin Wall*.

3. 5. Turning the Wall into a Monument

*'We thought the wall would stand forever,
and now that it's gone,
We don't know who we are anymore.'*
Stephen Trask – Tear me down (Hedwig and the Angry Inch OST)

It is said before that The *Wall* has turned into a commodity object that can be bought and sold. Today probably there are more *Wall* pieces in the rest of the world than Berlin. (Saunders 2009, p. 9), but still Berlin does not contain an iconic memorial of the *Berlin Wall*. A small part of the *Wall* was preserved, partly reconstructed and turned into an open-air sight seeing activity with texts, videos, and photographs on Bernauer Straße. A second 1.3 km section, named East Side Gallery and famous for its graffiti works, lies along river Spree on Mühlenstraße. Finally a small section stands next to *Topographie des Terrors*, creating a contrast with East Side Gallery because of its grey scratched surface, and confusing

tourists with low historical consciousness that result as possible connections between the *Wall* and Nazis (Saunders, 2009, p. 12-13). While the part at Bernauer Straße is a little bit far from tourist's favorite memory places like Brandenburger Tor, *Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas* and Check Point Charlie, it also acts like a museum rather than a monument. East Side Gallery on the other hand is literally an open air gallery for some selected artists to exhibit their works. It is not an interacting urban area. For Berlin, which is famous for its street art works erasing and appearing everyday, it ironically stands unchanging. It gives a photo opportunity for the tourists and a famous object of tourism, but not a monument. Finally the part at the *Topographie des Terrors* is not even recognized as a part of the *Wall*.

Some Germans, as well as most tourists complained about a lack of *Wall* monument. In this case *Freiheitsmahnmal* (Freedom Memorial) can be named as a radical example of monumentality. Alexandra Hildebrandt, founder of infamous Museum *Haus am Checkpoint Charlie*, rebuilt 120 meters section of the *Wall*, and placed a wooden cross for every known victim of regime. Each cross contained a name and a photo of a victim. According to Reimann (2004), while some members of the Senate criticized Hildebrandt's monument by naming it a Disneyland like structure with crosses resembling the concrete blocks of *Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas*; some tourists said '[it is] exactly what we tourists want to see, what we're looking for' [genau das, was wir Touristen sehen wollen, wonach wir suchen].

While Hildebrandt's *Freiheitsmahnmal* is a post-modern attempt to break

the state's monopoly on Berlin *Wall's* memorialization; the form and the content of the monument is very modern, and far away from the counter-monumentality movement. Even if the reconstructed *Wall* stands in a slightly different place than the original one, it creates a *dark spot* for tourists for 'a quick satisfaction of their [touristic] desires and a picturesque backdrop for their souvenir photographs' (Schmidt, 2005, p. 16).

Whether a monument or not its fragments turned into bits of memory.

Connerton (2009)

[S]ometimes what had once formed an impressive or forbidding spatial landmark becomes a memorial in the very moment of its dispersal; as when, in the immediate after- math of the fall of the Berlin Wall, thousands gathered to acquire a fragment of a marker about to disappear; this emblem of the Cold War became a memorial when its fragments came into the possession of those who wanted their tangibility to provide a spur to future recollection of what was being made absent through decomposition. (pp. 28)

In contrast there is another famous structure of Cold War in Berlin, which neither converted into a monument, nor will be remembered. To express the selective memorialization of the ideology the case of *Palast der Republic* would be discussed.

3. 6. Case of Palast der Republic

*'Oh, you're right and I'm wrong
You know I'm gonna miss you now that you're gone
One sweet day... One sweet day...'
Louie reed – Berlin*

Schloss is a tricky word in German. According to Collins German Dictionary it means 'castle', 'palace' and 'lock'. *Berliner Schloss* was an imperial

structure located at the very center of Berlin today known as *The Museum Island*, and was occupied by royals while they were ruling the lower classes. It stand there for over four hundred years. In other words, it was a lock standing in front of the common people to be broken in order to be free. It was heavily damaged during 1845 bombings, and instead of repairing it, *DDR* government decided to demolish it. The area stayed empty until 1973, and used during national celebrations and demonstrations. In 1973 *DDR* started constructing *Palast der Republic*, and finished the construction in 1976. After reunification of Germanys palest was closed to public in 1990 as a result of containing high amount of asbestos. All the asbestos was removed by 2003, it was used for some art projects, and the *Bundestag* decided to totally demolish the palace. Although at first it was decided to be left as a park, in 2006 reconstruction of the *Berliner Stadtschloss* was added to the agenda.

Before it was dismantled, the *Palace der Republic* contained thirteen restaurants a concert hall, a bowling alley, and a theater (Varvantakis 2009). All the events occurring in this culture and entertainment complex was not only open to the public but also affordable (Ladd 2002). It had a symbolic function as being the congress building, but its main usage was public entertainment (Ghyka 2012). For *DDR* citizens the palace was a cultural building, however for Westerners it symbolized a leftover from a totalitarian state.

Palace der Republic's existence on the *Museumsinsel*, next to the *Altes Museum*, the *Neues Museum*, the *Alte Nationalgalerie*, the *Bode Museum*, the *Pergamonmuseum* and the *Berliner Dom* was causing a diffraction in the

historical texture. Similar to West Berlin's appearance as a void on the *DDR* maps, the *Palace der Republic* was a void in the heart of Berlin. It was waking the observer and forcing it to remember long gone days of city's communist past. If it was not dismantled, the palace would serve as a crack, through which the observer would be able to construct or recall dreams about living in the *DDR*, in other words it would be serving as a fantasy space. With the reconstruction of the *Berliner Stadtschloss* the aim was erasing a memorial landscape left from the *DDR*, and to prevent possible romanticized connotations, but this act also created a possibility of forgetting the divided nineteenth century Berlin (Ghyka 2012, pp. 26). This possible connection formed with the rise of the *Stadtschloss* also has the power to reduce the effects of twentieth century's traumas.

One of the anti-*Schloss* groups opened an online petition; they also listed their reasons, why they oppose the reconstruction of the building, on their internet site 'Berlin Palace – not in my name' (2014). Firstly, they name the *Schloss* as a 'forgetting machine', and assert that the building would serve to redact 600 hundred years of German history and would erase especially twentieth century's details. Secondly, they highlight the *Schloss*' function in the first place, and emphasize that it was designed as a nonpublic building. Thirdly, they claim that the proposed usage and scheme of the project are inconvenient. Finally, they criticize the whole process starting from 2001 as being deceiver, and misinforming. According to the group the reconstruction is a 'loss of a historic opportunity to shape this unique location'.

Removal of the palace was a political movement; it was a memory cleansing. The platform on which the deconstruction is watched has a similarity with squares where people watch public death sentences. View platforms were always a part of West Berlin. Both locals and tourists were using them to watch over the Wall and stare at the East. The gaze of the West was converting the East into a combination of an open-air zoo and a freak show. They were looking down to the underdeveloped, and nightmarish ideology and the funny, miserable lives of its un-free citizens. When the deconstruction of the *Palace der Republic* began, another platform was erected next to it. This time the platform was serving as a watch spot for an ideology's public execution. While the *Palace der Republic* was being dismantled, *DDR* was being deconstructed as well. It was no surprise that after the process was finished an anonymous graffiti artist wrote the infamous "DIE DDR HAT'S NIE GEGEBEN" [The GDR has never existed] writing on a wall left behind the construction site (Figure 19). The headquarter of communist Berlin was erased from time.

In the second chapter post-Cold War's affects on East German citizens were analyzed. Today there is an existing Western hegemony over easterners. Everything related with *DDR* are fetishized and turned into commodity objects. The former citizens of *DDR* do not have a right to miss the benefits of their old state but are always welcomed to buy recreated cultural residuals of it. Tourists helped and are still helping the commodification and deconstruction of *DDR* culture. The remains are carried back to common sphere through touristic *play* and *DDR's profanation* happens through tourism.

