

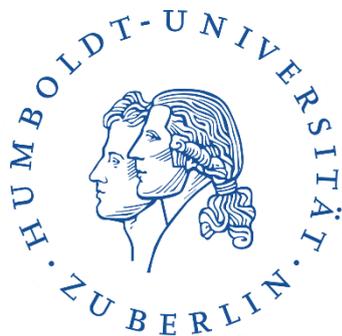
CONSERVATION THROUGH ADAPTIVE REUSE IN OBERSCHÖNEWEIDE, BERLIN

Final version of the Bachelor thesis

Supervisors:
Paul van Steen
University of Groningen

Robert Kitzmann
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Bachelorproject, Spatial Planning and Design
University of Groningen, Faculty of Spatial Sciences



**university of
 groningen**

faculty of spatial sciences

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Rob Nijholt
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Abstract

The aim of this research is to analyse Oberschöneweide and how the apparently conflicting desire to conserve heritage on the one hand, and the urge to reuse the industrial site on the other, has been solved by the heritage management of this site in particular and urban planning in general. To achieve this, the following question is answered: How have the tensions between adaptive reuse of the industrial site of Oberschöneweide in Berlin and the heritage conservation of this site been managed? To answer this question, qualitative research based on semi-structured interviews has been conducted with stakeholders of the negotiation process concerning the conservation and adaptive reuse in Oberschöneweide. This resulted in a comparison between the heritage management and an identification of causes and outcomes of the tensions between conservation and adaptive reuse in Oberschöneweide. The comparison shows that the basic guidelines for conservation have been adapted by the heritage management in Oberschöneweide, but new concepts have yet to be applied. Secondly, the tensions between conservation and adaptive reuse are caused by a number of opposing objectives based on underlying values. These have resulted in compromises being made by bridging values and clashes when this was impossible. This has led to the successful conservation and adaptive reuse of industrial heritage sites, but also the failure to conserve and reuse other parts of the industrial zone in Oberschöneweide.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Tensions in adaptive reuse of industrial heritage

Since the 1960s, the developed world has faced a period of de-industrialization. This has resulted in deterioration and demolition of former industrial sites on an international scale (Landorf, 2011). However, in the last decades there has been a growing consensus that these industrial sites are part of our cultural heritage and should be preserved (Bullen & Love, 2010). This has led to a debate concerning the question: How many alterations are permitted in order to accommodate new utilities and their sustainability while preserving heritage values? (Oevermann & Mieg, 2015).

According to UNESCO (2017), conservation and preservation of cultural heritage are a significant contribution to sustainable development. Herein, sustainable development implies the conservation and the use of spaces by the public (Oevermann et al., 2016). However, tensions arise between sustainable use of cultural heritage and the conservation of historical values (UNESCO, 2017). One of the drivers of this conflict is the desire of property owners and developers to make their buildings profitable (Bullen & Love, 2010).

One of the processes that deals with tensions is adaptive reuse: a redevelopment process that not only changes the function of the building, but also applies alterations to the building to embrace this new function. Herein, the goal is to add a contemporary layer that improves the financial and environmental performance whilst respecting and retaining the historical values (Bylemans & Vallet, 2017; Bullen & Love, 2010). The process of adaptive reuse tries to conserve the best and most useful features of a building in order to accommodate sustainable use (Bullen & Love, 2010). For this reason, adaptive reuse is seen as development rather than a method for conservation.

Berlin is a metropolis in which many of the industrial enterprises have fallen into decay, after the reunification in 1989. Many of these buildings have either been demolished or listed as heritage. The industrial area of Oberschöneweide is a perfect example of an industrial heritage site which is listed as such. It is located in the South-East of Berlin, in the borough of Treptow-Köpenick (Industriesalon, 2018). Furthermore, it is now subjected to redevelopment programs where many if not most of the debates mentioned above can be observed.

1.2 Research problem

1.2.1 Research Goal

The aim of this research is to analyse, Oberschöneide and how the apparently conflicting desire to conserve heritage on the one hand and the urge to reuse the industrial site on the other, has been solved by the heritage management of this site in particular and urban planning in general. The research also aims to make recommendations on how stakeholders can deal with these conflicting goals in the process of adaptive reuse.

1.2.2 Research questions

How have the tensions between adaptive reuse of the industrial site of Oberschöneide in Berlin and the heritage conservation of this site been managed?

1. How have, according to the literature, industrial heritage sites been conserved through the adaptive reuse?
2. What were the causes of the tensions between the conservation of the industrial heritage site of Oberschöneide and the adaptive reuse of this site?
3. What were the outcomes of the negotiation between stakeholders of the industrial heritage site in Oberschöneide concerning the tensions between the conservation and the adaptive reuse of this site?

1.2.3 Structure of the thesis

First, the academic literature, used for the analysis of Oberschöneide, is laid out in chapter 2. Second, the spatial and historical context is stated in chapter 3. In chapter 4 the methodology of the research is discussed. This is succeeded by the results of the research, in chapter 5 and 6 that follows from the analysis of the collected data, based on the research questions. Finally, chapter 7 summarizes the results and reflects on the research.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Heritage conservation

In a European context, the base for conservation and restoration of historical monuments and sites is laid in two documents: the charter of Venice (ICOMOS, 1964) and the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 1972) (Oevermann & Mieg, 2015). These documents focus on the preservation of tangible heritage consisting of physical forms of heritage such as buildings, artefacts, instruments and infrastructure (Cizler, 2014; Oevermann et al., 2016; UNESCO, 2003). This was also the beginning of the implementation of legislation and policies on historic preservation in Berlin, resulting in the listing of industrial sites as heritage.

Nowadays, the importance of heritage has shifted towards the intangible part of heritage, within the field of critical heritage studies (Oevermann et al., 2016; UNESCO, 2003). This intangible heritage consists of practises, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills that are perceived as cultural heritage by communities, groups and sometimes even individuals. These can be passed on through generations and change overtime due to differences within their environment (Oevermann et al., 2016; UNESCO, 2003; Martinović & Ifko, 2018). Herein, government institutions have the responsibility to ensure the protection of both kinds of heritage through legislations, policies and strategies (UNESCO, 2017).

2.2 Financial aspects

One of the strategies used for conservation, is adaptive reuse. Also, seen as a preferred option to revitalize the economic condition of an area through increased property value (Aigwi et al., 2018). This is partly due to the recognition that there is a profit to be made by reusing the existing buildings instead of demolition. The costs of reuse are often lower, because transportation costs are lower, and it takes less time to convert a building than to demolish and rebuild it. This only applies when structural reconstruction is not needed (Bullen & Love, 2010). However, in practise, building owners and property developers are hesitant to apply the adaptive reuse strategy due to perceived problems concerning; health and safety, increased maintenance costs, building design inefficiencies, uncertainty and commercial risks (Bullen & Love, 2010).

2.3 Bridging values

According to Oevermann & Mieg (2015), tensions between conservation and development are caused by opposing objectives based on underlying values. These tensions are being discussed in a negotiation process, that concerns the interaction between stakeholders associated with adaptive reuse.

