Artwashing

A case study of the arthouse Tacheles, Berlin

Helena von der Ohe
Supervisior: Philippe Hanna

DATE: 01 JULY 2024

Master Environmental and Infrastructure Planning
Faculty of Spatial Sciences, University of Groningen

HOW LONG IS NOW

Colophon

Title:	Artwashing, Case study of the Arthouse Tacheles, Berlin
Author:	Helena M. von der Ohe
Supervisor:	Philippe Hanna
Program:	Master Environmental and Infrastructure Planning
University:	University of Groningen Faculty of Spatial Sciences Landleven 1 9747AD Groningen
Date:	01 July 2024
Place:	Groningen
Version:	Final
Word count:	20967

Preface

This thesis marks the culmination of my academic journey at the Faculty of Spatial Sciences at the University of Groningen and is an acknowledgement of the support, guidance and encouragement I have received from numerous individuals.

Firstly, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Philippe Hanna, whose insightful guidance, constant support and constructive feedback have been valuable not only in shaping my Bachelor's and Master's thesis but also in enhancing and shaping my academic growth.

I would also like to thank Ludwig for trusting me and sharing with me his emotional story about his time in the Tacheles, I appreciate it. As well as a thank you to all the other interviewees. I would also like to thank my family and friends who have supported me throughout this process.

Finally, I am particularly inspired by my younger cousin, whose motto *"I'm unstoppable"* has been a beacon of strength and determination for me. His relentless spirit and positive outlook are a reminder that resilience and strength can overcome any obstacle.

Helena von der Ohe

Groningen, 01 July 2024

Abstract

Berlin's urban landscape is marked by a rich history and a variety of cultural movements. It encompasses a diverse range of architectural experimentation and urban planning initiatives. Within this dynamic context, the narrative of Tacheles in Berlin Mitte represents an intriguing case for discourse among architects, urban planners, historians and residents of Berlin.

This thesis examines the concept of artwashing. The case study of the Tacheles serves as the focus of the research, which aims to understand the underlying mechanism and stakeholder perceptions of the concept. The Tacheles was originally a cultural centre focused on various artistic disciplines established by squatters. It has since been transformed into a high-end urban development. The objective of this case study is to provide a nuanced understanding of artwashing, demonstrating its dependence on diverse stakeholder perceptions and offering valuable implications for policymakers, real estate developers and cultural scholars aiming to address the ethical dimensions of integrating art into urban development.

The methodology employs a comprehensive case study, which includes semi-structured and narrative interviews, as well as participatory action research, to gain a nuanced understanding of the subject matter from a variety of stakeholders. The current findings indicate that artwashing is driven by the challenge of providing real estate properties with a sense of authenticity and emotion to enhance their marketability. The perceptions of stakeholders concerning artwashing vary significantly under the cultural, social and economic contexts in which they are situated.

Keywords: Artwashing, Creative City, Gentrification, Urban Redevelopment, Cultural preservation versus Commercialisation

Table of content

Table of Contents Figures and Tables

Figures

Tables

1. Introduction

Statements like *"Berlin-Mitte, expensive, beautifully quiet and deadly boring"* (Czienskowski in Berliner Morgenpost, 2016) and *"Berlin-Mitte, Poor and sexy? Expensive and Boring!"* (Sandig in Tagesspiegel, 2023), have become increasingly common reflecting the evolving perception of the Mitte district in Berlin in recent years. The newest addition to the district is the Tacheles Quartier, where apartments cost up to 31,000 euros per square meter (Vetter in Immobilien Zeitschrift, 2021).

Berlin is the capital of Germany and has around 4 million inhabitants, the city is divided into 12 districts (Statista, 2023). Mitte is the most centrally located district in Berlin and is known for its landmarks such as the Brandenburg Gate, the Bundestag (parliament), the Fernsehturm and many more. The district's geographical location, landmarks and history are an incentive for the 10,4 million tourists in 2022 to spend time in Mitte (Visit Berlin, 2023). In the last few years, I have seen multiple Starbucks openings, souvenir shops and more expensive to-go supermarkets in my neighbourhood Mitte. It seems those openings reflect the needs of tourists. Having lived in that area and being born there, I have experienced and seen these changes. Besides the tourists in the district, it is also the home of 395,599 inhabitants (Statista, 2022). However, the district has become less residential in the last couple of years. Most flats have turned into offices and since Covid, those remain empty as well. Therefore, the private and public policy field must steer away from "Zombie urbanism". It characterizes a stereotypical approach by developers and designers towards urban environments, where urban elements are primarily harnessed for sales, marketing and branding (Verfassungsblog, 2020).

The following chapter presents the research problem, relevance and the research questions. Chapter three outlines the theoretical background and includes the key concepts of the creative city, placemaking, artwashing, gentrification and the conceptual model. Chapter four presents the methodology, methods employed and methods for utilizing the data, along with considerations of positionality and ethical implications. Chapter five provides a case study of Tacheles in Berlin, examining its historical roots and the city's history, as well as the development of the new city quarter, Am Tacheles. Chapter Six elucidates the findings derived from the data. Chapter seven examines the discussions and findings based on the theoretical framework and data collected. Chapter eight delineates the limitations of this master thesis and the conclusion. Chapter nine contains references and chapter ten pertains to the appendix, which includes interview guides, code, consent forms and other supporting documents.

2. Research Problem

The issue at hand concerns the phenomenon of the impact of urban redevelopment on cultural and social cohesions. This often culminates in the displacement of marginalised groups. Moreover, practices such as artwashing and placemaking typically occur without sufficient regulation or protection from urban planning policies. While these developments contribute to economic growth, they maintain a biased attitude among governance actors that prioritise economic interests over social equity.

Berlin, like numerous other cities, is undergoing significant changes in its urban environment. The once famous characteristics of Berlin, its artistic, edgy, liberal and free-spirited ambience, are gradually disappearing under large-scale developments led by foreign investors. Areas once associated with social freedom, creativity and optimism are now witnessing the emergence of massive and expensive urban redevelopment projects. For example, the transformation of the Arthouse Tacheles in Berlin Mitte, once a symbol of artistic expression and liberation, into high-end residential properties is an example of this trend.

The aim of this research is to analyse the social and cultural impact of artwashing through the case study of the redevelopment of the Arthouse Tacheles. By examining the impact of artwashing on community dynamics, cultural heritage and social cohesion, this study aims to provide insights into the broader implications of such practices.

In order to achieve this aim, the following research question and sub-questions will be addressed:

"*How does artwashing impact urban redevelopment and gentrification processes?*"

Sub questions:
"What was the social quality of the Tacheles and how does it differ from the reconstruction of the Tacheles?"
"What were the ambitions and visions of the new city quarter?"

2.1 Relevance

Figure 1: Arthouse Tacheles (DeutscheWelle, 2010)   *Figure 2*: Am Tacheles (ArchDaily, 2021)

The Tacheles, a formerly vibrant cultural hub operated by artists and the local community, has undergone a significant transformation into a high-end development. This change illustrates a broader trend in urban areas where policies aimed at social, physical and economic improvements often result in (un)intended negative consequences, such as gentrification and social exclusion (Mehdipanah et al., 2018).

The research is relevant in a number of fields, including the relationship between cultural preservation and economic development. The redevelopment of the Tacheles exemplifies the conflict between pursuing economic growth and preserving cultural heritage. It is therefore of great importance for urban planners, cultural scholars and policymakers to gain an understanding of the dynamic in question, in order to ensure a balance between the two interests in question (Pratt, 2011). Another crucial aspect is the phenomenon of artwashing, which refers to the practice of using art to mask gentrification and negative impacts on society (Prichard, 2020). Artwashing is the central focus of this thesis. By examining the operation of artwashing in the Tacheles development, the research provides a more profound comprehension of its mechanisms, impacts and potential for addressing similar issues in other urban areas. The impact on local communities is a significant factor to consider, given

that the transformation of the Tacheles from a community-driven to a high-end residential and commercial area raises important questions about the impact of such developments. This research aims to highlight the changes that affect local residents and marginalised groups which are often affected by displacement or gentrification (Friedmann, 2010). Another relevant aspect of this case study is its historical and cultural significance. The Tacheles holds a rich history and cultural legacy that is integral to Berlin's identity. The documentation, analysis and interpretation of the transformation of the Arthouse Tacheles is an example of broader trends of urban redevelopment and cultural commodification (Colomb, 2012). Furthermore, stakeholder perceptions are of great importance in this research, as they incorporate the views and experiences of various stakeholders, including former residents, artists and experts. This enables the identification of potential solutions that are sensitive to the needs of different stakeholder groups (Mathews, 2010). Finally, the findings of this case study have significant suggestions for urban planning and in particular, its policies. The research attempts to advocate for inclusive and fair urban policies that consider the well-being of all residents by highlighting the social and cultural costs of prioritising economic development over communal needs (Harvey, 2008).

Summarized, this research is relevant not only for the Tacheles redevelopment but also for the broader contribution of the urban planning, cultural and social fields. The objective is to provide insights that can inform a more balanced and sustainable approach to urban redevelopment while preserving cultural heritage and fostering social and cultural needs.

3.   Theoretical Background

3.1 Creative City

The concept of the creative city can be traced back to the 1980s, when the strategy encompassed the integration of the concerns of arts and culture in the process of urban planning, with the objective of addressing urban crises. The concept can be described as a strategic method of urban planning to understand how people can think, act and plan creatively to enhance the livability and attractiveness of cities (Landry, 2008). Although the clear policy interventions or precise tools to achieve a creative city remain unclarified, Grodach (2017) states that the initial purpose of fostering collaboration, openness and an experimental mindset within governance structures should be achieved. It differs from the notion of planning with cultural values in mind and sees it instead as urban restructuring using cultural resources. While the goal of such a concept is livability, it is also employed with the intent of exploiting cultural capabilities.

Temporary spaces have led to sprouting in the development divide of Berlin, allowing for multiple discourses connecting with the concept of the creative city. These spaces have emerged spontaneously and address self-governance, which had been overlooked by policymakers for an extended period due to its perceived irrelevance. However, policymakers have begun to recognise the economic value of these spaces in city branding (Colomb, 2012). The policymakers have taken advantage of these temporary occurrences since the early years of the 2000s to develop cities. The image of Berlin, however, changed to a creative city with temporary spaces acting as a marketing strategy for the city to mobilize tourism and economic activities. The low rate of employment and economic growth in the early 2000s made the temporary spaces increase, attracting more actors because of the relatively cheap and affordable amenities and housing. Moreover, the Senate of Berlin has established a number of innovative creative spaces that have attracted a greater number of individuals. However, these new spaces frequently lack fundamental elements, including security, art and a sense of place. The temporary nature of these uses, coupled with the city's economic interests, has led to a number of challenges. There is a notable discrepancy between the informally agreed-upon locations for temporary uses and the formally established policies for urban development. The current situation is characterised by a lack of security for those working in these spaces, which gives rise to a constant fear of displacement. Furthermore, there is a risk of losing authenticity as these creative places undergo commercialisation.

Berlin's policy is very creative and has often advertised the city as a central creative hub, attracting young, mobile and creative workers who push the economy into contemporary times. As Seldin (2020) points out, marketing agencies in Berlin have created an urban image that uses cultural, temporary uses to attract these creatives, all to create a cool and authentic atmosphere. In Seldin's ethnography on street performers in Berlin (2020), artists felt like they were part of the creative policies in effect for the city and their art seemed like bits of minor resistance in the urban space. But their use in broader placemaking schemes can lead to a firm rejection, reflecting a clash between their understanding of what they make available to the city and the city's instrumentalization of their art for economic and branding purposes.

Seldin (2020) further underscores Berlin's temporary cultural uses in creating a creative city but also points to the risks that this association brings with it, such as real estate speculation and gentrification. This dynamic can currently be seen in the recent transformation of a former no man's land beside the Berlin Wall into a vibrant cultural site at Mauerpark. The park is now full of buskers and other temporary users, raising its social and cultural value and attracting the attention of land speculators who hope to build luxury flats nearby. An example of this is busking in Berlin, which Seldin (2020) describes along these lines: street performers support urban spaces with cultural vibrancy and social interaction but are also instrumentalized for city branding and economic purposes. The street performers are, as a result, seen as a regenerating tool: cheap and high-impact in terms of public spaces, but asking some critical questions about control, regulation and the impact it has on local communities.

Pratt (2011) has placed the creative city concept within a more critical analysis that points to its contradictions and challenges. For instance, according to Pratt, although the notion of creative cities makes sense within the strategies of neoliberal globalization, hence their idea of presenting a *"human"* or *"cultured"* face, they quite often distract from looking into the socio-economic inequalities perpetuated underneath. He emphasizes the

need for a more nuanced and situated approach to creativity and culture, which is not just about growth but also about redistributive strategies. This is very vital for considering cultural space transformation, such as that which occurs in the case study Tacheles. Pratt (2011) argues that many creative city policies are place marketing and cultural branding-based; they often lead to the commodification of cultural assets and consequent gentrification. This growth can displace community and devalue, in reality, the cultural diversity and genuineness that the creative city concept is meant to herald. Pratt's analysis, therefore, is speaking critically of the relationship between artistic production and consumption under liberalism in framing creative city policies to reevaluate what, in reality, constitutes a progressive and all-inclusive creative city. This critique applies particularly to Berlin, with its transforming efforts of commercialization and re-development of cultural centres such as Tacheles, where the tensions between cultural preservation and economic development are highlighted.

Mould (2014) opens his discussion of tactical urbanism concerning the creative city and how small-scale, community-driven urban imperatives are becoming increasingly integrated into neoliberal forms. These motivations have provided a path for tactical urbanism activities that seek out ways to change cities in minor ways, often through temporary and low-cost projects around the world. To be used as a specific example, as Mould (2014) pointed out, the very grassroots initiatives that were supposed to subvert are now being widely distributed by the same governments of those urban spaces in complement to a larger neoliberal strategy. This co-option dilutes their initial purpose and morphs them into tools that fortify existing power structures and contribute to gentrification.

3.2 Place-making, Creative place-making, place-unmaking?

Place-making represents a multifaceted concept and practical approach aimed at enhancing the quality of life in neighbourhoods, cities, or regions. It does so by promoting a collaborative and participatory process of reimagining and revitalizing public spaces (Project for Public Spaces, 2007). Its core objective revolves around strengthening the bond between individuals and the spaces they share, thereby unlocking the full potential of these areas for the community.

According to the Project for Public Spaces (2007), placemaking transcends the mere improvement of urban design. It adopts a holistic perspective, emphasizing innovative usage patterns while taking into account the physical, cultural and social characteristics that shape a place and contribute to its ongoing development. In this light, placemaking stands as an indispensable tool for crafting public spaces that are not only visually appealing but also hold functional and social significance for the people who use them.

	Place-makings	Mixed place makings	Placemakings
Driver of change	Individuals, local groups, human agency	Collaborative, NGOs/NPOs	Government, developers, socio-political structure
Symbolism	Local or traditional	*Glocalization*	Cosmopolitan, modern, or global
Process of change	Bottom-up, organic and incremental, minor placemaking[1], unintentional worldmaking[2]	Co-management, co-creation, public participation	Top-down, master planned, hyper-neoliberal placemaking[a], intentional worldmaking[b]
Tourists	Alternative tourists	Specialty tourists	Mass tourists
Ownership and accessibility	Local owners, effort to visit, inaccessible	Locals and outsiders	Outsider owners, easy to visit, accessible
Security	Risk, uncertainty, surprise, escape	Different	Safe, known, predictable, familiar
Sought experiences	Novelty, exotic, unique, individual	Interesting	Recreation, leisure, common, mass
Social space	Back region	Back and front regions	Front region
Authenticity	Objective authenticity, real, sense of place, vernacular	Constructed authenticity, staged	Inauthentic, contrived, fantasy, *disneyfication*, simulacra, placelessness
Transformation	Slow change, path dependent	Moderate change, path divergent	Rapid change, high efficiency, path creation
Development stage (TALC)	Discovery, exploration	Involvement, development	Consolidation
Capacity	Small/low capacity	Medium capacity	Large/high capacity
Guiding	Unguided, tourism incognita	Self-guided	Guided, tourism cognita
Market orientation	Local directed, craft tourism	Regional and national directed	International directed, industrial tourism
Experience	Existential, experimental	Experiential	Recreational, diversionary
Semiotics	Sight/site/place involvement, recognition, and orientation, self-constructed and personal narratives	Mixed semiotics and engagement, place naming	Marker involvement, brand or theme oriented, sight sacralization, socially constructed, metanarratives
Fame	Unknown, unimportant	Regional importance	Famous, important

Table 1: The Place-making continuum (Lew, 2017).

Lew (2017) explains the different approaches to place-making as shown in *Table 1*. Organic place-making is associated with bottom-up, relying on local initiatives and individual agencies, to which the Project for Public Places refers. The other approach is top-down placemaking, in which places are chosen which are suited to physical design and the places' image (Lew, 2017). Less tourist-oriented and sizewise smaller places mostly adopt placemaking, while larger places which are more tourist-oriented tend to adopt top-down placemaking. Lew (2017) describes a third type of place-making that falls somewhere between organic place-making and top-down placemaking on the continuum. The overall goal of place-making is to enhance the quality of life. Although it can be planned precisely, it is important to consider for whom the enhancement takes effect and to which extent economic development is preferred. However, creative placemaking has been criticized for being a state- and local-authority-inspired policy that merges art in every aspect of society with community and economic development, thus promoting gentrification (Pritchard, 2017). Creative placemaking follows models such as the Creative City and Creative Class, which have become quite popular with governments and criticized for causing gentrification on a global scale (Pritchard, 2017).

Friedmann (2010) explains the importance of placemaking as cities often prioritize megastructures and profits over the significance of small urban spaces and self-defined neighbourhoods, as well as the focus on globalization has led to the neglect of ordinary people and their stake in the city. He also argues that the displacement of people for profit-driven development is highlighted in the urban context, pointing out the disregard for their livelihoods.

The concept of placemaking can be essential for the Tacheles since the planners and the collaborative stakeholder engagement, mentioned above, could tackle the dilemma by intervening in the process and creating socially-added value and not only market-added value. Placemaking can, if used in the right context, be a useful approach to enhance the quality of living in certain areas, but this is not always the case. Often the tools incorporated into placemaking come with side effects such as gentrification and displacement, especially when it comes to art. Public art and socially engaged art have established themselves as successful placemaking tools, these tools can be seen as strategic policies to improve places and in the long run economies (Pritchard, 2020). Artists and arts institutions can be used by both state and corporate interests to further the process of social cleansing. This can make them unwittingly agents of social cleansing (Pritchard, 2020). Artists can harness social capital since they can gain the trust of local communities, Pritchard (2020) highlights the importance of trust in social capital.