4. DEINDUSTRIALIZATION

4. 1. Subcultures, Cultural Enclaves & Gentrification

*I'm guided by a signal in the heavens
I'm guided by the birthmark on my skin
I'm guided by the beauty of our weapons
First we take Manhattan, then we take Berlin
Leonard Cohen – First We Take Manhattan*

Major changes started happening as soon as the *Wall* came down in 1989; and after the reunification a strong wave of urban renewal hit Berlin. Colomb (2011 & 2012) tells that in the first years of reunification iconic and exemplary urban projects were boosted in order to create a solid *new Berlin* image. However after a few years of unification enthusiasm, it became evident that Berlin would not be able to turn into a significant city in the global economy. The multi-centered structure of Federal Germany built a barricade in front of Berlin's economical rise, and the city's economic growth is fixed at a low point with a high unemployment rate, which was a result of 90's deindustrialization process. Berlin nearly confronted with bankruptcy in 2001, and since then many expenses were lowered, which led to slowing down and even abolishing some urban projects (Colomb 2012, p. 132). Hentila & Lindborg (2003) explains the reasons for the slow rate of urban process as follows:

Weak demand in the local estate market, delays in the political decisionmaking and planning processes, unclear ownership or exceptionally high construction costs caused by soil contamination and massive old infrastructures (p. 1)

Berlin kept its urban voids and continued carrying its negative spaces caused by demolition of undesired buildings, removal of the *Wall*, bomb

damages of World War II, and abandoned industrial structures left after post-reunification deindustrialization (Colomb 2012, 133). While artists, squatters and entertainment industry started using some of these buildings, city's executers realized that the cavities of Berlin created a characteristic appearance and style. Although unused areas tended to be seen as market weaknesses, a new discourse to promote city's specialty is formed (Colomb 2012, p. 140). Berlin's mayor Klaus Wowereit's definition of the city has become a famous slogan to define it: '*Berlin ist arm, aber sexy*' [Berlin is poor, but sexy].

Today Berlin's most famous entertainment sites that attract tourists are outcomes of negative space usage. *Berghain*, a worldwide known club, is actually a former power plant. Another famous club, which is unfortunately closed today, is *Katerholzig*. It was occupying an abandoned soap factory. On Friedrichshain's *Warschauer Straße* there are many warehouses turned into bars and clubs. The reused buildings are not always industrial ones; the club *Stattbad* gets its name from an old city swimming pool. The building was serving as a public swimming pool; and today the club offers its visitors the opportunity to dance inside the empty pool. The squatters and art collectives also use the abandoned buildings and empty spaces. Besides squats, there are city gardens, where people grow their own vegetables and fruits, open-air cinemas and *biergartens*. Some squatted buildings are bases of art collectives, like *Kunsthaus Tacheles*. Last but not least *Tempelhof Airport* constitutes one of Berlin's biggest parks. On its aircraft ways people bike, skate, and fly kites. The creative usage of negative space is not new

in Berlin, however its marketing for touristic activities and its transformation in to consumption products are rather new. The clubs, squats and art collectives, which has been a part of Berlin's underground scene for decades, were challenging the society's normativity, and forming an alternative culture. In the following pages alternative culture's interaction with tourism and its affect on the urban space will be analyzed.

4. 2. Kreuzberg's Demographic Shift

*'Kebab-Träume in der Mauerstadt,
Türk-Kultur hinter Stacheldraht.
Neu-Izmir ist in der DDR,
Atatürk, der neue Herr.
Miliyet für die Sowjet-Union,
In jeder Imbißstube, ein Spion.
Im ZK, Agent aus Türkei,
Deutschland, Deutschland, alles ist vorbei!
Wir sind die Türken von morgen!'
Deutch Amerikanische Freundschaft – Kebab-Träume*

If one looks at today's maps where the immigrant population of Berlin is portrayed (Figure 20), one can see that residents with Turkish origins redraw the path of *Berlin Wall*. During Cold War era, the districts, which were containing high percentage of Turkish originated occupants, were lying in front of the *Wall* just like a safety belt. These districts were attracting Turkish guest workers whose aims were to save enough money, and to return back to their homeland.

Because Kreuzberg was adjacent to the Berlin Wall and much of the housing was dilapidated and lacked modern conveniences, rent was cheap. There was less competition from Germans and less discrimination by landlords. All this attracted many of the city's 180,000 Turks (as of 2003) and other immigrant workers to make their home there. (Kil & Silver

2006, p. 97)

During 70's mass housing projects, which would totally change the demographics of the inhabitants, were considered to be applied to Kreuzberg, however the squatting movement, mostly consists of activists, students and artists, resisted the plans, and formed an alternative (Kil & Silver 2006, p. 97). As the urban renewal plans were cancelled, most squatters made long term contracts 'until the house's demolition', and some new laws limiting immigrants' mobility inside the city were put into action (Apicella et al. 2013, p. 3). With economic conditions, resistance traditions and laws' limitations 'population was replaced by immigrant workers, students, radical political activists, artists, hippies and other drop-outs – the so-called Kreuzberg mix.' (Rada 1997, p.140)

According to Stehle (2006) during 70's the German media started using the term *ghetto* to describe districts with high immigrant population. The media adopted the *ghetto* discourse from the USA, and used it to marginalize many districts in big German cities. To give an example; they tried to associate Kreuzberg with Harlem. The USA *ghetto* was already world wide accepted "problematic", "violent" and "dangerous" urban geography. Its marginalization and criminalization was a globally accepted phenomenon. Referring to the USA *ghetto* discourse was a useful tool for managing the reputation of Germany's *cultural enclaves* like Kreuzberg. The attempt and the desire to equate USA *ghettos* with Germany's immigrant districts were not only reductive but also absurd. The comparison was only possible by concealing the differences between two countries. Stehle (2006, p. 53) emphasizes that; the identification of the two

lacks historical and political background and also misses the function of the USA *ghetto* as a site of resistance. Today the *ghetto* discourse still exists with some shifts. Especially after 2005 Paris Riots, Germany's enclaves are once again compared with another world wide famous problematic urban geography, French *banlieues*. The Muslim identity was a common ground for both French and German districts (Stehle 2006, p. 57-62). Whether they are mentioned with *ghettos* or *banlieus*, Germany's *cultural enclaves* are defined as unsafe, self-enclosed zones since 70's. The immigrants are accused of not being integrated into the society and they are named as socially excluded groups who are living in *cultural enclaves* by choice. The minority groups are associated with tendency to crime, including sexual harassments of women and children.

While analyzing the society and its members' relations with each other, Pierre Bourdieu (1984) makes an extended definition of class and capital. According to him economic capital is not the only form of capital and the society is not divided only by economic income difference. In his work, he explains three different forms of capital: *Economic capital*, *social capital* and *cultural capital*. A person's *economic capital* is the sum of its all materials' economic value, including money, movable property, real estate and nay other forms of assets. A person's *social capital* is defined by its group memberships, relations, networks and influences. Finally, a person's *cultural capital* means all kinds of knowledge, education, skills and advantages that can provide it a higher statue in society. Bourdieu also subdivides the *cultural capital* to three as *embodied*, *objectified* and *institutionalized*. Being a child of blue-collar Turkish parents, speaking German

with accent, having black hair, getting education in Kreuzberg, having a Turkish name and many other factors attach the individual to different classes and limits its reach to different forms of capitals. Even though the person has a chance to achieve unexpected success in its career, its *social* and *cultural capital* put the person into a system of advantages and disadvantages (Bourdieu 2014 and Savage 2011). Urban geographies like *Kreuzberg* are seen as problematic districts and their inhabitants become subjects of disadvantage mechanisms and marginalized. Loic Wacquant (2011) sees the *advanced marginalization* of some urban areas and people groups as a result of uneven development of capitalist economies and shrinking welfare states (p. 12-13). In his research he compares different countries' marginalized districts and shows that even though the *urban outcasts* of different countries involve some similarities, they have many differences. The reasons behind marginalized districts' formations, their demographics, disadvantage mechanisms and possible solutions for the problems vary. The only common trait of the problematic neighborhoods' is their marginalization in the society. With Wacquant's work it becomes clear that dispatching a situation from its historical and geographic setting is inaccurate. The ideologies and populations create its *other* and problematic districts stands as an urban area to stuff the *other* in.

The *cultural enclaves* of Germany stay connected to the rest of the urban geography, however as a result of their marginalization the majority fears, disgusts and avoids possible contacts with it. The marginalized urban space and its inhabitants rise as *urban abjects*. According to Kristeva (1982) *abject* is neither

an object nor a subject; it is rather something that threatens the separation formed during the mirror stage. The individual both identifies itself with the *abject*, but at the same time sees it as a possible danger of disruption of the order. The *abject* has the origin of one's body, but as soon as it is excluded interactions and encounters with it blurs the borders of human and non-human, identity and non-identity. It 'draws [one] toward the place where meaning collapses' (p. 2). She also tells that 'by way of abjection, primitive societies have marked out a precise area of their culture in order to remove it from the threatening world of animals or animalism, which were imagined as representatives of sex and murder' (p. 12-3). *Abject* repels and charms at the same time. It challenges norms and order and creates a force for precaution.