Conservation is led by government authorities who apply strategies and preservation laws to conserve heritage. The objective for conservation is to protect and preserve industrial heritage, driven by the core values of authenticity and integrity. The first being a requirement for heritage to be genuine. The second relates to the wholeness and impaired condition of tangible heritage. Any alteration to tangible heritage has impact on the core values of conservation. Hence, the arguments made in the negotiation process are based upon these values (Oevermann & Mieg, 2015).

The same applies to values that are relevant for economic development. This is led by property owners and developers who apply adaptive reuse to industrial heritage. Their objective is to create a wealthy and liveable city. Herein, the core values are economic and environmental values. The first relates to the economic opportunities that lead to profit by reusing the building, for instance by renting it. The second concerns all environmental aspects needed for sustainable use, such as, health and safety (Oevermann & Mieg, 2015).

The outcomes of the negotiation process can either be a compromise or a clash between conflicting objectives. In a compromise, trade-offs are made by bridging common values, such as, accessibility, character, image and reuse. A clash occurs when the conflict cannot be solved through a compromise. In other words, when values cannot be bridged. Consequently, one of the conflicting objectives will not be reached and the underlying values of this objective are violated (Oevermann & Mieg, 2015). The negotiation process, concerning the adaptive reuse in Oberschöneweide, will be analysed through the values of conservation and development. This will help to understand how objectives are set, for the case of Oberschöneweide, and how tensions are caused between objectives.

2.4 Public participation

According to UNESCO (2017), government authorities should encourage active participation of the public and the stakeholders involved with the property as necessary conditions to its sustainable protection, conservation and management. In the case of Oberschöneweide, the public participation process has already been researched by Oevermann et al. (2016). They researched the participation practised in the heritage management by using interviews with stakeholders involved in the adaptive reuse process. A number of problems concerning participation in the redevelopment program of Oberschöneweide were identified. First, there were problems with the communication between citizens and local authorities, due to a lack of human resources. Second, property owners did not want to give in to the desires of the citizens or the local authorities, because they pursued their own interests. Third, some citizens were reluctant to participate in the reuse process for numerous reasons. For adequate public participation in the heritage management, greater innovation is needed. Therefore, it is recommended to extend the cooperation between local authorities and citizens towards a process wherein both parties play an equal role (Oevermann et al., 2016).

Although the research by Oevermann et al. (2016) of Oberschöneweide was focussed on citizen participation, statements were made about the negotiation process concerning the reuse and conservation of the industrial heritage zone. First, local authorities state the reuse of industrial buildings was limited by conservation and planning laws. Herein, the conservation laws prohibit industrial heritage to be converted and the planning laws oblige the implementation of health and safety regulations. Second, the needs for the community were focused on the improvement of the public accessibility and utilization of the area. Consequently, an investment was made in the development of public areas. These statements suggest that adaptive reuse is impossible, but the fact that numerous buildings have been reused

in the area of Oberschöneweide, suggest that compromises have been made between conservation and adaptive reuse. However, as far as the author is aware, this has yet to be researched.

2.5 Conceptual model

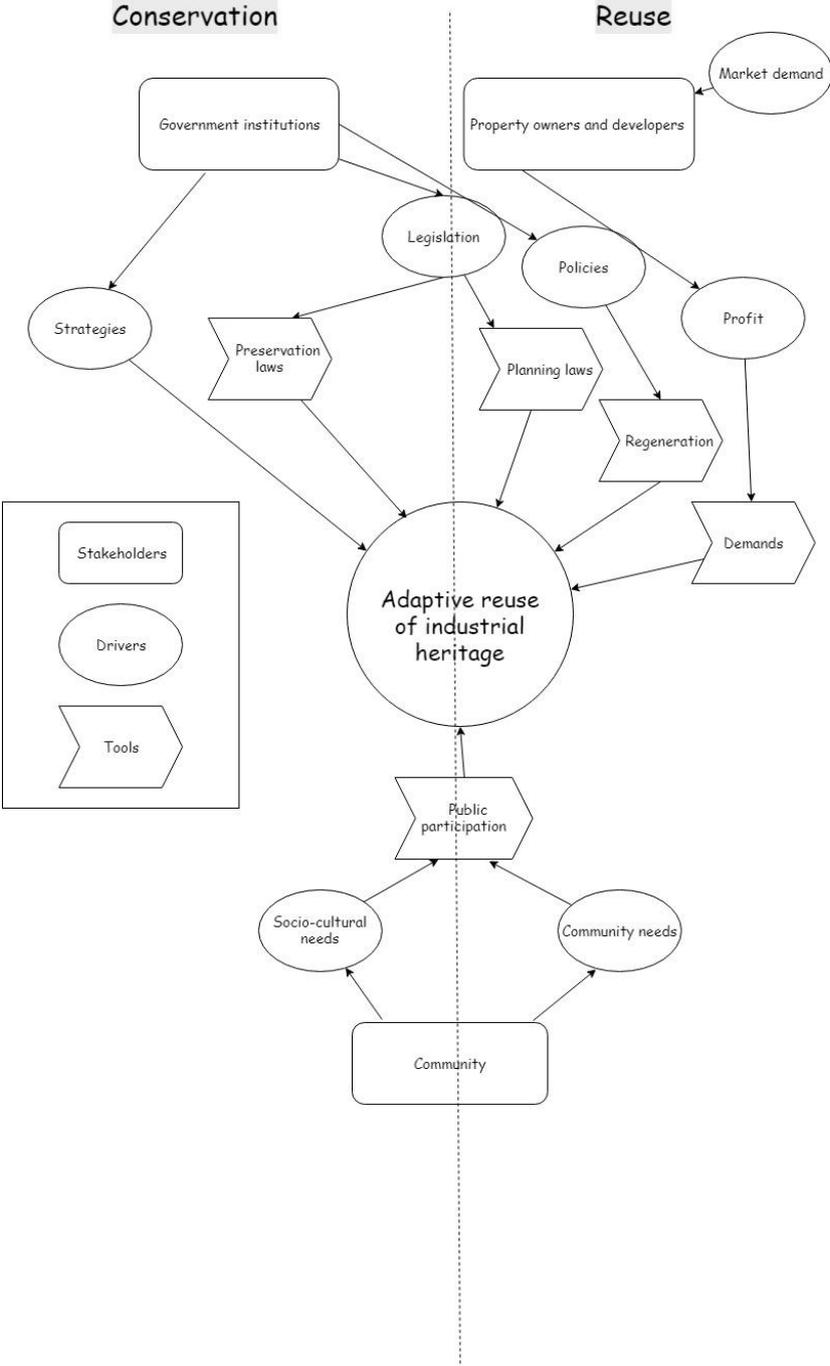


Figure 1. – Conceptual model.

2.6 Hypotheses

1. The negotiation processes have resulted in compromises between the conservation and reuse of the industrial heritage site in Oberschöneweide. Herein, the reuse of the site was of greater importance resulting in more compromises being made in the conservation of the industrial heritage of this site. This hypothesis is first-based on the fact that there was a focus on accessibility and utilization of the area rather than conservation of industrial heritage. Second, the objective of the redevelopment program in Oberschöneweide is to stimulate economic growth (Oevermann et al., 2016). Third, observations conclude that there have been modern alterations to a number of buildings in order to reuse them.
2. These compromises were not only related to conservation and planning laws but also to desires of the community and property owners and developers. These desires were expressed in negotiations between the community and the borough of Treptow-Köpenick, resulting in a funding plan for the industrial zone. Herein, it was decided to invest in public areas rather than the reuse of buildings. On the part of property owners and developers, they are said to have prioritized their own interests, as opposed to stimulate conservation (Oevermann et al., 2016).