For example, the Tacheles was once a public space for artists and art, with no entry fees and currently the private artist studio Fotografiska profited from the image of the former artists and their location. Other effects of the social cleansing and profiting from the former image are the high-end office and housing options, this can be understood through the term of artwashing.

3.3 Artwashing

Artwashing is a relatively new term and is used interchangeably with creative placemaking in academic literature. Artwashing is a term that has been used to describe the practice of using art to cover up the displacement of low-income people and small businesses through the process of gentrification (Pritchard, 2020). Pritchard (2020) explains:

"These artistic practices, with their claims of community empowerment and social engagement, when deployed in areas undergoing or under threat of displacement of working-class and ethnic minority residents, become the artistic fin above the water, while the creative industries, the state and the corporate investors become the rest of the shark lurking below. In such circumstances, art becomes artwashing." (Pritchard, 2020, p. 182)

The global practice of artwashing is undertaken by property developers, financial institutions, government authorities or corporate institutions, as well as most often financed by state agencies that assure arts and culture (Pritchard, 2020).

"What we're seeing here is a real estate company … co-opting the arts and culture to market luxury condos in neighbourhoods like Chinatown, which in fact at the end of the day economically and physically displace people and culture that's already there." (Zeidler 2017).

Pritchard (2022) argues that artwashing takes several forms: corporate artwashing, developer-led artwashing, local-authority-led artwashing, arts-led artwashing and community artwashing. Corporate artwashing is explained as the most classic type. Pritchard (2022) identifies Shell's sponsorship of the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam as an example of a large corporation employing the arts as a form of public relations to distract from damaging behaviour and gain trust from the public.

The phenomenon of developer-led artwashing, wherein the luxury developer serves as the primary gentrifier and social cleanser and is used as cultural branding. The vast majority of such developments consist of commissioned art that is intended to promote individuality and luxury, with the objective of selling the development. This is most visible in many urban regeneration projects where art is used to rebrand areas to attract new investments, often leading to the displacement of long-standing communities.

The third form of artwashing is local authority-led artwashing, a discussion of the distinction between traditional and contemporary forms of public art. The third form employs public art and cultural projects to mitigate the impact of urban redevelopment and gentrification. Pritchard (2022) outlines how this is intended to deflect criticism of the displacement of existing communities, with the art serving as a means of community engagement and revitalization. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of Tacheles, where the city has chosen to disengage from the responsibility to develop, yet has emphasized a cultural utilization contract for the firm developing in order to mitigate the displacement of a significant cultural hub that was situated in that area (Legit.ng, 2023).

The fourth form identified by Pritchard (2022) is arts-led artwashing. This refers to the use of art as a means of achieving non-profit motives while profiting personally. These initiatives appear to enrich cultural aspects, although they serve commercial or development interests.

3.4 Art & Gentrification

One of the most common phenomena of modern city life is displacement (Friedmann, 2010). Words such as gentrification, slum clearance or squatter eviction are used to describe displacement, ultimately they all mean the same thing. The neighbourhood where ordinary people have made their homes, people without the power to offer more than token or symbolic resistance, is being bulldozed to clear the site for more profitable buildings (Friedmann, 2010).

Gentrification can be described as the process of transitions in inner cities, where low property investment drives a process of reinvestment and associated changes in social dynamics and physical design (Mathews, 2010). Artists play a vital role in the process of gentrification, the first linkages between artists and gentrification were made in the 1980s in New York (Mathews, 2010). Artists tend to choose urban areas and marginalised spaces which emphasise social tolerance, monetary appeal and aesthetics, offering a multi-purpose use (Cole, 1987). Artists tend to look for places that offer space, enough lighting and low rent, often vacant industrial spaces. The popularity of places like lofts, now sought after by the wealthy, can be traced back to artists who initially favoured such spaces. The trend towards industrial chic, popularized by artists in the 1980s, marked the beginning of the first wave of large gentrification of artists in New York downtown. This can be viewed as an instance of artists catalysing a process of displacement, only to find themselves displaced in turn (Mathews, 2010).

An excellent example of this is taking place with the art house Tacheles in Berlin. This was, decades ago, a happening place for artists after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Recently, it was reconstructed into offices, shops and luxury apartments, reflecting a general change in the city due to gentrification (Legit.ng, 2023). The property, acquired by an investment fund in 2014, is now targeted for high-end apartment residencies, a Fotografiska museum and amenities designed to serve high-income citizens and businesses. This development has demonstrated how the original artist community is being displaced in the process, indicating a recurring cycle of the spaces built and fostered through the creativity of the artists themselves only to finally be converted into profit-driven ventures and thereby displace the artists themselves (Legit.ng, 2023).

Mathews (2010) defines the relationship between art and gentrification as part of the acute fact that the presence of artists in urban spaces can bring about fundamental changes in these very spaces, making them attractive to well-off groups and propelling further waves of gentrification. Artists are often touted as role models and icons

of the new class of creative entrepreneurs. This class polarisation, driven by a free market economy on a global scale, restricts community organizations, task-oriented to exclude poverty with the arts at the helm, to the limited objectives set by the state and corporations (Tunali, 2021). This is seen almost inarguably in the process of successive invasion: first, artists are moving into low-cost, underutilized areas with their kind of cultural and aesthetic capital that eventually attracts real estate developers and other more affluent residents. Creative placemaking is a neoliberal agenda aiming at exploiting artistic and community social capital through driving economic development and gentrification, hence the eventual displacement of original residents (Tunali, 2021). Mathews (2010) argues that the inclusion of the arts in public policy and its integration into various urban regeneration strategies lead to the commodification of artistic spaces, consequently increasing the displacement of the artist community.

Bourdieu (1993) argues that artists possess high cultural capital but often have low economic capital, which positions them within the dominant class but subordinate within it. Zukin (1989) identifies two factors that structure this position. Firstly, property investment cycles, coupled with the marketability of responsible renewal, have made cultural capital integral to certain forms of economic expansion. Secondly, the increasing number of art producers and consumers has led to the recognition that marketing for and marketing of them can be economically profitable. This means art can be used to increase the economic value of devalued areas or assets.

3.5 Conceptual model
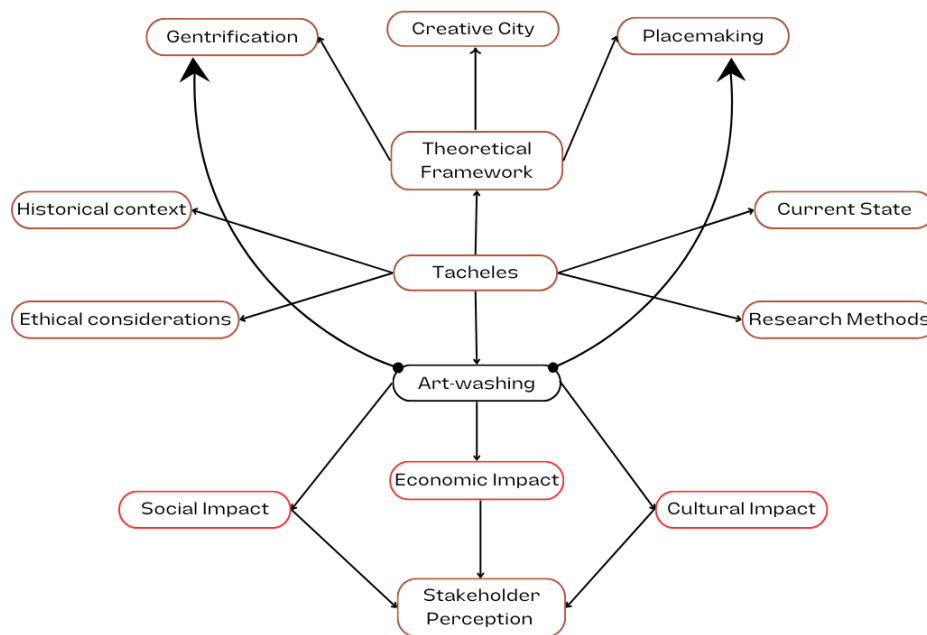
Figure 3: Conceptual Model (by author, 2024)

The conceptual model highlights the complex relationships between various elements in urban development with a particular focus on the case study of Tacheles. The theoretical framework is based on three main concepts: creative city, placemaking and gentrification. The concept of the creative city, as articulated by theorists such as Grodach (2017) and Landry (2008), places a significant emphasis on the role of creativity and cultural industries in urban development. This framework helps to understand the historical significance of Tacheles as a cultural hub, acknowledging its past importance and potential future role in urban renewal. This underscores how creative environments attract talent, foster economic growth and enhance urban life quality.

The concept of placemaking involves the design and management of public spaces with the objective of promoting community well-being and cultural vibrancy. In the context of Tacheles, placemaking entails an

understanding of the manner in which cultural and artistic elements have shaped the space's identity and spirit. This approach enables an analysis of how artistic interventions and community activities transformed Tacheles into a vibrant social and cultural centre. An examination of the current state of Tacheles allows for the identification of opportunities and challenges for its redevelopment and integration into the urban fabric. This ensures that redevelopments maintain the site's cultural essence.

Gentrification is a process in which cultural and artistic values increase property values, ultimately displacing communities (Mathews, 2010). This pillar examines the manner in which Tacheles' creative and cultural cachet attracted developers, driving up property values and displacing long-term residents. It is of the utmost importance to gain an understanding of Tacheles' historical context if one is to appreciate its cultural significance and the subsequent impact on its community. The analysis encompasses both immediate gentrification outcomes and long-term urban development implications.

The concept of "artwashing" is a crucial element of this thesis. It refers to the use of art and cultural projects by developers and authorities to mask the effects of gentrification and socio-economic inequalities. This phenomenon encompasses various forms, including corporate, developer-led and local authority-led artwashing. Each form is analyzed to understand its impact on stakeholders and the broader urban context.

The research methods employed a comprehensive qualitative analysis to gain an understanding of stakeholder perspectives in different contexts. This involved interviews, case study and participatory action research, which were conducted with artists, relator, developers and researchers. The objective was to uncover the nuanced dynamics of artwashing and its effects on urban development.

The social impact of the research focused on how Tacheles' redevelopment affected the local community. This included an examination of displacement, gentrification and the emotional value of residents. The cultural impact examines the influence of redevelopment on Tacheles' cultural identity and heritage, assessing changes in the cultural landscape and preserving its historical significance. The economic impact evaluates the benefits and drawbacks of redevelopment in terms of property value changes and economic opportunities, considering how redevelopment can stimulate economic growth while potentially leading to socio-economic disparities. It is important to gain an understanding of the perceptions of the various stakeholders involved in the redevelopment process. This enables the identification of the diverse impacts that the changes have on different groups, as well as the analysis of stakeholders' views of the changes and their implications for the community.

This conceptual model integrates the creative city concept with placemaking and gentrification, providing a comprehensive framework for analyzing Tacheles' redevelopment. By examining the interplay between these elements and artwashing, the model offers a nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics in urban development, ensuring that ethical considerations and community impacts are at the forefront of the analysis.

4. Methodology

4.1 Context of Research

The Tacheles is the primary focus of this research and thus it was crucial to obtain perceptions, experiences and memories from former residents, neighbours and artists in order to gain insight into the social and cultural concepts. Furthermore, the research sought to capture the aspirations and visions of the new Am Tacheles city quarter. Therefore, a qualitative approach was deemed appropriate. A variety of qualitative methods were employed, including semi-structured interviews, narrative interviews and participatory action research, which were subsequently coded using Atlas.ti. Additionally, the interview guide included separate documents with questions tailored to specific target groups (see *Appendix*). Secondary data obtained from interviewees was also utilized as a data resource.

4.2 Sampling Strategy

A non-probability sampling method, namely selective sampling, was employed to select respondents meeting certain characteristics for the purpose of gathering qualitative data. This method is also highly defensible for use in in-depth interviews and participatory action research, where the objective is to portray multiple perspectives of stakeholders embedded in a variety of social, economic and cultural circumstances.

Another common motive for selecting members is non-probability sampling, which is most useful when the sample proportion being selected is of particular interest (eg. people involved in the Tacheles). It allows to focus on individuals who have the traits which are vitally important to achieving the research goals by making sure to obtain deep insights into relevant stakeholders (Lucas, 2016).

Within the context of a case study, different stakeholder groups collectively provide an understanding of the issues that would not be possible with probability sampling (Lucas, 2016). Furthermore, it is proposed that probability samples within social contexts are often impractical due to logistical and temporal constraints. As Lucas (2016) notes, it is impossible to list and sample all potential members of a social context. Non-probability sampling allows for purposefully identifying and recruiting participants who are available and capable of providing rich information on the research issues. Overall, it allows to accomplish in-depth understandings and nuances surrounding the life worlds and views of the target stakeholders and in doing so, enhances the quality and contextual interest of the qualitative data.

4.3 Qualitative Methods

	Method	Relation to the research problem	Insights into Research Questions
Interviewee 1: Ludwig	Narrative Interview	Former inhabitant and contributor of Arthouse Tacheles	Research question & Subquestion 1
Interviewee 2: Realtor	Semi-structured	Expert in real estate	Subquestion 2
Interviewee 3: Researcher	Semi-structured	Expert in creative city and gentrification	Research question & Sub question 1
Interviewee 1 & family	Participatory action research	Experience the new developments for the first time	Research Question
Photos, Videos, Personal Memories, Newspaper articles	Secondary Data	Moments captured in photos, videos, artwork and newspapers that capture the essence of the cultural hub	Subquestions 1 & 2

Table 2: Overview of qualitative methods applied

4.3.1 Case Study

Given the complexity of artwashing and the context-specific nature in which it manifests in urban space, employing a case study is suitable. Yin (2014) highlights the use of explanatory case studies for explaining how and why, but not in the sense of defined variables where an experimental approach might come into place; as when the process is not well understood and comprehensive analysis is needed to understand complex social phenomena (Yin, 2014). The Tacheles case in particular provides a rich empirical base from which to examine the nuanced processes of artwashing in-depth by underpinning numerous observations and data sources for example interviews, archive records and participant observations. Ebneyamini and Moghadam (2018) reckon that case studies make it possible to capture the complexity of a case within its natural context so the phenomenon in question can be deeply understood.

The case study approach is suited to much interpretive paradigm research which seeks to construct an understanding of the meanings and interpretations of social actors in the context within which they are situated (Muzari et al., 2022). This approach reveals rich context-specific detail and nuance about the art of being used to mask the displacement of low-income communities, enabling the examination of new ideas and relations within this particular realm. Through an investigation of the Tacheles case, this research seeks to reveal more about the techniques and results of artwashing in Berlin and to offer an insight into how art and planning blend to influence urban life. This supports the argument given by Yin (2014) which promotes the use of the within-case research design to study contemporary events in real-life settings, consequently, the research design is a suitable one for the present research.

One advantage of case studies is that they are flexible and allow researchers to use different types of evidence, in addition to separate data from different sources, which increases the overall strength and trustworthiness of the findings (Ridder, 2017). Muzari et al. (2022) highlights the importance of case studies and qualitative research in general in capturing the complexity of human experiences and social interactions, such that the

multidimensional characteristic of the artwashing phenomenon and its implications for communities readily lend it to this area of inquiry. The Tacheles case exemplifies and allows for depth in understanding the way artwashing acts in certain urban connections and the lessons it offers can affect the more universal theoretical and practical comprehension of the phenomenon.

4.3.2 Semi-structured Interviews

This will be further elaborated in the broadest sense regarding the involvement of various stakeholders in the real estate and development industry by applying semi-structured interviews. This offers a compelling choice of methodology in that one can capture detailed insights with flexibility in studying many topics, which is essential for the unveiling of nuanced stakeholder perspectives (Kallio et al., 2016). It is worth noting that semi-structured interviews, as highlighted by Kallio et al. (2016), are an effective method for exploring complex behaviours, processes or attitudes in-depth. This qualitative data collection approach allows researchers to gain comprehensive insights into the experiences and perspectives of participants. They are flexible in nature since they allow interviewers to probe further based on the responses of the participants to capture a broad range of insights. These provide a flexible platform where interviewers can search deeper into responses given by the participants (Kallio et al., 2016). Such customized interview guides have been developed for all three groups of stakeholders that are meeting to ensure that all relevant themes were systematically explored. These include questions on sustainable urban development and barriers to sustainability, in addition to positive cases of projects, among others and open-ended questions that allow the participants' uniqueness of experience and perspectives in their responses. Semi-structured interviews are also championed by Shahraki (2017) in the context of regional development research. With the use of semi-structured interviews, Shahraki (2017) serves the purpose of identifying and analyzing large-scale problems within the context of sustainable urban development, with the potential to unravel critical understandings that would otherwise never be realized under more stringent interview structures.

The research included semi-structured interviews with the use of specialized guides to draw the perspectives of stakeholders in the real estate, academic circle and development industry not only to broader diversification but also in granular detail to fully comprehend the issues at play touching on urban development.

4.3.3 Narrative Interviews

Narrative interviews capture much more of what impacted the formerly involved actors. As Lawlor (2000) argued this method is suitable for capturing richly detailed accounts of personal experience and emotion. Narrative interviews present a chance for the participants to narrate their stories in their own words. Storytelling interviews are of great importance for education research due to the involvement of elements that fuel cultural shifts. Roberts (2007) explained that some sort of alchemy is done through narrative interviews and the varying intersections of organizational culture with personal experiences start boiling up and the meaning of the whole complex cultural dynamics becomes comprehensible. Furthermore, Muylaert et al. (2014) further stressed that such an interview is applicable to the reconstruction of life history and the motivation behind actions.

Brannen (2013) argues that a performative dimension of narrative interviews is created by the fact that participants are active in making their life stories during the interview. To this end, the performative nature may offer a better understanding of who the person is and what they go through in the contextual frame. For Brannen, the paramountcy of such contextualization and the dynamic interplay between researcher and researched is a process vital to bringing out complex stratum layers of personal and group histories implicated in the transformation of cultural space, such as the Arthouse Tacheles.

4.3.4 Participatory Action Research

The research process led to participatory action research. The narrative interview has laid a strong foundation for trust between the interviewee and the researcher. Participatory action research was included to provide a tool to understand better the change from Tacheles in Berlin as a cultural hub to the new city quarter. In which a visit to the still-existing building in the new development has been made. This visit marked the first visit of the former resident and his daughter to observe the incorporation of the remaining belongings, including posters, stair handles, doors and infrastructure such as bathrooms and elevators, into the new development. During this period, notes in the field diary and photos in order to compare them with existing photos from the Tacheles Arthouse have been made.