Creed (1993) maps *abjection* of women through discourse, and defines the positioning of the *abject* in society as follows:

The place of the abject is where meaning collapses, the place where I am not. The abject threatens life, it must be radically excluded from the place of the living subject, propelled away from the body and deposited on the other side of an imaginary border which separates the self from that which threatens the self. (p. 65)

Ghetto, banlieue or any *problematic district* discourses share similarities with *abjection*. The marginalized districts can be named as *urban abjects*. The *urban abject* is unquestionably part of the city and it is a product and projection of the dominant ideology. The society and its self-reproducing inequality mechanisms give birth to the *urban abject*; it is constantly redefined and reproduced. As soon as the *urban abject* is confined, forged and framed with

discourse, the geography turns into a violent threat that questions the order; and the people living in it are being marginalized and marked with stereotypes. The *urban abject* is included to the rest of the urban space with an exclusion. As an *abject* it is both desired and feared. It is wanted to be included back and to be embodied again. The *urban abject*'s existence also rises as a necessity.

The European ghetto is both feared and needed; it shows both the importance and the impossibility of 'integration;' it is the location of the threat to Europe and the space where the 'other' needs to be restricted and violence needs to be contained. (Stehle 2006, p. 62)

The inclusion of the excluded *urban abject* appears as a form of *profanation*. In order to argue the methods of *profanation*, understanding of the German *cultural enclaves* and the existing exclusion should be analyzed. In this work three short documentaries on this topic would be discussed.

The first video is *Kanak Attak*'s. *Kanak Attak* is an anti-racist group based in Cologne, which makes documentaries and street interviews under their online channel *Kanak TV*. During their interviews they ask out of ordinary questions in order to contrast the unquestioned hierarchical positionings among people living in Germany. In their video *Weißer Ghetto [White Ghetto]* (Kanak Tv 2015) *Kanak Attak* tries to state the dual structure of *urban abjection* and exclusion. They go to Lindenthal, a district of Cologne with a very low rate of immigrant residents, and ask the inhabitants about the life in a *Weißer Ghetto*, how do they integrate into the society, whether they consider themselves as *bio-Deutsch* [bio-German], and would they consider switching places with immigrants for better integration. In the very beginning of the video one of the interviewees, a police officer, defines the district as a 'relatively livable [...] safe zone for those who are well-off'.

Some interviewees accept the definition of *Weißer Ghetto*, however some oppose. One of the opposers defines the *ghetto* as ‘gated’ and ‘under surveillance’ and adds that both of which are not a feature of Lindenthal. Nearly all of the interviewees state that they do not need to integrate into the society, and emphasized that they are the society. During the video the term *bio-Deutsch* is considered as the *original German* and others as *Türk-German*. Almost none of the interviewees are willing to switch houses with immigrants for a better integration.

The second video is *Deutsche Welle Türkçe*’s short documentary on Marxloh. (Almanların kendilerini yabancı hissettikleri semt 2011) Marxloh is located in Duisburg, and the district is known for its high rate of immigrant residents and cultural diversity. Duisburg used to be an industrial city, however today it lost many of its jobs and the immigrant community turned into shopkeepers. In the documentary it is stated that many Germans left the district, and the remaining ones show respect to the immigrants’ traditions. However some of them complain about low rate of Germans and others feel nostalgia for the long gone days, when the city had more job opportunities and the district had more Germans living in it. The Turkish immigrants, in the documentary, define integration as living together with preserving their differences. According to them if a group of diverse people is living peacefully together, then the members of the community are integrated into the society.

The final documentary that will be discussed in this work would be *Al Jazeera*’s *36 Boys*. *36 Boys* was a street gang formed by Turkish immigrants in

Kreuzberg during 80's, and was active till mid 90's. In the documentary the former members of the gang state that the Turkish immigrants see themselves as an important fragment of Germany's post-World War II economic progress and urban developments. According to the documentary, racism made peaks in Germany during 80's economic crisis and 89's reunification. The street gangs were formed to provide districts' protection against racist attacks. In the documentary nearly all members talk about physical and symbolic violence that they have been exposed to and complain about how they are neglected by German politicians and the German police. They define their use of violence as a form of self-defense against neo-Nazis and skinheads, who were attacking to immigrants, setting immigrants' houses on fire and sometimes even murdering them. Former *36 Boys* members declare that they have always been discriminated by the society and named as *Ausländer* [outsider/alien]. According to them if an *Ausländer* wants to be accepted into the society, it has to abandon its unique identity and assimilate into Germany. The gang also explains that they do not want to change but rather continue their coexistence as a part of Germany's diversity. *36 Boys* group admits some of gang members' relation with criminal activities, but they inform the audience that the criminal members were a very small part of the whole group and adds that their primary purpose was protecting their district. According to the documentary *36 Boys* contained dancers, graffiti artists and musicians, however the media was focused on the fights and neglected their relation with street art and hip-hop culture. Today, even though the gang is dismissed, the name *36 Boys* is still alive as a clothing brand and a record label.

In other words, it has totally turned into a cultural commodity enriching Kreuzberg's diversity.

When the three documentaries mentioned are summed up, the usage of word *ghetto* in Germany becomes clearer. According to most Germans, the *Ausländern* should change and adapt to the rest of Germany, and they believe that if the *Ausländern* do not adapt it is normal for them to be trapped in *cultural enclaves*, which are excluded from the rest of the society. They are not happy with the existence of these enclaves. They do not want to be part of the enclaves or to be related with them. Finally they do not want their *Weißer Ghettos* to find a middle way with immigrant's *cultural enclaves*. Germans consider themselves as the main element of the society and expect the immigrant groups to leave their diversity behind and fit into this singularity. The immigrants on the other hand, are aware of the discrimination towards them and refuse to assimilate into the society's monolith structure. The immigrants are excluded from the society and want to be included into it with their unique properties. Their urban domain is defined with invisible borders and their public appearance is regulated according to the domain they are present. As a result of exclusion they are freer to express their cultural codes inside the *cultural enclaves*, and when they are present in the other districts they are expected to adapt the cultural codes of Germans. For Germans the *ghetto* means a district for the diverse and the unfit, for Turks the same term means a cultural safe zone and an urban geography where they can express their codes of living. Turkish gangs like *36 Boys* embraces the word *ghetto*, deconstructs and redefines the word with their popular culture products.

Even though Kreuzberg has no similarity to USA *Ghetto*, because of its representation in both German popular culture and Turkish underground culture, it is promoted as Berlin's *ghetto*, and visiting the district is promoted as a touristic attraction.

4. 3. Tourism and Gentrification

*'You don't see them all day
They only come out at night
Don't be afraid... No!
It's gonna be alright
Berlin by night'
PVC – Berlin by Night*

In the previous pages *urban abject's* definition in the German sense and Berlin's post reunification economic conditions are mentioned. The Turkish community in Germany can collectively demonstrate an authentic existence in limited urban areas. They are passive and neglected individuals in the changing German social structure rather than an effective power. Today Kreuzberg's Turkish residents run 30 percent of Kreuzberg's shops and businesses. Most of these enterprises employ family members and close relatives. The reason behind the popularity of family corporations is the peak of high unemployment rate in 90's. As Berlin went through a deindustrialization process, many Turks who were factory workers at that time lost their jobs. Older Turks are blue-collar workers, without factories they have limited job opportunities. For the younger generations, the reasons for unemployment are prejudices based on stereotypes, discrimination and their lower chance to get a higher education. The government on the other

hand failed to eliminate discrimination and provide them suitable jobs. The solution that the unemployed families found was starting up their own business. (Kil & Silver 2006, p. 99-100) In other words, the blue-collar workers of the past were forced into becoming shopkeepers. They needed to adapt into the changing society, and in Berlin's case they are marketed as a touristic attraction. Even though neither *visitberlin.de* (2015) nor *tourismus-friedrichshain-kreuzberg.de* (2015) mention the dominant Turkish community or famous *Kreuzberg mix*, *Kreuzberg* is as a must see station of touristic visits.

The touristic promotion comes with a price; and in this case it is gentrification. In the recent years the Turkish districts of Berlin become subjects of a new urban shift as a result of creative negative space usage and tourists focus. After the unification the Turkish neighborhoods did not instantly change. As the former districts of *DDR* like Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg are rebuilt, their previous inhabitants mostly replaced, and these districts entered into a second wave of gentrification, eyes are set on Kreuzberg (Ahlfeldt, 2009). While every case of gentrification shares some common concept, each example has its differences and uniqueness. Smith and Graves (2005) talks about the subject:

Gentrification is not the same everywhere' and a deeper more nuanced understanding of its heterogeneity, and complexity, must be achieved through geographically sensitive research that pays close attention to both temporal and spatial context (p. 416).