3. The case study of Oberschönevide: background

The industrial zone, located in Oberschönevide (See Figure 2.), is shaped by the rapidly changing political climate of Germany, in the last century. The area started to develop in the beginning of the 20th century with the settlement of the general electric company, AEG. This made Schönevide the centre for electrical industry in Berlin. The company expanded along the river Spree and was joined by other electrical production companies up until 1929, when the economic crisis effected the industry. This was followed by the second world war, causing a shift towards arms production. By the end of the war, the AEG in Schönevide was at an end and in 1948 the area was seized by the USSR (Industriesalon, 2018).

This meant that all companies in Oberschönevide were now Soviet shared companies. In 1949 the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was established and the companies became 'Property of the people'. At this time, about 25.000 people worked in the area. However, this changed abruptly when the wall fell in 1989, ending the state-directed economy. The industrial sites in East-Germany were now subjected to the process of privatization, led by the Truehand. This was a trust set up to determine which enterprises had potential for the future and which were to be liquidated. As a result, most of the industrial sites were sold to private investors, followed by a decline in workplaces, causing a deterioration of the area (Interview Industriesalon).

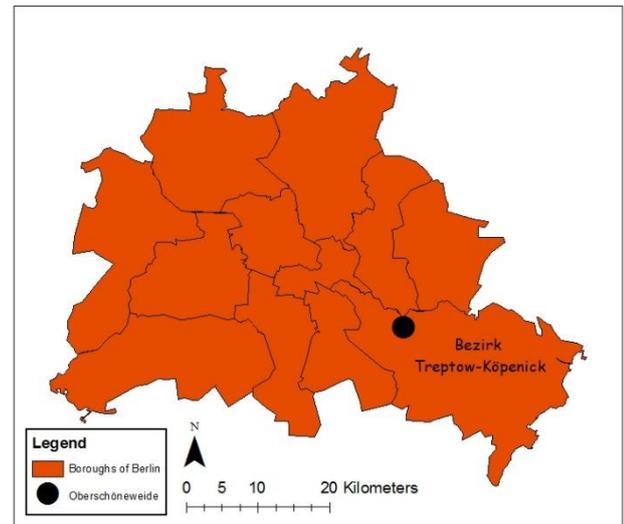


Figure 2. Boroughs (Bezirken) in Berlin

In 1995 the industrial area in Oberschönevide became listed as 'the industrial zone' which marks the conservation area that is of historic significance (Oevermann et al., 2016). This resulted in a large investment (over 97 million euro's) in the area, up until 2010. The investment aimed to revitalize the area by improving the physical and social infrastructure (Stattbau, 2012). However, the main goal of increasing the industrial production was only partly achieved and, therefore, another strategy was needed (Industriesalon, 2018).

The current strategy is to promote a higher form of education in order to attract commercial businesses. To accomplish this, another investment was made in 2009 when the University of Applied Sciences (HTW) settled in the industrial zone. This is seen as the main impulse to secure sustainable development of the area (Industriesalon, 2018). Although the development of Oberschönevide has started, there are still a lot of plots not being reused since the de-industrialization (Interview Regional-management).

4 Organization of the fieldwork

4.1 Method of data collection

The research questions are focussed on the causes of tensions and outcomes of the negotiation process in the case study of Oberschöneweide. To answer these questions an intensive research design is applied, while the case study presents a small sample, asking for a great amount of detail. Moreover, a qualitative method is chosen as opposed to a quantitative method. This decision is made because the underlying values for the reasoning of stakeholders, that participated in the negotiation process, are being explored. This cannot be done through quantitative methods that are used for observation and collection of information about the characteristics, behaviours and attitudes. Additionally, it focusses on numbers in order to make generalizations of a larger population (Clifford et al., 2010; McLafferty, 2010).

The qualitative method used includes a series of semi-structured interviews. This method is chosen because semi-structured interviews give the interviewees the opportunity to express the issues they think are of importance (Longhurst, 2010). It is necessary to give the stakeholders this opportunity while the problems and outcomes of the negotiation process were yet to be determined. At first, a focus-group interview was considered, enabling the stakeholders to have an active discussion. But, because tensions were discussed, the interaction might have affected the answers given by the interviewees. Also, it was expected that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to bring together all the stakeholders at one specific time. The individual semi-structured interviews, however, enables the stakeholders to tell their side of the story without affecting each other. A second considered method was a walk-along interview conducted in the industrial zone. This method was not used due to time constraints of the interviewees and the fact that most of the areas were inaccessible private properties.

4.2 Data collection

Previous to the interviews, the researcher identified and contacted different stakeholders involved in the adaptive reuse process. These include relevant government officials, industrial heritage experts, architects and representatives from community-based-organizations. Some of these were already identified in an earlier research by Oevermann et al. (2016).

The main goal for the data collection was to interview the stakeholders that participated in the negotiation process (See Ch. 2). Even though a great deal of effort has been made to contact respondents, some were reluctant to respond. Therefore, other organizations have been contacted that were identified through the first interviews. Some interviewees gave secondary accounts that led to data that was hard to verify.

The semi-structured interviews include:

1. A representative of a community-based-organization and museum, the Industriesalon: 28-12-2018.

2. A representative of the Heritage protection Office (Denkmalschutzsamt) for the borough of Treptow-Köpenick: 21-01-2019.
3. A representative of the Berlin centre for industrial culture (Berliner Zentrum für Industriekultur): 29-01-2019.
4. A representative of the Regional-Management Südost: 01-02-2019.

For each interview a set of Interview guides were made, containing predetermined questions based on the literature (See appendix 1). These include shared topics, being goals, tensions, outcomes and problems. The goals were relevant because conflicting objectives from different stakeholders can lead to tensions according to Oevermann & Mieg (2015). Second, it was important to find out which objectives had actually collided and what the outcomes of these collisions were. However, according to Oevermann et al. (2016), not all conservation problems are related to conflicting objectives. Thus, other conservation problems had to be identified. Finally, it is stated by Bullen & Love (2010) that there are also problems faced by developers, not relating to conservation.

4.3 Data analysis

The qualitative data collected from the interviews was analysed in the following order. First, recordings were transcribed. Secondly, the content was coded, by hand, based on the research questions. This was done according to the summative approach to qualitative content analysis. Starting with the identification and quantification of certain words, relevant for the research. Additionally, other words that turned out to be of importance were added during the coding process (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Summaries of the interviews can be found in appendix 2. Finally, the interpretation of the qualitative data is based on the values presented by Oevermann & Mieg (2015) and other values identified by the researcher (See Table 2., Ch. 6).