This approach values experiential knowledge, involving the active participation of those affected by social issues under study. As detailed in Cornish et al. (2023) comprehensive primer on participatory action research, this approach holds at its core the establishment of relationships, setting a common understanding of the issue and the collaborative analysis and planning of action. The participatory nature of this method allowed for collecting in-depth insights and personal narratives that might have otherwise been overlooked during visits to the redevelopment site with former inhabitants and their descendants. This engagement was crucial to capturing the emotional and sociocultural impacts of the redevelopment on the community. In this context, the primary and relevant principles of participatory action research applied by Cornish et al. (2023) were the authority of direct experience, knowledge in action, research as a transformative process and collaboration through dialogue.

Participatory action research, through which former inhabitants and their descendants were included in the research process, enabled even deeper inquiry into their lived experiences and points of view. The collaborative approach not only enriched the data gathered but also empowered participants to have insight and ensure that their perspectives informed an understanding of the more significant implications of the redevelopment. The use of this method in this study allowed a framework for the systematic documentation of personal and collective experiences of those directly affected by the change at the Arthouse Tacheles. This consequently furthered one's understanding of the changes that were brought about for instance, the emotional responses of members of the community thereby making the overall analysis and findings much enriched.

4.3.5 Secondary Data

The use of secondary data in research offers multiple advantages, particularly when this data comes in diverse formats like pictures, videos and media representation. This approach uses information that others have gathered for different purposes. In the current digital age, where vast quantities of data are available online, this method is more practical and used than ever (Johnston, 2014). In this study, the secondary data provided by interviewees, including photos and videos, is especially valuable. These types of data give rich, detailed insights that help to better understand the historical and cultural context of the Tacheles.

By incorporating these multimedia sources, the research gains a depth that simple text might miss, allowing for a more detailed analysis of the period of the Tacheles. As Johnston (2014) highlights analyzing secondary data involves careful, systematic steps which are similar to those used when collecting original data. This means that even though the data was not initially collected for research purposes, it can still be thoroughly examined to provide meaningful insights and broader public perception. Additionally, using this data saves time and may not be possible to be collected in the same manner, making it possible to conduct detailed studies without the challenges of collecting new data (Johnston, 2014). Therefore, the secondary data not only adds richness to the research, moreover, also showcases the practical and methodological benefits of using such data.
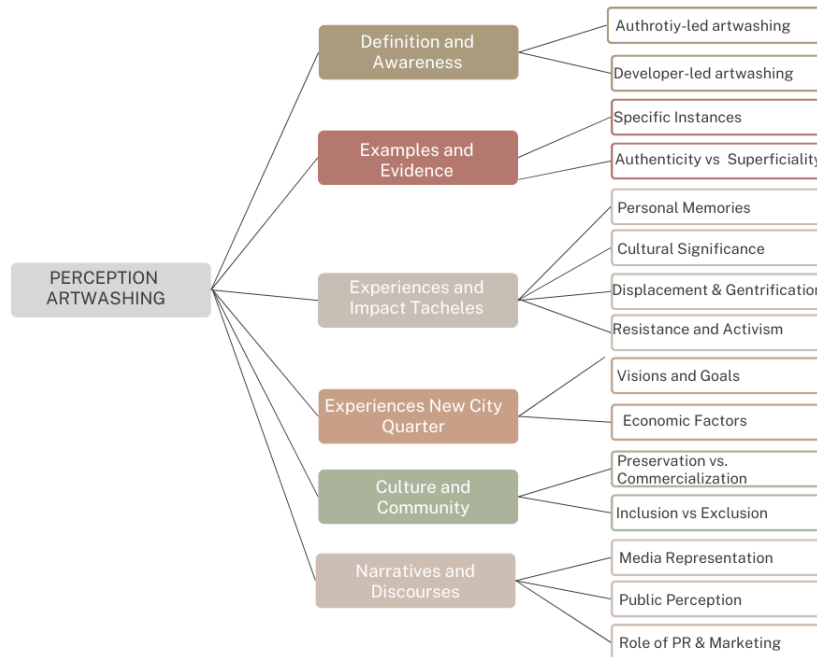
4.3.6 Analysis

Figure 4: Codetree (by author, 2024)

The codes were used in atlas.ti to code the interviews, participatory action research and secondary data. By applying the codes to the data (see *Figure 4*), a comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon of artwashing at Tacheles was possible. Deductive code trees are useful for analyzing qualitative data in Tacheles because they provide a clear and organized way to apply existing theories to new data. By starting with a framework based on established literature and concepts, researchers can ensure their analysis is rooted in well-accepted knowledge. As Coccia (2018) points out, this method begins with a hypothesis or theoretical framework and uses the data to confirm or challenge these ideas, making the research process both rigorous and insightful.

As highlighted before the context in which stakeholders are situated differs in the perception of artwashing.In order to examine these different contexts and be able to thoroughly analyse the artwashing process in the Tacheles, the terms "authority-led artwashing" and "developer-led artwashing" are employed to describe the practice of public authorities and developers using art to disguise their agendas and the impact of gentrification on communities. In the case of the Tacheles, the codes "specific instances" and "authority vs. superficiality" provide a framework for identifying examples and evidence. The concept of "authenticity vs. superficiality" is employed to assess whether the art in question is genuinely community-oriented or merely a superficial means of developing an image. In order to gain a deeper insight into the significance of the former Tacheles and the impact of experiences from that period, it is essential to consider personal memories and the cultural context in which the Tacheles operated. This will enable a more nuanced understanding of the role of the Tacheles in the cultural landscape and the community. The displacement and gentrification of communities must be considered in order to understand how artwashing contributes to the displacement of existing communities. The term "resistance and activism" is analysed in order to comprehend how groups or individuals have resisted artwashing and gentrification. Furthermore, the concept of "visions" and the associated goals for the new city quarter are examined, with particular attention paid to how these have been altered or preserved throughout the development process. The code "economic factors" considers the economic motivations behind the development of the Tacheles into a high-end city quarter. The Tacheles' status as a former cultural hub and its role in the city's branding has been taken into account in the analysis of the cultural and community aspects. This has been achieved by examining the code "preservation vs commercialisation" in order to identify and evaluate the various interests involved in the desire to preserve cultural heritage versus commercial development interests.

The code to be examined is that of "Inclusion vs. Exclusion", this code examines the data in order to identify who is included and who is excluded from the new cultural landscape. Finally, the narratives and discourses are analysed through the code "Media Representation." This code examines how the media portrays the development of Tacheles, as well as the public's perceptions of the changes to Tacheles. Furthermore, the role of PR and marketing will be examined in order to identify how marketing strategies are employed to promote or disguise artwashing efforts.

This structured approach enables in-depth analysis of the collected data, including interviews and multimedia, to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the issue. Furthermore, it allows for the comparison of various influences behind artwashing, the examination of its broader social and economic impacts and the drawing of meaningful conclusions about how this phenomenon is playing out at Tacheles.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

Participants were explicitly informed that they had the option to withdraw their participation at any point during the interview and that such a decision would not have any negative impact on their relationship with the researcher or the study. It was emphasised that their data would be treated with utmost confidentiality (see Appendix) and they were assured that they could retract any information they had provided by contacting the researcher at any time. I aim to present the voices of the original Tacheles community in a manner that is both authentic and sensitive. I am aware of the cultural significance of the Tacheles to its original community and approach my research with cultural sensitivity and respect. I am aware of the emotional impact my questions may have, given the personal connections many participants have to the Tacheles. This design maintains conformity with informed consent and the right to withdraw without negative consequences, which are ethical guidelines (Næss, 2020).

Preliminary steps in a qualitative study aimed to ensure that the interview process is confidential and does not infringe upon power dynamics. Mathews (2010) considers it thus: how to ensure that the conduct of interviews, in the context of working with marginalised communities, is done sensitively and with respect for the emotional and cultural worlds of the participants. The same idea is highlighted by Kallio et al. (2016), considering the ethics of their data collection, they are concerned with creating a sense of safety and respect for the people as much as with authenticity and privacy.

Navigating the ethical landscape of using secondary data comes with its own set of challenges, especially when it comes to informed consent. Secondary data, which includes recordings originally made for administrative, training or quality control purposes, is incredibly useful for research because it eliminates the observer's paradox (Labov, 1972). Although informed consent remains a fundamental aspect of research ethics, Jol and Stommel (2016) suggest treating pre-recorded data as archival data. This approach focuses on maintaining anonymity and handling identifying information with great care to ethically use secondary data without needing direct consent.

I will present the voices of the original community with respect and honesty. I will bring up my questions in a culturally sensitive manner, considering that the Tacheles was of great cultural importance to the original community. This also implies that I need to be careful about the emotional weight my questions might contain, given personal links toward Tacheles from many of the participants. For instance, Eisner (1991) has noted that researchers should be careful when handling the issue of informed consent and confidentiality in qualitative studies where participants share sensitive and very personal information.

Mathews (2010) further underlines that the researcher has an ethical responsibility to make sure that the cultural and emotional value vested in the experience of the participant is not tampered with and is reflected accurately. This moral stance is profoundly paramount in keeping trust and integrity within the research process to ensure that the voices of those who take part in the research are heard and respected.

4.5 Positionality

Growing up in Berlin, Germany, in the district of Mitte has always meant for me, observing the major urban transformation processes that are a defining feature of the city. It may be surmised that this observation has played a role in my obtaining a bachelor's degree in Urban Planning. Several courses throughout my bachelor's degree in Groningen have raised my interest in the cultural impact of urban developments.

Consequently, I retain memories of the Tacheles as it was initially a cultural hub in the city. During the changes and plans for the redevelopment, I was able to observe the changes in the neighbourhood, particularly in the retail sector, with the closure of shops, cafés and restaurants and the conversion of residential properties to offices. The phenomenon of gentrification and displacement is a common and ongoing occurrence in Berlin. Those who remain are typically those who have long-standing rental agreements, while the redevelopment of the Tacheles represents a significant change in the city's urban landscape, especially for those who have grown up or experienced the Tacheles in close proximity. Despite the luxury development of the city quarter the controversy of the area itself also based on its history sparked my interest.

The Tacheles was an integral part of my childhood memories. Children played in the sand in the backyard, while parents owned bars, clubs and ateliers there, which made it possible to see the interior as it was. It was a public space, accessible to all and offering a multitude of activities for observation. I recall observing the staircase and its graffiti, which piqued my interest due to the variety of colours used. Nevertheless, I also recall encountering numerous bizarre artists, yet I have never experienced any sense of unsafety. The Tacheles seemed like a playground for adults.

Due to my connection to the area, I was able to obtain interview partners with relative ease, which facilitated my understanding of the original Tacheles. This, in turn, allowed the interviewees to gain trust and open up emotionally to a greater extent than anticipated. Nevertheless, I am grateful for this opportunity and view it as a personal benefit. However, I am able to maintain objectivity.

Obtaining information about the original Tacheles was considerably more straightforward than that about the new development, as the latter's stakeholders were less accessible. Consequently, the information obtained primarily pertains to the artist, academic literature and information available online. I am aware of the difficulties in obtaining comprehensive data and engaging with a diverse range of stakeholders. My intention is to attempt to balance these disparate viewpoints while acknowledging the inherent complexities and conflicts inherent in urban redevelopment and cultural preservation. While not attributing blame to the developers, it is important to examine how the city should have mediated and preserved the cultural integrity of the area.

It is acknowledged that there may be a bias towards the preservation of historical-cultural spaces and a critical view of the redevelopment based on the city's urban development requirements. It is assumed that cultural spaces hold intrinsic value for community identity and cohesion.

5. Case Study Tacheles

In order to gain an understanding of the historical context and cultural heritage of the case study, it is first necessary to discuss the development divide and the rise of creative city branding in Berlin. This will be followed by a detailed description of the Arthouse Tacheles, after which the new development will be presented.

5.1 The Development Divide in Berlin & the Rise of the Creative City

Following the conclusion of the Second World War in 1945, Berlin was confronted with a significant degree of distress. The city's infrastructure was severely damaged and numerous neighbourhoods had been destroyed. This marked the beginning of a lengthy process of reconstruction (Bocquet, 2021). Despite considerable progress in various institutional, economic and ideological contexts, the current process is not yet concluded. A significant proportion of the current building activity in Berlin is on sites that were damaged or destroyed in 1945. Consequently, these developments may be considered part of the post-war reconstruction (Bocquet, 2021). The Am Tacheles area can be considered a post-war construction, given that the current development represents the first rebuild project to be undertaken following the area's destruction by bombing. The city of Berlin was engaged in a period of intensive urban planning, with the construction of new infrastructure and the demolition of existing structures being undertaken to facilitate the redesign of a significant portion of the city (Bocquet, 2021).

The year 1948 represented a pivotal moment in the history of Berlin's physical development. The city was physically divided into two distinct sections through checkpoints, East and West, which allowed for the establishment of two separate local administrations. This division facilitated the implementation of two separate reconstruction plans, taking advantage of the significant space resulting from wartime destruction. The East focussed on ideology during the reconstruction process between the 1950s and 1970s. The West focussed on reconstructing buildings and adding designs from architects such as Oscar Niemeyer and Walter Gropius and building a network of motorways (Bocquet, 2021).

The city itself was marked with several damaged buildings and wastelands. The two city authorities decided to allow various temporary use contracts to citizens. This arrangement eased the pressure of rebuilding by allowing people to live in the damaged areas, thereby reducing the need to reconstruct everything at once. Furthermore, it provided immediate housing options for citizens. The majority of residents in these areas were classified as squatters. Some migrated to the West to avoid military service, while others settled in the East. However, it was unforeseen by the city authorities that these squatters would undertake the task of reconstructing and developing these areas themselves, utilizing the resources at hand (Bocquet, 2021). In 1961 the wall separating the East entirely from the West was built. The West, under the mayor Willi Brandt, started to focus on reconstructing housing blocks and trying to recover damaged areas and facades rather than building them from scratch. End of the 1970s critical reconstruction represented a new paradigm for urbanism. In contrast to the traditional approach of complete rebuilding, the current focus of reconstruction is on reducing the extent of deconstruction. It is therefore made essential to give priority to the renovation of older buildings and to emphasise the significance of integrated spatial interventions and societal needs.

The East concentrated on complex reconstruction, which also adopted the idea of reconstructing historic neighbourhoods if possible. There was a change of attitude between 1977 and 1987 about renovating buildings and changing the narrative towards keeping highly densified worker buildings as a remembrance of the socialists (Bocquet, 2021). The inhabitants in the east were given resources, such as building supplies, money and knowledge to help the city realise the reconstruction and reach the goal of providing housing for all citizens. Through the recognition of both city authorities to reconstruct the remaining buildings and facilities after the war, the gap between development was not too big after the reunification of Berlin in 1989. Notably, after the wall fell, West Berlin planning practices were applied in the east by architects, planners and politicians of the former West Berlin. Therefore the infrastructure in the West was already further progressed. The persistent development gap which can be through numerous wastelands still exists up to 2023, such as the Tacheles, offering substantial opportunities for foreign developers.

5.1.1 History of the Tacheles

The Tacheles is a five-story building in Mitte, located on the Oranienburgerstraße and Friedrichstraße. It was constructed around 1907 with the intention of being Berlin's first and largest shopping mall (Am Tacheles, 2023). In 1928 the German electric company AEG bought the building. In the early 1930's the building was used by the Nazis and became the central office of the SS. During the Second World War, the building experienced damage through bombing and left most of the buildings' infrastructure destroyed. From 1943 onwards the building was used as a prison (Durget, 2016). In 1950 the Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB) moved into the building and at the same time the movie theatre "Camera" established itself in the building. Simultaneously other smaller craft businesses moved in (Durget, 2016). In 1958 the condition of the building got worse and therefore all companies and amenities located inside had to move out. From there on small parts of the building have been demolished.

After the building was mostly destroyed, it was planned to be completely demolished in 1990. However, two months prior something happened that would change the history of the building and neighbourhood forever (amtacheles.de, 2023). A group of creative individuals by the name of Artists Initiative Tacheles walked into the destroyed building three months after the Berlin Wall fell and transformed it into a vibrant and thriving hub of alternative culture (Durget, 2016). In the mid-1990s a developer group called Fundus bought the site from the City of Berlin. Since there was no rush to develop the site, the Fundus Group gave the artist a 10-year lease for 50 cents starting in 1998 (Berlin.de, 2023). This developer interest goes hand in hand with the creative city movement and the political interest in enhancing Berlin's image and economic development by attracting the arts and cultural industries.

Tacheles translates from Yiddish to "straight-talk". The Tacheles for many years was a home for artists, it contained open working spaces and had a self-organised cafe, cinema, club, workshops and exhibitions. It was not only a place for artists, it was a place for the neighbourhood. It was a great example of citizen-led planning, as stated by the BBC *"The Arthouse Tacheles is an example of self-motivated work by citizens who decided to proactively stand up for their ideals."* (BBC News, 2012). *Figure* 5 shows how the artists were structured within the cultural hub. The Tacheles itself was not only a valuable place for the neighbourhood, but for Berlin itself after the reunification of Berlin, the Tacheles symbolised creativity and independent thought, social freedom and hope (Durgent, 2016). The Tacheles became the monument of the Hausbesetzbewegung (squatters' movement) in East Germany (DDR). Although construction continued, with progress dependent upon the availability of resources, the area already hosted a range of cultural activities, including a cinema, bar, club, theatre and art spaces. However, a significant utilisation contract fell through. Consequently, there was a push to involve the Finance Minister in order to gain his support for the project, with a view to aligning it with the city's cultural plan. The stated aim of this plan was to garner the city's interest in preserving and promoting its cultural heritage. This situation highlighted a broader conflict, reminiscent of historical East-West divides, with different visions for the future of the site and its role in Berlin's cultural landscape. As mentioned previously, there was a municipal interest in promoting the creative city to attract more tourism and creative industries. This interest led to the decision by the Berlin Senate to tie a cultural use contract to the area in question while selling the site to a development firm. This means that the next developer would have to incorporate cultural use into their plan. The question is whether this was a sincere and well-intentioned decision or merely a marketing goal. After the lease ended in 2009, the artists became squatters again and the Fundus Group sold the property to Hamburg-based HSH Nordbank (Berlin.de, 2023).

Figure 5: Interior use: an overview of different functions shown in red ovals

TIMELINE

HISTORY OF TACHELES

Construction

1907

The construction of the building started in 1907. In 1908 the shopping mall was constructed.