Today, different parts of Berlin are subjects of different forms of gentrification. Mitte turned into an expensive upper-class shopping district and Prenzlauer Berg became a safe haven for white-collar couples with one or two preschool children. Kreuzberg, Friedrichshain and Neukölln became centers of

touristic and cultural attractions. Bars, coffee shops, restaurants, clubs, art galleries, exhibitions, festivals, carnivals, parties and all products of entertainment industry are present in these three districts; and the focus of the tourist gaze is slowly changing the demographic structure of the area. More people, including students, artists, single white-collar workers and long term tourists, demand to live in the area, more shops, bar, restaurants and clubs are opened, it becomes harder to find a flat and as a result the rents rise.

Gotham's (2005) *touristic gentrification* concept has similarities with Kreuzberg's situation. In his work Gotham analyses French Quarter of New Orleans and makes a definition of *touristic gentrification* as "the transformation of a middle-class neighborhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave marked by a proliferation of corporate entertainment and tourism venues" (p. 1099). Gotham asserts that the touristic 'consumer demand' (p. 1100) changes the urban geographies and underlines the promotion of 'created and marketed' (p. 1114) gentrification. The touristic entertainment zones create 'an altered relationship between culture and economics in the production and consumption of urban space' (p. 1115). To project Gotham's *touristic gentrification* concept to Kreuzberg, one have to stretch its boundaries a little bit. Kreuzberg's diversity and entertainment industry is promoted to create an international demand and the districts fame unites the global with the local. It contains globally expected touristic attractions while managing its individuality, unique demographic mix and exotic existence. However unlike Gotham's definition, it is not a middle-class neighborhood. If the definition of *touristic gentrification* were extended as

‘increasing real estate values, rising rents and displacement of lower classes as a result of promoted touristic activities’, it would be more accurate and globally applicable. In Kreuzberg’s case every piece of street art, every *biergarten*, every open-air cinema, every world famous bar or club, every squatted industrial building or every art collective produces a cultural capital that attracts the tourists. The *Kreuzberg mix* is well known for years and its combination with entertainment industry attracts tourists, the tourists create a gentrification wave and ironically as a result of gentrification the *Kreuzberg mix* faces a threat of displacement.

Retired and unemployed residents with immigrant backgrounds are the first to go. Considering the monthly amount of government assistance, the possible settlement alternatives are the eastern parts of Berlin, Lichtenberg and Marzahn. There are two main problems for the possible inner city migration. First of all the former *DDR* districts are formed by a modernist urbanism. The neighborhoods consists of gigantic mass housing projects, *Plattenbauten* [Panel Buildings] divided by huge boulevards (Figure 21). It is hard to reform a new Kreuzberg in the mentioned urban settings. Secondly the area is famous for its tendency to far right parties in elections (Figure 22). The famous anti-gentrification group Kotti&Co (2015) criticizes Berlin’s government. They tell that, under the name of “*better mixing*”, the local government is ignoring the results of increasing rents, and supporting displacement of unemployed and retired residents with immigrant background. A “*better mix*” of middle-income

and mid-high-income inhabitants is displacing low middle income and low-income *Kreuzberg mix*.

4. 4. Gentrifying The Anti-Movements

*'Strange times were to have thought make a whole
You'll find some old wounds cannot be closed
But I look to you, thinking of you
Oh Berlin, city of night!'
Peter Schilling – City Of Night*

Gentrification does not only affect people with immigrant backgrounds. The clubs, squats and even leftist demonstrations are displaced, redefined, commoditized and turned into touristic attractions. The following two cases aim to demonstrate the commodification radical resistance movements. The first case to be analyzed would be International Workers' Day (1st of May) demonstrations and the second one would be Cuvrystrasse Squat.

The 1st of May demonstrations in Berlin are famous for its street protests and violent conflicts between police and demonstrators. In 1987 the riots went on for two days, leaving many burned cars and buildings behind. Recently in 2008 and 2009 there has been huge riots during demonstrations. In 2009 300 people were arrested. (Violent Tradition 2012) Since 2003, with district's inhabitants' support, a street festival is being arranged annually. The name of the festival is *MyFest* (MyFest 2015 a and MyFest 2015 b) referring to similar pronunciation of *Mai* [May] and *My*; and rather than a political event, it is a street carnival with many food stands and different stages for DJ's, performance artists, musicians and comedians. (Figure 23) With *MyFest*, street demonstrations' routes are limited to

certain streets and all clashes are highly marginalized. 1st of May's political references are eliminated and it has been turned into a huge street party with many food and music alternatives.

The second case is *Cuvrybrache Squat*. As mentioned before, clubbing is a part of Berlin's culture, and for city's economic development it has been advertised in order to attract investors and tourists. In 2002 a property investment project *Media Spree* has been formed. Its aim was to renew 180 hectares of riverbank area spread to 3.7 km. With *Media Spree*'s efforts in 2002 Universal Music and in 2004 MTV Central Europe moved to riverbanks of Spree. In 2006 O₂ concert arena was completed. Today there are many offices, entertainment centers, hotels and residences are completed, and many more are planning to be built. (Bader & Bialluch 2009) There is an opposition group named *Media Spree Versenken* (2015) [Sink Media Spree] against privatization of riverbanks and demanding urban spaces and projects for public usage. There are also squatters trying to stop *Media Spree* projects and *Cuvrybrache Squat* was one of them. The squat was located at Cuvrystraße, Kreuzberg and full of tents and cottages. The squatters were mostly immigrants, anarchists, Roman and Sinti. (Cuvry-Brache stays free 2015) A Munich based investor, who plans to build an apartment next to Spree, owns the area. (Sie leben in der Lücke 2014) However the squat's existence restrained the plans and created a public space. *Cuvrybrache* held many cultural activities, workshops, concerts, parties and plays. The squat was also famous for its graffiti. Famous artist BLU's two pieces were covering the walls of the field (Figure 24).

The graffiti were considered as landmarks of Berlin and many tourists visited the area just to see them. On September 18, 2014 a controversial fire destroyed the squat and the police named the area as a crime scene and entrance to the area is banned. (Berlin squat ripped apart by fire 2014) Soon after the fire BLU's painted his famous street art pieces to black. (Why we painted over Berlin's most famous graffiti 2014) (Figure 25) BLU tells he is aware of street art's affect on districts and adds that he did not want his art to support gentrification. While *Cuvrybrache Squat* was an example of occupied negative-space usage, its disintegration and BLU's black paintings created an *unheimlich* empty field, a new negative-space, in the middle of the urban area. He also modified "RECLAIM YOUR CITY" to "YOUR CITY". With his protest BLU protested street arts commodification, reminded art scene's self-displacing gentrification mechanisms and finally visualized how the city will look like when the cultural authenticity will be replaced with the rich.

Summing up the whole chapter; Cold War and deindustrialization of 90's created an alternative and diverse culture in Kreuzberg. Immigrants, squats, demonstrations, art collectives, festivals, carnivals, clubs, bars, parties, street art all coexisted together creating the famous *Kreuzberg mix*. After 90's the city promoted the cultural activities in the area to attract tourists, investors and to create job opportunities. However the promotion created a gentrification wave displacing unemployed and retired inhabitants of Kreuzberg. In the beginning of the chapter it was mentioned that *cultural enclaves* are turned into *abjects* through discourse. They are included to the society by exclusion. To embody them back,

once again *profanation* is used as a method. Tourism is an extension of capitalism stands as a *profanation* force of the system. As the *urban abjects*'s are redefined with touristic *dispositive*, they loose their existence as an *abject* and become touristic enclaves. In Kreuzberg's case immigrants', street art's and even 1st of May demonstrations' attachments with anti-capitalist resistance are broken, and they are turned into touristic commodities. New usage forms and new bonds appear as the old ones are demolished and marginalized. Being a Turkish immigrant is acceptable as long as you add value to the *cultural enclave*, being on the street during 1st of May is acceptable as long as you are partying, street art is acceptable as long as it has a cultural value and helping the rent rise. The list can be extended, however one thing is certain Kreuzberg's promotion as a touristic district has already started changing the demographics of the area. The gentrification caused by the popularity of the diverse culture is damaging the culture itself. Finally it is unclear if the district will survive the upcoming waves of gentrification as Berlin becomes more and more popular.

5. CONCLUSION

'cause everybody hates a tourist'
Pulp – Common People

Berlin contains many layers history. For Berlin, the last century was a continuous process of destruction, reconstruction and displacement. Weimar Republic, Nazi Germany, and *DDR* left traces behind. The layers consist of buildings, structures remainings and voids. The combination of positive and negative urban geography and layers' coexistence with each other create a rare case. After the fall of the *Wall* the city entered in to a new era. Economic conditions and demographic distribution affected and shaped city's future. The city could not become a financial center as planned and tourism became one of its biggest income sources. Yesterday's painful past is today's dark memory spots for touristic attractions. Whether it is Holocaust, Cold War or ghetto, everything stands as a touristic commodity. Tourism's rush causes major changes both in urban texture and in city's demographic structure.

In the second chapter memorialization of Holocaust and *counter-monumentality* movement was examined. In order to break bonds with the fascist past, Germany worked on creating monuments against monumentality itself. These *counter-monuments* usually lack signifiers to guide the visitor into a direct meaning. They rather focus on creating individual experiences and get into a dialogue with its visitor through their voids and absence. While this approach is a challenge to singularity of collective memory, it also creates the risk of staying unnoticed or failing to give visitors the targeted feelings. Tourists on the other

hand, have the power to deconstruct and attach new meanings to places of memory. As they *play* with *counter-monuments* they not only challenge the collective memory but also attain to new possible usages of experimental urban geography. It is a fact that different attractions with monuments, which commemorate Holocaust, can be understood as forms of disrespect, however they hold the key to a more normalized presence of Jews, and Jewishness in the German society.

In the third chapter Cold War and reunification of divided Germany was analyzed. It is clear that Germany is still divided today. The division does not only appear as demographic outcomes but also appear as remembrance and memory. The meaning of the *Wall* and *DDR* differ on both sides. While Westerners are seeing *DDR* as a totalitarian state similar to Nazi Germany, the Easterners have a nostalgic connection with it. Easterners miss their culture and their protective social state. After the reunification the West dominated the East, erased the state structure totally and country's culture mostly. Everything remaining from *DDR* turned into fetishes and commodity objects. They are all bought and sold, and also presented as touristic attractions. As tourists *play* with the remainings of the culture and the former state, they perform acts of *profanation*. Tourism helps the deconstruction of former *DDR* citizens memory, history and culture. The West carefully selects 'what will be remembered' and 'how will be remembered'. The *Wall* is one of the selected objects to be remembered, it still stands with its absence and its pieces are being sold everyday. *Palast der Republic* is selected to be forgotten, it is punctiliously dismantled and

lost. Even its absence was seen as a threat and by rebuilding the *schloss* West filled the absence with another layer of history.

In the fourth chapter outcomes of 90's deindustrialization are explained. During Cold War the districts lying near the *Wall* became home for immigrants, sub-cultures and leftists. The combination created infamous *Kreuzberg mix*. These districts were marginalized by the media, turned into *urban abjects* and named as *ghettos*. They were included to the rest of the urban geography and society with exclusion. As Berlin became more and more touristic and *urban abjects* started attracting more and more people. The promoted entertainment industry and marginal culture brought a gentrification wave. In Berlin's case the gentrification is not a new phenomena, starting from the collapse of the *Wall* different eastern districts are gentrified, and their inhabitants are displaced. Today Kreuzberg is going under a similar process. The stereotypic representations of Turks in Germany create prejudices against them. Socially constructed disadvantages give immigrants nearly unsolvable problems. In other words, Kreuzberg authentic existence is self-destructing. The culture is selectively combed out, resistant forces are marginalized and the rest is turned into commodities through tourism.

To sum up, Berlin is a playground for tourism and tourism has a total new meaning. During everyday life all actions are turned into touristic acts. The concept of post-tourism is rather new, but its traces are hidden in all daily actions. In Berlin's case post-tourism is shaping the demographic structure, the economy, the urban texture, immigrant flow, history and memory. Every district and every corner contain some elements to remind the traumatic past, but at the same time

every district and every corner are a part of touristic activities. Objects, cultures, memory, buildings and even the absence are turning into profit. Everything is becoming part of common sphere in order to be used up, everything is becoming *unprofanable*. The question to be asked should be about how to *profane* the *unprofanable*.

6. APPENDIX



Figure 1 (Photo by Onur Çiftci)



Figure 2 (Photo by Onur Çiftci)



Figure 3 (Available from: <https://agminberlin.files.wordpress.com/2014/06/blahisdhj.jpg>)

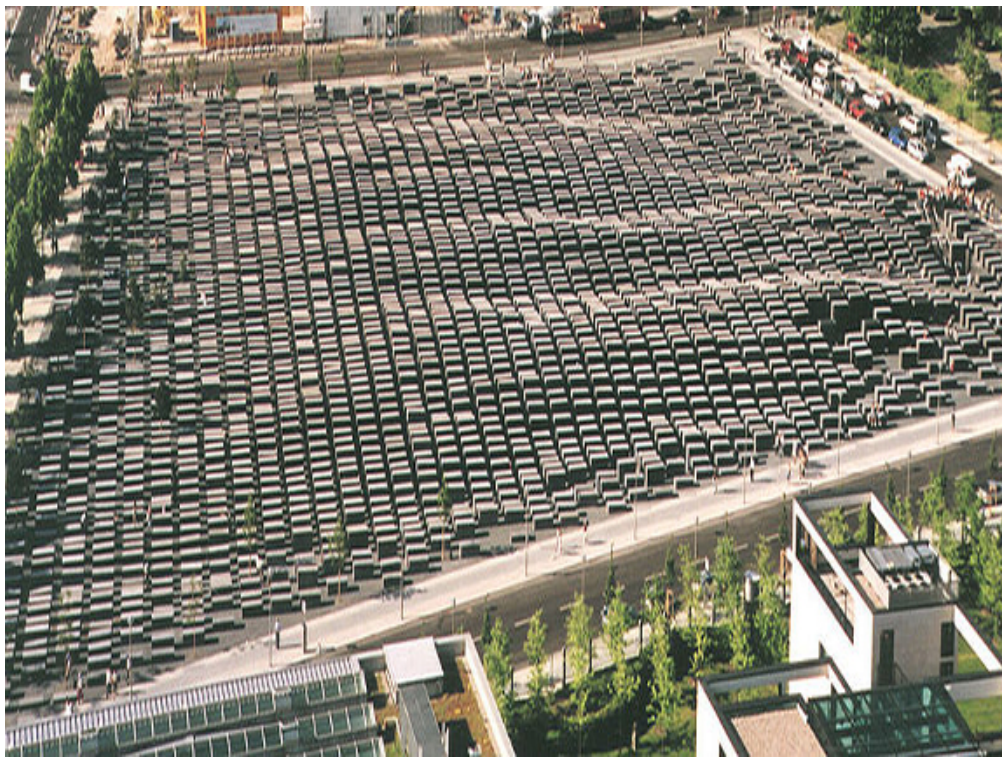


Figure 4 (Available From: http://www.architravel.com/architravel_wp/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Memorial-to-the-Murdered-Jews-of-Europe_kentriki.jpg)

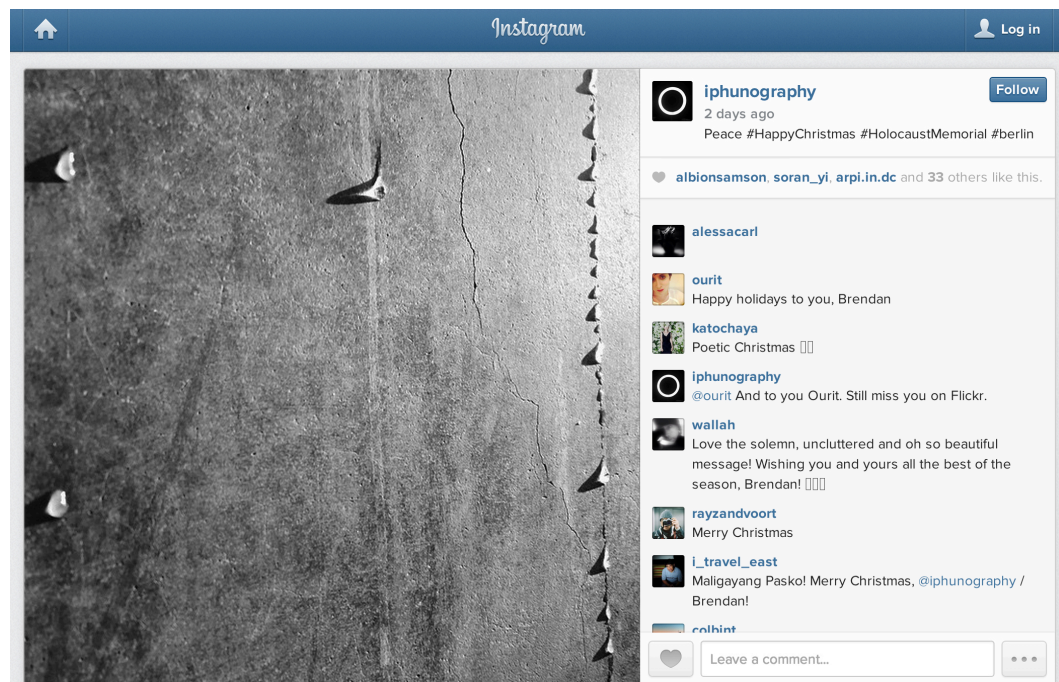


Figure 5 (Available From: <http://instagram.com/p/w-89Bcrovg/>)

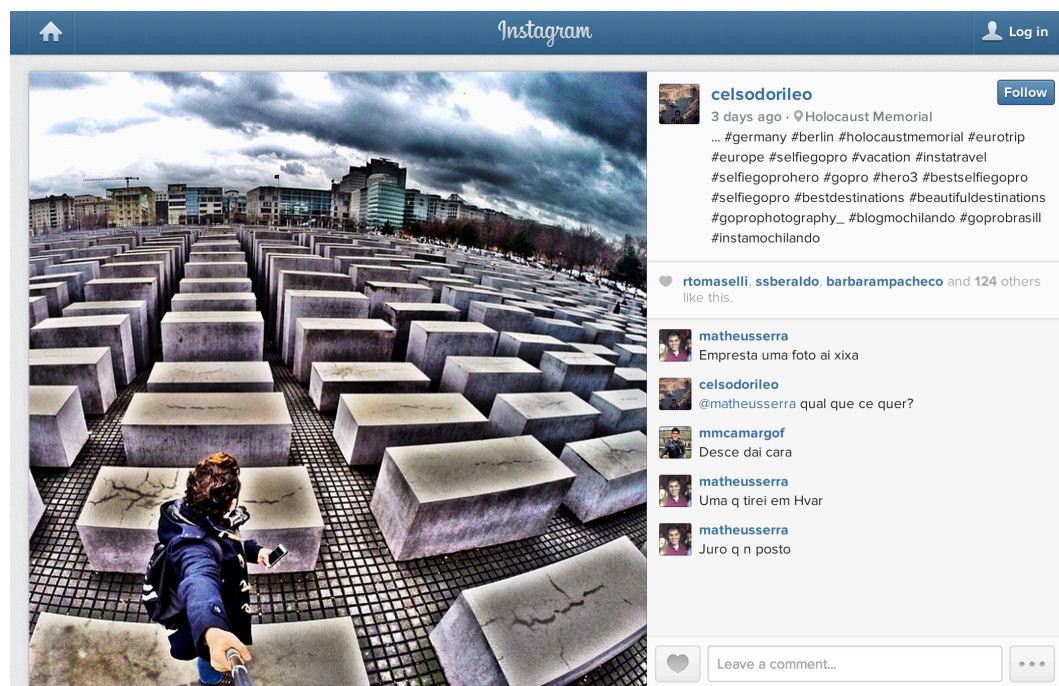


Figure 6 (Available From: <http://instagram.com/p/w9IfM6mJLw/>)

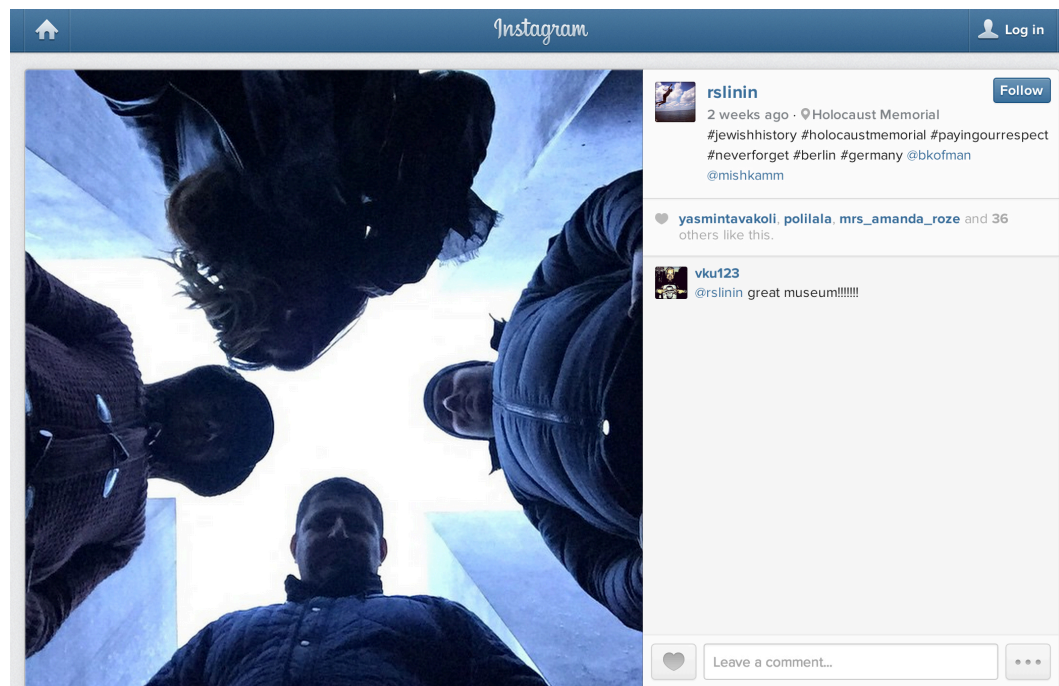


Figure 7 (Available From: <http://instagram.com/p/wg7Ac4NLg1/>)

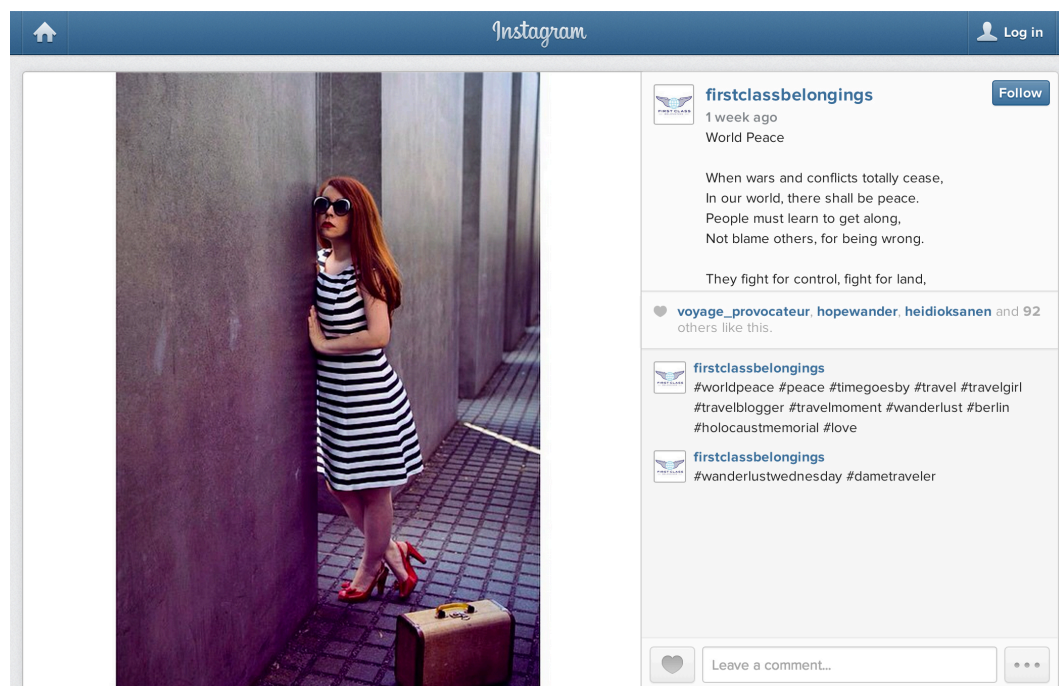


Figure 8 (Available From: <http://instagram.com/p/wuDxzPKz6H/>)