4.4 Ethics

Before starting the interview, the researcher was briefed on the topic and prepared a schedule of questions. These questions were designed as functional, rather than emotional. Secondly, the interviewees were assured that the data collected will be held confidential and the interviewee would remain anonymous unless desired otherwise. Furthermore, the researcher stated that participants had the right to withdraw from the research at any time and without further explanation. The researcher attended the interview as an objective listener that payed a great amount of attention. Secondly, the researcher was aware of his personality as a researcher and the impact that it may have on the interviewee. Afterwards, the researcher will offer the interviewee a summary of the results of the research (Longhurst, 2010). Furthermore, the data was collected by recording the interview on a tablet that were then stored on a hard drive and deleted from the initial recording device to minimize the chance of data leakage.

5. Heritage management in theory and practice

In this chapter a comparison will be made between international guidelines derived from the theory and conservation practice. This is followed by a discussion of two current conservation topics in Oberschöneide.

5.1 International guidelines and conservation in Oberschöneide

As discussed in the theoretical framework (See Ch. 2), two guidelines form the foundation for heritage management in Europe. These include, the charter of Venice by ICOMOS (1964) and the World Heritage Convention by UNESCO (1972). Both documents originate from conventions that were held to provide international agreements or guidelines, on how to safeguard architectural heritage for future generations. Herein, it is advised that government authorities modify the guidelines to make them applicable for their own culture, traditions and legislation (ICOMOS, 1964; UNESCO, 1972). The most relevant guidelines from both documents are presented in table 1, that also shows how they are applied by the local borough.

Conservation aspects	Conservation according to the theory	Conservation in Oberschöneide
Domain	Industrial heritage should not comprehend one architectural entity, but rather the entire urban context in which it is located (ICOMOS, 1964).	The establishment of the industrial zone in 1995 protects not only the industrial heritage buildings, but also the open spaces, streets and stretches of water (Interview Industriesalon).
Restoration	Restoration should be preceded and followed by an historical study (ICOMOS, 1964).	When a property owner applies for a building permit, a historical study is conducted to find out if the proposed alterations comply with the preservation laws (Interview Denkmalschutz).
Materials	The replacement of building features should be compatible with the existing structure, but at the same time be detectable to not falsify the historic testimony of the past (ICOMOS, 1964).	Traditional materials are preferred for the restoration of the buildings, but sometimes modern equivalents have been used to increase sustainability (Interview BZI).
Maintenance	Monuments should be maintained on a regular basis (ICOMOS, 1964).	Maintenance of the industrial heritage buildings is the responsibility of the owner (Interview Denkmalschutz).
Historical objects	Moveable elements that are connected with the history of the building should only be removed from their original position to ensure their preservation (ICOMOS, 1964).	The assembly lines, that included all the tangible heritage except for the buildings themselves, have been sold by the Treuhand after the reunification (Interview Industriesalon).
Reuse	Reuse of an industrial heritage is desirable, while it promotes conservation. However, it should not alter the internal or external structure of the building. This limits the extend of alterations to the building (ICOMOS, 1964).	The reuse of industrial heritage is promoted, because it implies that the building will be maintained. However, building permits cannot be approved when they demand alterations that effect the structure of the building (Interview Denkmalschutz).
Legislation	Legislation at national and local levels should protect heritage from development and change that has a negative impact on the integrity and/or authenticity (UNESCO, 1972).	The preservation law obliges property owners to apply for a permit whenever an alteration to the building is desired. This permit will be denied if the alteration negatively impacts the integrity and/or authenticity of a building (Interview Denkmalschutz).

Table 1. Heritage management guidelines and their application in the case study of Oberschöneide.

From Table 1 it is shown that the majority of the guidelines have been adapted by the local government of Oberschöneweide. The aspects that have been practised according to the guidelines include domain, restoration, reuse and legislation. Nonetheless, there are aspects that have been dealt with differently. First, the sale of the assembly line by the Treuhand has resulted in a loss of tangible heritage. This is being compensated by the Industriesalon, that has retrieved parts of the production lines for the museum (Interview Industriesalon). Secondly, the choice of the local government to use traditional materials falsifies the historic evidence, because it is presented as original components of the building (ICOMOS, 1964). Instead, it improves the character of the building (Interview BZI). This shows that the adaption of conservation guidelines has been modified according to the local traditions. Thirdly, the fact that maintenance is the responsibility for the owner makes reuse desirable for conservationists.

5.2 Intangible heritage

A current topic in international literature is intangible heritage, of which the importance is increased over the last years (Oevermann et al., 2016; UNESCO, 2003). This concept consists of practises, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills that are perceived as cultural heritage by communities, groups and sometimes individuals. (Oevermann et al., 2016; UNESCO, 2003; Martinović & Ifko, 2018). Consequently, it is stated in the convention for the safeguarding of the intangible heritage, that nations must protect intangible heritage by identification of the heritage that can then be protected by adaption of conservation policies and promoted through education (UNESCO, 2003).

This has yet to be done for Oberschöneweide where conservation is primarily aimed at the preservation of tangible heritage due to lack of resources of the local borough. However, this is not the only problem caused by a lack of resources. The conservationists of the local borough are also unable to actively identify and register tangible heritage. For them, it is only possible to react on permit application that could lead to the formal heritage listing of buildings. This implies that the local borough is unable to identify intangible heritage as well, resulting in a loss of both kinds of heritage (Interview Denkmalschutz). The Industriesalon and the Berlin centre for industrial culture (BZI), on the other hand, have been able to identify tangible and intangible elements of industrial heritage. These include, the machines, products and techniques showcased in the museum of the Industriesalon and by the education program of the BZI, consisting of workshops, lectures and expositions (Interview BZI).

5.3 Public participation

Another current topic in heritage management is public participation. According to the most recent guidelines on heritage conservation, government authorities should encourage public participation, to ensure industrial heritage conservation. Secondly, public participation raises public awareness for heritage conservation through contact

with conservationists and leads to a shared responsibility for the maintenance of heritage (UNESCO, 2017).

As for public participation in Oberschöneweide, it is only included in the urban planning legislation and not in the preservation law. Consequently, it is not being used for conservation by the local borough (Interview Denkmalschutz). The public participation process that is permitted, according to the planning law, consists of a presentation of building plans on which the community can comment (Interview Industriesalon). However, as stated by a representative of the Industriesalon:

“The public participation process is a fake form of democracy. We can make comments, but these are not being used for anything” [‘They’ refers to the local borough] (Interview Industriesalon).

To deal with this issue, the Industriesalon organizes meetings wherein spatial planning and heritage management topics are being discussed with the community and the local borough. This has not yet led to positive results for the community, but it does enhance the communication between the two stakeholders (Interview Industriesalon).

6. Adaptive reuse, conservation and speculation in Oberschöneweide

In this chapter the stakeholders, objectives and core values that are related to the negotiation process will be discussed, succeeded by other identified values. Finally, it will be shown how stakeholders have dealt with the tensions in the negotiation process of which the outcomes will be presented.

6.1 Stakeholders, objectives and core values in conservation and development

The negotiation process wherein these tensions between conservation and development are being discussed includes the participation of three stakeholders, the *government authorities, property owners and developers* as well as *speculators*. Another stakeholder related to the negotiation process is the *community*.

First, conservation is led by *government authorities*, represented by the heritage sector of the borough Treptow-Köpenick. The objective of this government authority is to as much heritage as possible, with the structure of the building as the most important feature (Interview Denkmalschutz). This is driven by the core values of conservation, authenticity and integrity. The first being a requirement for heritage to be genuine. The second relates to the completeness and general condition of tangible heritage (Oevermann & Mieg, 2015).

As opposed to results obtained from the research by Oevermann & Mieg (2015), the findings show that there are two kinds of development in the area. The first, development through adaptive reuse, includes educational and industrial use. This kind of development is the same as the 'development' explained by Oevermann & Mieg (2015) and will be referred to as adaptive reuse from now on to make a clear distinction. The stakeholders in this case are *property owners and developers* and their objective is to make a profit by renting out their property to entrepreneurs, making the area liveable again (Interview Regional-management). The other kind of development, speculation, does not contribute to the liveability in the area. The objective of speculators is to make a profit by selling their capital when the market is favourable (Interview Industriesalon). The identified core value of development by speculation is the speculative value that is the appreciation of the land price or an increase this price.

Another stakeholder is *the community* that is represented by community-based-organizations (Oevermann et al., 2016). The community is not included in the analysis of tensions in Oberschöneweide as they are not involved in the heritage management of buildings and only have little influence in the urban development of the area (Oevermann et al., 2016; Interview Industriesalon). Furthermore, these organizations and individual members of the public can promote both conservation and adaptive reuse but have no role in the negotiation process (Interview Regional-management).

6.2 Conservation and development values

The objectives of stakeholders are sometimes based on other values than the core values. For conservation in Oberschöneweide these include character, accessibility and the reuse value. The first is related to the safeguarding or restoration of the

appearance of the building. The others are common values for adaptive reuse and conservation. Accessibility is of importance because it enables the public to observe the heritage. The reuse value is relevant as it provides maintenance and thereby preservation of heritage (Interview Denkmalschutz).

Additional values for adaptive reuse are accessibility and the reuse value. The first is relevant, because accessibility is demanded by entrepreneurs who rent the property. Secondly, the reuse value is related to the result of the adaptive reuse process and is relevant for adaptive reuse because it allows the owner to make use of the building and thereby earn profit (Interview Regional-management). Besides, the reuse value is of importance for adaptive reuse, as it lowers building and transportation costs (Bullen & Love, 2010).

As opposed to conservation and adaptive reuse, speculation does not have other values than the core value being the speculative value. This makes it impossible to bridge values. Noteworthy, speculators do not respect the conservation and adaptive reuse values because they are solely focussed on the land price.

Narratives	Conservation	Development	
		Adaptive reuse	Development by speculation
Core Values	Authenticity	Economic value	Speculative value
	Integrity	Environmental value	
Values	Reuse value	Reuse value	
	Character	Accessibility	

Table 2. Identified values in Oberschönevide, based on Oevermann & Mieg (2015).

6.3 Dealing with tensions between conservation and development in Oberschönevide

6.3.1. Clashes and compromises

In Oberschönevide there are three main land-uses identified: educational use by the, industrial use and land speculation (See figure 3). These have provided examples of tensions discussed in negotiation processes (See appendix 3 for an overview). Herein, opposing objectives of conservation, adaptive reuse and speculation have resulted in conflicts. These are based on underlying values that have collided (See Table 2.), resulting in *compromises* by bridging values and *clashes* caused by the impossibility to bridge values. The opposing values are respected in a compromise but violated in a clash (Oevermann & Mieg, 2015).

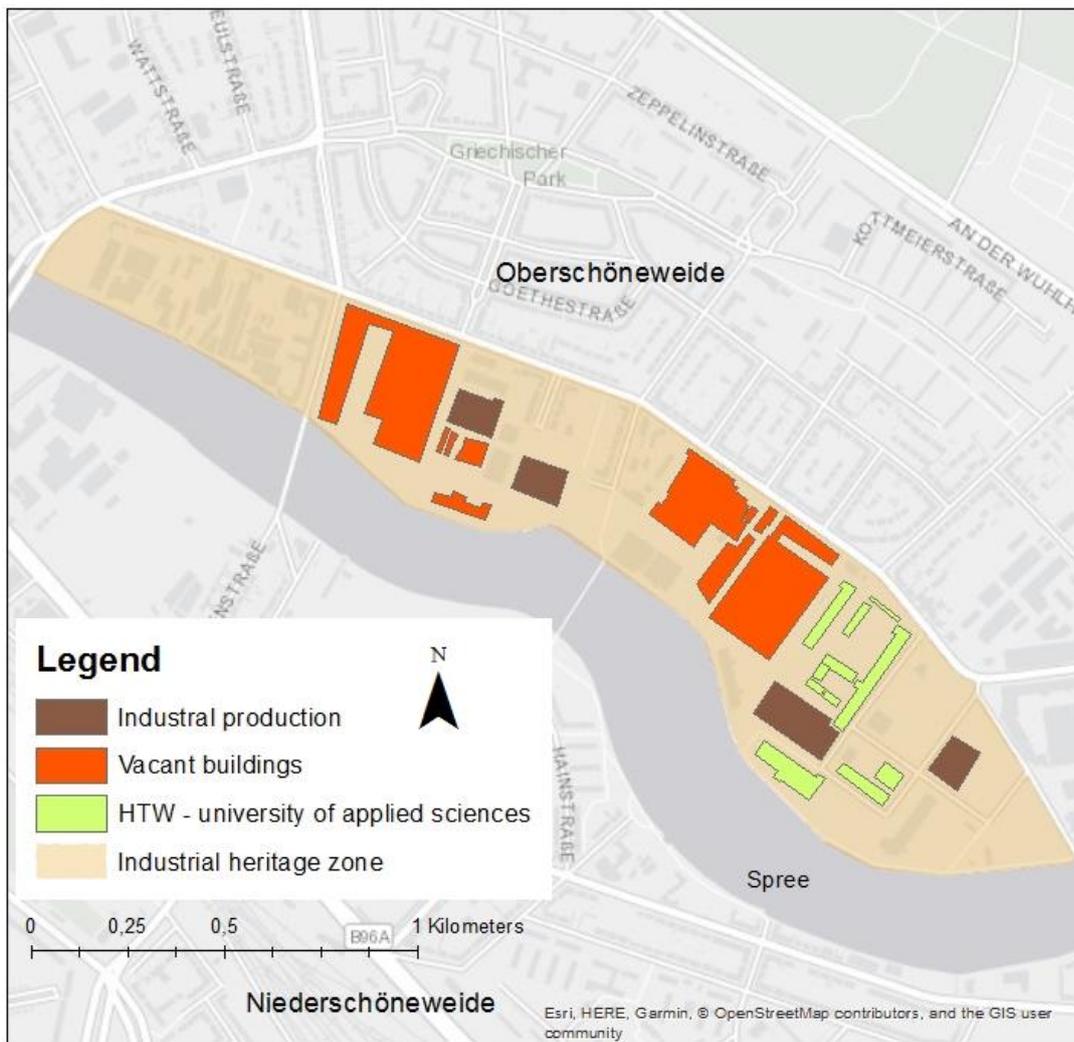


Figure 3. Land uses in Oberschöneeweide that are related to conservation and development.

6.3.2 Conservation, adaptive reuse and speculation

- Educational use

The University for Applied Sciences (HTW) reuses an industrial heritage site for education purposes. The large open floors and high ceilings provided by the former production halls fit the needs of the university well. However, there were problems that led to tensions and consequently a negotiation between the developers and the local borough.

1. The old windows of the buildings proved to be a problem for sustainable use of the building. According to the developers, they had to be changed because of the need for isolation and ventilation, driven by the environmental value (Interview BZI). The local borough encouraged the reuse of the building, but the windows could not be replaced as the conservation values, authenticity and integrity and character had to be respected (Interview Denkmalschutz).

The negotiation process ended up with the decision to add another layer of windows in front of the old ones (Interview BZI). This is a *compromise* could be established by the common reuse value.

2. Within the adaptive reuse process of the formal industrial site used by the HTW, the developers argued that one building was too expensive to renovate in such a way that it is also sustainable. Thus, driven by the economic and environmental value. This was opposed by the local borough that wanted to preserve the building, based on the conservation values of conservation, authenticity, integrity and the reuse value.

The outcome of the negotiation process was to demolish the building and replace it with a modern building, resulting in the violation of conservation values. (Interview Denkmalschutz). The reason for this *clash* was the inability to bridge values, while the reuse value was not recognised by the developers.

Apart from the demolition of the heritage building, the adaptive reuse process of the HTW is seen as a success by the developers, government authorities and the community (Interview BZI; Interview Industriesalon).

- Industrial use

According to the zoning plan (Flächennutzungsplan), the majority of the area can only be used for industrial production purposes and commercial use (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen, 2019). This has resulted in the settlement of numerous industrial production companies that adaptively reuse industrial heritage buildings, leading to tensions between conservation and adaptive reuse (Interview Industriesalon).

3. Some property owners and developers want to expand their building, but this requires alterations of the building structures (Interview Regional-management). Here, the desire to expand is based on the economic value and an increase in accessibility. This is contested by the local boroughs desire to not alter the structure of the building, based on authenticity and integrity.

As for the negotiation process, the decision was made to disapprove building plans that contained too many alterations (Interview Regional-management). In this case, the conservation objective *clashed* with the objective of the developers, violating the adaptive reuse values. Even though, the reuse value is shared by the opposing parties.

Consequently, companies have moved out from the industrial heritage building in order to resettle in greenfields. Since, greenfields present more options to expand the production line. This is also the reason why some entrepreneurs are reluctant to reuse industrial heritage buildings in the first place (Bullen & Love, 2010). Other reasons to not reuse industrial heritage buildings are, the high renovation costs, the inability to alter the floorspace and the reluctance to communicate with the heritage management of the local borough (Interview Regional-management).

- Speculation

Finally, the industrial zone contains industrial heritage buildings owned by speculators, who are not using their property as the previously described owners. This results in tensions between speculation and conservation.

4. Speculators have no interest in reusing their property, but only desire to profit from speculation, causing vacancy in the area (Interview Industriesalon). The absence of the reuse value and the focus on the speculation value by the speculators prevents maintenance from taking place (Interview Denkmalschutz). This conflicts with the desire of the local borough to conserve industrial heritage, driven by the underlying values of authenticity, integrity, reuse and character.

These tensions have resulted in *clashes* that prevent maintenance from taking place, resulting in the loss of tangible heritage that violates all conservation values. The local borough attempts to convince the speculators to maintain their buildings have failed and for the moment the negotiations are grounded (Interview Denkmalschutz).

The legal framework used by the local borough to cope with this problem is insufficient. The tool used for this kind of issues is the maintenance duty (erhaltungspflicht), that obliges the owner to maintain his property or he/she will be sued. However, this tool is rarely applied because it requires a lot of resources and time. Moreover, the building will continue to deteriorate during the lawsuit (Interview Denkmalschutz).

To deal with this issue, an alternative tool of 'ersatzvornahme' is applied. Herein, the government acts on behalf of the property owner by investing in a developer in order to maintain the building. This solution, however, requires large investments that can only be returned through a lawsuit. Consequently, 'ersatzvornahme' is unfrequently applied (Interview Denkmalschutz).

To conclude, it is shown that compromises made in Oberschöneweide were possible through the bridging the reuse value. These resulted in conservation and sustainable use of buildings through adaptive reuse. However, clashes made a negative impact on the adaptive reuse and conservation of industrial heritage.

7. Conclusion

7.1 The case study of Oberschöne weide

The literature presents two international guidelines for and two currently relevant topics for industrial heritage conservation (ICOMOS, 1964; UNESCO, 1972). These have been compared with Oberschöne weide in Berlin and it is concluded that guidelines have been well adopted by government authorities, but a part of the heritage is lost due to a difficult past. The current topics, public participation and intangible heritage, on the other hand have not been applied by the government authority for conservation in the area, due to a lack of resources and insufficient legislation to deal with the new topics. However, this has been done by the Industriesalon and Berliner Centre for industrial culture

Similar to the research by Oevermann & Mieg (2015), the tensions between conservation and adaptive reuse in Oberschöne weide are caused by opposing objectives of stakeholders based on underlying values. This has led to compromises by bridging values or clashes caused by the impossibility to bridge values.

Different to the research of Oevermann and Mieg (2015) is the presence of two kinds of development: adaptive reuse and speculation. Adaptive reuse is similar to the development described by Oevermann and Mieg (2015), but speculation is new. The opposing objective of speculators and the speculative value cause problems for conservation and adaptive reuse that cannot be solved by current legislation. Furthermore, a lack of common values with other stakeholders make it impossible to bridge values and make compromises.

As for the managed tensions between adaptive reuse and conservation, the results were both positive and negative. Compromises made in Oberschöne weide were possible through the bridging of the reuse value. These resulted in conservation and sustainable use of buildings. However, clashes made a negative impact on the redevelopment of the area and conservation of industrial heritage.

As for the hypotheses, the first states that more compromises have been made by conservationists in Oberschöne weide. This is neither proven or debunked because not every tension between conservation and adaptive reuse could be analysed. As for the examples derived from the data show that values from both the local borough and property owners and developers have been violated. The second hypothesis states that the desires of the community, property owners and developers were related to the compromises. This has partly been proven as property owners and developers, including speculators, were stakeholders in negotiation processes and thus involved in making compromises but the community was not because they did not participate in the negotiation process.

As a result of both an analysis of literature and the heritage management in Oberschöne weide, recommendations can be made. First, tangible and intangible heritage should actively be identified and registered instead of being identified through permit applications or not being identified at all. Second, new legislation should be adopted that allows the public to participate in conservation, as it can raise the public awareness concerning conservation and help with the identification of heritage.

To conclude, the results of the research are merely examples of the tensions between adaptive reuse and conservation of industrial heritage, they are not representative for the heritage management of Oberschöneweide as a whole. However, they can be used to describe how these tensions have been managed.

6.2 Reflection

The contact with stakeholders that participated in the negotiation process has been difficult. Due to retirement, the employees of organizations have been changed resulting in less data being collected. Secondly, other stakeholders involved in the negotiation process wished not to participate in the research.

A weakness of this research is that the perspective of the community was only analysed through secondary accounts from the interviewees. Further research on the community is needed to determine their point of view on the management and adaptive reuse of industrial heritage.

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Appendices – nog aan te vullen met samenvattingen interviews

Appendix I. - Interview guidelines

Interview guideline Industriesalon Schoneweide

Goals

These questions are being asked to find out what their needs and desires are for the area. These needs and desires may have led to the tensions between adaptive reuse of the industrial site of Oberschöneweide and the heritage conservation of this site. Therefore, they are important to answer the 2nd sub question of the research. The fourth question is asked to find out if the goals are made only made by the public or by private actors as well.

1. What were the conservation goals of the project and how were these goals achieved?
2. What were the goals for reuse of the site and how were these goals achieved?
3. Did the reuse goals and conservation goals collide with each other?
4. Who made these goals (e.g. the community, government authorities, private investors or other private actors)?

Conservation problems

This question is asked to find out if there were any problems with regards to conservation. These can be caused by the urge to reuse but can also be related to other topics.

5. What were the main problems faced within the reuse process, with regards to historic preservation and how were they solved?

Tensions

These questions are being asked to answer the 2nd sub question of the research. It should also help to zoom in on the tensions between the reuse of the site and the attempt to conserve the heritage.

6. Did the reuse goals and conservation goals collide with each other?

If an investor comes up the

Follow up questions:

6.1.1 If so, how far did they collide and how were the problems solved in practise?

6.1.2 How far did reuse play a role and how far did conservation play a role?

6.2.1 If not so, how was it managed in such a way that there weren't any problems?

6.2.2 How far did reuse play a role and how far did conservation play a role in the negotiation process?

Outcomes of the negotiation process

These questions are being asked to answer the 3rd sub question of the research. The answers will not only contain the outcome of the negotiation process but their opinion about the process as well.

7. How was the communication and negotiation with other stakeholders?
8. How far was the community able to achieve their goals in the negotiation process and how did the community change their goals during the process?
9. Is the community satisfied with the outcome of the negotiation process concerning the adaptation and the outcomes concerning conservation of heritage?
10. Would the community like to add something with regards to the reuse and conservation of the industrial site?

Interview guideline Heritage section of the borough of Treptow-Kopenick (Denkmalschutzbehörde Bezirksamt Treptow-Köpenick)

Goals

These questions are being asked to find out what their needs and desires are for the area. These needs and desires may have led to the tensions between adaptive reuse of the industrial site of Oberschöneweide in Berlin and the heritage conservation of this site. Therefore, they are important to answer the 2nd sub question of the research.

1. What were the most important planning goals of the project and how were these goals achieved?
2. What were the conservation goals of the project and how were these goals achieved?
3. What were the goals for reuse of the site and how were these goals achieved?

Conservation problems

This question is asked to find out if there were any problems with regards to conservation. These can be caused by the urge to reuse but can also be related to other topics.

4. What were the main problems you faced within the reuse process with regards to historic preservation and how were they solved?

Tensions

These questions are being asked to answer the 2nd sub question of the research. It should also help to zoom in on the tensions between the reuse of the site and the attempt to conserve the heritage.

5. Did the reuse goals and conservation goals collide with each other?

Follow up questions:

5.1.1 If so, in what way did they collide and how were the problems solved in practise?

5.1.2 In what way did reuse play a role and how far did conservation play a role?

5.2.1 If not so, how was it managed in such a way that there weren't any problems?

5.2.2 In what way did reuse play a role and how far did conservation play a role in the negotiation process?

Policies and regulations

This question is asked to find out if the planning and conservation policies and laws have led to tensions between the reuse and the conservation of the site.

6. What are the most important planning and conservation policies and laws for the area?

Outcomes of the negotiation process

These questions are being asked to answer the 3rd sub question of the research. The answers will not only contain the outcome of the negotiation process but their opinion about the process as well.

7. How was the communication and negotiation with the other stakeholders?

7.1 Follow up questions (if necessary): How did the heritage section respond to their desires for the area?

7.2 Did the heritage section change its original plans to meet their desires?

These questions can be asked to make sure every matter that was of importance in the negotiation process is covered.

8. Is the heritage section satisfied with the outcome of the negotiation process concerning the reuse of the site and the outcomes concerning conservation of heritage?

9. Would the heritage section like to add something with regards to the reuse and conservation of the industrial site?

Stakeholders

This question is being asked to make sure there are no important actors being excluded from the research. It is only asked to government authorities because they have the leading role in the redevelopment of the site.

10. Were there any other stakeholders involved in the negotiation process?

11.

Interview guideline Berlin centre for industrial culture (Berliner Zentrum Industriekultur).

Goals

These questions are being asked to find out what their needs and desires are for the area. These needs and desires may have led to the tensions between adaptive reuse of the industrial site of Oberschöneweide in Berlin and the heritage conservation of this site. Therefore, they are important to answer the 2nd sub question of the research.

1. What were the most important planning goals of the project and how were these goals achieved?
2. What were the conservation goals of the project and how were these goals achieved?
3. What were the goals for reuse of the site and how were these goals achieved?

Conservation problems

This question is asked to find out if there were any problems with regards to conservation. These can be caused by the urge to reuse but can also be related to other topics.

4. What were the main problems faced within the reuse process with regards to historic preservation and how were they solved?

Tensions

These questions are being asked to answer the 2nd sub question of the research. It should also help to zoom in on the tensions between the reuse of the site and the attempt to conserve the heritage.

5. Did the reuse goals and conservation goals collide with each other?

Follow up questions:

5.1.1 If so, in what way did they collide and how were the problems solved in practise?

5.1.2 In what way did reuse play a role and how far did conservation play a role?

5.2.1 If not so, how was it managed in such a way that there weren't any problems?

5.2.2 In what way did reuse play a role and how far did conservation play a role in the negotiation process?

Policies and regulations

This question is asked to find out if the planning and conservation policies and laws have led to tensions between the reuse and the conservation of the site.

6. What are the most important planning and conservation policies and laws that were relevant for the area?

Outcomes of the negotiation process

These questions are being asked to answer the 3rd sub question of the research. The answers will not only contain the outcome of the negotiation process but their opinion about the process as well.

7. How was the communication and negotiation with the other stakeholders?
8. Are you satisfied with the outcome of the negotiation process concerning the reuse of the site and the outcomes concerning conservation of heritage?
9. Would you add something with regards to the reuse and conservation of the industrial site?

Stakeholders

This question is being asked to make sure there are no important actors being excluded from the research. It is only asked to government authorities because they have the leading role in the redevelopment of the site.

10. Were there any other stakeholders involved in the negotiation process?

Interview guideline Regional-management Südost

Goals

These questions are being asked to find out what their needs and desires are for the area. These needs and desires may have led to the tensions between adaptive reuse of the industrial site of Oberschöneweide in Berlin and the heritage conservation of this site. Therefore, they are important to answer the 2nd sub question of the research.

1. What were the most important goals for the regional-management and how did you achieve those goals?
2. What were the conservation goals for the area and how did actors achieve those goals?
3. What were the goals for reuse of the site and how did actors achieve those goals?

Conservation problems

This question is asked to find out if there were any problems with regards to conservation. These can be caused by the urge to reuse but can also be related to other topics.

4. What were the main problems faced within the reuse process with regards to historic preservation and how were they solved?

Tensions

These questions are being asked to answer the 2nd sub question of the research. It should also help to zoom in on the tensions between the reuse of the site and the attempt to conserve the heritage.

5. Did the reuse goals and conservation goals collide with each other?

Follow up questions:

5.1.1 If so, in what way did they collide and how were the problems solved in practise?

5.1.2 In what way did reuse play a role and how far did conservation play a role?

5.2.1 If not so, how was it managed in such a way that there weren't any problems?

5.2.2 In what way did reuse play a role and how far did conservation play a role in the negotiation process?

Outcomes of the negotiation process

These questions are being asked to answer the 3rd sub question of the research. The answers will not only contain the outcome of the negotiation process but their opinion about the process as well.

6. How was the communication and negotiation with the other stakeholders?

6.1 Follow up questions (if necessary): What were the responses to conflicting desires for the area?

These questions can be asked to make sure every matter that was of importance in the negotiation process is covered.

7. Are you satisfied with the outcome of the negotiation process concerning the reuse of the site and the outcomes concerning conservation of heritage?

8. Would you add something with regards to the reuse and conservation of the industrial site?

Stakeholders

This question is being asked to make sure there are no important actors being excluded from the research. It is only asked to government authorities because they have the leading role in the redevelopment of the site.

9. Were there any other stakeholders involved in the negotiation process?

Appendix 2. – Interview summaries

Interview summary Industriesalon Schöneweide

The first interview held was with the representative of the Industriesalon. First, the history of the industrial zone was discussed. It became apparent that the difficult past had led to current problems in the area for both development and conservation. A great part of the heritage had already been lost before the area was marked as a heritage site. The problems that have been caused later on are related to speculators and developers that want to build residential areas. The last, however, is not possible as the zoning plan only permits industrial production and commercial use, including the HTW. As for public participation, the representative has a critical view on the process and the government authorities that apply public participation. To still do something for the community, the Industriesalon organizes meetings where people can express their feelings towards the development of the area. When asked about the collisions of objectives, the representative stated that there were no collisions, because the no one wants to invest money. This, however, turned out to be a false statement as the representative ended the interview stating that the speculators objectives have collided with objectives from other stakeholders.

Interview guideline Heritage section of the borough of Treptow-Kopenick (Denkmalschutzbehörde Bezirksamt Treptow-Köpenick)

The interview with the heritage section of the borough Treptow-Köpenick was, as expected, the best source for information about conservation. The most important objective, according to the representative, was to preserve as much heritage as possible. However, this was hard to accomplish due to a lack of power. This was caused by insufficient legislation and a lack of resources. Furthermore, it was told how heritage buildings are listed as heritage. Herein, a couple examples of tensions came forward.

Interview summary Berlin centre for industrial culture (Berliner Zentrum Industriekultur).

The interview with the representative of the Berlin centre for industrial culture led to new perspectives on topics that were already discussed in the previous interviews, including the heritage management and examples of tensions. The settlement of the HTW was a particular point of interest as the interview was held in one of the industrial heritage buildings on the site. However, the representative was not directly involved in the negotiation processes in Oberschöneweide, leading to only a small part of data being collected.

Interview summary Regional-management Südost

The interview with the Regional-management Südost gave a good insight in the negotiation processes. The Regional-management acts as a networking agent to set up contact between companies, government authorities and educational institutions. Their main task is to promote economic development measured in number of workplaces. As government authorities and the community want more companies to settle in Oberschöne weide and the enable the existing companies to expand. This is needed, according to the representative, because a lot of buildings are unoccupied at the moment due to private ownership. The goal is to convince the private owners to make use of the opportunities that their buildings contained as a commercial or industrial entities. It was also pointed out that there is a symbiose between the economic growth and the liveability of the area as the workplaces attract people to come and live in Oberschöne weide. However, due to perceived problems with the heritage section of the local borough, a lot of entrepreneurs have moved out of the area or are reluctant to settle in the first place.

Appendix 3. – Overview examples of tensions discussed in the negotiation processes

Ex.	Conflicts	Values	Outcomes
1	The old windows of the buildings proved to be a problem for sustainable use of the building. According to the developers, they had to be changed because of the need for isolation and ventilation, driven by the environmental and reuse value (Interview BZI). The local borough encouraged the reuse of the building, but the windows could not be replaced as the conservation values, authenticity and integrity and character had to be respected (Interview Denkmalschutz).	The environmental value collided with authenticity and integrity. The reuse value was bridging.	The negotiation process ended up with the decision to add another layer of windows in front of the old ones (Interview BZI). This is a compromise could be established by the common reuse value.
2	Within the adaptive reuse process of the formal industrial site used by the HTW, the developers argued that one building was too expensive to renovate in such a way that it is also sustainable (Interview BZI). Thus, driven by the economic and environmental value. This was opposed by the local borough that wanted to preserve the building, based on the conservation values of conservation, authenticity, integrity and the reuse value (Interview BZI).	The economic and environmental value collided with authenticity, integrity, character and reuse value. The reuse value was bridging.	The outcome of the negotiation process was to demolish the building and replace it with a modern building, resulting in the violation of conservation values. (Interview Denkmalschutz). The reason for this clash was the inability to bridge values, while the reuse value was not recognised by the developers.
3	Developers needed to comply with health and safety regulations, based on the environmental value. This resulted in alterations to the building, such as, the adding of fire protective features and emergency exits. On the other hand, the local borough wanted to prevent alterations that influence the authenticity, integrity and character of the building (Interview Regionalmanagement). A common objective was to reuse the building.	The environmental value collided with authenticity and integrity and reuse value.	In the negotiation process compromises have been made. These involved changes in the building plans where facades that were important for characteristics of the heritage building have been preserved (Interview Denkmalschutz).
4	Some property owners and developers want to expand their building, but this requires alterations of the building structures (Interview regionalmanagement). Here, the desire to expand is based on the economic value and an increase in accessibility. This is contested by the local boroughs desire to not alter the structure of the building, based on authenticity and integrity.	The accessibility and environmental value collided with authenticity and integrity.	In the negotiation process, the decision was made to disapprove building plans that contained to many alterations (Interview regionalmanagement). In this case, the conservative objective clashed with the objective of the developers, violating the adaptive reuse values. Even though, the reuse value is shared by the opposing parties.
5	Speculators have no interest in reusing their property, but only desire to profit from speculation, causing vacancy in the area (Interview Industrieland). The absence of the reuse value and the focus on the speculation value by the speculators prevents maintenance from taking place (Interview denkmalschutz). This conflicts with the desire of the local borough to conserve industrial heritage, driven by the underlying values of authenticity, integrity, reuse and character.	The speculative value collided with authenticity, integrity, reuse and character.	The tensions have resulted in clashes that prevent maintenance from taking place resulting in the loss of tangible heritage that violates all conservation values. The local borough attempts to convince the speculators to maintain their buildings have failed and for the moment the negotiations are grounded (Interview Denkmalschutz).