1

2

Bankrupcy

1914

In 1914, the building was auctioned off, and its use between then and 1924 remains unclear.

Haus der Technik

1928

Beginning in 1928, the AEG electric company repurposed the building to serve as a showroom.

3

4

NSDAP & World War II

1930-1945

The building was used by the Nazi party and in 1941 it became the central SS office. The building itself was severely damaged during World War II.

New Function

1948-1979

In 1948 the Free German Trade Union Federation bought the building and several stores and amenities opened. In 1977 engineers decided the building must be demolished due to war damages.

5

6

Start of Demolotion

1980

The demolition of the building began in 1980 and large sections were scheduled to be demolished in 1990.

Art's Initiative Tacheles

1990

Two months before demolition, the Tacheles art initiative occupied the building. In 1992, engineers found that the building was in good shape and did not need to be demolished.

7

8

Tacheles

1992-2008

In 1992 the building was officially named Tacheles and was home to art, activism and communication in Berlin. The current owner Fundus Group rented the building for 50 cents per month for 10 years (1998-2009) .

End of Tacheles

2009-2012

The property, previously occupied by squatters, was leased until 2009. After the lease expired, the Fundus Group had to sell it. The new owner planned to evict the remaining artists in April 2011. The artists left the building peacefully in September 2012.

9

10

Redevelopment

2014- NOW

In 2014, a New York-based firm purchased the building and collaborated with lead architects to redevelop the area. The reconstruction was completed in 2023, and the name Tacheles was retained.
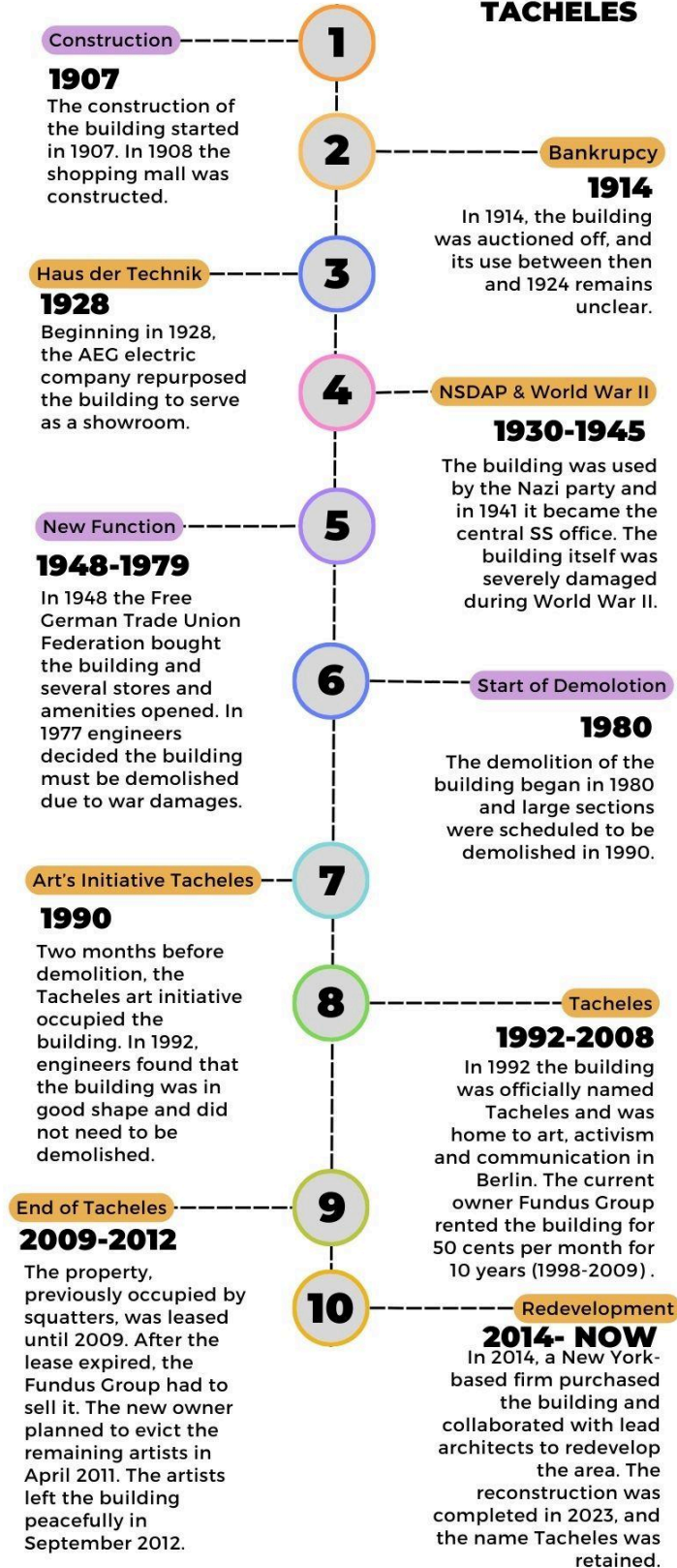
Figure 6: Tacheles Timeline (by author, 2024)

5.2 The new city quarter *Am Tacheles*

Three years later on September 4th 2012 Tacheles was evicted. The property was sold in 2014 to a New York asset management company Parella Weinberg Partners with the intention of creating something extraordinary with the star architects Herzog & de Meuron (amtacheles.de, 2023) and the only thing left from the past is its name. The project itself describes it as *"the most exciting urban planning project in the metropolis"* (amtacheles.de, 2023, first-page website).
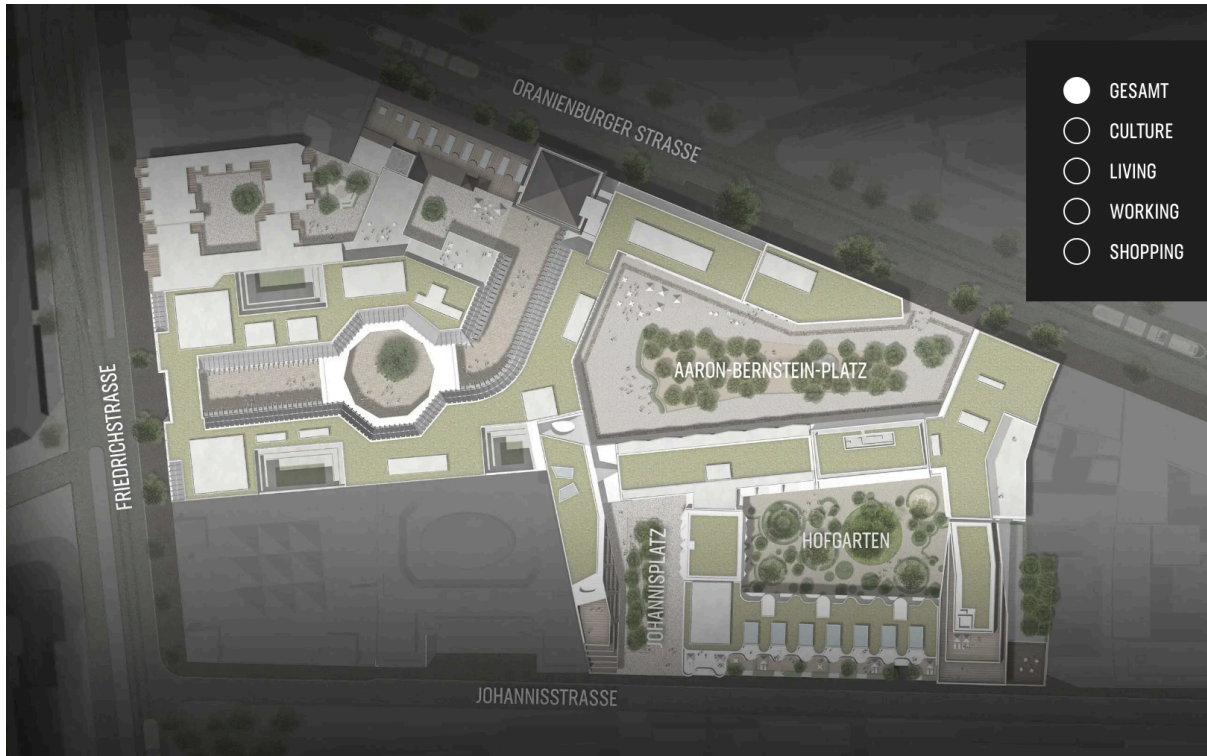

Figure 7: Plan of the Tacheles Quarter (amtacheles.de, 2023)

In 2014, the Perella Weinberg Real Estate Fund II purchased the Tacheles property for 150 million using various subsidiaries. While Am Tacheles itself is a subsidary. Subsequently, they established a dedicated property development company called pwr development (amtacheles.de, 2023). The funding for this endeavour involved five banks. The overarching goal of the project developer, pwr development GmbH (2023), was to create ten distinct buildings. These include seven uniquely designed residential blocks and three high-end office buildings. The former Kunsthaus Tacheles will be repurposed as the Fotografiska International Museum for photography and art. The development includes a retail area with select stores and restaurants, enhancing public spaces. The Aaron Bernstein Platz will become the largest open public space in Mitte. This project emphasizes preserving the historical urban structure while creating an open and vibrant new quarter with innovative architecture. The development is a collaboration between pwr development and architects Herzog & de Meuron, Grüntuch-Ernst and Büro Brandlhuber+ Muck Petze.

The total area consists of 23.346 m2 containing six housing units adding up to 176 apartments, varying from 41-365m2. Four buildings designed for office spaces varying from 2.005- 31.900m2 per entire unit and one existing building. The total investment volume is 800 million. The area also contains three public plazas and one private courtyard garden. For the retail and hospitality sector, 11.000m2 in 48 units are available and one cultural unit for the photo museum Fotografiska. Beneath the area, is a parking garage for 400 cars.

5.2.1 Properties Am Tacheles

The various buildings were designed by three architects Herzog de Meuron, Grüntuch Ernst Architecture and Brandlhuber+ Muck Petzet Architecture in consultation with pwr development. Vogt Landschaft oversaw the exterior spaces. The data of the apartments is available on the Am Tacheles website and Engel&Völkers real estate companies website, therefore some buildings only show prices of those available for buying. All apartments have access to a Health Club & Spa, an Owners club, a concierge, a dog washing place, bike storage, car parking spaces and a security concept (amtacheles.de, 2024). The cheapest apartment sells for 16,800 euros per square meter for a 41 m2 flat.
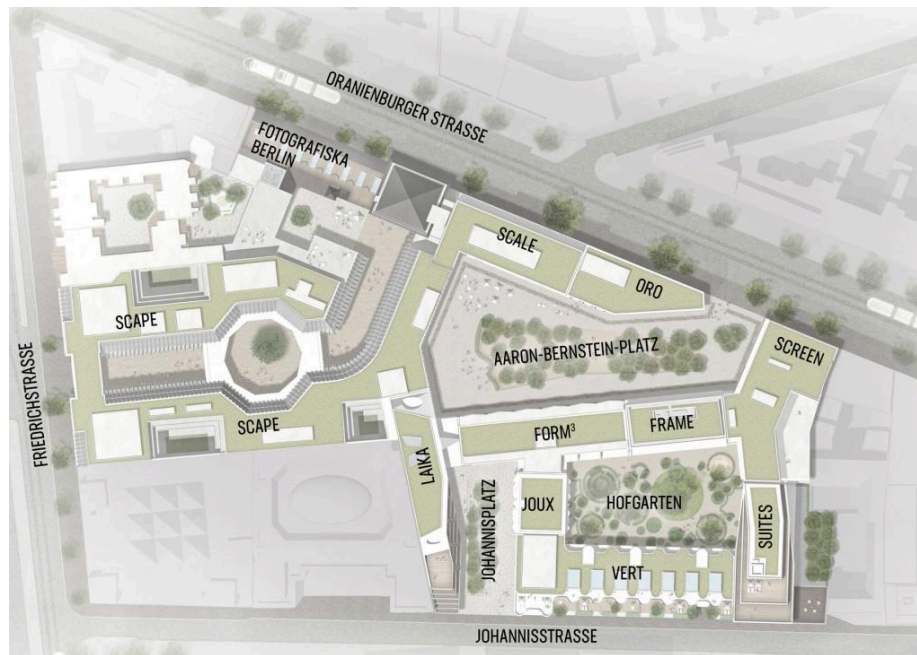
Figure 8: Location of each property (amtacheles.de, 2023)

Grüntuch Ernst Architekten
In 1991 the architectural firm was founded in Berlin. Grüntuch Ernst Architekten is known for numerous spatial planning developments.

Figure 9: Suites am Tacheles (amtacheles.de, 2023) *Figure 10:* Form³(amtacheles.de, 2023) *Figure 11:* SCREEN (amtacheles.de, 2023)

Suites am Tacheles one of the seven residential units in the Am Tacheles area. The building designed by Grüntuch Ernst encompasses 54 apartments ranging from 1 to 3 rooms and 41-344m2. The purchase price varies from 658.000 to 1.245.000 euros. Form³ entails 38 apartments with two to four rooms. The square meters range from 83-330m2, of which an apartment with the size 113,5m2 costs 2.052.000 euros. Screen is an office building with a total of 6,450 m2, which is divided into approximately 800 m2. Prices for the rental of the offices are unavailable.

Herzog de Meurons Architecture

Herzog and de Meuron are architects of various famous buildings such as the Tate Modern in London, Elbphilharmonie in Hamburg and the National Stadium in Beijing.

Figure 12: Vert (amtacheles.de, 2023) *Figure 13:* Frame (amtacheles.de, 2023) *Figure 14*: SCAPE (Koy + Winkel, n.d)

Figure 15: SCALE (Engels&Völkers, n.d)   *Figure 16:* ORO (Bloomimages, n.d)

The building Vert entails 46 apartments varying from 48-182m2 and one to 5 rooms. The Frame building entails 17 apartments with 1 to 4 rooms varying from 75-229 apartment size. The Am Tacheles website states the location of Berlin-Mitte: Scenic and worth seeing. Stimulating and exciting. Controversial and harmonious. Between posh restaurants, concept stores and backyard galleries, FRAME continues what makes Berlin unique. The mix of individuality, creativity and freedom (amtacheles.de, 2023). Scape is an office building with a total area of 31,900m2. The surface areas for the offices vary between 400m2 to 2,540m2 and approximately 170 bicycle racks and 240 car parking spaces. Scale entails a total area of 4,140m2. The office surface area per unit is approximately 710m2. The building Oro functions as an office with a total area of 2,055m2. Each office has a surface area of 427m2.

Brandlhuber+ Muck Petzet Architecture

Mutz Petzet Architerue is known for several urban developments such as the involvement in HafenCity in Hamburg. With the ambition to achieve a positive impact with the least negative impact on the environment through design, development and planning. Brandlhuber and Muck Petzt collaborated to design the two buildings.

Figure 17: JOUX (Engels&Völkers, n.d)   *Figure 18:* LAIKA (amtacheles.de, 2023)

Joux "*A richly diverse building as seductive as a diamond" (amtacheles.de, accessed on 30.04.2024).* The buildings function as apartments and entail a total of 18. The apartments vary from two to three rooms and are 59-108m2. The buying prices of the apartments vary from 976.000-1796.000 euros. Laika *"A new way of living".* It encompasses 88 apartments varying from one to three rooms and 28-128m2.

6. Results

This chapter explores the social and cultural impacts of artwashing, focusing on the redevelopment of the Tacheles, a notable cultural site in Berlin. The goal was to understand how artwashing influences community dynamics, cultural heritage and social cohesion during and after urban redevelopments. A mixed-methods approach was used, which included analyzing secondary data, conducting interviews and engaging in participatory action research. Interviews with former residents, artists and experts gave detailed personal insights. Participatory action research involved community members, ensuring their perspectives were included in the analysis. The secondary data provided an overview of the public perception. The shift of the Tacheles from a community space into a high-end development highlights the conflict between economic growth and cultural preservation. This chapter interprets these findings separately In the next chapter the data is compared to each other and existing literature and discusses their theoretical and practical implications.

6.1 Interview Analysis

6.1.1 Art as a symbol of cultural significance

In this narrative interview with Ludwig Eben, the interviewee provides a comprehensive timeline of the Tacheles era, touching upon various themes that point to the cultural significance of the Arthouse Tacheles. This significance is not limited to the cultural hub it became, but also as a symbol of the reunification of people from East and West Berlin and artists worldwide. The interview itself was conducted at Eben's club Humbolthain in Berlin. The interviewee was situated within the club's garden, surrounded by numerous reminders of Tacheles' past. These included items such as chairs and sculptures, which were strategically placed around us. Furthermore, the interview displays the emotional dimensions of the redevelopment process, which are comprehended through the narrative accounts presented.

Figures 19 & 20: Furniture from the Tacheles (by author, 2024)

Ludwig starts the narrative journey of the Tacheles story with the phrase *"We knew history is about to happen, it was so close that you couldn't write diary any more because it was all so real."* The interviewee refers to the Berlin Wall as *"the longest sculpture in the world."* Ludwig, accompanied by others, was engaged in the search for a suitable location that would permit the establishment of a space for artists. A friend of his showed him a large site that appeared to meet their requirements, with the exception of the fact that it was already intended for demolition. The friend was involved in a band called Tacheles, which subsequently became the name of the site. The site is situated in the city centre of Berlin. It comprises two residential buildings, six-storey structures with extensive open spaces and a large backyard, which would be ideal for artistic and musical performances. Ludwig discusses the actions of a hero from the Berlin building authority, who protected the squatters and the building from demolition. This was achieved after multiple structural engineers examined the site and concluded that it was not at risk of collapsing. Ludwig describes this individual as a "*quiet hero*" who "*held his protective hand over us*." Additionally, Ludwig notes the support of architects who assisted in navigating the process. In 1992, funding was secured from the district, enabling the installation of a heating system. *"And that was our the first significant victory"* (Ludwig, 2024), as it demonstrated that the house would not be demolished. The

connection of the sewage system and installation of electricity and water supply then enabled the site to become habitable. This was undoubtedly a challenging process, given that the majority of the members were not experts and their resources were severely limited. However, at the time, Berlin was like a "*Robin Hood story*" (Ludwig, 2024), where individuals could take what they needed from the city. The group's actions have effectively created a narrative that encourages others to become involved in community development.