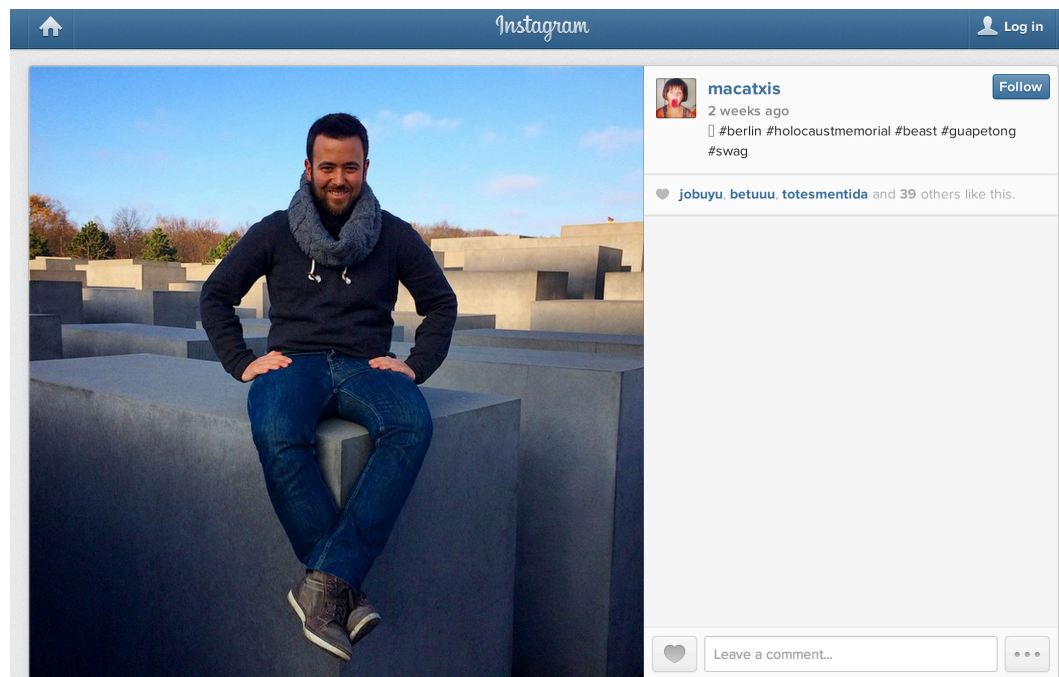


Figure 9 (Available From: http://instagram.com/p/wi_R4EzKff/)



Figure 10 (Available From: <http://instagram.com/p/wcEkiBo4Uw/>)

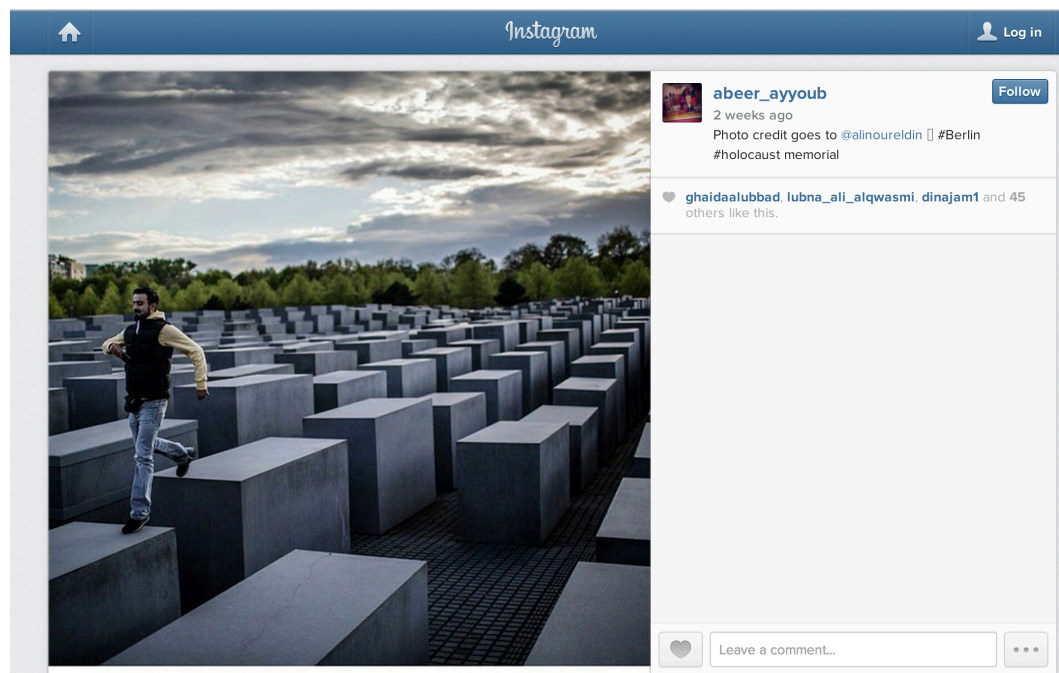


Figure 11 (Available From: http://instagram.com/p/weDMs_DEM7/)

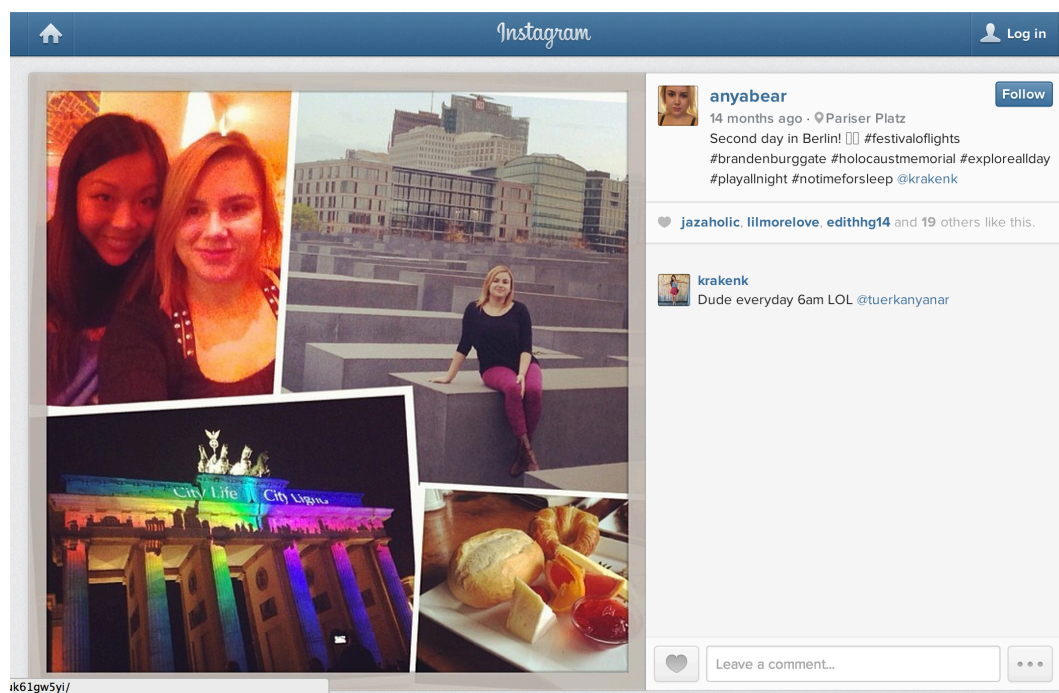


Figure 12 (Available From: <http://instagram.com/p/fuk61gw5yi/>)



Figure 13 (Available From: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-apps/imrs.php?src=http://img.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/files/2014/10/Berlin_at_night1.jpg&w=1484)



Figure 14 (Available From: <http://www.coldwar.org/pictures/photos/hugh16.jpg>)



Figure 15 (Available From: <http://i1.mirror.co.uk/news/technology-science/technology/article4470424.ece/alternates/s615/BerlinWall2.jpg>)



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Figure 16
(Available From :
<http://i0.wp.com/zimbrulcarpatin.files.wordpress.com/2013/03/1988.jpg>)

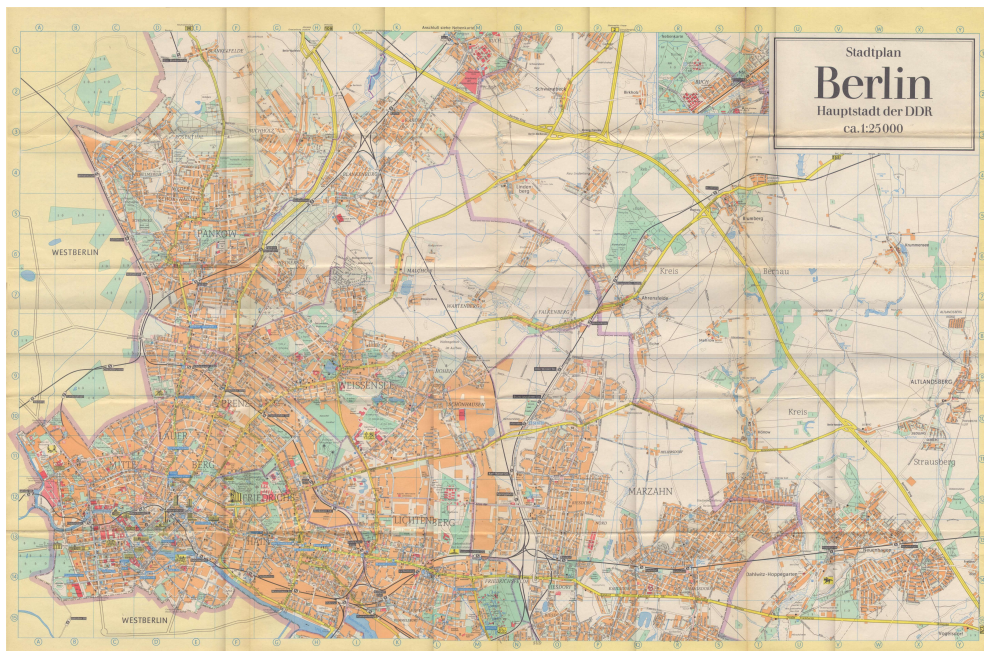


Figure 17 (Available From:
http://www.landkartenindex.de/historischelandkarten/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Berlin_DDR_1983.jpg)

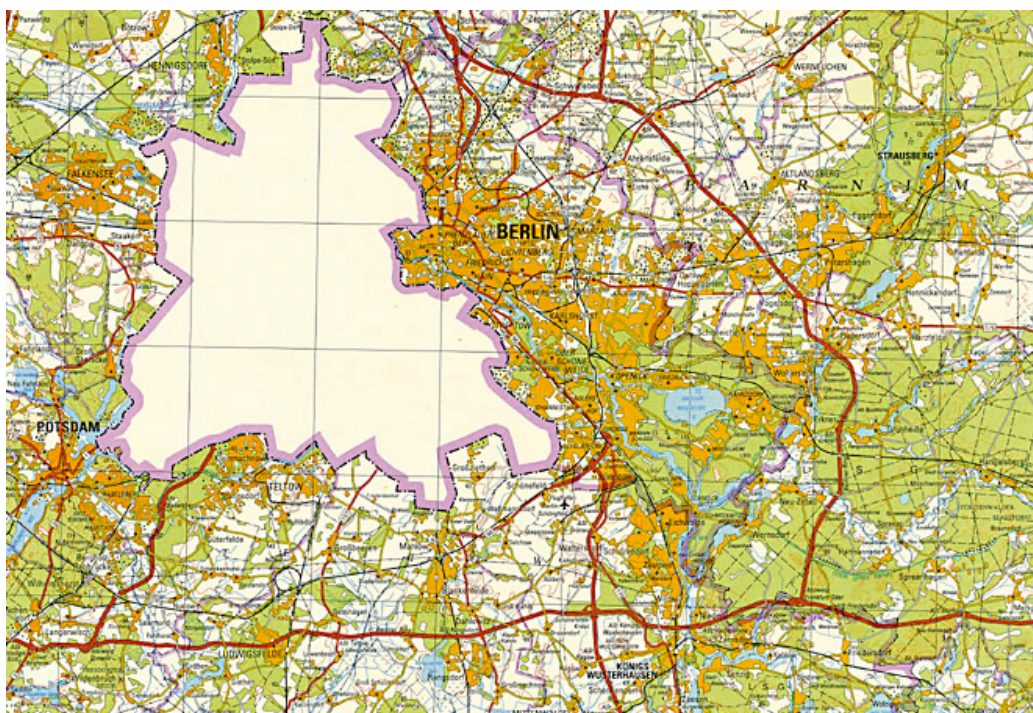


Figure 18 (Available From:
http://www.zlb.de/fileadmin/user_upload/recherche/sammlungen/berliner_ansichten/pdf/dezemberpdf.pdf)



Figure 19 (Available From: [http://theprotocity.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/04 Die DDR hats nie gegeben 2008.jpg](http://theprotocity.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/04_Die_DDR_hats_nie_gegeben_2008.jpg))

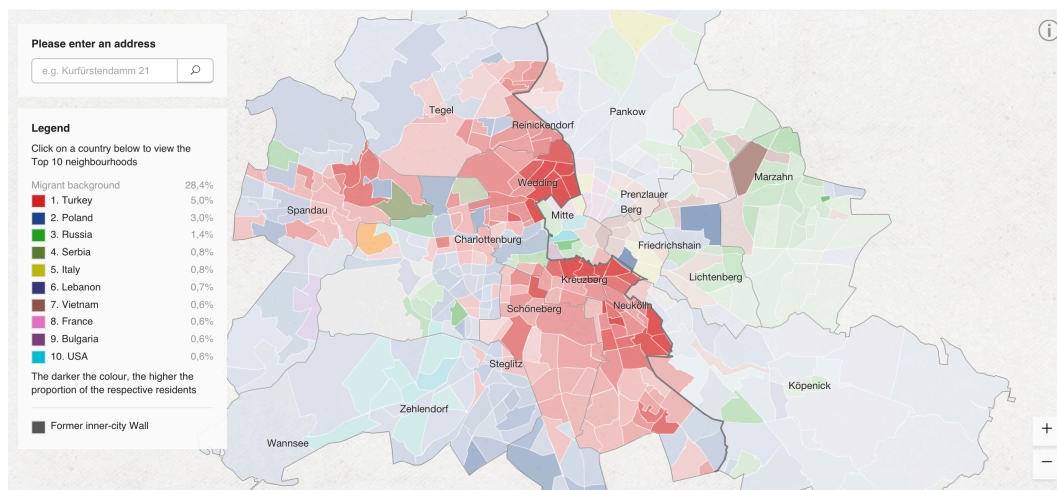


Figure 20 (Available From: <http://interaktiv.morgenpost.de/migranten-in-berlin/#11/52.5070/13.3693>)



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-1987-0128-310
Foto: Lnk, Hubert | 1. Januar 1987

Figure 21 (Available From:
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/66/Bundesarchiv_Bild_183-1987-0128-310%2C_Berlin%2C_Marzahn%2C_Neubaugebiet%2C_Wohnblocks.jpg)

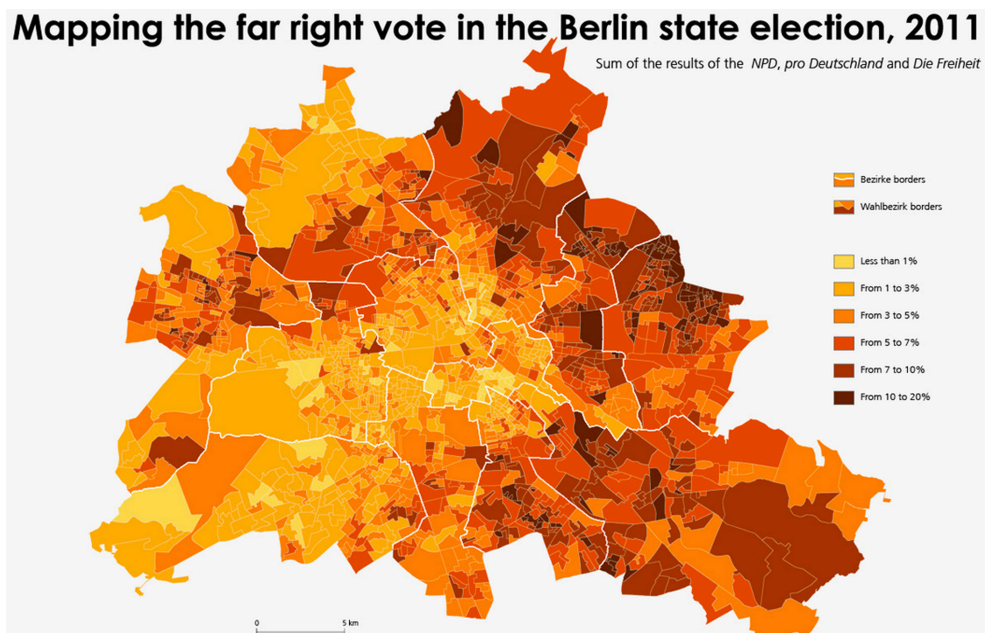


Figure 22 (Available From <https://mostlyoff.files.wordpress.com/2011/12/berlin-far-right-2011.png>)



Figure 23 (available from: http://www.myfest36.de/images/stories/MyFest/2015/Info/MyFest_2015_Programm_Plan.jpg)



Figure 24 (Available from: https://c2.staticflickr.com/6/5150/5692923353_de3ef360e6_b.jpg)



Figure 25 (Photo by Onur Çiftci)

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