The atmosphere in Berlin following the fall of the Wall was unique and transformative. It marked a pivotal moment for the city, offering an opportunity to determine its future and foster unity. "*For me, that was the end of the war, Ossis no longer shot at Wessis and vice versa, we sat down together again, without bureaucracy and without idiots from offices who think they can regulate everyone's lives now, that was beautiful and freedom wasn't it?*" Additionally, Ludwig underscores the fact that Berlin suddenly experienced an influx in population from individuals hailing from diverse global origins. This influx of people contributed to the city's cultural landscape, with the arrival of notable figures such as Test Department, an English techno-live band, a rapper from Chicago, Mark Divo; a Swiss-Luxembourgish conceptual artist, Spiral Tribe and numerous others. These individuals helped Tacheles gain more influence and reinforce the notion of the city as a cultural hub. When all entities of the Tacheles were operational, Ludwig referred to them as a *"twelve-cylinder"*. Downstairs there was a disco, the Zapata bar where bands performed and above that was the theatre hall, where bands and theatre groups performed. On the third and fourth floors were art studios, while on the fifth floor was the Blue Salon, a smaller theatre and rehearsal room or even a handicraft guy who assembled various items.

The Tacheles E.V was an initiative that assumed a position of authority within the cultural hub. They established a discourse about cultural heritage and the arthouse. I inquired as to whether the interviewee perceived himself as part of the initiative. Ludwig responded, stating, *"No, I was Tacheles."* He proceeded to elaborate that he was present on a daily basis and that *"art is the ultimate goal"* since *"our art was different because we, as artists, organised for other artists, which is a significant distinction. In our case, the three primary concerns were, first and foremost, art, art and art and then came the money and the cashpoint and that's a big difference."* Ludwig discusses the necessity of time and affordability, reflecting on the concept of the *"twelve-cylinder",* where a vibrant, integrated cultural sense allowed for spontaneous and diverse activities. This included moving from the disco to enjoy coffee, visit exhibitions, or watch movies, illustrating a dynamic and accessible cultural environment that supports economic growth. Ludwig concludes that, in his opinion, *"the Arthouse story is a perfect business model if one understands how it works ... we were the most successful squatters of Berlin."*

From the beginning, the Arthouse Tacheles was characterised by a high level of activism and resistance. This was demonstrated through the involvement of local residents in lawsuits and the actions of city officials who attempted to declare the area a dangerous place. Additionally, the lack of organisation in the city after the wall fell meant that the police were unable to provide assistance and were therefore able to choose whom to help or not. Ludwig did, however, perceive the situation as a positive one. All forms of constructive engagement, even if they are merely recreational, are preferable to self-destructive behaviours such as substance abuse or other forms of self-harm. The Tacheles E.V. had a ten-year lease agreement at a rent of one euro. This enabled artists to test the premises without financial commitment. If the experience was unsuccessful, they could leave without penalty. The key point was that the rent was affordable and if the rent is extremely high *"how much turnover do I have and how many people do I have to fuck over?"*

The lawsuits went over ten years, between the squatters, city and developer, and *"there was a winner and the winner was Fundus Group".* Fundus had bought the property with the condition that the inhabitants be out. The next moment in the buying process he recalls that all of a sudden a man was joining their meeting and someone from the HSH Bank, as he recalls *"all lousy players were there and somehow involved in the shit." "Yes it was clear, then it was over",* despite the fact that a series of discussions were held between politicians, sociologists, architects and artists in 1996 and 1997 with the objective of establishing the most effective method of preserving the complex and identifying its future use, the optimal means of preserving the complex and identifying its future use remained undetermined. The decision was taken to commercialise the site and the housing society planned to sell the area to a development firm following the eviction, as this was permitted under the terms of the contract. With 12 months remaining on the contract, the Zapata, Cinema and Metal Workshop collectively negotiated financial compensation and peacefully departed. The group is known as the *"Group Tacheles"* and the Tacheles E.V. remained in place until the eviction in September 2012. Subsequently, the property was sold to

pwr development. As the term squatter is often associated with negative connotations, Ludwigs asserts, *"We were the ones who were forced to live in difficult circumstances and still have a sense of purpose."* Ludwig reflected upon what he said in an interview in 1991 with the Spiegel Newspaper:

"Yes, there is a fear of leaving this cultural centre behind. But please don't build luxury properties here, but I think it's unavoidable." (Ludwig, 1991)

"I knew this day would come, I said it back in 1991 But I didn't expect to be hit so hard emotionally." (Ludwig, 2024)

After leaving the Tacheles Ludwig states that he was *"pretty fucked in the head and needed time to work through all of this"*. *"What they have done now with the property is kind of full of shit",* he elaborates that the functioning of a property of this nature, which is, unfortunately, of little intrinsic value, being transformed into a valuable asset consequently *"we were all displaced".* This can be considered as *"the greatest crime of all"*, the consequence of this is that those seeking to live and work are forced to comply with the constraints imposed by financial considerations. *"So the real estate story has destroyed a lot. Should we wait till it's finished?"* Ludwig emphasises that there is a certain level of art that is perceived by the Senate or those who consider themselves experts in the field of art and culture to be the definitive representation of the genre. However, it can be argued that *"they lack the understanding of the true essence of art"* and its multifaceted nature. Consequently, they attempt to impose their vision on the entire city, attempting to mould it into a singular, uniform entity. Furthermore, art is inherently risky, *"Art can also be shit and negative"*. From Ludwig's perspective of an event organiser, it is possible to cite instances where a planned event has not proceeded as intended, despite the organiser having taken all the necessary steps in advance. Ludwig explains that the real dispute is not about the *"artistic value of the work itself"* but rather an *"intellectual debate and reflection"*. *"What do I actually do? Who am I actually? What is the real nature of art?"* So if these so-called *"cultural experts"* only pose the question *"what is art, the only thing that comes out is shit."* Ludwig posits that it is not feasible for a cultural expert from the city to fully comprehend art and the context of the city. The objective is regarded as a commodity, *"I request the service of a driver, who then completes the ride and leaves."* This is how Ludwig perceives cultural policy, not only in Berlin but in Germany. Ludwig further states, *"One may perform, preferably for a fee and then depart without engaging in further discourse."* He posits that *"the role of the artist is to enhance the viewer's experience"* and foster intellectual debate. Consequently, there are occasions when an exhibition is held which he describes as not uninteresting, but otherwise no *"pig"* goes there. Nevertheless, the Tacheles was at full capacity and no monetary compensation was received. This created a strong bond between the hosts and their guests and audience, as they would not have returned otherwise. This was the essence of the *"places' true happiness"*:

"We didn't follow this profit maximization story, but actually relatively normal, started far down and made it a success." (Ludwig, 2024)

The Tacheles was not merely a venue for artists, it was a symbol of freedom and hope, as well as a cultural icon and a tangible sign of the reunification of a divided city. Ludwig remains an artist and continues to be so, owning the club Humboldthain. This venue is notable for its unconventional approach, which allows lesser-known DJs to perform and offers affordable entry fees. Ludwig has not stopped giving artists the space to evolve.

"Art is controversial and free, art is even more controversial and it's pathetic what happened there and what continues to happen" (Ludwig, 2024)

6.1.2 Understanding the development from a realtor perspective

The semi-structured interview with a real estate expert from Berlin provides insights into the vision and goals of the development project, as well as its positioning within the context of the wider real estate market. The relator presents an objective analysis of the project, focusing mostly on its current state and development. This is due to the fact that the development firm and the architects involved did not wish to participate in an interview.

The interviewee notes that there were plans for the site in the 1920s, as the realtor was involved in local politics at that time. He highlights the plans made 20–25 years ago and compares them to the current situation. The interviewee states that it is evident that the property has been developed, but that it is *"likely very different architecturally and in terms of use from what was planned back then"*. The most notable point of controversy relating to the project is the decision to retain the original name of the Arthouse Tacheles, which was given by the artists themselves. Consequently, the site has been known as Tacheles ever since. The realtor posits that, in the contemporary era, properties are typically branded and assigned a name. This is due to the fact that street names are no longer the primary means of identification, with *"Tacheles"* being a prominent example. The ability to effectively brand a property is a highly skilled endeavour, as it requires the creation of a name that is both memorable and associated with a specific location. Conversely, the realtor posits that the name has become a valuable asset over the past three decades, having gained recognition and a certain degree of brand equity. Furthermore, suggests that *"for someone who has known the area for a long time, the name might have a different impact compared to someone who is coming to Berlin for the first time and doesn't know the background or what it used to be."*

Another crucial aspect of the development is the high cost of the apartments, particularly given the fact that the arthouse was a free liberal space and the site itself was of little value, as Ludwig stated in the narrative interview: *"The site was worth nothing, nobody cared, but we made it worth something."* The realtor provides an explanation of how the high rental prices, such as the nearly 17,000 per square metre for the cheapest apartment, can be assessed. *"What is justified or not is, of course, a difficult question"* but from a realtor's perspective he *"would say yes, it is justified, it's a high-quality product with unique features, in a top location."* The proximity to the government district and main transportation stations, which eliminates the necessity for personal car ownership, are two key factors that contribute to the overall value proposition. The availability of essential amenities within close proximity is also a significant advantage, *"so it's an incredibly high quality of life that I'm buying with the price."* Furthermore, the relator asserts that the price is appropriate when considered in the context of international comparisons, given that other metropolises such as Paris, London, Tokyo, or New York are even more expensive. *"So getting a high-quality apartment in an inner-city location at that price is justified."*

The realtor has a specific buyer profile in mind for whom this development is designed. The typical buyer will be a second home user, defined as *"an individual who does not primarily intend to live in the property but rather to include it in their investment portfolio and being able to say I have long desired to own an apartment in Berlin."* He also notes that the property is intended for *"those who can afford it and that the majority of buyers will likely be from outside of Europe"*. During the process of fieldwork and secondary data collection, it became evident that there are still numerous properties that remain unoccupied. This is evident by the fact that they are still being listed on the real estate page of Engels and Völkers. Additionally, upon examination of the lower levels of the development, it became obvious that there were also instances of vacancy. The simplest answer is the price being responsible for that. The realtor does not perceive a problem with the vacancy. It is understandable that office spaces have become more challenging to sell in the post-Covid era and that there may be a desire to attract a specific tenant mix. It is hoped by the realtor, that the vacancy will be handled in a conscious manner, with a view to finding *"ideal tenants"* tenants for the location and maintaining them. The interview refers to the *"ideal tenants"* as those who, if the responsible parties have considered the future development of the neighbourhood, would be the most suitable. Furthermore, the developers desire high-quality merchandise that aligns with the architectural style of the area. For instance, a furniture store that specializes in Bauhaus furniture or an *"Ikea city store that sells only small items, such as candles, would be ideal."* However, he also stated that it is important to consider the appropriate user demographic and foster a sense of community in order to encourage patronage. This process may require a significant investment of time. The realtor goes on to elaborate that this does not imply that the location is exclusively intended for wealthy individuals. Rather, it is

designed with the intention of appealing to a diverse demographic, including those with varying socioeconomic backgrounds. *"A location becomes attractive when it has the capacity to draw people in and encourage them to visit."*

In the secondary data collection, the website and newspapers were reviewed due to the establishment's recent opening in early 2023. A review of the amtacheles.de website revealed a notable shift in branding (see chapter *6.3.2*). Initially, the website offered detailed information about the architects and visions behind each of the architectural complexes. However, this content was gradually replaced by a single webpage featuring all the building complexes and a unified description for each. The website's new focus is on the concept of *"Design as Capital Investment"*, (amtacheles.de, 2024). The realtor does not assume that this change is due to the fact that individuals are more likely to express an interest in purchasing a property if it is presented as a capital investment rather than as a quality living environment in the city centre. *"In such instances, rationality does not typically prevail. It is surprising because I wish to appeal to emotions, even in the context of real estate. Why do people become so excited when they see a Ferrari on the street? It is merely a car with four wheels."* He elaborates that in the case of real estate, the sale is based on emotional factors. There is no need to brand the property, give it a name, or list its attributes, as these are already conveyed by the location itself. There are numerous examples where a name provides an insight into the property. If the purchase is purely based on financial considerations, the property is reduced to a mere financial transaction, which is a *"shame as the emotional value of the property is lost"*.

"It's clear that those who previously ran or lived in Tacheles can't identify with what they see now. I understand that" The relator acknowledges the importance of maintaining the name, emphasising the value of associating a property with a specific identity. The realtor elaborates on the vision and goals of the new city quarter, outlining the importance of revitalising inner cities and bringing back residential areas. He compares this to American cities, highlighting the importance of bringing back residential areas in the inner city, *"it ensures vibrancy even after business hours"*. The buildings are intended to be used as offices during the daytime. A variety of business models will emerge, creating employment opportunities for local residents. Subsequently, the revitalisation of the area will be further enhanced by the introduction of commercial premises. Furthermore, the number of apartments is of no consequence if the area is populated. Thus, the number of residents is estimated to range between 100 and 300. *"It is optimal for the property to be occupied, rather than remaining a dormant capital investment."* While rental through Airbnb is a *"viable option, it is not the intended purpose of the investment."* Furthermore, *"the composition of the clientele is of no consequence, whether it be high-income clients or a more typical demographic."* The presence of 250 individuals in the area *"serves to enhance its overall appeal"*.

The impact of the development on the surrounding area was discussed by the relator as a positive one. The site had been vacant for a number of years and the new use has had a positive impact on the city's social fabric, with the establishment of a museum and restaurants, among other things. The impact of the museum extends beyond the area. The establishments attract individuals from other areas of the city, as well as potential tourists. *"If you see the city as an urban space and want to experience it on foot, then it's only welcome that something is finally there."* He elaborates that the area is undergoing a period of transformation, with the development of new spaces becoming increasingly evident. Further down the street was vacant land, which has been converted into a hotel and the *Telegrafenamt*, which has been transformed into residential apartments. *"The area was always expensive"*, the primary challenge facing the development is likely to be the sale and rental of properties, he assumes. The purchase of real estate has become considerably more costly in recent times, largely as a consequence of increases in interest rates. This limits the potential target audience. Consequently, *"the target group may now be more focused on wealthy individuals"* who perceive that they can still invest in an apartment in Berlin. However, *"the typical individual employed in a well-paid profession will be forced to consider the extent to which they are willing to allocate their income towards housing costs and whether such an income will still afford them the ability to live in the area in question."*

6.1.3 Is the Creative City Concept Dying?

The following interview was conducted with a researcher whose work has focused on the creative city movement and gentrification. The researcher has conducted research on cases pertaining to this theme in Belgium and the Netherlands. The researcher provides an overview of the Taheles case study within the broader research context, presenting the problems based on a comparable case study in Ghent.

From a research perspective, the interviewee identifies three levels that contribute to the formation of a creative city: t*he upper ground, the underground and the middle ground.* The upper grounds encompass institutions such as museums, which represent a significant cultural industry. However, this category could also include municipal authorities or housing corporations. The underground realm is inhabited by artists, activists and other grassroots actors. *"In an ideal world, these groups would come together in the middle ground"*, although the nature of the middle ground is inherently vague. This is because *"the work of artists and other grassroots groups is often co-opted at an early stage, resulting in their integration into the agenda of the upper ground. In this context, the concept of the middle ground is somewhat vague and lacks a clear definition."* His research has found that urban environments with street art are targets for gentrification or are in the process of being redeveloped. The researcher discussed development plans in such areas, like Ghent, noting that they were developed according to a baseline spatial plan for the area. This observation raises questions about the inclusivity of the project, especially if a significant portion of the project is devoted to creating a more high-end, aesthetically pleasing environment. The researcher observed that these street art festivals, which were presented as placemaking events, appeared to prioritize inclusivity, diversity, tolerance and other values. However, upon closer examination, *"they became empty signifiers,"* as they lacked substance in the context of the larger social and economic forces at play. Indeed, the background context reveals the existence of gentrification processes, which, in his view, are somewhat obscured by those events. In his research, it is noteworthy that two street art festivals have been held in locations that were previously overlooked, Ghent's harbour. These festivals have brought attention to this area. Furthermore, he posits that these festivals serve to accelerate gentrification processes. To illustrate, the harbour area has undergone a significant transformation, with the *"sanitisation"* of the local environment and the absence of any remaining traces of the area's industrial heritage. The area has effectively been rebranded as an upscale residential neighbourhood.

The researcher states that these locations are referred to as *"non-spaces",* as they are typically autonomous entities. However, he believes that this does not fully capture their essence and thus refers to them as *"commons places."* These are places where communities share resources and engage collectively. In the current era, it is becoming increasingly uncommon to find such common places. However, *"these common places are prone to being enclosed and only have a short lifespan."* The researcher considers that high-end urban redevelopments directly impact the livelihoods of communities. The creative city movement encountered difficulties in maintaining its position due to the necessity of urban development based on commercialisation and profit. The researcher identified a positive example of a creative city in Italy. This case study illustrates the potential for retaining *"common places"* through the integration of these communities into local politics. Otherwise, social movements emerge, engage in conflict and eventually become politicised, either by being incorporated into the political framework or by disappearing and evolving into something else. The primary obstacle is the *"willingness and institutional flexibility."* The interviewee posits that there is a need for adaptive policies in urban planning to support the dynamic and complex nature of modern cities. He critiques the inflexibility of institutional frameworks that are unable to adapt to societal changes, which often result in these frameworks becoming *"anomalies that are not directly applicable to the context in which they are serving or grounded."* The interviewee proposes that urban planners should prioritise direct involvement in grassroots movements over policy-making, recognising that the expertise resides within the communities themselves. The underlying theme is the necessity for flexibility, inclusivity and a hands-off approach on the part of urban planners to facilitate organic, community-led development. Conversely, the generation of profit through private interests in urban development processes has become a more prominent phenomenon. This approach to planning, which may be characterised as *"entrepreneurial",* has become increasingly prevalent over the past 15 to 20 years. This also illustrates the participation of private interests in the process, the researcher explains. The nature of private interest is contingent upon the context in which it exists.

Consequently, the researcher proposes that local policies should examine the manner in which the private net rationale of such projects can be valued. It is, however, a matter of controversy whether the concept of the creative city is beneficial for modern cities. This is particularly the case when the integration is merely commercialised or superficial, as exemplified by the importation of a harbour crane, which is presented as part of the local history and industrial heritage of Ghent. The interviewee analyses the impact of attracting the creative class to cities, identifying both positive and negative effects. The creative class is *"understood to be a crucial factor in economic growth, with the potential to enhance the vibrancy and economic strength of cities."* Nevertheless, this phenomenon also results in the loss of local identity and gentrification. The influx of the *"creative class has the effect of transforming cities"*, with the introduction of a range of upscale amenities such as high-end coffee shops, which can result in the marginalisation of existing communities. This phenomenon is particularly evident in major cities such as Berlin, Amsterdam and Paris, although it is also observable in smaller towns. The *"overall impact of the creative class on urban areas is a blend of economic benefits and social challenges."* He draws attention to the ongoing debate surrounding the potential of exploring alternative models observed in other countries, questioning whether the concept of the creative city is no longer relevant. The discussion touches upon the potential for new paradigms such as smart cities or sustainable cities, but this discourse remains unresolved.

Communication in redevelopment projects is often characterised by a tendency for developers and city officials to delay *"sharing unfavourable information"*. This can give rise to feelings of mistrust and emotional distress among those affected. He prompts *"to inform people process-wise, at an early stage"*, in order to provide them with a mental framework for preparing for the changes that will occur. Furthermore, practical measures should be implemented, *"prioritising displaced residents for social housing and preserving cultural landmarks such as heritage sites."* In the case of Ghent, it has been demonstrated that false promises have been made, which have resulted in the loss of cultural heritage. Similarly, in the case of Tacheles, there is a need to emphasise *"accountability and the preservation of cultural identity in urban redevelopment projects."*

The researcher ultimately identifies a shift in the concept of gentrification, which has evolved to encompass *"state-led initiatives, often facilitated by public-private partnerships"*. This shift has diversified the forms of gentrification, including culture-led gentrification. The researcher identified a clearly visible process of gentrification in his research, particularly in large-scale redevelopment projects. He highlighted the market-driven and social movement aspects of gentrification and the challenges faced by disadvantaged communities.

6.2 *"Stolen Tacheles"*

The participatory action research was conducted in mid-May on the site in Berlin. The action research facilitates the identification of examples of artwashing. Furthermore, it enables an understanding of the current discourse on the preservation versus commercialisation of cultural heritage, thereby enriching it. The research encompassed a visit to the photography gallery museum Fotografiska. The museum is situated within the Tacheles development, which has been designated as a heritage site. Consequently, the developer was obliged to leave the interior largely intact, including the entire staircase. In the staircase, the graffiti and posters that were present during the Tacheles period remain. While the space is cleaner than it was previously, it still appears out of place when viewed alongside the high-end furniture. The museum is described as *"a space for existing visual art, a forum for discourse and a destination for world-class food and beverages on every floor"* (berlin.fotografiska.com, 2024). This was the first occasion on which the participants had seen the Tacheles site since the redevelopment. We met in front of the Building, where Ludwig, his daughter, and I were present. The first resemblance that Ludwig observed was the writing of the word *"Tacheles"* on the wall (*figures 21 & 22*).

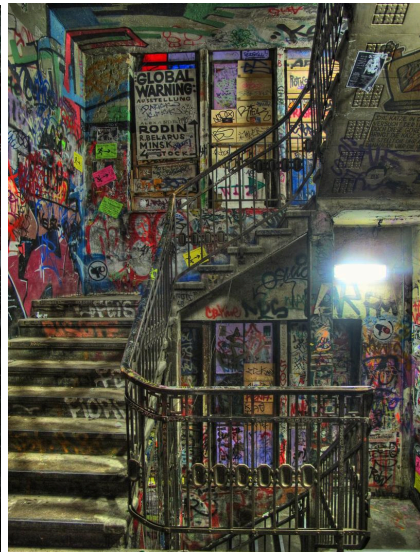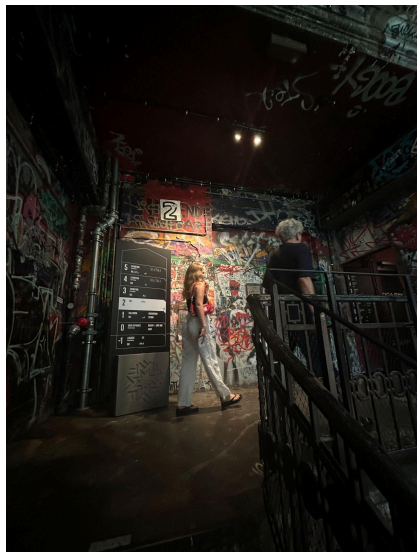

Figure 21 (top): Entrance Fototgrafiska (Bolon, 2024) & *Figure 22*: Entrance Tacheles (Canale, 2015)

Figure 23 (top): Backside Fototgrafiska (Entwicklungstadt, 2023) & *Figure 24:* Backside Tacheles (Moeller, 2010)

Figure 25 (top): Store Fototgrafiska (GetYourGuide 2024)& *Figure 26*(left): Staircase Fototgrafiska (author, 2024) & *Figure 27*: Staircase Tacheles (gemini7569, 2010)

The resemblance is striking. Upon entering Fotografiska, where the cashpoint for purchasing gallery tickets is now located, one is immediately struck by the memory that this used to be the site of Ludwig's bar Zapata. Despite the conversion of the space into a museum, the original bar structure remained intact, although the original owner expressed particular dissatisfaction with the pop-culture museum shop that had been established there (see *Figure* 25). We proceeded to the staircase, which was known to be well-maintained. It was strange to walk into the staircase, as the ambience was in contrast with the modern environment created by the voyeur. However, there were no indications as to why the staircase was fully covered in posters and graffiti, or whose work it was. Despite this, the museum refers to being the *"contemporary museum of photography, art and culture"* (Fotografiska, 2024).

Figure 28 (top, left): Inside Fototgrafiska (author 2024) & *Figure 29* (top, right): Restaurant in Fototgrafiska (author, 2024) & *Figures 30 & 31* (bottom, left & right): Inside the Arthouse Tacheles (Ludwig, n.d)

Subsequent to walking through each level of Fotografiska, Ludwig outlined the locations of the cinema, art galleries, theatre, reception area and meeting rooms. Having seen the exhibition and the numerous bars and restaurants within the building, we departed. The Tacheles project left a tangible legacy within the museum.

Figures 32 & 33: *"Stolen Tacheles"* (author, 2024)

6.3 Secondary Data Analysis

The secondary data is coded in the categories of narratives and discourses where different aspects are covered (see *Figure 4* Code Tree). To further the argument, the other codes were also used to enhance the discussion in the next chapter.

6.3.1 Media Representation

The field of Media Representation examines how the media portrays the transformation of Tacheles and the role of art in the context of social change. The newspaper articles and interviews have been coded in a similar manner. The newspaper data is coded under the category of Narratives and discourses (Media representation), with the objective of evaluating the public perception and comparing it to the data collected through the use of other codes.

Headline	Translation	Source	Codes	Perception
"Das neue Tacheles-Quartier ist peinlich" (Peter, 2024)	"The new Tacheles quarter is embarrassing"	Berliner Zeitung	preservation vs commercialisation	negative
"Fotografiska zieht ins Tacheles, die Graffiti beliben" (Bauer, 2023)	"Fotografiska moves to Tacheles, the graffiti remains"	Berliner Zeitung	authenticity vs superficiality	neutral
"Luxushäuser statt künstlerischer Freiraum" (Roelcke, 2023)	"Luxury houses instead of artistic freedom"	Tagesspiegel	Artwashing, preservation vs commercialisation	negative
"Der Streit um den Namen 'Tacheles'" (Meixner, 2023)	The dispute over the name 'Tacheles'	Tagesspiegel	Artwashing, preservation vs commercialisation	negative
"Könnte stinken: Szenen vom Berliner Wohnungsmarkt" (Matthies, 2022)	"Might stink: scenes from the Berlin housing market"	Tagesspiegel	Gentrification	negative
"Ehemaliges Kulturhaus: Berliner Politik lehnt Tacheles-Pläne ab" (Beikler, 2019)	"Former cultural centre: Berlin politicians reject Tacheles plans"	Tagesspiegel	Developer-led artwashing, questions the cultural use plans	negative
"Kunstruine in Mitte: Fototgalerie aus Schweden soll in ehemaliges Kunsthaus Tacheles ziehen" (Schönball, Hofman, 2019)	Art ruin in Mitte: Photo gallery from Sweden to move into former Kunsthaus Tacheles"	Tagespiegel	Developer-led artwashing, preservation vs commercialisation	negative

"Die Geschichte des legendären Tacheles in Bildern" (Mediengruppe, 2016)	"The history of the legendary Tacheles in pictures"	Berliner Morgenpost	Cultural Significance	positive towards former Tacheles
"Vom Kunsttempel zum Glanzpalast" (Bordel, 2023)	"From a temple of art to a glamour palace"	Rbb	Gentrification, Cultural Significance	negative
"Fotografiska: Nackt in Berlin" (Langer, 2023)	"Fotografiska: Naked in Berlin"	Fankfurter Allgemeine	preservation vs commercialisation, authenticity vs superficiality	negative
"Wie die Hauptstadt sich selbst enteignet hat" (Maak, 2023)	"How the capital has expropriated itself"	Fankfurter Allgemeine	preservation vs commercialisation, gentrification	negative
"Deals ohne Sinn für Kretivität" (Berg, 2022)	"Deals without a sense of creativity"	Taz	activism and ressistance	negative
"Die klebrigen Fäden der Gentrifizierung" (Trebing, 2020)	"The sticky threads of gentrification"	Monopol	gentrification, authenticity vs superficiality	negative
"Am Berliner Tacheles kosten Wohnungen bis zu 31.000 Euro/qm" (Vetter, 2021)	"Flats at Berlin's Tacheles cost up to 31,000 euros/sqm"	Immobilien Zeitung	gentrification, community impact	neutral
"Mythos Tacheles: Vom besetzten Haus zum Investitionsprojekt" (Richter, 2023)	"The Tacheles myth: from squat to investment project"	Süddeutsche Zeitung	preservation vs commercialisation, cultural significance	negative
"Wie das Tacheles seine Seele verlor" (Christian & Schnack 2024)	"How the Tacheles lost its soul"	Spiegel	gentrification, Artwashing	negative
"Why Am Tacheles is a resonant symbol of missed urban opportunities in Berlin" (Novy, 2023)	-	CityMonitor	preservation vs commercialisation, gentrification, inclusion vs exclusion	negative
"How Europe's most famous squat was transformed into a hyper-chic museum" (Nicolaus, 2024)	-	Domus	preservation vs commercialisation, authenticity vs superficiality	neutral

"Is Berlin losing the plot? How art world evictions leave us all poorer" (Ballantyne-Way, 2023)	-	The Berliner	Cultural significance, preservation vs commercialisation	negative
"From art squat to Berlin gentrification lightning rod" (Afp, 2023)	-	Digital Journal	gentrification, cultural significance	negative
"Berlin Mitte: Zyklus der Gentrifizierung" (Hanslicek, 2023)	"Berlin Mitte: Cycle of gentrification"	nd aktuell	gentrification, preservation vs commercialisation	negative

Table 3: Media representation (author, 2024)

The media representation reflects a cut-out of the overall perception. While there were a considerable number of newspaper articles available, the selection above (*Table* 3) provides a summary of the overall perception of the media between 2016 and 2024. The main themes that emerge from this analysis are the extremely high rental prices, the disappointments towards cultural use and the overall trend of gentrification in Berlin.

The newspaper addressed the issue of high rental prices and the overall dimensions of the development in great detail. The focus on the exclusive and luxurious nature of the development has resulted in extensive coverage in German newspapers, with articles appearing in multiple European countries and, notably, in the Asian press as well. It should be noted that this section is primarily concerned with the representation of the German media. In an article in the Immobilien Zeitung, Vetter (2021) discussed the high rental prices, which reached 31,000 euros per square metre. Bordel (2023) notes that the area is no longer a place for artists and that the spaces are being rented to Netflix and Pfizer, which exemplifies the shift in the area's demographics. Furthermore, the offer of the space explicitly refers not only to those who can pay for it but also to those who wish to invest in their private capital. The development is presented in a positive light by the media, with the contributions of renowned architects and architectural innovation highlighted on numerous occasions. Despite the positive nuance, all parties agree that this area is not an appropriate location for this type of development.

The notion of "high-end and exclusive" is open to interpretation, as evidenced by the differing perspectives on the evolution of urban centres. However, the controversy surrounding the Tacheles persists, particularly with regard to the controversy surrounding the name-keeping. The Arthouse Tacheles (Meixner, 2023) highlights the misappropriation of the property's identity. The name no longer aligns with its original significance, particularly in relation to the Fotografiska building. The individuals responsible for the name's origin have played a role in preserving the building from demolition and bestowed upon it a name infused with cultural significance (Meixner, 2023). In an interview with rbb, Ludwig expressed shock at the destruction of the entire Tacheles and the naming of the building in that manner. Nicolaus (2024) asserts that the new owners who are linked to a New York investment fund called Parrela Weinberg, are aware of the historical significance of the site and have chosen to leverage the name for their own marketing purposes. Despite the assertion by the head of the development firm that the plan was never to recreate the open space of the Arthouse Tacheles (Sebastian Klatt, in Tagespeiegel 2023. In the following instance, the head of the development firm refers to the "Banksy Chapel", a graffiti from an original Banksy template concealed within the new development. According to Roelcke (2023), the construction of this new development symbolises the development's efforts to maintain the anarchist character of its former open spaces. However, he suggests that this goal has been overshadowed by the construction itself and the anarchist spirit has been largely lost. Bauer (2023) refers to the graffiti that has been maintained in the staircase of the Arthouse Tacheles, which is now the Fotografiska museum, as the "*development's greatest asset*".

The dispute over the name of the site has led to questions being raised about the cultural use of the development. Cultural politicians expressed regret at the sale of the site and stated that the cultural use of the site as envisaged by the contract would not be that of the Tacheles past (Beiklar, 2019). The committee for culture in the senate in Berlin (Tagespsiegel, 2019) has stated that this use is not cultural but capitalist in nature. Sociologist Novy (2023) has further identified the phenomenon of *"zombie urbanism"*, which refers to spaces of the historic city but which, in their very nature, fail to replicate the essence of such places. Balantyne-Way (2023) notes that Berlin's creative city branding was particularly special due to the city's availability and affordability of spaces. These spaces are crucial for the artistic process, as they provide a platform for experimentation and safeguard the unstable careers of artists. Balantyne-Way (2023) highlights the extraordinary impact that artists have on the city. He acknowledges their ability to shape identity and infuse the city with a diverse and progressive population. In 2019, cultural experts in the city emphasised the importance of carefully considering the use of the area and hoped to see other cultural uses integrated. In 2019, the city attempted to purchase parts of the spaces from the new development with the intention of facilitating inclusive cultural use. However, this was unsuccessful due to the *"horrendous"* sums of money the development was demanding (Beiklar, 2019). Since the opening of Tacheles, city officials have ceased to take a stance on the project, yet disappointment remains. The media has been highly critical of the manner in which gentrification has been implemented and the resulting end product (Trebing, 2020). The Süddeutsche Zeitung (Richter, 2023) asserts that the post-wende area has been effectively ended due to the transformation of the Tacheles. Bordel (2023) persists in emphasising the unfavourable perception of the projects, but also observes, with regret, that this phenomenon is now perfectly aligned with its surroundings.

6.3.2 Pr & Marketing

Following the development of the thesis, it became evident that changes had been made to the website. The initial approach appeared to be more holistic, with detailed information provided for each complex. Additionally, there was an explanation of the vision and goals, as well as a focus on selling a lifestyle. However, around January 2024, the website underwent a significant transformation.
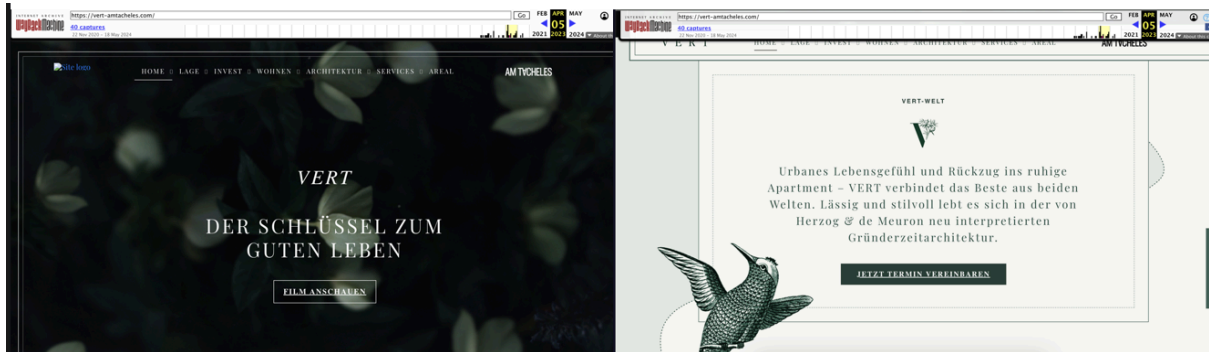

Figure 34(left) & 35: Example Building Vert on 'Website Living am Tacheles' Before January 2024 (Wayback Machine, 2024)

Figures 34 and 35 illustrate a single website among the numerous complexes. For instance, the complex Vert is depicted. Upon opening the webpage, as illustrated in *Figure 34*, the text "the key to a good life" is displayed. Each webpage exhibited distinctive characteristics pertaining to the various attributes at the Am Tacheles site. The apartment property Vert was consistent with its name and the website design, which featured a green colour scheme. *Figure 35* states: *"Urban lifestyle and retreat to a quiet apartment - VERT combines the best of both worlds. Casual and stylish living in the Wilhelminian style reinterpreted by Herzog & de Meuron."* Wilhelminian architecture was prominent in Germany in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; the architectural style featured varied designs and blended historicist elements with neo-Renaissance influences, examples include stuccoed, sandy facades (Glint, 2023).
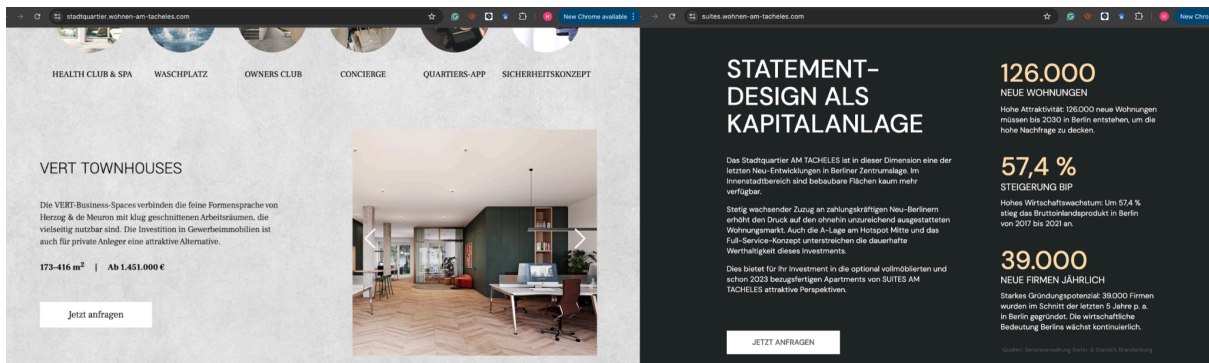

Figure 36 (left) & 37: Apartment Advertising Vert & General Information for All Properties (stadtquartier.wohnen-am-tacheles.com, 2024)

After the changes to the website, you can see in *Figure 36* that the example property Vert is only briefly described, all other properties have a similar short description on the same page, interestingly the tone and ambitions have also changed. There is now more emphasis on housing as an investment. Translated from *Figure 37*, the development company now explains the Vert property as follows: "*The commercial spaces combine the fine design language of Herzog & de Meuron with cleverly designed workspaces that can be used in a variety of ways. Investing in commercial property is also an attractive alternative for private investors."* What has also been added is the specific section of the website entitled *"Design as Capital Investment"* (*Figure 37*), in which the website explains that Berlin is seen as highly attractive because *"126,000 new apartments"* need to be built in Berlin *"by 2030 to meet the high demand".* As well as highlighting that Berlin is experiencing high economic growth, with and GDP increasing by *"57.4% from 2017 to 2021."* and the fact that an average of *"39,000"* new companies have been founded in the last five years due to Berlins *economic importance continuously growing."* It seems that the focus has shifted from enhancing urban life quality to prioritizing investment opportunities.

7. Discussion

This chapter presents a comparison of the data retrieved in order to answer the sub-questions. In addition, it is supported and analysed in the context of the theoretical framework and conceptual model. It also addresses the thesis limitations.

7.1 Social Quality of the Tacheles

The Tacheles was previously renowned for its inclusive and community-oriented identity. This is consistent with the concept of placemaking, which posits that public spaces are designed to facilitate social interaction and community engagement (Project for Public Spaces, 2007). This form is specifically identified as organic place-making (Lew, 2027). The concept of placemaking is of significant importance in the context of the Tacheles (*Figure 3:* Conceptual Model). The social quality of Tacheles is characterised by its affordability and accessibility. As Ludwig (2024) emphasises numerous times, the primary focus was on art and the significant community involvement ensured its continued existence. Additionally, artists have created a platform for artists. Colomb (2012) asserts that affordability is crucial for a space to accommodate grassroots artistic initiatives and foster a sense of belonging within the community.

The affordability and accessibility of the cultural activities in question have also allowed for a diverse group of people to participate in these activities despite their income. The site was of immense cultural significance, not only due to the creativity, social freedom and independent spirit exhibited but also as a symbol of post-reunification and a pure form of the bottom-up approach. It served as an artistic expression and moreover, as a catalyst for a national dialogue. This cultural significance extends beyond the Tacheles and therefore the social quality was perceived as high.

The social shift that has occurred as a result of the redevelopment has resulted in a change to the composition of the social demographic, with the emergence of a new subset of the elite. This has been accompanied by a notable increase in rental prices and a lack of publicly accessible cultural activities, with the area's development prioritising economic interests over cultural preservation. The consequence of the aforementioned development is that the original inhabitants are displaced and excluded from the economic benefits that result from it. Matthews (2010) posits that the redevelopment process has the capacity to accelerate gentrification, as it frequently transforms diverse neighbourhoods into homogenised, wealthy areas. Friedmann (2010) asserts that commercialisation is a common outcome of gentrification, whereby economic interest takes precedence over cultural preservation. The considerable impact of gentrification has a significant effect on the social quality of those displaced, resulting in a shift towards a more affluent demographic that lacks the social quality of offering more culture.

The data discussed provides insight into the perception of former artists and residents regarding the loss of a sense of belonging and cultural vibrancy as a result of the redevelopment. Additionally, the participatory action research revealed a notable emotional and social disconnection arising from the redevelopment process. The secondary data analysis demonstrates that the discourse of inclusivity is perceived as a counterpoint to the development focus on exclusivity and luxury, which aligns with the economic development goals. This highlights the broader trend of displacement and social exclusion (Legit.ng, 2023). The narrative interview highlights the discourse between the significance of cultural hubs such as Tacheles and the desire for economic development and growth. It is difficult to determine the value of art, given its intangible nature. Conversely, a site in the heart of Berlin is relatively straightforward to quantify in monetary terms. Nevertheless, it is of the essence to achieve a balance between cultural and economic considerations. While art is integrated into redevelopment projects, it often serves as a superficial addition rather than a genuine effort to preserve cultural heritage (Seldin, 2020). It is evident that artwashing has a positive impact on economic growth, as it increases property values and attracts investments. However, this phenomenon also has a detrimental effect on social quality and the displacement of original residents (Pritchard, 2020).

7.2 Visions and Ambitions and Place un-making

The vision and ambitions of the development have undergone a significant transformation over the past year. It is evident that a greater emphasis has been placed on economic factors, with an associated shift towards a more profitable approach for the buyer. The overarching objective was to revitalise the neighbourhood. This was a positive outcome for the realtor, it is *"up to 300 people revitalising the neighbourhood"*. The overall development can be justified in terms of its price point, given that it is a "high-end development" situated in a *"super excellent location"*. The process of placemaking is occurring in this instance, with the objective of enriching the neighbourhood with a new and beneficial addition. However, as Lew (2017) differentiates, this is a top-down approach to placemaking, which is implemented in locations that have been selected based on their physical design and image. However, as the conceptual model (*figure* 3) indicates, the perception of development varies considerably depending on the context in which the stakeholders are situated. For the development firm, the project is deemed a success if it is completed, the name is retained and the cultural use is Fototgraiska. Mathews (2010) elucidates how developers tend to prioritize economic gains, while the interests of the artist and residents who seek to maintain cultural and social integrity. This highlights the fundamental tension in the process of gentrification. While Fotografiska is intended to serve as the cultural anchor of the tied cultural use contract, the integration of art into development projects frequently proves to be merely superficial, rather than an earnest effort to preserve the cultural heritage (Seldin, 2020).

The data analysed in the previous sections supports the contention that there is a crisis and tension between the desire to preserve and the drive to commercialise. The analysis of the marketing of the development and the media presentation revealed a consistent emphasis on the luxury and exclusive attributes of the new development, while the vision of economic growth and cultural branding was deliberately downplayed (Langer, 2023). It is noteworthy that a redevelopment of this size with its cultural significance and history is difficult to ignore or pretend does not exist. In an interview with the newspaper Tagesspiegel, the head of the development firm asserted that there was never a plan to construct a building that would replace the open space of the art house Tacheles (Roelcke, 2023). In the same article in which the head of the development firm states that there should be no resemblance to its initial function, he also alludes to the Banksy graffiti. Roelcke (2023) suggests that this may be a symbol of the fact that the new neighbourhood still seeks to adorn itself with the anarchistic aura of the old open space, but that the free and anarchic spirit has largely disappeared under the building mass. As Bauer (2023) states in the Berliner Zeitung, the building's greatest asset will be its staircase, when Fotografiska opens in September 2023. The question of why there is no indication of the artists who created the artworks in the Fotografiska museum remains unanswered. Seldin (2020) explains how the use of art in redevelopments often leads to erasing the historical and cultural significance of an area while replacing it with commodified art that serves commercial interests.

The concept of superficiality and authenticity has emerged as a significant theme within the context of the Tacheles development. This includes Fotograsiska, which is both an art gallery and a commercial entity. In the secondary data analysis, the question of who should have overlooked the binding cultural use contract has been a subject of debate. As evidenced by the narrative interview and online newspaper articles, the cultural usage contract was established with the site designated as a heritage site. In 1993/4, the municipal authorities indicated their interest in the proposed development and in establishing a state-owned cultural hub on the site. The hub was ultimately sold by the city, based on its high real estate value (Realtor, 2024), with the buyer being HsHbank, who then sold it to pwr development. In essence, the city's actions can be seen as a form of state-led artwashing whereby the sale of a property is presented as a positive move, despite the fact that the well-known factor of the buildings themselves may not be the primary driver. The mere act of redeveloping a space does not necessarily ensure the creation of a more conducive environment. While the act of redevelopment itself may contribute to the transformation of a previously underutilized space into a vibrant community hub, it is essential to consider that the underlying framework of the space may not have undergone the necessary changes to align with the new vision. The act of filling vacant space does not guarantee the emergence of a more optimal and beneficial outcome.

7.3 Artwashing and Gentrification

The Berlins, notable politicians with a background in cultural politics, have provided a critical assessment of the proposed plan for Fotografiska, deeming it inadequate. This is evidenced by the fact that, despite the myth being over, private developers wish to capitalise on the myth (Beiklar, 2019). In developer-led artwashing, the cultural use contract is often overlooked, with the commercialisation of the art becoming an integral aspect of the process (Pritchard, 2020).

The concept of artwashing is characterised by a superficial cultural integration, as evidenced by the Fotografiska. The Researcher (2024) refers to this phenomenon as *"empty signifiers"*. Notwithstanding the failure of the overall development to achieve the desired cultural usage plans and the commercialisation of the entire area, concrete examples of developer-led art washing can be observed in the retention of the name *"Tacheles"* and the absence of any reference to the artist responsible for the staircase. It is evident that the project is aware of its cultural significance; nevertheless, it employs this to its economic advantage. The term artwashing is also used to describe the utilisation of arts and cultural initiatives by developers and authorities with the intention of obscuring the consequences of gentrification and socio-economic disparities (Pritchard, 2020). As is evident from an examination of the website, the history is merely discussed and presented in a way that allows the practice of artwashing and the impending gentrification to be obscured through the showing of as little information as possible about the significance of the arthouse. Furthermore, the Realtor (2024) posits that if individuals lack awareness of the historical context, it is probable that this will persist. The phenomenon of gentrification represents a significant challenge in the context of urban redevelopment processes in Berlin (Trebbing, 2020). The Tacheles development serves as a case in point, exhibiting a range of manifestations from the initial emergence of free artist spaces to the subsequent emergence of exclusive high-end studios and apartments.

In the case of Tacheles, it becomes evident that the form of artwashing employed refers to the developer-led model. The city of Berlin has miscalculated by selling the property without sufficiently ensuring its future cultural use. It was an unrealistic expectation on the part of the city council that a private investor would make a significant contribution to enhancing the cultural amenities that the city of Berlin requires or desires. Conversely, the city of Berlin has expressed regret at the sale, which was initially justified by the rationale of economic growth. Nevertheless, the developer has exploited the artist's values to achieve the greatest possible financial gain. Despite attempts to disguise this, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that commercialisation is a primary objective, as well as a mere attempt to preserve culture.

Ludwig (2024) posits that the political arena is incapable of comprehending and reproducing the essence of real art. The Researcher (2024) aligns with this viewpoint, referring to the artist as the "experts". The necessity for collaboration is thus identified. The Researcher (2024) discovered in the case study of Ghent that these grassroots artists are in fact highly organised communities. Therefore it is important not to put the future of cultural heritage in the hands of a private developer and of course, as mentioned in the data it is important to include the artists as an "expert" as well.

7.4 Limitations

The most significant limitation is a consequence of the constraints imposed by the data collection process. Obtaining access to key stakeholders was a considerable challenge, which has resulted in a lack of input from individuals involved in the development process. Despite repeated attempts, these individuals have demonstrated a lack of interest in engaging with the research. Another challenge encountered was the use of secondary data. The majority of videos and images lacked sufficient information regarding the creators and the period in which they were created. In particular, the videos presented a range of narratives about that era in the Arthouse. As the project is still in its initial stages, it would be beneficial to observe whether any further branding or marketing changes will be implemented, particularly in terms of how the perception of the developments may evolve over time. A further limitation is the confidentiality of a substantial amount of private information and specific instances that have been revealed to me regarding the decisions that were made during the sale of the property to the development firm. These had to be excluded from the thesis due to concerns about privacy. The concept of artwashing, which is central to this study, is a relatively new phenomenon that may lack a comprehensive theoretical foundation. It would be beneficial for future research to examine the concept of artwashing in a different context in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of it.

8. Conclusion

"How does artwashing impact urban redevelopment and gentrification processes?"

The objective of this thesis was to examine the impact of urban redevelopment on cultural and social integrity, with the case study of Tacheles serving as a point of reference. The theories of artwashing, the creative city, gentrification and placemaking are useful in understanding the dynamics of the Tacheles case study.

The phenomenon of artwashing enables urban redevelopment processes to capitalise on exclusivity based on artist assets. Due to the tangible nature of art, developers can readily profit from the art that remains in a given location, given the importance of positive perceptions and cultural significance. In the final analysis, artwashing gives rise to the phenomenon of gentrification, which in turn results in the displacement of local residents. Artwashing significantly impacts urban redevelopment and gentrification by driving economic growth at the expense of social equity and cultural authenticity. The transformation of the Tacheles from a community-centric cultural hub to a high-end development exemplifies these effects, highlighting the conflict between economic motivations and the preservation of cultural heritage.

This makes the case of the Tacheles complex regarding urban redevelopment, specifically in a city like Berlin, with a rich historical and cultural heritage. The regeneration of Tacheles has seen the area's organic community activities removed to develop the site into economic development. This change resulted in the displacement of the original artists and residents of the area. As evidence, this phenomenon represents only one instance of a more general trend in which economic imperatives, in the form of urban redevelopment strategies, are accorded greater priority than considerations of cultural preservation. This has the consequence that city spaces become both more homogeneous and to a significant extent deprived of the vitality and diversity that once characterised them. More pure aesthetic and artistic elements of the original arthouse survived in the re-development project: the Banksy graffiti and the staircase, even though these are preserved only so far as they are protected by cultural heritage legislation. However, it has mostly tried to weave into the fabric of art without capturing its true spirit, which would safeguard the area from commercial attraction. Comparing the old and new, there is tension between cultural preservation and economic development. The remaining Banksy graffiti and the artwork, located at the staircase inside the new building, tend to illustrate efforts made towards trying to relate the historical allure of the site as a tourist site. Answers to the sub-questions revealed that the social quality of Tacheles has diminished and that the new development's ambitions prioritize economic growth. Nevertheless, the free and anarchist spirit is largely absent from the new development and the social quality is diminished. Moreover, the development firm is engaging in artwashing to ensure economic benefits.

The conclusion suggests that the planning practice must incorporate more comprehensive strategies that balance economic development with cultural preservation. This includes fostering community involvement, protecting cultural heritage, and developing policies that mitigate the adverse effects of gentrification.

8.1 Future Research

Further research could enhance the comprehension of artwashing in urban redevelopment projects by examining a positive case in which artists and the state collaborate on a cultural strategy for an urban development project. It would be beneficial for future research to focus on the evaluation of urban planning policies, as well as the examination of the impact of different approaches to development projects on the outcome of preservation. Additionally, there is a need to identify the optimal strategies for the creation of inclusive, culturally preserving policies.

9. References

AM TACHELES (2023) Am Tacheles. Available at: https://amtacheles.de/en/ (Accessed: 23 October 2023).

AM TACHELES (2024) Apartments, Maisonettes, Penthouses - Wohnung kaufen. Available at: https://stadtquartier.wohnen-am-tacheles.com/ (Accessed: 23 May 2024).

Archdaily (2021) AmTacheles. Available at: https://www.archdaily.com/972638/fotografiska-announces-three-new-locations-in-berlin-shanghai-and-miami-becoming-the-largest-private-art-museum (Accessed: 22 January 2024).

Ballantyne-Way, D. (2023) 'Is Berlin losing the plot? How art world evictions leave us all poorer.' The Berliner, 25 October. Available at: https://www.the-berliner.com/art/berlin-losing-the-plot-how-art-world-evictions-leave-us-all-poorer/ (Accessed: 22 May 2024).

Bauer, S. (2023) 'Fotografiska zieht ins Tacheles, die Graffiti bleiben.' B.Z. – Die Stimme Berlins, 10 July. Available at: https://www.bz-berlin.de/berlin/mitte/fotografiska-zieht-ins-tacheles-die-graffiti-bleiben (Accessed: 17 May 2024).

BBC (2012) Authorities shut Berlin's iconic Tacheles squat. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-19473806 (Accessed: 23 October 2023).

Beikler, S. (2019) 'Ehemaliges Kulturhaus: Berliner Politik lehnt Tacheles-Pläne ab.' Tagesspiegel, 11 September. Available at: https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/berliner-politik-lehnt-tacheles-plane-ab-4100083.html (Accessed: 18 May 2024).

Berg, R. (2022) 'Widerstand gegen Kunsthalle Berlin: Deals ohne Sinn für Kreativität.' taz, 21 February. Available at: https://taz.de/Widerstand-gegen-Kunsthalle-Berlin/!5830314/ (Accessed: 22 May 2024).

Bloomimages (no date) Available at: https://www.hackesche-hoefe.de/en/story/the-new-spandauer-vorstadt-city-quarter-am-tacheles-soon-completed-503 (Accessed: 22 January 2024).

Bocquet, D. (2021) Urban reconstruction as a complex process: reflections on post-1945 Berlin. Available at: https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Urban-reconstruction-as-a-complex-process-%3A-on-Bocquet/f08fa80bea432227be03c469737b8e42d1730dd7 (Accessed: n.d.).

Bolon (no date) Bolon x Fotografiska. Available at: https://www.bolon.com/en/stories/collaboration/bolon-x-fotografiska (Accessed: 25 May 2024).

Bordel, A. (2023) 'Vom Kunsttempel zum Glanzpalast.' rbb24, 22 April. Available at: https://www.rbb24.de/wirtschaft/beitrag/2023/04/berlin-mitte-tacheles-kunst-luxus.html (Accessed: 18 May 2024).

Bourdieu, P. (1993) The field of cultural production. New York: Columbia University Press.

Cameron, J., Odendaal, N., Tides, A. (2004) 'Integrated Area Development Projects: Working Towards Innovation and Sustainability.' Urban Forum, 15(4), pp. 311-339.

Canale, C. (no date) Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/108833114@N02/16749748887/ (Accessed: 25 May 2024).

Christian, S. and Schnack, T. (2024) 'Wie das Tacheles seine Seele verlor.' DER SPIEGEL, 14 January. Available at: https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/luxusimmobilie-in-berlin-wie-das-tacheles-seine-seele-verlor-a-5f3e6846-040a-4877-a123-170795b25b2 (Accessed: 22 May 2024).

Cole, D. (1987) 'Artists and Urban Redevelopment.' Geographical Review, 77(4), pp. 391-407.

Colomb, C. (2012) 'Pushing the urban frontier: temporary uses of space, city marketing, and the creative city discourse in 2000S Berlin.' Journal of Urban Affairs, 34(2), pp. 131–152. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9906.2012.00607.x.

Cornish, F., Breton, N., Moreno-Tabarez, U., Delgado, J., Rua, M., de-Graft Aikins, A., & Hodgetts, D. (2023) 'Participatory action research.' Nature Reviews Methods Primers, 3(34), pp. 1-14. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1038/s43586-023-00214-1 (Accessed: 8 June 2024).

Czienskowski, P. (2016) 'Ausverkauf in Mitte: der Szene-Kiez word beliebig.' Berliner Morgenpost, 14 February.

DeutscheWelle (2010) The Courtesy of Tacheles Art Gallery. Available at: https://www.dw.com/en/temporary-berlin-exhibition-space-sparks-controversy/a-6361105 (Accessed: 22 January 2024).

Durgent, M. (2016) The story of the Kunsthaus Tacheles- The home of the spirit of art. Available at: https://berlinstreetart.com/kunsthaus-tacheles-berlin/ (Accessed: 24 October 2023).

Ebneyamini, S., & Sadeghi Moghadam, M. R. (2018) 'Toward developing a framework for conducting case study research.' International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 17, pp. 1-11.

Eisner, E. (1991) The Enlightened Eye: Qualitative Inquiry and the Enhancement of Educational Practice. New York: Macmillan.

Engel & Völkers Berlin (no date) AM TACHELES. Available at: https://www.engelvoelkers.com/en-de/berlin/projects/am-tacheles/ (Accessed: 22 January 2024).

Engel & Völkers Berlin (no date) AM TACHELES. Available at: https://www.engelvoelkersbrandenburg.com/en/insights/am-tacheles-berlin (Accessed: 22 January 2024).

Entwicklungstadt (2023) Kultur, Gewerbe, Wohnen: Alte und neue Geschichte des "Am Tacheles." Available at: https://entwicklungsstadt.de/kultur-gewerbe-wohnen-alte-und-neue-geschichte-des-am-tacheles/ (Accessed: 25 May 2024).

Fotografiska Museum Berlin (2024) Visit Fotografiska. Available at: https://berlin.fotografiska.com/en/more (Accessed: 6 June 2024).

Friedmann, J. (2010) 'Place and place-making in cities: A global perspective.' Planning Theory & Practice, 11(2), pp. 149–165.

GetYourGuide (2024) Berlin: Fotografiska entry ticket. Available at: https://www.getyourguide.co.uk/berlin-l17/fotografiska-berlin-entrance-ticket-t512623/.

gemini7569 (2010) Treppenhaus im Tacheles. Available at: https://www.fotocommunity.de/photo/treppenhaus-im-tacheles-gemini7569/19781041 (Accessed: 25 May 2024).

Glint (2023) GLINT - The Wilhelminian Era: History and origins of the buildings. Available at: https://www.glint-berlin.de/en/wilhelminian-era/ (Accessed: 25 May 2024).

Hanzlicek, E. (2023) 'Berlin Mitte: Zyklus der Gentrifizierung.' nd-aktuell.de, 7 August. Available at: https://www.nd-aktuell.de/artikel/1175300.stadtentwicklung-berlin-mitte-zyklus-der-gentrifizierung.html (Accessed: 22 May 2024).

Harrison, B. (2002) 'Seeing health and illness worlds- using visual methodologies in a sociology of health and illness: A methodological review.' Sociology of Health and Illness, 24(6), pp. 856-872.

Harvey, D. (2008) 'The right to the city.' New Left Review, 53, pp. 23-40.

Johnston, M.P. (2014) 'Secondary Data Analysis: A Method of which the Time Has Come.' Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Libraries (QQML), 3, pp. 619-626.

Jol, G. & Stommel, W. (2016) 'Ethical considerations of secondary data use: What about informed consent?' Dutch Journal of Applied Linguistics, 5(2), pp. 180–195. doi: 10.1075/dujal.5.2.06jol.

Kyololo, O. M., Stevens, B. J., & Songok, J. (2023) 'Photo-Elicitation Technique: Utility and Challenges in Clinical Research.' International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 22.

Koy+Winkel (no date) Quartier am Tacheles. Available at: https://www.gima-ziegel.de/en/referenzen/scape-in-the-quartier-am-tacheles/ (Accessed: 22 January 2024).

Labov, W. (1972) Sociolinguistic Patterns. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lawlor, C. M. M. (2000) 'Learning from stories: Narrative interviewing in cross-cultural research.' Scandinavian Journal of Occupational Therapy, 7(4), pp. 189-196. Available at: https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3051197/ (Accessed: 8 June 2024).

Langer, F. (2023) 'Berlin: Umstrittene Neueröffnung der Kunsthalle Fotografiska.' Frankfurter Allgemeine, 14 September. Available at: https://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/kunst-und-architektur/berlin-umstrittene-neueroeffnung-der-kunsthalle-fotografiska-19171348.html (Accessed: 22 May 2024).

Legit.ng (2023) 'From Art Squat to Luxury Urban Complex: The Gentrification of Berlin's Tacheles.' Available at: https://www.legit.ng/business-economy/1552098-from-art-squat-berlin-gentrification-lightning-rod/ (Accessed: n.d.).

Lew, A.A. (2017) 'Tourism planning and place making: place-making or placemaking?' Tourism Geographies, 19(3), pp. 448–466.

Lucas, S.R. (2016) 'Where the rubber meets the road: Probability and nonprobability moments in experiment, interview, archival, administrative, and ethnographic data collection.' Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World, 2, pp. 1-24.

Maak, N. (2023) 'Berlin: Neue Luxus-Wohnungen im Tacheles zeigen Probleme der Stadt.' Frankfurter Allgemeine, 04 March. Available at: https://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/kunst-und-architektur/berlin-neue-wohnungen-und-luxusneubauten-in-der-hauptstadt-18721057.html (Accessed: 22 May 2024).

Maring, L. and Blauw, M. (2018) 'Asset management to support urban land and subsurface management.' Science of the Total Environment, 615, pp. 390–397.

Mathews, V. (2010) 'Aestheticizing space: art, gentrification and the city.' Geography Compass, 4(6), pp. 660–675. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2010.00331.x.

Mathews, V. (2010) 'Reimagining New York: Artists, Gentrification, and the Struggle for Authentic Urban Spaces.' City & Community, 9(2), pp. 137-154.

Matthies, B. (2022) 'Könnte stinken: Szenen vom Berliner Wohnungsmarkt.' Tagesspiegel, 22 June. Available at: https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/schule/szenen-vom-berliner-wohnungsmarkt-4342867.html (Accessed: 17 May 2024).

Mehdipanah, R., Marra, G., Melis, G., Gelormino, E. (2018) 'Urban renewal, gentrification and health equity: a realist perspective.' European Journal of Public Health, 28(2), pp. 243-248.

Meixner, C. (2023) 'Der Streit um den Namen 'Tacheles'.' Tagesspiegel, 09 September. Available at: https://www.tagesspiegel.de/kultur/letzte-reste-der-streit-um-den-namen-tacheles-10441900.html (Accessed: 17 May 2024).

Mediengruppe, F. (2016) 'Die Geschichte des legendären Tacheles in Bildern.' Berliner Morgenpost, 16 September. Available at: https://www.morgenpost.de/berlin/article208247985/Die-Geschichte-des-legendaeren-Tacheles-in-Bildern.html (Accessed: 18 May 2024).

Moeller, T. (2010) Pinterest. Available at: https://nl.pinterest.com/pin/496521927640389015/ (Accessed: 21 May 2024).

Muylaert, C. J., Sarubbi Jr, V., Gallo, P. R. and Neto, M. L. R. (2014) 'Narrative interviews: an important resource in qualitative research.' Revista da Escola de Enfermagem da USP, 48(SPE2), pp. 184-189. Available at: https://www.scielo.br/j/reeusp/a/NyXVhmXbg96xZNPWt9vQYCt/?lang=en&for (Accessed: 8 June 2024).

Muzari, T., Shava, G. N., & Shonhiwa, S. (2022) 'Qualitative Research Paradigm, a Key Research Design for Educational Researchers, Processes and Procedures: A Theoretical Overview.' Indiana Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, 3(1), pp. 14-20.

Nicolaus, N. (2024) 'How Europe's most famous squat was transformed into a hyper-chic museum.' Domus, 1 March. Available at: https://www.domusweb.it/en/architecture/2024/02/27/herzog-and-de-meurons-project-for-tacheles-in-berlin.html (Accessed: 22 May 2024).

Novy, J. (2023) 'Why Am Tacheles is a resonant symbol of missed urban opportunities in Berlin.' City Monitor, 21 July. Available at: https://citymonitor.ai/environment/architecture-design/am-tacheles-urban-opportunities-in-berlin (Accessed: 22 May 2024).

Peter, S. (2024) 'Das neue Tacheles-Quartier ist peinlich.' B.Z. – Die Stimme Berlins, 3 June. Available at: https://www.bz-berlin.de/meinung/kolumne/der-schwarze-peter/tacheles-3 (Accessed: 4 June 2024).

Pratt, A.C. (2011) 'The cultural contradictions of the creative city.' City, Culture and Society, 2(3), pp. 123–130. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ccs.2011.08.002.

Project for Public Spaces (2007) What is Placemaking? Available at: https://www.pps.org/article/what-is-placemaking (Accessed: 26 October 2023).

Pritchard, S. (2020) 'The artwashing of gentrification and social cleansing.' In Springer eBooks, pp. 179–198.

Pritchard, S. (2022) Artwashing: Social Capital & Anti-Gentrification Activism — COLOURING IN CULTURE. Available at: https://www.colouringinculture.org/blog/uncategorized/artwashingsocialcapitalantigentrification (Accessed: 5 May 2024).

Raifer, U. (2023) '„Fotografiska": Die Aura des alten Tacheles.' Berliner Morgenpost, 8 September. Available at: https://www.morgenpost.de/kultur/article239400505/Fotografiska-Die-Aura-des-alten-Tacheles.html (Accessed: 18 May 2024).

Richter, P. (2023) 'Mythos Tacheles: Vom besetzten Haus zum Investitionsprojekt.' Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 September. Available at: https://www.sueddeutsche.de/projekte/artikel/kultur/tacheles-berlin-footografiska-e018058/?reduced=true (Accessed: 22 May 2024).

Ridder, H.-G. (2017) 'The theory contribution of case study research designs.' Business Research, 10, pp. 281-305.

Roberts, C. (2009) 'Cultures of organisations meet ethno-linguistic cultures: Narratives in job interviews.' In Feng, A., Byram, M. and Fleming, M. (eds.) Becoming interculturally competent through education and training. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/download/33836289/_Anwei_Feng__Michael_Byram__Mike_Fleming__Becoming(BookFi.org).pdf#page=34 (Accessed: 8 June 2024).

Roelcke, T. (2023) 'Luxushäser statt künstlerischer Freiraum.' Tagesspiegel, 18 August. Available at: https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/berliner-wirtschaft/luxushauser-statt-kunstlerischer-freiraum-so-sieht-das-stadtquartier-am-tacheles-in-berlin-mitte-aus-10253728.html (Accessed: 17 May 2024).

Sandig, J. (2023) 'Symbol der Gentrifizierung: Am Tacheles zeigt sich das neue Berlin.' Tagesspiegel, 19 September.

Schönball, R. and Hofman, L. (2019) 'Kunstruine in Mitte: Fototgalerie aus Schweden soll in ehemaliges Kunsthaus Tacheles ziehen.' Tagesspiegel, 11 September. Available at: https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/fotogalerie-aus-schweden-soll-in-ehemaliges-kunsthaus-tacheles-ziehen-4099672.html (Accessed: 19 May 2024).

Schubert, S. (2020) '"Zombie Urbanism" and the search for new sources of solidarity.' Verfassungsblog. Available at: https://verfassungsblog.de/zombie-urbanism-and-the-search-for-new-sources-of-solidarity/ (Accessed: 25 October 2023).

Schwart, D. (1989) 'Visual ethnography: Using photography in qualitative research.' Qualitative Sociology, 12, pp. 119-154.

Segovia, C. and Hervé, J.-C. (2022) 'The creative city approach: origins, construction and prospects in a scenario of transition.' City, Territory and Architecture, 9(1).

Seldin, C. (2020) 'The Voices of Berlin: Busking in a 'Creative' city.' Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research, pp. 1–23. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3384/cu.2000.1525.20200609.

Siemer, J. and Matthews-Hunter, K. (2017) 'The Spatial pattern of gentrification in Berlin.' Prairier Perspective, 19, pp. 49-57.

Statista (2023) Berlin: Population 1960-2022. Available at: https://www.statista.com/statistics/505892/berlin-population/ (Accessed: 10 November 2023).

Statista (2023) Einwohnerzahlen der Bezirke in Berlin im Jahr 2022. Available at: https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/1109841/umfrage/einwohnerzahl-bezirke-berlin/ (Accessed: 21 October 2023).

Tacheles (2023) Available at: https://www.berlin.de/en/attractions-and-sights/3560455-3104052-tacheles.en.html (Accessed: 2 December 2023).

Thorpe, A. (2017) 'Rethinking Participation, Rethinking Planning.' Planning Theory & Practice, 18(4), pp. 566-582.

Trebing, S. (2020) 'Die klebrigen Fäden der Gentrifizierung.' Monopol, 10 September. Available at: https://www.monopol-magazin.de/tacheles-berlin-die-klebrigen-faeden-der-gentrifizierung?slide=0 (Accessed: 22 May 2024).

Vetter, M. (2021) 'Am Berliner Tacheles kosten Wohnungen bis zu 31.000 Euro/qm.' Immobilien Zeitung, 25 March.

Visit Berlin (2023) Berlin hosts the world. Available at: https://about.visitberlin.de/en/current-figures (Accessed: 24 October 2023).

Zeidler, M. (2017) '"Displacement is not beautiful": Critics slam Westbank's Fight for Beauty exhibition.' CBC, 22 October. Available at: https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/displacement-is-not-beautiful-critics-slam-westbank-s-fight-for-beauty-exhibition-1.4366125 (Accessed: 16 February 2024).

Yin, R. K. (2014) Case Study Research: Design and Methods. 5th edn. Sage Publications.

Zukin, S. (1989) Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, pp. 193–210.

10. Appendix

<u>Interview guides</u>

Prior to each interview, the subject of the study was elucidated and the participant was afforded the opportunity to examine the content form. Furthermore, the participant could pose questions at any time.The interview commenced when the interviewee was prepared.

Realtor:

Questions about artwashing and retaining the Tacheles name:

- What impact will retaining the name "Tacheles" have on the property value and marketing of the project?
- Do you think that the historical significance of the name "Tacheles" attracts or deters buyers?
- How important is it for the project to emphasise cultural and historical aspects in its marketing?

Questions about the sales price and target group:

- Is the square metre price of 17,000 euros justified for this location in Berlin? What are the main arguments in favour?
- Which target group buys property at this price?
- Could you describe typical buyer profiles for this type of luxury property?

Questions about the renting/buying situation:

- What are the main reasons why many flats and offices are still unlet after two years?
- What measures are being taken to increase the letting and sales rate?

Questions on rebranding and market positioning:

- How has the rebranding from "Urban Living Quality" to "Design as Capital Investment" affected the project?
- Do you think the current branding is effective? Why or why not?
- What role does branding play in the decision of potential buyers or tenants?
- Do you think another name change could be helpful in distancing the project from artwashing?

Questions on market trends and future prospects:

- In your opinion, how does the Tacheles project fit in with the current trends in Berlin's city centre development?
- How do you see the future development of the property market in Berlin, especially for luxury properties?
- Are there comparable projects in Berlin or other cities that could serve as a model or warning for the Tacheles project?

General questions about the project:

- In your opinion, what are the biggest challenges that the Tacheles project is currently facing?
- What positive aspects and successes can you emphasise for the project so far?
- What long-term visions do you imagine for the Tacheles project and the surrounding neighbourhood?

Researcher:
Research Background:

- Can you tell me about your academic background and your research focus on displacement and gentrification?
- What are some key projects or studies you have conducted that are relevant to urban redevelopment, gentrification and displacement?

Indicators and Metrics:

- What indicators do you use to measure displacement and gentrification in urban redevelopment projects?
- How have these indicators integrated into the context of the other urban redevelopment?

Impact:

- Based on your research, what are the most significant impacts of (high-end) redevelopments on the local community?
- Have you ever observed any demographic shifts or patterns of displacement in the area?
- How did you/or would you anticipate the impact on the local community in terms of displacement and gentrification?

Economic and Social Changes:

- What social changes have you observed and how have they affected community cohesion?
- Have there been any notable efforts by residents or local organizations to resist or adapt to these changes? (activism & resitance)

Cultural Consequences:

- What impact had the redevelopment had on the cultural and artistic landscape of the area?
- How do you think the loss or transformation of cultural spaces like Tacheles, Ghent's harbour affects the broader urban culture?

Policy and Mitigation:

- What role do urban policies and planning regulations play in either accelerating or mitigating displacement and gentrification in such projects?
- Are there specific policies or strategies you believe could have mitigated the negative impacts of redevelopments?

Comparative Insights:

- How does the redevelopment of Ghent's harbour compare to other similar projects you have studied in terms of its impact on displacement and gentrification?
- Are there any best practices or lessons from other cities that you know of?

Long-Term Consequences:

- What long-term consequences do you foresee for the area surrounding Ghent's harbour as a result of its redevelopment?
- How do you think these changes will shape the future of urban development in Ghent and similarly in Berlin?

Ethical Considerations:

-   What ethical considerations should be taken into account when undertaking urban redevelopment projects?
-   How can developers and policymakers address the ethical implications of displacement and gentrification?

Future Recommendations:

-   Based on your research, what recommendations would you make for future urban redevelopment projects to balance development and social equity?
-   Is there anything else you would like to mention?

<u>Consent form</u>

I have received details regarding the research objective and engaged in a conversation regarding the methodology of the interview with Helena von der Ohe, who is conducting research as part of my Master's Thesis in Environmental and Infrastructure Planning at the Faculty of Spatial Sciences, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.

<p align="center">Research purpose</p>

I acknowledge that the forthcoming interview will encompass inquiries regarding my viewpoints and outlook on the city quarter development of the Arthouse Tacheles. The interview will be transcribed and documented in digital format. It is important to note that the interview outcomes are exclusively intended for academic purposes, and will be employed in a thesis, confined to an educational milieu.

By signing below, I, _____, am indicating that I:

-   Understand the purpose of the research
-   Have been given the time to ask questions about the research
-   Understand that the results of the interview will not be distributed and, only be used for educational purposes
-   Understand that my participation in this interview is voluntary and refusal to participate in this interview can be done at any time

Signature of the participant: Date: