



# Resident experiences of encounters with tourists in Berlin-Kreuzberg

*A qualitative research on neighbourhood resident perspectives*

Hans Pul



### *Acknowledgements*

Thanks to Martin Dijst, for providing valuable insights, for the interesting conversations, for emphasising the importance of actual tourist-resident encounters and for persuading me to use photos as an interview tool.

Thanks, Cintia, for your love and mental support.

Thanks to my father and my mother, to Ben, Dennis, Fabian, Jan, Jule, Karin and all other people with whom I spend time in the research area.

Thanks to all respondents, for their time, for the remarkable interviews and for the insights these interviews provided. A special thanks to those respondents who helped me to find other respondents.

Thesis title: Resident experiences of encounters with tourists in Berlin-Kreuzberg: A qualitative research on neighbourhood resident perspectives

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Urban Geography  
Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Martin Dijst

Second reader: Dr. Bas Spierings

Student: Hans Pul

Student number: 0479756

Contact: hanspul@gmail.com

18-08-2011

© Hans Pul 2011

Utrecht University

All rights reserved. This work may not be reproduced, displayed, modified or distributed, in whole or in part, without written permission of the author.

# Table of Contents

Chapter 1 — Introduction.....	7
1.1 Research aim and research questions.....	8
1.2 Societal and scientific relevance.....	8
1.3 Case selection.....	9
1.4 Outline.....	10
Chapter 2 — Theory.....	11
2.1 Production of space.....	11
2.2 Neighbourhood space.....	13
2.3 Tourist space.....	14
2.4 Relation between neighbourhood and tourist space.....	17
2.5 Embodied encounters between residents and tourists.....	19
2.5.1 Encounters.....	19
2.5.2 Embodiment.....	20
2.6 The neighbourhood resident perspective on tourists and tourism.....	21
2.7 Conclusion: overlap of neighbourhood space and tourist space.....	22
2.7.1 Conceptual model.....	23
Chapter 3 — Methodology.....	25
3.1 Research strategy.....	25
3.2 Research design: case study design.....	25
3.3 Methodology .....	26
3.3.1 Research question one.....	26
3.3.2 Unstructured observations and informal conversations.....	26
3.3.3 Structured observations.....	27
3.3.4 Research question two.....	29
3.3.5 Semi-structured interviews with neighbourhood residents.....	30
3.4 Data analysis .....	34
Chapter 4 — Introducing the research area.....	37
Chapter 5 — Tourist-resident encounters.....	43
5.1 Watching and photography.....	43
5.1.1 Watching.....	43
5.1.2 Objects and places being photographed.....	44
5.1.3 Photography as an interactive practice.....	45
5.2 Knowledge centred practices.....	47
5.2.1 Directions and tips.....	47
5.2.2 Tours.....	48
5.3 Spatial practices and crowdedness.....	51
5.3.1 On the move.....	51
5.3.2 Crowdedness.....	56
5.4 Encounters in gastronomy and nightlife.....	59
5.4.1 Encounters in gastronomy.....	59
5.4.2 Nightlife encounters.....	61
5.5 Exchange of goods and services.....	63
5.5.1 Professional roles and encounters.....	63
5.5.2 Informal economies and encounters.....	65
5.6 Staying and hosting.....	66
5.6.1 Lodging practices.....	66
5.6.2 Encounters with visitors.....	68
5.6.3 Temporary residents.....	68
5.7 Encounters centred around other practices.....	69
5.7.1 Demonstrations.....	69
5.7.2 Events.....	70
5.8 Chapter conclusions.....	70

Chapter 6 — Resident experiences of encounters with tourists.....	75
6.1 Observing tourists.....	75
6.1.1 Tourist diversity.....	75
6.1.2 Recognising tourists.....	76
6.1.3 Observing tourists as a source of diversion.....	77
6.2 Experiencing the presence of tourists exploring the neighbourhood.....	79
6.2.1 The feeling of being watched.....	79
6.2.2 Photography and privacy .....	81
6.2.3 The educational aspect of tourism for tourists.....	84
6.2.4 The educational aspect of tourism for residents.....	88
6.3 Experiencing crowdedness.....	89
6.4 Tourists and atmosphere.....	94
6.4.1 Perceived impact of tourists on atmosphere in public space.....	94
6.4.2 Atmosphere in cafés and restaurants.....	97
6.4.3 Atmosphere in bars, clubs and at parties.....	99
6.5 The case of Nicole: the cumulative effect of encounters .....	102
6.6 Neighbourhood change.....	105
6.6.1 Perceived relation between tourism and neighbourhood change.....	105
6.6.2 Direct experience and neighbourhood change.....	107
6.7 Chapter conclusions.....	108
Chapter 7 — Conclusions and discussion.....	111
7.1 Research evaluation.....	111
7.2 Conclusions.....	112
7.3 Future research.....	118
7.4 Policy recommendations.....	119
List of references.....	121
Appendices.....	125



# Chapter 1 – Introduction

“To truly experience Berlin, you need to venture off the tourist grid.”

(Lonely Planet 2009: 68)

“Most places are now on some tourist trail or another, at least, not far from one. In addition, most of the things we like to do in our usual leisure time double up as touristic activities and are shared space.”

(Franklin 2003: 5)

“Ich habe das mal erlebt, dass jemand irgendwie einen Penner<sup>1</sup> einfach fotografiert hat. Der ist dann echt sauer geworden und hat irgendwie herum gemeckert. Die waren dann ganz erschrocken. Das sind halt immer so kurze Momente, wo die Leute plötzlich in der Realität ankommen und merken, dass es hier nicht nur Urlaub ist.” *Nicole*<sup>2</sup>

The majority of the Lonely Planet Berlin City Guide (2009) is dedicated to neighbourhoods outside historic Mitte. The guidebook suggests its readers to explore the residential neighbourhoods of the city. This reflects a tendency among tourists to experience the everyday environments of Berlin neighbourhoods. Tourists take part in activities such as visiting an ethnic market, tasting local food, photographing graffiti, shopping in a second-hand shop, and sitting on a terrace to experience the atmosphere. The tendency among tourists to visit everyday environments is also referred to in academics, as the quotation from Franklin (2003) shows. Moreover, this quotation refers to his observation that the border between tourism and everyday life is dissolving. The quotation of Nicole, one of the respondents interviewed in the context of this study, hints at the meaning tourism has for residents neighbourhoods. Also, she thematizes the tourist practice of photography in an everyday environment.

The starting point of this research is the observation of the following phenomenon: the visiting of residential neighbourhoods by tourists. This study assesses how tourism in residential neighbourhoods in large urban centres in Europe relates to practices, routines and experiences of residents in such neighbourhoods. The study concerns the variety of different actors that are involved in the production of tourist space in a neighbourhood and applies Lefebvre's Spatial Triad (Lefebvre 1991). To study tourism in an urban neighbourhood context, a case study on a neighbourhood in Berlin-Kreuzberg is applied. In the research area, the encounters that result from the sharing of space between residents and tourists are investigated. In this exploratory, qualitative research the diversity of these tourist-resident encounters is disclosed. It considers the conflicts and synergies that result from the practices and routines of tourists and residents. Moreover, in order to understand encounters, the contextual elements of encounters are taken into consideration, including objects, bodily attributes and practices. To assess the meaning of the presence of tourists for residents, in-depth interviews with neighbourhood residents are conducted. These interviews focus on how neighbourhood residents experience encounters with tourists and which meaning they attach to these encounters. The encounters are considered as embodied and direct experiences.

This study, in other words, assesses urban tourism as it actually unfolds in everyday situations in a city neighbourhood. It is concerned with the experiences and meanings of the presence of tourists in the everyday lives of neighbourhood residents. Foremost, the study aims to present the perspective of residents.

---

<sup>1</sup> Homeless person.

<sup>2</sup> Neighbourhood resident; respondent in this study. See section 3.3.5.

## **1.1 Research aim and research questions**

The aim of this study is to understand the meaning and experience of the presence of tourists in the everyday lives of neighbourhood residents. While some attention will go to the production of tourist space in neighbourhoods, the main emphasis is on the resident perspective on the presence of tourists in their neighbourhood. To achieve this, a detailed assessment of one case study will be employed. Of course, this understanding is hoped to provide conclusions on the meaning of tourism in neighbourhoods in large cities in general. The main research question is as follows:

*To what extent does the presence of tourists affect the meaning of a residential neighbourhood for residents?*

To be able to answer the main research question, two sub-questions are employed. The first sub-question aims to provide insight in places that constitute tourist space in the case study area. The focus is on tourist-resident encounters, and includes the role of physical attributes of the context and spatial-temporal characteristics. The second sub-question aims to understand the diversity of direct experiences with tourists and the meanings attached to them by neighbourhood residents. Again, the focus is on actual encounters. The sub-questions are:

1. *When, where and how do tourists and residents interact with each other and in what respect are these encounters related to the physical attributes of their shared situation?*
2. *What are the bodily experiences of residents with tourists and which meaning do they attach to these encounters?*

## **1.2 Societal and scientific relevance**

The study of urban tourism is of societal relevance for urban residents, policy makers and city marketeers. First, the economic impacts of urban tourism are immense. These impacts are increasing with the growth of urban tourism as an industry. The tourism industry offers many jobs, which are partly or completely, directly or indirectly, dependent on the expenditures of tourists. Also, tourism increases tax revenues and provokes and enables investments. For this reason, the knowledge of tourism is of interest for policy makers. The understanding of urban tourism and its different aspects may also inform place marketers on how to seduce tourists to (re)visit a city and its neighbourhoods. Offering a variety of places (neighbourhoods), experiences and images could provoke revisits. Second, and related to the previous point, urban development by public and private investors can be accounted for as a result of urban tourism. Urban development is not only beneficial for tourists, but also for local residents who live and work in these places. Of course, urban development as a result of tourism may also include negative impacts for residents, which makes the study of urban tourism in neighbourhoods of even more societal relevance. Third, the study of tourism in city neighbourhoods is of societal relevance, as the phenomenon affects other city functions, either in the form of conflicts or synergies. Again, this may affect the lives of residents of these neighbourhoods. In addition to consequences, direct experiences with tourists are an important aspect of tourism for neighbourhood residents. This includes aspects such as nuisance, crowdedness, changed atmosphere, but also experiences of anxiety and joy. At present, most studies are about the meaning of tourism for tourists and focus on their motivations, practices and experience. In contrast, this study will focus on the meaning of tourism *for residents*. Finally, the study is of special relevance as it contributes to a recently emerged discussion in Berlin-Kreuzberg about neighbourhood tourism. This societal discussion especially took off after a discussion night titled "*Hilfe, die Touris kommen!*" on February 28<sup>th</sup> 2011 (Der Spiegel 2011). The night was organised by a local committee of the political party *Die Grünen*. The theme was picked up by local, national and international media<sup>3</sup>. Aspects of neighbourhood tourism that dominate the local discussion include tourist practices, nightlife, increasing rents and gentrification. The issue is also discussed on internet forums, during a variety of discussion nights in the neighbourhood, and in many other neighbourhood places

<sup>3</sup> Neighbourhood tourism in Berlin-Kreuzberg is discussed in local media (Tagesspiegel (2011), Berliner Zeitung (2011) and many others), national media including Welt (2011), Die Zeit (2011), ARD Tagesthemen (2011), Der Spiegel (2011) and international media such as The Guardian (2011) and NRC Handelsblad (2011).

during everyday life.

There are several reasons why the study of urban tourism in neighbourhoods is of scientific relevance. First, there is a lack of understanding what role tourism has in the transition of cities from places of production to places of consumption (Judd & Fainstein 1999). This detailed case study will assess the processes that are involved in this transition. Pearce (1999) argues that most academic studies on urban tourism focus on cities or large city districts. He argues that an understanding of tourism on the street level, with the involvement of actual encounters, is crucial in our understanding of urban tourism in general. Therefore, actual tourist-resident encounters play an important role in this study. Second, there is a lack of understanding of the impacts of urban tourism on other city functions in residential neighbourhoods. Little is known about the relationships between tourism and other neighbourhood functions. It is unknown to what extent tourism provokes synergy or conflict between a variety of functions and meanings in residential neighbourhoods, especially in the perception of residents. Similarly, little research has been done on the impact of tourism for neighbourhood residents. Most studies have focussed on the experience of tourists. In contrast, little is known about how residents experience the presence of tourists in their everyday lives. Third, this empirical study will confront Franklin's (2003) statement that the boundary between tourism and everyday life is dissolving, with observations of actual tourist activity and actual neighbourhood life. The performances and interactions of locals and non-locals on touristic places will be described and explained. Finally, the scientific relevance of this study consists in part in the fact that it utilizes Lefebvre's spatial triad. In this way, the body of applied spatial research of the production of space will increase. According to Leary (2009: 195-197) Lefebvre's spatial triad needs more applied, in-depth studies on how the production of space is actually shaped in everyday environments. Also, Lefebvre himself argues that his theory is only of value if it can 'grasp the concrete' (Lefebvre 1991: 40).

In conclusion, little is known about neighbourhood tourism and its impacts on uses and meanings of places, both for residents and visitors. This study seeks to provide an in-depth insight in the phenomenon of neighbourhood tourism via a detailed case study. These insights can also provide policy makers and tourism marketers with useful information.

### **1.3 Case selection**

In this study, the area around Kottbusser Tor and the Oranienstraße in Kreuzberg is selected as a case study area. The case was selected to complement the societal and scientific relevance. First, Kreuzberg is a neighbourhood in Berlin, which is a city where the above mentioned aspects are of great importance. Tourism in Berlin is a fast-growing industry and doubled in the last seven years. In 2010, the city crossed the 20 million overnight stays per year mark (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg 2011). It is now the third most visited city in Europe, after Paris and London. Berlin is relatively highly dependent on jobs, tax revenues and investments that are related to tourism. This dependency is even greater in comparison to other large European cities, because of the relatively weak performance in other economic sectors. A second reason for my choice is the fact that Kreuzberg is an example of a residential neighbourhood that is able to attract a lot of tourists. Other Berlin neighbourhoods that are comparable in this respect are Friedrichshain and Prenzlauer Berg. I hold that Kreuzberg is an interesting neighbourhood to assess, because there are many different potentially conflicting interests, processes and images for the future development of the neighbourhood as a tourist destination. For example, Kreuzberg is often depicted as a multicultural neighbourhood with a strong *Kiezkultur*, a large and diverse young population, a political activist recent history, and as a fast-changing, gentrifying neighbourhood. Kreuzberg has a very diverse population, with poor and rich people, people of all ages and diverse ethnic background, as well as a large subcultural scene and artist community. All these aspects are part of the identity of the neighbourhood, and are also used in guidebooks and other tourism material. This variety makes Kreuzberg an area that is perfectly suitable for the study of urban tourism in neighbourhoods.

This study assesses neighbourhood tourism as a social and cultural phenomenon applying an in-depth case study. Kreuzberg as a whole has about 145.000 inhabitants and is therefore too large to analyse in an in-depth way, at least within the limitations of this master thesis.

Therefore a case study area within Kreuzberg was selected. The North-Western part of Kreuzberg, which is home to major tourist attractions like Checkpoint Charlie and the Jewish Museum, was excluded. On the basis of my own knowledge of Kreuzberg, obtained from own experience, conversations with residents, media coverage and information in guidebooks, three possible research areas were identified, namely the Bergmannstraße, the Oranienstraße and the Schlesische Straße. The Oranienstraße area was selected because it is the most diverse of the three, in terms of population, visitors and urban functions. The area is used by neighbourhood residents, as well as by tourists and Berlin residents from other neighbourhoods. There is a fair amount of tourists, but tourism is not as dominant as in central Berlin areas such as historic Mitte. The shops, restaurants and other amenities in the streets are used by a mix of people. This is important for this study, because this implies an abundance of potential resident-tourist encounters. On the other hand, the Oranienstraße area also has many typical neighbourhood functions, that on first sight are not that much of interest to tourists, such as a mosque, a neighbourhood social centre, a public library, copy-shops, supermarkets, playgrounds, as well as many residential buildings. In other words: the area is mostly residential, and most amenities are not predominantly aimed at tourists. A more detailed introduction to the research area and its characteristics can be found in chapter 4. A justification of the size of the case study area can be found in section 3.2.

## **1.4 Outline**

The theoretical framework of this study is based on Lefebvre's theory on the *Production of Space* (1991). This theory will be introduced in chapter 2. The theoretical framework will also consist of a review of the body of academic literature that deals with urban tourism and embodied experiences. Definitional issues of tourism and tourists will be dealt with in this chapter. The chapter concludes with the presentation of a conceptual model. Chapter 3 deals with research design and provides an overview of the applied research methods. In chapter 4, the research area will be introduced and placed in the context of tourism in Berlin and Kreuzberg. In chapters 5 and 6 the research questions will be considered. These questions will be addressed with insights attained from observations, informal conversations and interviews. In the last chapter, the main research question will be addressed and conclusions will be presented.

## Chapter 2 – Theory

### 2.1 Production of space

The theoretical framework in this study is based on Lefebvre's theory on the Production of Space (1991). In his work Lefebvre argues that places and spaces are socially constructed, rather than pre-given. This implies that places and spaces and their meanings are always contingent, and that they are subject to change. Lefebvre can therefore easily be placed in a constructivist tradition. According to Healey (2007: 204) Lefebvre "argues that 'space' is continually being produced by human processes of routine engagement, of intellectual conception and of cultural expression". Lefebvre labels these three aspects as spatial practice, representations of space and spaces of representation; together they form the so-called Spatial Triad. Lefebvre also refers to these aspects as respectively, perceived space, conceived space and lived space. These concepts are central to Lefebvre's theory on the Production of Space. Lefebvre's theory is most powerful when the three aspects of space are combined and analysed in relation to each other. However, the next section will first discuss the three aspects separately.

First, spatial practice consists of the material city, daily routines and underlying socio-economic processes (Healey 2007: 203-205). The material city is formed by fixed material objects such as buildings, roads, trees and traffic lights. The material city is also formed by material objects that are mobile, such as cars, buses, terraces, cameras, and many more. Human bodies can be considered as a special form of mobile material objects. Both fixed and mobile material objects are constitutive of the "networks which link up the places set aside for work, 'private' life and leisure" (Lefebvre 1991: 38). Additionally, spatial practice is formed through the practices and routines of people. Space is shaped through how people use material objects, rather than by the material presence of those objects alone. In that sense, people actively shape city space. Examples of such practices include daily routines in the form of routes and networks (Lefebvre 1991: 38). This includes the daily walks of residents to shops, to schools or to public transport infrastructures. It also includes the operation of buses on specific times and places, but also less formal routine practices such as the gathering of people at street corners at specific times. Another example of how city space and spatial practice are shaped involves the daily routines of local entrepreneurs. Their routines include practices like putting benches outside, inviting people in and applying opening and closing hours. Lefebvre's theorizes such routines in his work on 'rhythm analysis' (Lefebvre 2004). Not only the directly 'visible' social practices, but also underlying "socio-economic processes by which the material city is reproduced" (Leary 2009: 195) are part of spatial practice. In an inner city neighbourhood of a world city such underlying socio-economic processes include gentrification, changing supply and demand of services and amenities and rent price developments. In terms of tourism, spatial practice is shaped by factors such as the popularity of city trips in general, the accessibility of tourist destinations, the profitability of conversion of normal apartment to holiday apartments and tourism entrepreneur strategies. These factors are partly influenced by a wide range of underlying socio-economic processes (tourism marketing, development of tourism facilities, changing tourist preferences) in which a variety of actors is involved (marketing bureaus, tourism entrepreneurs, city planners). Thus, spatial practice on a local level is partly shaped by socio-economic processes of a more general stance. Clearly, the three above mentioned aspects of spatial practice are often closely related. Mobile material objects like benches are part of the material city, but their use also depends on the daily routines of entrepreneurs, which in turn are related to underlying socio-economic processes such as changing consumer preferences. This in turn influences the spatial practices of residents and tourists.

Second, representations of space are spatial concepts, or abstractions of space, that are applied for analytical, planning and administrative purposes (Healey 2007: 204). It is conceptualized space, intellectually conceived by scientists, planners, urbanists and technocratic subdividers (Lefebvre 1991: 38). The ideas, classifications and definitions of these actors are crystallized into plans, to meet specific objectives. Representation of space, in the form of development plans or zoning plans aim to rearrange space. Spatial concepts such as 'pedestrian zone', 'building plot' or 'touristic area' are examples of invented abstractions of

space, often accompanied with an implied set of rules. In practice, politicians and urban planners produce such rules which define what is allowed in specific places. An example could be traffic rules that define legitimate use of public space for different types of users. Lefebvre continuously emphasises that the processes by which these rules are defined, and the content of the rules, differ heavily depending on the type of society (Lefebvre 1991: 42-44). In the contemporary German context these rules may prescribe architectural requirements, allowed uses and functions in buildings, regulations on opening hours, regulations on the selling of alcohol, etcetera. Architects, entrepreneurs and real estate agents are bound in their actions to these rules and requirements, mostly set up by local or other governments. In practice these abstractions, these representations of space, do not only produce rules, they also actually produce spaces; spaces for cars and spaces for pedestrians, spaces that are appropriated for urban development and spaces that are not. As such, it steers spatial practice in that it defines what is allowed or appropriate use and behaviour in specific places, and under which conditions. It is clear that representations of space influence spatial practice, both in shaping material and social aspects of city space. Lefebvre (1991: 41) emphasizes that representations are not neutral concepts and holds that representations of space are a mixture of understanding and ideology and are therefore "always relative and in the process of change". Although representations of space may be abstract, they play an important part in social and political practice. Therefore, Lefebvre holds representations of space to be the dominant space in any society (Lefebvre 1991: 38-39). However, he also emphasises that although representations of space are a dominant force, they can be contested. Rules can be disobeyed or redefined by negotiation, as we will see in the discussion of spaces of representation.

Third, spaces of representation are "directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols", as "it overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects" (Lefebvre 1991: 39). Spaces of representation consist of spatial meanings that relate to cultural expressions of place qualities (Healey 2007: 204). Place qualities can refer to any characteristic of place, including history, events and objects. Lived space relates to individual histories, memory, events and the creation of individual meanings. Clearly, the meaning of places can differ from person to person. Places mean different things to different people and social groups. For some a café is a working place, for others a place to gaze upon the local scene and for other the place they met their boyfriend... As the latest example shows, meanings may depend on individual histories. It can also depend on the social group one is part of: for some it is a place to meet friends during the night, for some a place to avoid at certain times. People interpret space for their own plans and preferences. However, spatial meanings are not just individual. Where individual meanings overlap, they can form collective meanings. Such meanings are often constructed through shared ideas about the signification of social practices, shared histories and events. Spatial meanings of individuals or groups may be limited by interpretations of others: one could state that space is a negotiation process between actors. Sometimes this can lead to conflict, but the diversity of interpretations can also coexist through an extent of tolerance. Spaces of representation can signify social practice with meaning, often with reference to elements of history: "[The city as] a place that is socially interactive and historically situated, imagined by a range of actors" (Leary 2009: 196). Also, spaces of representations are not stable, they change over time. What once was viewed as a ruin of industry can be reinterpreted as cultural heritage (Leary 2009). Additionally, spaces of representation can conflict with each other as well. Leary emphasizes how different meanings of a place conflicted with each other and explains how different interests and representations of actors that were involved in the re-imagining and transformation process. City space is shared between users, and the appropriate uses and meanings associated with space are constantly reshaped and negotiated. This can be done through conversation, but also through social practices as a form of performance: "There is an element of *performance* involved, whereby specific practices attempt to construct and maintain a particular sense of place, and in so doing limit alternative interpretations" (Alan & Pryke 1994: 454, italics in original). The space of representation can form a counter-space, against the dominant representations of space (Lefebvre 1991: 381-382). Meanings and 'cultural imagery' involved in spaces of representation are sometimes adopted by urban planners (Healey 2007: 204). Using Lefebvre's spatial triad as theoretical basis, Leary (2009) presents the case of Liverpool Road Station in Manchester, an area destined to be destroyed, but eventually revalued as an urban space. Amenity societies were

successful in shifting the industrial heritage discourse into the local government thinking. Gradually the cultural heritage discourse became part of the representations of space (Leary 2009, 208).

Importantly, "these three elements interact in dialectical tension" (Leary 2009: 195). This means that the different elements that constitute the production of space relate to each other, often in conflict. The important question in the analysis of space, is how the three elements interact with each other and how space is actually produced. In the next sections, the spatial triad will be applied to understand the coexistence and overlap of neighbourhood space and tourist space.

## **2.2 Neighbourhood space**

For many residents, the neighbourhood is an important place for social interaction. Residents meet each other in schools, shops, social facilities, religious buildings or in public space. Although daily activity spaces have expanded as a result of increased mobility, for many people the neighbourhood is still an important place in which much of everyday social life takes place. Of course, the importance of the neighbourhood for people and the extent to which people have their social contacts in their neighbourhood differs enormously. For some the neighbourhood is the centre of their social life, while for others their homes are a place to sleep and the neighbourhood is a rather accidental context of their home. Neighbourhood space is partly produced by numerous activities of residents: it is shaped by patterns of daily shopping, buying groceries, buying flowers, going to neighbourhood cafés and bars. Neighbourhood space is shaped at sport facilities, by having a chat with the newspaper seller, by taking the dog for a walk in a park, or by participating in organized or spontaneous neighbourhood events such as a barbecue. It is shaped by an adjusted walking route to avoid the square 'where the alcoholics are'. All these practices are different for different residents, and depend on residents characteristics and individual histories. Of course, this is a very incomplete list of examples, but it shows that a variety of spatial practices and social interactions of everyday life shapes neighbourhood space.

A neighbourhood can be a place where people know a lot of others for a long time: people share a common history, have shared memories of events or see the children of the neighbours grow up. The practices and routines mentioned above constitute social networks that shape the neighbourhood as a social space. Often, these social networks have developed over the course of many years. The social aspects and the shared time that makes neighbourhoods a meaningful place for many residents. The social life that unfolds in neighbourhoods, and all other things residents relate to their neighbourhood, can create an emotional attachment to a place (Altman & Low 1992). Residents can establish a form of place attachment with specific areas where they feel safe, familiar and comfortable. This relates to spatial meanings of spaces of representation of the neighbourhood. To individuals and social groups, the neighbourhood can signify a sense of belonging, and even a sense of community and neighbourhood identity. Anderson (1983) argues such that such a sense of community is a mental construct rather than related to territory or actual social relations. In his discussion of the nation state he labels such a construct an 'imagined community'. The 'imagined community' concept has been much applied to neighbourhoods as well (Rose 1990). Similarly, the community is a space of representation "that encompasses the memory of a time and place, a fulfilling way of life and also a dream for the future" (Liggett 1995: 252-253). What constitutes the identity of a neighbourhood can be the subject of discussion among residents. It can involve ideas about practices, social life, history, demographics and norms and values. In other words, neighbourhood space is produced by local actors and it involves their discourses *and* practices. The sense of belonging mentioned before, can result in a feeling of ownership and control; the neighbourhood as "my place". This can motivate residents to protests against negative changes awaiting the neighbourhood, or other forms of action that seek to influence the future of their neighbourhood. This relates to the counter-space as a form of the space of representation (Lefebvre 1991: 381-382). Tucker (2003) provides the example of a Turkish village where villagers seek to construct neighbourhood space in reaction to the presence of many tourists. They do this by defining some places as 'neighbourhood places', and define other places as 'mixed areas' where residents play the role of host and were

tourists are treated as guests. Through these spatial strategies, villagers influence the behaviour of tourists and provide themselves with space where they can socialize with locals (Tucker 2003: 122-125).

Although the neighbourhood can play an important role in the social life of residents, it is not an isolated island. It is connected to the rest of the world in a wide variety of ways. The neighbourhood is a local context where processes of globalisation, including tourism, and general societal trends unfold (Meethan 2001). A wide variety of processes influences the production of neighbourhood space. Some of these processes happen relatively independent of tourism, while other processes are linked with tourism to various extents. General societal trends, such as the valuation of neighbourhood life in general, and policy decisions influence the daily life in neighbourhoods, for example through policies on the school system, social subsidies, and urban renewal. Neighbourhood space is produced by interventions of house owners, shop owners and municipal services. As we saw, the spatial practices and daily routine of ordinary neighbourhood residents are also of major influence on neighbourhood space. Another process that is involved in the production of neighbourhood space, relevant to the specific case study, is gentrification. In terms of effects in neighbourhoods, the phenomena associated with gentrification can be summarized as follows: increasing rents of apartments, changing demographics, influx of artists and 'creative class', changing retail demand with certain types of shops and restaurants, changing atmosphere, increasing rents of retail units and a changed identity of the neighbourhood. Box 1 summarizes some of the most important mechanisms that result in the aforementioned effects.

### **Box 1 – Gentrification**

Gentrification is a process of neighbourhood change which generally involves changed demographics by ways of displacement of lower income households and moving in of higher income residents. Gentrification is most abundant in inner-city neighbourhoods with old, under-maintained but re-storable housing. In academics, there is an on-going debate about the causes, effects and processes that constitute gentrification. Smith (1996) is known for his supply side explanation of gentrification, in which the rent-gap hypothesis plays an important role. He argues that investment will go to undervalued areas, i.e. neighbourhoods where it can make the highest return on profit. As a result, increased rents cause the forced displacement of a part of the existing population. Other theorists emphasize the role of changed demand in an explanation of gentrification, such as Ley (1996) in his classical study *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City*. He argues that changed preferences for specific housing and neighbourhoods, lifestyles and demographics cause gentrification. Similarly, Hamnett (1994) emphasizes macro-trends that cause demographic change; he argues that the general trend of growing middle class is responsible for gentrification. He sees gentrification as caused by a transformation process from industrial cities to cities as centres of service, creativity and culture. In summary, there is an ongoing debate about the extent to which replacement is forced and about the underlying processes and causes. Also, in the media gentrification is a hotly debated topic, especially about forced replacements and gentrification measures. In academics as well as in the media, it is sometimes unclear what aspects of gentrification are meant when the word *gentrification* is used. Sometimes it is unclear if it is meant to refer to rising rents or changing atmosphere, for example. For the purpose of this study I will now not further elaborate on the causes and dynamics of gentrification.

## **2.3 Tourist space**

This section starts with definitions of tourism and discusses tourism as a global cultural and economic phenomenon thereafter. Foremost, this section theorizes how tourist space is shaped in city neighbourhoods. Tourist space is shaped by a diversity of actors, including actors of tourism infrastructure, local tourism entrepreneurs and importantly tourists themselves. The section elaborates on these actors, the processes they are involved in, and how this produces tourist space in city neighbourhoods.

Most academic definitions of tourism include that tourism is a temporary activity on a location

other than where one's everyday life takes place (Williams 2009: 6). Also, Williams observes that most definitions include references to motivations of tourists and to the infrastructure that supports tourism, including transport and accommodation. The World Tourism Organization (WTO), for example, defines tourism as the "activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business or other purposes" (WTO 1994). Importantly, this definition includes day visitors as tourists. According to Williams (2009: 6-7) this is a correct definitional decision because day visitors are largely indistinguishable from other visitors in their motivations, practices and impacts on a locality. Williams also acknowledges that it is difficult to define tourism because there is a great overlap between tourism, leisure and recreation, exactly because of the before mentioned similarities in motivations, practices and impacts. Franklin (2003: 27-29) tries to overcome definitional difficulties and opposes that tourism is an activity outside the everyday lives of people per se. His provoking claim is that the boundary between everyday life and tourism is dissolving. Clearly, it becomes harder to define tourism when everyday life increasingly involves more tourist practices, and when tourism is more and more a day to day activity or attitude. Tourism should be seen as a cultural phenomenon with many different aspects. In cultural terms, the exchange of people, ideas and goods involved in tourism is one of the most obvious processes by which globalisation is shaped (Held et al 1999: 360-362). Tourism is about "the accessibility of novelty and the modern world in general" (Franklin 2003: 26), rather than that tourism should be seen as an escape from modern everyday life. This especially holds true for urban tourism, as cities can be viewed as centres of culture, subculture, nightlife and societal change. Through urban tourism, people can come in contact with these urban centred phenomena. A general, related trend is the transformation of cities from centres of production to centres of consumption in a post-industrial society (Judd & Fainstein 1999; Williams 2009: 209). This trend both reinforces and is being reinforced by urban tourism. In the last decades, the impact of short city trips on this transformation trend has increased, as a result of the increased popularity of city trip tourism. The spatially concentrated and heterogeneous nature of cities makes them attractive as tourist destinations. With many concentrated amenities such as sights, museums, cultural facilities, events, gastronomy and nightlife amenities they offer tourists a diversity of places, functions and experiences (Law 2002: 57-59). The proximity of attractions makes cities attractive for visitors, especially those on tight time budgets like people on a short trip. Also, urban tourism profits from increased mobility, which is to an important extent due to the expansion of low cost airlines over the last decades.

Moreover, tourism has economic and spatial impacts for tourist destinations and the people who populate these places. Globally, tourism has become one of the major economic sectors. The tourism industry has been growing 4% annually over the 1995-2007 period (UNWTO 2008: 1). In 2007 there were over 900 million international travellers, spending an estimated US\$ 856 billion (UNWTO 2008: 1). A tangible economic effect of tourism is employment. As a large economic sector, tourism provides jobs to many people. A wide variety of jobs is completely or partly dependent on money spent by tourists. Compared to other modern industries, tourism requires a relatively high demand of jobs (Williams 2009: 105). In order to attract visitors and investment in a competitive tourism market, places actively seek to promote themselves. This is done by a variety of forms of place promotion and marketing. In a globalising world, a place needs to be different from other places in order to attract tourists. In one way or another, a place needs to offer uniqueness. The actors involved in supply-side of the tourism industry are dependent on the money spent by tourists. Therefore, they need saleable objects, or commodities which are conceptualized in economic terms: their exchange value (Meethan 2001: 66). More importantly, however, throughout the rest of his book the author holds that the meanings and cultural values associated with consumption of commodities are crucial in understanding tourism. Meethan (2001: 95) argues that commodities do not have fixed meanings, but that these meanings are open to reinterpretation at an individual and social level. If commodities are objects that can be sold, commodification then is the process by which objects, places or cultures are being transformed into a product that can be sold. Or, as Meethan (2001: 5) puts it: "the ways in which material culture, people and places become objectified for the purposes of the global market". Similarly, Richards (1996: 265) holds that tourism is a major force in the commodification of culture.

Although tourism is part of globalisation processes, tourism requires places to unfold. In terms of spatial practice as Lefebvre (1991) conceptualised it, a wide variety of actors is involved in the construction of places and services for tourists. These actors run hotels, restaurants, guided tours, museums, and other amenities that are used by tourists. Many of these places are also used by residents, as will be discussed in the following sections of this chapter. To construct tourist space, actors such as tourism entrepreneurs continually transform space. A restaurant keeper, for example, may facilitate tourists with an English menu; or a house owner transforms an apartment into a holiday home. However, the material aspect of the construction of tourist space is not the only relevant aspect. Tourist space is also produced by actors in the tourism industry who seek to imagine and promote tourist destinations, as a form of spaces of representation. In order to be distinctive, places are represented with reference to 'themes', stories, histories or ideas that are often in some way related to such as place, although this is not necessary. As far as neighbourhood tourism is concerned, such representations often relate to specific elements of a place, for example in reference to history (Leary 2009). Other neighbourhoods are being represented in relation to aspects such as ethnicity, religion, (sub)culture, music, dance, traditions of handicraft, folklore or food (among others Almeida Santos et al 2008; Xie et al 2006; Rath 2007). Anything goes. Other destinations are represented as exemplary for the 'authentic', the real or everyday life. In Lefebvrian terms, tourism marketers seek to develop a space of representation for a place, and sell this to tourists conceptualized as consumers. Also, guidebooks, documentaries, and other media products produce their own, potentially conflicting, spaces of representation. These actors are involved in processes where specific aspects of spatial practices are highlighted as interesting for visitors. These specific aspects may include elements of the material city such as façades of buildings, or descriptions and valuation of elements of daily routines such as the 'lovely atmosphere at night' or information about the openings hours of shops. These descriptions need not be intended as objective, but rather seek to imagine a space of representation that is appealing to its audience. In turn, these spaces of representation potentially influence the spatial practices and attitudes of their audiences. In residential neighbourhoods without a lot of marked tourist attractions, mundane places of everyday life, such as supermarkets, offices and lunch rooms, can be experienced as interesting by tourists (Maitland 2008: 21-22).

#### *Tourists as producers of tourist space*

Although tourist space is constructed through the practices of tourism entrepreneurs, as well as through the spaces of representations constructed by a variety of actors, tourists themselves are crucial to understand tourist space. Without tourists, there is no tourist space. A number of authors (Bærenholdt 2004, Crouch 2002, Franklin 2003, Franklin & Crang 2001) have placed the tourist and his performances at the heart of tourism. Bærenholdt (2004) conceptualizes tourism with reference to tourist attitudes. He applies the metaphors of stage, play and performance to conceptualize tourism as a social practice:

“Tourism is a way of being in the world, encountering, looking at it and making sense. It incorporates mindsets and performances that transform places of humdrum and ordinary into the apparently spectacular and exotic. Hence, tourist places are not bound to specific environments or place images. Rather it is the corporeal and social *performances* of tourists that make places 'touristic'.” (Bærenholdt 2004: 2, italics in original)

This author emphasises that places and their 'touristic infrastructures' are not enough to make a place a place of tourism. It requires tourists performing tourism. Despite the steering influence of guidebooks, tourism marketing and other actors that offer services and seek to construct a destination image, tourists are not determined by it. Rather, tourists should be seen as active shapers of tourist space, not as passive consumers of products, objects and gazes. Tourists actively shape their environment, for example when they negotiate the appropriate uses and meanings of objects or places. A fountain can be interpreted as a source of refreshment, a market place can be used as a backdrop for a family portrait and a street corner can be used as a stage for a performing street artist. The practices of tourists transform space (Coleman & Crang 2002: 10). The performances of tourists are not determined by the functionalities that places are designed for. In urban public space, tourists as well as other

users, reinterpret the functions and meanings of places, often through the element of play (Stevens 2007). The embodied nature of the tourism experience will be discussed more extensively in section 2.5.2.

Practices of tourists include exploring an area, practices of photography or joining a guided tour. Also, tourists consume foods and drinks in gastronomical places, socially interact with other people (both with tourists and locals), and go out in nightlife facilities. These practices differ between tourists. Edensor (1998), for example, explains how photography practices differ between tourists groups. In his study, he distinguishes between the postures, group dynamics and spatial practices of western, Islamic and Indian tourists photographing the Taj Mahal. He relates this with the different meanings the place has for these groups. For Indian Muslims the Taj Mahal is a sacred site, while for non-Muslim Indian residents it is a site of national pride and for foreign, mostly Western visitors the Taj is a place that represents India as an exotic, romantic place. Moreover, tourists form a far from homogeneous group. There are large differences in terms of practices, objectives, cultural backgrounds and characteristics such as age, gender and nationality. Tourists organize their tourism differently: some travel independently, some join package tours, some travel alone and are looking for contacts, while others travel with friends or family. For groups of young adolescents, meeting locals and meeting other travellers can be of major importance (Muzaini 2006). This author reveals that being a tourist can be related to identity (Muzaini 2006: 152). He discusses how tourists employ various strategies of "looking local", namely spatial tactics (avoid "touristy places", where to shop, ways of travelling), behavioural tactics (negotiating, language, not using guidebooks) and bodily tactics (especially clothing). In both organized and individual travel, tourists search for serendipity, not touristic surrender (Tucker 2003: 66). According to the author, unpredictability and spontaneous events are what tourists appreciate most in their travel.

In conclusion, tourist space is produced by a range of processes, in which a variety of actors is involved. Tourism is part of processes of globalisation. Tourist space is produced by a variety of actors on the global, as well as on a local level. These actors include tourism entrepreneurs and guidebook makers. Urban tourism in general, and neighbourhood tourism more specifically, takes places at a diversity of places; places not necessarily intentionally produced for tourists. Through their practices, tourists are involved in processes that produce tourist space, as places are performed and reinterpreted by tourists. Due to the enormous diversity of the tourist population, in terms of cultural background, visit aim, group size and many other tourist characteristics, tourist space is incredibly complex. Also, the strategies and practices of tourism entrepreneurs give a context for these tourists practices, and partly shape but do not determine tourist practice. The same holds true for spaces of representation imagined in guidebooks, documentaries and other media that inform tourists with spaces of representation. Or, as Meethan (2001: 37-38) puts it: the production of tourist space "involves the material environment and the socio-economic circumstances which give rise to its form as well as encapsulating symbolic orders of meaning for both hosts as much as guests".

Tourist space is produced in a neighbourhood and can affect the routines and practices of residents. In turn this may affect the production of tourist space. The relation between neighbourhood space and tourist space will be discussed in the following section.

## ***2.4 Relation between neighbourhood and tourist space***

One of the insights from the discussion of Lefebvre's spatial triad is that one place can be part of different spaces. In these spaces the practices and meanings of that place can differ extensively. In one place there can be an overlap of neighbourhood space and tourist space. The crucial question is how the social practices, representations of space and spaces of representation related to these spaces interact with each other. How is neighbourhood space affected by tourists and tourism? How is tourist space affected by the practices and spaces of representations of the locality?

The first observation should be that space is shared amongst a diversity of users. Some places are used only by residents, some places only by tourists and some places are used by both groups. It is crucial to know to what extent the same places are shared between tourists and residents. In academics, the extent of mixing has been conceptualized as ranging from the

'tourist bubble' (Judd & Fainstein 1999: 39) to 'heterogeneous tourist spaces' (Edensor 2001: 64). Judd and Fainstein characterise the tourist bubble as a single purpose space that is planned and managed to control tourist practices. Examples in tourism studies are abundant: holiday resorts, theme parks and historical cities that are dominated by tourists and tourist retailers. In contrast, heterogeneous tourist spaces have no clear boundaries, are largely unplanned, are multi-purpose, and have facilities that are shared between tourists and residents (Edensor 2001: 64). Sometimes, there is synergy between tourism and local recreation in the sense that the very existence and viability of shared facilities depends on both tourists and residents. Some places are dependent on tourists for their existence, even if they also attract a large amount of local audiences. The London theatre industry, for example, largely depends on tourist spending. Two thirds of the audiences live outside London, of which a fair amount abroad (Williams 2009: 220). The same holds true for many restaurants and clubs in Berlin. One could say that the availability of facilities *for residents* is partly dependent on the spending power of tourists.

Second, the overlap of neighbourhood space and tourist space potentially leads to a growth in diversity of practices; the same place can serve different purposes. For a tourist buying a bread at an ethnic shop, this can be a purposeful act to achieve a certain experience, while for a resident buying that same bread may be a functional routine practice. Also, observing the practices of locals themselves may be of interest to tourists. The differences mentioned before are not specific for residents and tourists: attitudes and practices may vary strongly within these groups as well. Just like the bread can have a different meaning to different people, the shop itself can have a different meaning. Lefebvre's spatial triad clarifies that the same place can be interpreted as part of overlapping different spaces: the shop can be seen as part of a network of practical purchases available in neighbourhood space, but also as part of the network of ethnic elements that symbolize the neighbourhood as a multicultural place in tourist space. Similarly, a menu in English (in the German context) can frustrate residents and symbolize neighbourhood change to them. On the other hand, it can be a source of convenience to some tourists, and possibly a source of frustration to some tourists with a certain conception of authenticity as well. Tourists and residents thus imagine space for their own purposes, also through their practices:

"Tourism is a process which involves the ongoing (re)construction of praxis and space in shared contexts. But this (re)production is never assured, for despite the prevalence of codes and norms, tourist conventions can be destabilized by rebellious performances, or by multiple, simultaneous enactments on the same stage." (Edensor 2001: 60)

Third, the overlap of neighbourhood space and tourist space leads to a number of potential conflicts and synergies. In heterogeneous tourist spaces, the potential amount of encounters between tourists and residents increases. An example of a conflict between practices of tourists and residents could be a group of tourists holding still on the corner of a street to do some photographing which hinders a resident in a rush. The presence of tourists can mean new audiences for musicians or new customers for a local drugs dealer.. As the latter example shows, synergies of tourists and locals can form potential for conflict as well. Also, encounters between tourists and locals can lead to relationships of various duration and can even slowly transform gendered inequalities (Tucker 2003: 134-148). A number of problems can arise for neighbourhood residents as a direct result of the presence of tourists. A report on tourism-related problems in Sydney reveals that noise, anti-social behaviour and rubbish dumping are the major problems associated with backpackers, in the perspective of neighbourhood residents (Allon et al 2008: 101). Importantly, residents reported that the aforementioned problems are often related with alcohol consumption (Allon et al 2008: 17-18). The problems are often related with differences in daily rhythms: many issues were perceived as problematic because of the time of the day they occurred. For many neighbourhood residents, noise nuisance during the night resulted in sleeping problems. As one Sydney resident comments:

"So, you've got all different types of noise, and you've got these bursts of noise ... They're up all night and they're smoking, and they smoke a lot of dope, as well, and I get into bed and I try to go to sleep, and this smoke wafts into my bedroom. They sit at their windows and the smoke just keeps coming in. So, sleep deprivation, for me, is a huge problem – from noise and from smoke." (Allon et al 2008: 71-72)

Another relation between tourist space and neighbourhood space lies in the quest of some tourists to experience the everyday life in tourist destinations. Sometimes these practices are mediated by guidebooks and other media products as they encourage tourists to explore and experience the atmosphere of neighbourhood space. Ultimately this may lead to a transformation of this 'local atmosphere'. This is not to suggest that tourism does nothing else than destroying authentic communities, a claim sometimes made in tourism research. Also, in a similar fashion, tourism can enrich neighbourhood space with 'touristy things' such as street artists. Of course, whether this is seen as an enrichment depends on the individual perspective of residents. The balance of negatives and positives impacts of tourism depends on the specific situation, and ultimately on the way residents perceive neighbourhood change.

Finally, many processes affect both neighbourhood space and tourist space. The transformation of an apartment into a holiday apartment offers tourists more options, while neighbourhood residents may fear a loss of affordable housing. Similarly, the opening of new restaurants and shops, or the transformation of existing restaurants and shops that are aimed at the needs of tourists also impact residents. Changes in their neighbourhood can change existing routines and place meanings for residents. The opening of a number of upmarket restaurants of a certain type can attract both tourists and new residents to a neighbourhood. Thus, processes that shape neighbourhood space, such as gentrification, can make them more attractive for tourists as well. In some cases this in turn makes neighbourhoods more attractive for new generations of residents. This reinforcing process is labelled 'tourism gentrification' (Gotham 2005).

## ***2.5 Embodied encounters between residents and tourists***

As can be seen from the research questions presented in chapter 1, the embodied nature of encounters is seen as an important aspect in this study. The following section will discuss the encounters that occur as a result of the overlap of neighbourhood space and tourist space. Special attention will be drawn to the embodied nature of the direct experiences that residents have during encounters.

### **2.5.1 Encounters**

As mentioned before, encounters between residents and tourists can be seen as a consequence of the overlap between neighbourhood space and tourist space. In this study the concept of 'encounters' plays an important role. The concept has been theorized as follows: "Encounter occurs between several things. It occurs between people, between people and space, amongst people as socialised and embodied subject." (Crouch 1999: 1). For the purposes of this study, the following type of encounters are focused upon, namely encounters that involve residents in a neighbourhood frequented by tourists. Most importantly, encounters between residents and tourists will be analysed, but also between residents and elements of the context that residents relate with tourism. Encounters will be analysed as the complete set of events that takes place between individuals, including the role that elements (human or non-human) of the context play. This set of events may include verbal and non-verbal interactions, bodily attributes and expressions, objects or other elements of the context. It is important to acknowledge that people express themselves through their body, in addition to verbal communication. This latter form of communication that received most attention in academics. Aspects of bodily expression include postures, bodily gestures, other bodily attributes, facial expressions and of course the movement of the body itself. Bodily expressions can also be formed through the use of objects that alter or extend the body. This includes clothing, hair-do, make-up, piercings, glasses, bags and cameras. Individual bodily attributes are interpreted in relation to each other and to context. It is the combination of aspects of bodily expression, the cultural and social setting of the situation and optionally also verbal expressions that individuals make sense of. Bodily expressions are not necessarily intended. In case bodily expressions were intended, they still can be interpreted differently by individuals interpreting their social world. The way bodily expressions are interpreted depends furthermore on the interpreting individual and his or her personal background and experiences. Encounters can also include actions like neglecting and ignoring. From the individual perspective, encounters are bodily experienced and often trigger emotions. Therefore the

analysis will not neglect mental processes and emotions that are part of or triggered by encounters. Another important aspect of encounters is formed by the practices of the involved individuals. The importance of human practice in encounters is underlined in the following quotation:

“Tourism is part of lived practice. In considering encounter as part of human life it is necessary to embrace the notion of human practice. Tourism becomes validated in human practice in relation to knowledge. Knowledge is constructed through encounters, and space is important in informing this knowledge.” (Crouch 2002: 207)

Importantly, encounters are situated somewhere in time and space; encounters take place 'somewhere'. Interactions between tourists and residents do not take place in neutral space. As we saw in the discussion of Lefebvre's work, space is always subjective, and influences and is influenced by the events and processes that take place. This is not to suggest that encounters and the context are to be understood as separate. In post-structuralist geography, 'both are entangled in the heterogeneous process of 'becoming' (Murdoch 2006: 18). The context itself plays an important part in the encounters between tourists and residents; the context is "a necessary constitutive element of interaction" (Thrift 1996: 3). This context can consist of the aforementioned elements, such as mobile material objects, fixed material objects, other people, but also natural features. These elements of the context can all influence the process of interaction relatively independently, but individuals can also consciously apply contextual features for their own purposes. The relevance of non-human actors in understanding culture and social practice is stressed by Thrift (1996). He holds that human and non-human worlds, material, social and material aspects of reality are always entangled, and should not be studied independently (Thrift 1996: 24).

The 'emancipation of non-human actors' as it is sometimes called, recently also influenced tourism studies. Objects, such as souvenirs, photographs and cameras have recently gained interest. Some of these studies have highlighted the symbolic value and cultural meaning of these objects, while others such as Haldrup and Larsen (2006) have highlighted the actual use of objects and technologies by tourists. These authors theorize the hybridity - i.e. the crucial role of humans *and* non-humans - of the practice of photography (Haldrup & Larsen 2006: 282-284). Meanwhile, they do not underestimate the symbolic, representational value of photography when they state that the practice of family photography produces social relations and identity (Haldrup & Larsen 2003). In more general terms, Thrift (1994) theorizes the influence of technology on human experience. He explains how in the 19<sup>th</sup> century new technologies produced new ways of experiencing place. Technology should therefore not be reduced to its use-value as tool, but also influences the embodied experience of space and time in unforeseen ways.

In the context of neighbourhood tourism, a distinction between formal and informal encounters can be made. Local entrepreneurs and employees spend large amounts of time in the area where their work is located, even though they do not necessarily live in the area. In many cases, the work place can be considered as part of the daily activity space of people. Local entrepreneurs and employees may feel intensively connected to the street they work in. Of course the practices of entrepreneurs and employees differ from practices of neighbourhood residents. For them, the encounters with tourists can be formal (work-place) or more informal, for example before and after working hours or during breaks. Hybrid forms of informal behaviour while performing professional roles may also exist, for example a bar tender having an informal chat with customers during working hours. Sometimes this hybridity of roles can lead to disappointment by locals or confusion by tourists, especially cross-culturally (Tucker 2003: 120-131).

## 2.5.2 Embodiment

As already mentioned in the previous section, both residents and tourists encounter the world *through* the body. This contrasts with a lot of tourism theory, where tourism is conceptualized mostly in terms of representations. In the literature, cognitive processes such as thinking, imagining, interpreting and representing have been emphasised (Haldrup & Larsen 2006: 276). In Urry's classical study *The Tourist Gaze* (1990), for example, the author emphasises the 'visual consumption of places' with the human sense of vision. Other authors have

criticized the neglect of the other senses. Franklin (2003: 100-101) criticizes the fixation on the visual and mental aspects of tourist experience. Or, as Crouch (2001: 259) puts it: 'we live places not only culturally, but bodily'. Embodied experience is a highly individual concept. The embodied experience is directly sensed with the senses and also includes triggered emotions. The embodiment concept relates to life as *directly experienced*, unlike attitudes and opinions that are mostly formed in a more conscious and reflexive way. Of course reflection is possible after an event was experienced; this in turn may change attitudes and future behaviour. Bodily experience can trigger emotions. On the other hand, emotions can influence direct experience as well. Emotions are often related to events in the past of that individual, through memory. In practice, this can mean that individuals experience emotions when confronted with specific places, social groups, objects or events. In non-representational theory the relational nature of human encounter with all these kind of phenomena is emphasized:

"Non-representational theory promotes 'relational rather than representational understandings' because embodied subjects are necessarily involved in multiple encounters and interactions. The theory thus emphasizes the 'flow of practice in everyday life' and the 'on-going creation of effects through encounters' rather than 'consciously planned codings and symbols'." (Thrift, 1996: 304, cited from Murdoch, 2006: 16)

The last part of the quote emphasizes the role of encounters in the shaping of knowledge and attitude of the subject, similar to position of Crouch (2002) discussed before. Previous encounters are thus crucial in the embodied experience of encounters. The histories of individuals, through memory, shape the emotions that individuals experience. Additionally, the direct experience of encounters depends largely on individual characteristics of the resident. A young person can experience a similar situation very different from an older resident. The experience can also have gendered differences, and can depend on the cultural background of the resident. A lot of literature on tourism as an embodied practice has focused on practices where the body plays a very central role, such as in sunbathing, doing extreme sports, hiking, having sexual contacts and discovering exotic foods (Franklin 2003: 213-264; Tucker 2003: 138-140). While these practices are very relevant, it is important to stress that *all* tourism is embodied. Additionally, it is important to stress that the embodiment aspects is relevant for tourists, as well as for residents. In fact, many problems with tourism mentioned in the previous section can be experienced with multiple senses, especially by hearing, smelling and seeing. Therefore, the sensory aspects, as well as the cumulative nature of encounters, are crucial in the experience of encounters. As one Sydney resident comments on tourism related problems:

"[The problems] are just constantly in your face. They're always there. It's an overload, a sensory overload." (Allon et al 2008: 69)

## **2.6 The neighbourhood resident perspective on tourists and tourism**

As we have seen thus far, the embodied encounter of residents with tourists and their practices is constitutive of attitudes towards tourists, and towards tourism in general. In the perspective of residents, the increase of tourism can be an important element of neighbourhood change. Other neighbourhood issues include gentrification, changing demographics, increasing rents, problems with garbage and noise nuisance, nuisance from clubs and bars, and drugs- and alcohol related problems. In the perspective of the resident, these themes may be interrelated. The attitudes towards tourism may thus be partly informed by attitudes towards neighbourhood change in general. Apart from functional and aesthetic changes, the presence of tourists may also affect less tangible aspects of the neighbourhood such as atmosphere, character and place meanings. Opinions and attitudes about tourists/tourism are of course subjective: the presence of tourists can be perceived as positive or negative, depending on individual characteristics and preferences. Whether residents do directly or indirectly benefit from tourism can influence their attitudes, as well as their experience of encounters with tourists. Attitudes are constructed in relation to neighbourhood change in terms of changed practices, but importantly the symbolic impact of tourism on spaces of representation must not

be underestimated. For example, residents may experience a loss of neighbourhood identity. In addition, stories of others about their encounters with tourists and media coverage of tourism can shape attitudes and behaviour of residents. The same holds true for neighbourhood developments that residents have linked with tourism.

Residents form a heterogeneous group. It is therefore likely that they will experience tourism in their neighbourhood differently. This is due to large differences in individual characteristics, values, individuals histories of encounters with tourists and attitudes to neighbourhood change in general. Similarly, personal plans, needs and preferences also affect the experience of encounters with tourists. Therefore, a wide variety of attitudes and behavioural stances towards tourists and tourism should be expected. As a result of this diversity, residents have developed a variety of strategies to deal with tourists and tourism in general. This can result in a diversity of strategies with behavioural or attitudinal aspects: residents may engage in the selling of goods and services, performing as a street artist, avoiding or pursuing specific places at specific times to either increase or decrease encounters with tourists or resist tourism through protest or violence. They may come to terms with tourism by incorporating tourism as part of neighbourhood identity. In the case study conducted by Tucker (2003: 122-125), performing the role of 'host' can provide locals with a sense of control over encounters with tourists, as it provides them with the opportunity to require tourists to be 'good guests'. Of course, what constitutes being a good guest is contextual, and can be contested by the actors involved in the encounter.

Characteristics and bodily attributes of tourists, such as nationality, matter in the perception of tourists by residents. In the Turkish village Göreme, for example, tourists from Australia are perceived by locals as greedy and disrespectful to local culture, due to a history of cumulative experiences with Australians. In contrast, Americans are perceived as 'good tourists' who are relaxed, fun and open, while European tourists are 'too serious' (Tucker 2003: 130). As a result, the current attitudes and practices of Göreme residents towards tourists of different nationalities had changed. Similarly, Muzaini (2006) observed how he himself as a tourist "possessing pan-Asian looks" was treated different by local residents than other West-European backpackers. He remarks that this had both advantages and disadvantages: on the plus side, he received better prices, less crowding with street vendors and for him it was easier to make contact with locals. On the other hand he received less accommodation offers and was faced with discrimination that locals experience in their everyday life, for example in terms of waiting times in restaurants (Muzaini 2006: 154-158). The latter example indicates that bodily attributes can play an important role during tourist-resident encounters.

## **2.7 Conclusion: overlap of neighbourhood space and tourist space**

In conclusion, the theoretical framework revolves around the idea that space is produced by human processes of routine material engagement, of intellectual conception and of cultural expression (Healey 2007: 204). It holds that the production of neighbourhood space and tourist space can be analysed with use of Lefebvre's spatial triad. Neighbourhoods are produced by social practices of residents, but are also places of individual and collective meaning, a space of representation. Similarly, tourist space is continually produced through the practices of tourists: tourists *perform* tourist space (Bærenholdt, 2004). The practices of tourists are in part mediated through a tourist space of representation, as imagined in media products, as well as by stories of others. Tourist space is further shaped by local entrepreneurs. Gentrification and other processes affect both neighbourhood space and tourist space. The overlap of neighbourhood space and tourist space results in a variety of spatial practices and different interpretations of shared places. Potentially this can lead to conflicts and synergies. A crucial aspect of the production of space is formed by embodied encounters between residents and tourists. In these encounters, contextual features, such as objects and bodily attributes, play an important part. Also, these encounters are part of the process that defines what is appropriate behaviour in a place such as a neighbourhood. They negotiate acceptable practices and meanings. Importantly, the encounter is embodied and involves all the senses. Also, the encounter relates to memory of previous experiences and plays a crucial part in the shaping of attitudes of residents towards tourism. In turn, changed attitudes affect

future practices, and thus influence the future of the neighbourhood as a tourist space.

### 2.7.1 Conceptual model

The insights from this chapter are summarized in a conceptual model (figure 1). This model forms the basis for the methodology used in this study, which will be discussed in the next chapter. The conceptual model needs to make clear that the importance of different aspects of encounters with tourists varies between residents. Therefore the model is designed to fit the individual nature of experiences. Also, aspects not thought of before may emerge from the data. Because of these uncertain factors before starting with the gathering of data, the conceptual model is rather general. This provides flexibility to fit in processes and aspects that were found to be of importance after gathering and analysing the data. The model has a space-perspective in that it builds largely on the theoretical insights of Lefebvre introduced in the previous chapter. The model includes the concepts of 'neighbourhood space' and 'tourist space', which are visualised in the model as two overlapping spaces. As identified in this chapter, tourist space and neighbourhood space are shaped by a range of actors and processes. The overlap of tourist space and neighbourhood space results in a number of potential conflicts and synergies. As can be seen in the model, this overlap of neighbourhood and tourist space forms the context in which the encounters between tourists and residents take place. The encounter, with all its elements, is represented as the grey area in the model. The model includes a range of contextual features that constitute encounters. First, tourists play their part with their practices, bodily attributes and expressions, and other characteristics.

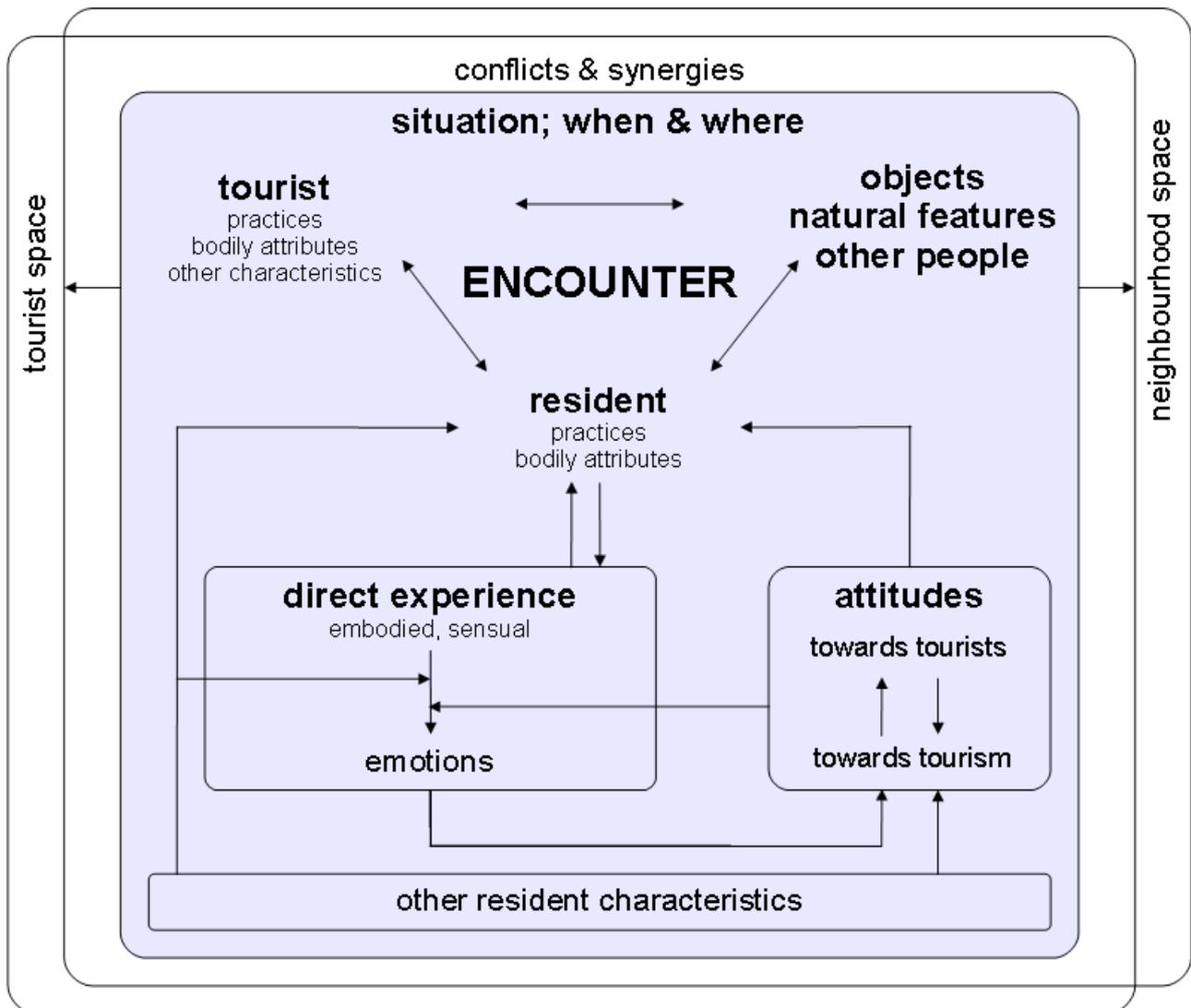


Figure 1: Conceptual model.

Second, objects, natural features and other people play their part. Third, residents themselves, with their practices and bodily attributes and expressions are crucial elements of the encounter. All these elements are dependent on the where and when of the whole situation, as visualised in the model. The conceptual model seeks to illustrate the interrelatedness and complexity of the elements that constitute the encounter. On the one hand the encounter is shaped by the context, on the other hand encounters shape tourist space and neighbourhood space as well. This is visualised by the arrows that point to the boxes that represent these spaces.

Zooming in on the encounter, the model employs an individual perspective on the tourist-resident encounter, namely the perspective of a neighbourhood resident. As can be seen from the model, the practices and bodily expressions of residents are influenced by the attitudes towards tourism and tourists, as well by other individual characteristics. A central concept in the model is the direct experience of the encounter by the resident. As an embodied subject, the resident experiences the encounter through the senses. The direct experience also includes emotions which are triggered by the sensual experience. As the model shows, this process is mediated by characteristics of this individual, as well as by attitudes towards tourists and tourism. Importantly, the model highlights that all the different contextual elements can play their part in the experience of the encounter by the resident. The arrow from 'direct experience' to 'encounter' refers to the fact that the direct experience and the triggered emotions can have a direct feedback on the practices and bodily expressions of the resident in the encounter. In turn, the experience of the encounter shapes the attitudes of the resident towards tourists/tourism. These attitudes are also influenced by individual characteristics, such as age and sex, as well as by individual plans, needs and preferences, as discussed in this chapter. It is important to note that attitudes towards more general aspects of neighbourhood tourism (such as a changed structure of amenities) and attitudes towards individual tourists influence each other, hence the two arrows in the attitudes box. The same holds true for other individual characteristics: these different characteristics are interrelated. During interviews the author has kept in mind that these individual characteristics and their interrelatedness are important to acknowledge, in order to understand the resident-tourist encounter.

An important aspect of the model is that the tourist-resident encounter is influenced by the attitudes towards tourists/tourism, which in turn are shaped by the history of previous encounters of the individual resident. As a result, over time the history of encounters and attitudes towards tourists/tourism influence both the practices of the resident in encounters as well as the experience of that encounter. The model seeks to emphasise the reinforcing relationships between the main concepts of the model: attitudes influence the encounter, the elements and practices that constitute the encounter result in an embodied experience which in turn shapes attitudes.

## Chapter 3 – Methodology

This study has a qualitative research strategy. The research design takes the form of a case study. The case study is organized in the form of a neighbourhood area, namely the Oranienstraße area. The methods applied to gather the data are diverse: they include structured as well as unstructured observations and informal conversations. However, the semi-structured interviews with residents are the most important research method, as they examine the experience of resident-tourist encounters and their meaning from the resident perspective. The chapter ends with a discussion on data analysis. The aim of this chapter is to describe and justify the methodological choices that were made in order to answer the research questions.

### 3.1 Research strategy

I argue that qualitative research is the appropriate research strategy that suits the research questions in this study, for a number of reasons. First of all, the study has an exploratory nature, in that it seeks to explore the diversity and interrelatedness of aspects in neighbourhood tourism. As was argued in the first chapter, little research has been done on the meaning of tourism for neighbourhood residents. In line with this, the research questions are aimed to uncover the diversity of encounters, experiences and meanings. Qualitative research is suitable to explore such diversity as it is flexible enough to capture unforeseen aspects of tourism that are of importance to residents. As such, the research has an inductive character, where theory emerges from the data. This inductive approach with an “emphasis on the generation of theory” is typical for a qualitative research strategy (Bryman 2004: 20).

Second, this study aims to *understand* resident practices and attitudes, and therefore leans towards the interpretivist tradition within social sciences (Bryman 2004: 13-16). In ontological terms, this study considers social phenomena and their meanings as continually being accomplished by social actors, i.e. socially constructed (Bryman 2004: 17). This relates to Lefebvre's understanding of the constructed nature of space, but also to concepts such as 'resident' and 'tourist'. The emphasis is on how residents interpret the presence of tourists as part of their social world. The main research question as well as the second research question are concerned with *meanings*. As meanings are subjective, it is very difficult to assess them with quantitative methods. Often quantitative research methods provide respondents with pre-fixed categories which the researcher thinks are important to understand meanings, rather than that they provide respondents with the opportunity to explain which elements are of relevance to meanings (Bryman 2004: 441).

### 3.2 Research design: case study design

The research design takes the form of an exemplifying case study that aims to understand processes and meanings of a singular case in detail (Bryman 2004: 51). The focus on a single, relatively small area enables an in-depth examination. In a detailed analysis, many different aspects can be taken into consideration. While a lot of tourism research has been done on the national, regional and city level, little research has been done on the actual encounters that constitute tourism (Pearce 1999: 77-79). It is at places like streets and restaurants that the actual encounters between people and physical attributes of the context take place. The limited size of the main research area (approximately one fourth square kilometre) enables a comparison of different meanings. Because of the great diversity of residents and visitors, I have chosen to do an analysis in one specific context, although this context is of course perceived differently by its users. The size of the researched area should neither be too small or too large. The researched area should not be too large, because this hinders insight in the meaning of a specific area. By the investigation of actual encounters of tourists and residents in a small area observations can be linked to one another. By focusing on a small area the recurrence of events and phenomenon can attract attention and patterns of behaviour on specific places can be observed. However, the size of the researched area should not be too small either, as this could hamper insights concerning the spatial distribution of places and relevant functional linkages. Also, if the area is too small, there is a risk that the variety of

places, activities and meanings in neighbourhood tourism is largely uncovered. Although the focus on a small area is very valuable to this study, it is important to keep in mind the relation of the case study area with the greater context. The relation with tourism in the rest of Kreuzberg and Berlin, as well as with tourism as a global phenomenon are important to understand tourism on the level of actual encounters. Additionally, a small research area is practical, as the researcher is able to get to know it relatively fast. This knowledge about the area is useful during conversations, as the researcher does not constantly need to ask for clarification. Also, interviewees are more likely to provide in-depth details, as soon as they realize that the researcher is familiar with the area. The case study area is a factor of interest in its own right, rather than just a backdrop to the findings: the area is a contextual factor that plays a role during encounters (Bryman 2004: 280-281). In chapter 2, the importance of context is already underlined. Detailed descriptions of contextual factors will be provided when needed to understand the experience of encounters by residents.

### **3.3 Methodology**

#### **3.3.1 Research question one**

As introduced in chapter 1, the first research question is as follows:

*When, where and how do tourists and residents interact with each other and in what respect are these encounters related to the physical attributes of their shared situations?*

The first research question is mainly concerned with the context of the tourist-resident encounter. It is concerned with aspects of actual practice, during actual encounters. The question is of a more general stance and aims to provide a background for answering the other questions and it prepares the researcher for the interviews further on in the research. In order to obtain a broad overview of the context of the tourist-resident encounter, a variety of research methods is applied. In the first phase of the research unstructured observations, informal conversations and the reading of local newspapers help to explore the topic. The second research method that is applied is structured observation, which fits well with the aim to explore the diversity of actual encounters. Additionally, data from semi-structured interviews with residents was also used to answer the first research question. Data was only used if it did not involve interpretation, evaluation or perception of a phenomenon by the interviewed resident, as these issues are dealt with in the second research question. Semi-structured interviews as research method will be discussed in section 3.3.5.

#### **3.3.2 Unstructured observations and informal conversations**

Especially during the first phase of the research project it is important to get to know the area well. This first step in getting to know the area involved unstructured observations and informal conversations. To really become 'streetwise', it is important to gather as much information on as much aspects of the neighbourhood as possible. It is important to know what topics are relevant to the residents. Informal conversations with residents and shop keepers revealed, for example, that rising rents as well as a recent growth in alcohol-related problems are hotly debated topics. Additionally, a wide variety of sources was constantly consulted and included local newspapers (including their archives and online comments) websites, leaflets, newsletters, as well as the Kreuzberg Museum. Also, the researcher participated in three guided walking tours, tested several guidebooks and stayed at a hostel in the area for a week. Regular visits to the area help to capture a wide variety of uses and types of encounters. Unstructured observations and informal conversations were most abundant in the first phase, but were also applied throughout the rest of the research process. Also, the rest of the research methods were informed by knowledge and experience from the more unstructured and informal findings of the first phase of the research. Unstructured observations of tourist-resident encounters are recorded in a similar manner as structured observations, namely with the observation schedule that is discussed in the next section.

### 3.3.3 Structured observations

A second research method to examine the first research question consists of a number of structured observations. The value of structured observations is that they examine actual encounters between tourists and residents. Direct observations provide insight into encounters as they take place during the everyday lives of residents, rather than in an artificial environment. This contrasts with research methods such as surveys and interviews, which are usually applied during an interference of everyday life. Other general problems with surveys or interviews, that observations are not influenced by, include the social desirability effect and the gap between stated and actual behaviour (Bryman 2004: 165). The structured observations are applied to provide an overview of the diversity of actual encounters within their context. Within the framework of this study it is not possible to obtain a representational sample of all encounters. It is not the aim to make a significant statistical analysis on the basis of the data obtained from observations. Rather, the observations help to provide an overview of the contextual features that play a role during actual resident-tourist encounters. Also, the observations enable an impression of recurring practices and residents routines within the research area. Additionally, the observations are meant as background knowledge for interviews with residents.

To capture the 'when' of the research question, the structured observations are spread out over a complete day, namely from 5am till 5am. This enables the researcher to capture 'the life of a street' over the course of 24 hours and avoids a temporal bias as much as possible. It enables acknowledgment of differences between times of the day and facilitates the making of associations between activity patterns occurring at different times of the day. In this manner, time of the day as a contextual factor can be examined. Additionally, two days of the week were picked to cover differences between weekdays and days during the weekend, namely a Wednesday and a Saturday. For residents the Saturday is assumed to be the day that most residents do not work and have 'free time' to do activities like shopping, visiting friends and family and going out. For tourists who visit Berlin for a weekend, the Saturday is a day in the middle of their trip used for activities like sightseeing and going out. In contrast, a Wednesday was selected as an observation day to represent a typical day of the 'traditional work week'. It is a day of the week that most people go to work, to school or other occupation. Of course this is not to suggest that all residents have daily routines that are organised around the traditional working hours. Structured observations were done on Wednesday the 25th of August 2010 and Saturday the 9th of October 2010. Observations were made during 8 time periods of one hour, evenly spread over the day (table 1). Consequently, this means that 20 minutes of observations are done per location per observation period. The intervals were chosen in such a manner that typical lunch (13:00-14:00) and dinner (19:00-20:00) periods are covered, as well as a morning (10:00-11:00) and an afternoon (16:00-17:00) period. Also, three periods during the night are scheduled for observations, covering three stages of nightlife. The 24-hour period of observations starts with a time period (07:00-08:00) when many people go to their work or other daily occupation. 2-hour pause blocks between structured observation periods are used for resting, unstructured observations and taking pictures. Also, these periods are used to make short notes on weather conditions, general atmosphere and activities that occurred during the previous observation period.

1.	07:00 - 08:00
2.	10:00 - 11:00
3.	13:00 - 14:00
4.	16:00 - 17:00
5.	19:00 - 20:00
6.	22:00 - 23:00
7.	01:00 - 02:00
8.	04:00 - 05:00

Table 1: Structured observation periods.

To capture the 'where' of the research question, three observation locations are selected to avoid a spatial bias as much as possible (figure 2). Observations are done from fixed positions rather than by following people, in order to get an overview of encounters that took place on the same place. This makes the observations better comparable. The locations are more or less spread throughout the research area and were selected in such a manner as to cover as much different urban functions as possible. Location 1 (figure 2) covers walking routes of locals and tourists to and from metro station Görlitzer Bahnhof and is located near a small park and facilities like restaurants and bars. Location 2 (figure 2) is based at a small square called Heinrichplatz, packed with shops and bars and a busy crossroad for a wide variety of transport modes. This observation location enables the researcher to observe encounters that take place in the semi-public places such as terraces and inside bars. Location 3 (figure 2) is located between metro station Kottbusser Tor and Oranienstraße and is home to a variety of functions, including a number of small Turkish eateries, bars, a hostel, a public library and entrances to apartment buildings.

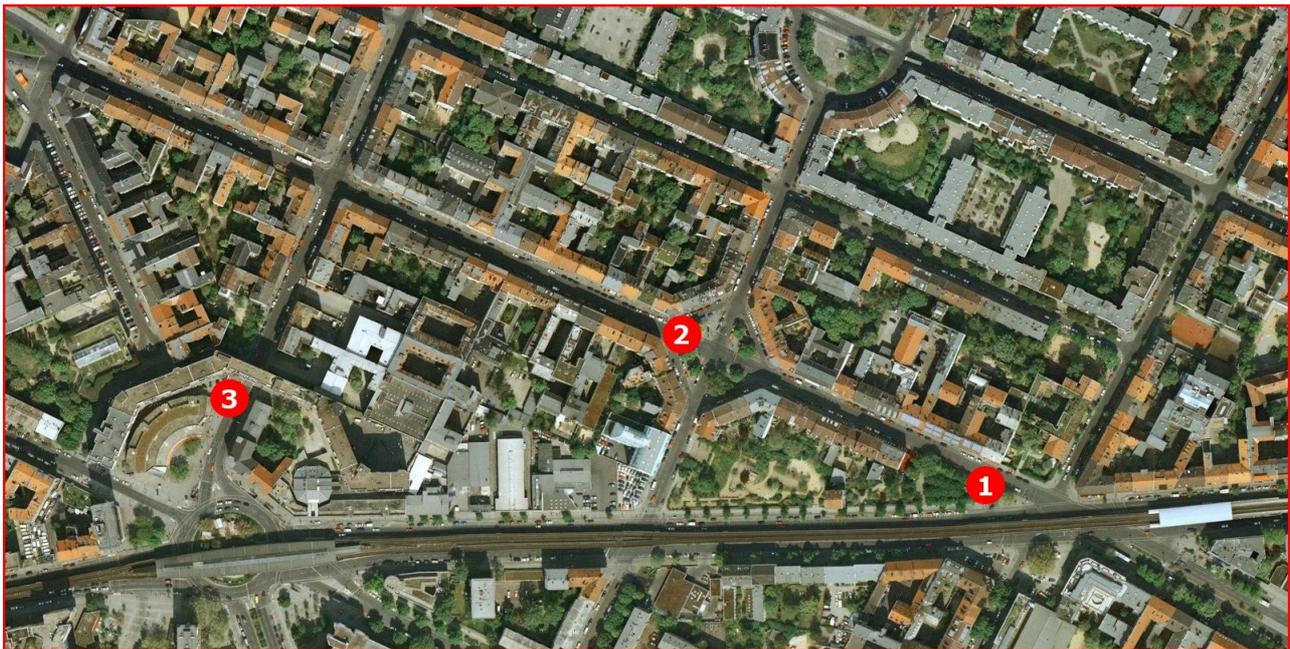


Figure 2: Structured observation locations.

Source: Google Maps, 2010, edited by author.

Probably the most important issue of preparing structured observations, is to decide which aspects should be observed (Bryman 2004: 168). To resolve this issue, the aspects of encounters that are featured in the first research question were taken into consideration:

- constellation of the tourists and residents involved in the encounter, including the number of people, bodily attributes (clothing, attitude) and other characteristics (sex, age, ethnic background);
- the involved physical attributes (objects, natural features) and
- how people and objects interact (practices of people, role of physical attributes).

The first things to be recorded in the observation schedule (appendix 1) are some characteristics of the people involved in the encounter: whether someone is a tourists or a resident, their sex, their age and their ethnic background. The latter two are estimated. It is also recorded what people carry with them, what professional roles they fulfil (if applicable), as well as other notable characteristics such as bodily attributes and expressions. At the various stages of the encounter, the involved physical attributes are recorded. To facilitate the recording of physical attributes during the observation process, the physical attributes that regularly play a part in encounters are listed<sup>4</sup>. What actually happens during the encounter is recorded chronologically in the lower part of the observation schedule. At the bottom of the observation schedule there is place for general notes on atmosphere and other encounter

<sup>4</sup> The list is attained from unstructured observations and interviews during the first phase of the project.

characteristics. As a practical consideration, it is impossible to capture all encounters at an observation spot. It is more important to record as many elements of an encounter as possible, than to record as many encounters as possible, but with missing elements. In order to be able to record enough encounters, a few measures have been taken to speed up the recording process: the listing of objects, as well as the pre-printed tables to be filled with abbreviations (appendix 2). Additionally, plenty of pre-printed observation schedules were available, and the schedule was piloted before the actual observation days.

The role of the observer during the observations process was covert, meaning that the involved people were not aware that they were being observed. This in order to avoid reactive effects (Bryman 2004). To accomplish that I was not identified as a researcher, I was dressed casually, with a small bag containing the observation material. This included a small observation schedule (A5), a pen and a small camera. Also, the observation schedules were mostly kept in the bag and were only used after an encounter had taken place, for two reasons. First, to not attract any attention with observation material. Second, because one gets a better idea of an encounter if one sees the encounter in one go, rather than missing details of the encounter while being distracted by recording the encounter step by step. During the observations on one location, I stayed in a small area of about 10 meters, mostly simply standing on the street, sometimes drinking a coffee on a terrace. Covert observations are sometimes criticised because of ethical considerations. However, the observations take place in public space: the researcher does only watch scenes that could be observed by any person that walks by or sits on a terrace. Also, in busy public places it is impossible to get everybody's approval to participate. Additionally, the people being observed are not harmed, there is no invasion of privacy as the identity of people is not recorded and there is no deception involved (Bryman 2004: 509-514). I therefore argue that the observation proposed here are ethically defensible.

The observation schedules are added to a database, so that the data can be filtered according to different recorded categories, such as time of the day, location and objects. This enables a structured analysis of the diversity of practices of residents and tourists, and the role of physical attributes. Different uses and functions of physical attributes can be easily compared: for example the role of a bottle or the amount of light in different situations.

Although structured observation is a valuable research method, there are a number of limitations. First of all, it is difficult to identify if someone is a resident of the area. To identify someone as a tourist is even more difficult, because of the large similarities of behaviour and looks of the two groups. A more fundamental difficulty is related to definitional issues concerning tourism mentioned in the previous chapter. Additionally, the value of observations is limited, because the observation of resident-tourist encounters requires an extent of interpretation by the researcher (Bryman 2004: 170). The practices have to be interpreted from a distance, often without being able to capture what is being said. The same may be true for bodily expressions in some situations. On top of that, the researcher can miss details of the encounter, or misinterpret some of the aspects of the encounter. More fundamentally, observations are limited in the sense that they provide insights about actual practices, but little about motivations, objectives, thoughts, emotions and attitudes of the involved actors (Bryman 2004: 177). Additional research methods are needed to capture these aspects of encounters. In-depth interviews with residents will aim to fill this gap, as will be argued in the following sections.

### 3.3.4 Research question two

As introduced in chapter 1, the second research question is as follows:

*What are the bodily experiences of residents with tourists and which meaning do they attach to these encounters?*

The second research question is concerned with tourist-resident encounters and the experience of these encounters by residents, as well as with the meaning these encounters have for residents. These meanings are highly individual and differ between residents. All kind of different individual characteristics, including the individual history of previous encounters with tourists, are of influence on these meanings. In order to examine these meanings, in-depth

interviews with neighbourhood residents are conducted. In these interviews, the respondent is questioned about the meaning of the encounters with tourists. However, interviewees are first asked to describe and explain some of the actual encounters they had with tourists. Similar to the previous research question, the role of contextual features is examined. Unlike the rather descriptive results relating to the first research question, the focus is on the more subjective aspects of the encounter: how was the encounter experienced with the body and which emotions were triggered? Did this influence attitudes towards tourists and tourism; and how did it influence future encounters? The role of individual resident characteristics in relation to these aspects of experience and attitudes are examined during these interviews. In other words, to really *understand* encounters, behavioural and contextual aspects must be linked with bodily experiences and mental processes that go along with it. It is clear that the inclusion of all these different aspects and their interrelatedness makes it a complex subject to investigate. A flexible research method is needed, where the researcher is provided with the freedom to ask questions about how different elements of an encounter impacted on an individual. A flexible research method is also necessary, in order to enable the interviewee to express their thoughts about the subject. Flexibility is also needed, in order to enable interviewees to explain which aspects of encounters with tourists played a role in the development of their stance towards neighbourhood tourism. The next section provides a discussion of how semi-structured interviews with residents are designed to gain insight in these aspects and their relations.

### 3.3.5 Semi-structured interviews with neighbourhood residents

Qualitative semi-structured interviews are applied in this study as they provide a balance between structure and freedom for the interviewee, so that "the interviewee can come up with things he or she finds important, but that in the mean while a basic list of fairly specific topics are covered" (Bryman 2004: 321). A relatively large extent of freedom for the interviewee has some major advantages. First of all, the interviewee is provided with the opportunity to put emphasis on the aspects of encounters and neighbourhood tourism that he or she finds most important. Semi-structured interviews provide the respondents with the opportunity to express their point of view on the topic. This is in line with one of the preoccupations of qualitative research, namely to see through the eyes of the people being studied (Bryman 2004: 279-280). Unlike in most structured interviews or questionnaires, the interviewee is not forced to respond to topics in the way the interviewer chooses. By not stating pre-defined questions, the respondents are less forced to fit into the frame of reference of the researcher. Similarly, semi-structured interviews enable the researcher to interpret the social world from the resident perspective as good as possible. This is important, as people are themselves capable of reflecting on the social world they live in (Bryman 2004: 279). The perspective and interpretation of residents are leading, in line with the interpretivist epistemology mentioned in the theoretical chapter. In practice, this means that what a resident considers as a tourist is of importance, rather than what the researcher defines as a tourist. Third, the data gathered with the semi-structured interviews research methods consist of reflections on the topic in the respondent's own words. The data consists of "rich, detailed answers" (Bryman 2004: 320), rather than of pre-defined categories. Individual phrasing can be very valuable, especially when the interview focuses on personal experiences like emotions (Corbin & Strauss 2008: 82-83), for example the emotions that are triggered during encounters with tourists. Additionally, quotes from individual respondents consisting of exact phrasing can be very valuable in supporting concepts that have emerged from the data.

#### *Interview guide*

Although interview flexibility is valuable, it is important that the interviews do have a certain amount of structure. Structure makes the statements of the different interviewees better comparable and enables a useful analysis. Also, it ensures that the answers of respondents help to answer the research questions. Two measures were taken to ensure a minimum of structure: an interview guide was used and a set of photos was shown to the respondents (see next section). The interview guide (appendix 4) consists of a list of topics that should be covered in all interviews. The topic-list includes aspects that relate to the respondent

him/herself, as well as to aspects of actual encounters of the respondent and some more general issues related to neighbourhood tourism. In all interviews, at least one positive and one negative encounter should be discussed. During the interviews, a printed version of the interview guide is used as check-list to ensure that these topics are covered. Additionally, the interview guide consists of a number of important topics that can be elaborated upon, but not necessarily in all interviews. Whether these topics are explored or not depends on what the interviewee finds important. The interview guide was attained from the conceptual model (figure 1), but is also partially based on the results of the first phase of the research. The interview guide was updated with topics during the months that the interviews were conducted.

### *Role of the interviewer*

When conducting semi-structured interviews, an interviewer should take into consideration a number of issues. First of all, it is important to allow a respondent the opportunity to choose the topics they find relevant. The aim should be that the respondents can tell their story, with the interviewer asking questions about points brought up in the narrative of the respondent; point that the researchers think need elaboration (Corbin & Strauss 2008: 199). On the other hand, however, it is also important to intervene whenever the interview goes off-track too much and does not help to answer the research questions any more. The interview guide check-list mentioned before, is a useful tool to track whether the interview needs an intervention. However, it is also important not to interrupt too much, as this could affect the flow of the conversation. Crucially, the interviewer needs to remember that anything can be of importance to the interviewee: a great deal of sensitivity, openness and flexibility is required (Bryman 2004: 325). Details of the contextual elements of the encounter, as well as resident characteristics can be crucial to understand the respondent (see conceptual model, figure 1). Such details could be anything, ranging from the type of clothing of people involved in an encounter, to the fact whether the respondent has children or not. It is important to keep in mind that all aspects of encounters can be related, and therefore it is crucial to question the interviewee about these relationships. Already during the interview, the interviewer needs to start with the analysis of the statements of the respondent. However, rather than to impose meaning on the statements, it is crucial for the interviewer to make sure that the analysis reflects the perspective of the respondent. To achieve this aim, the interviewer needs to ask for clarification of statements and ask follow-up questions (Bryman 2004: 325). Also, this triggers critical reflection by the respondent. In retrospect, the flexibility of the research method proved to be valuable. Of their own accord, respondents put forward a wide variety of aspects of tourism that they thought were important. As a result, the emphasis of the interviews differed between respondents. The more interviews were done, the more comfortable and experienced I got with conducting interviews. In time, it became easier to decide which themes needed follow-up questions, to be sensitive to the role that specific elements of the context played during encounters, and to relate the statements of the respondent with that of other respondents, especially as themes and aspects started to reoccur in later interviews.

### *Photos as interview tool*

During the interviews, the use of photos as input for the conversation and a number of conversational strategies are applied to uncover the meaning of resident-tourist encounters in the perspective of the interviewee. All interviews started with the same first question (appendix 3), a strategy suggested by Crang and Cook (1995: 42). The interviewees are asked where and when they encounter tourists in their daily lives. In this way, the interview is first centred around daily routines of the respondent and tourism in the neighbourhood in general. Later on in the interview, the focus shifts to individual encounters of the respondent, which is the main subject of the second research question. However, informal conversations with neighbourhood residents and the first recorded interview revealed that it is quite difficult to focus the conversation on one specific encounter. During these conversations, residents were more likely to make general statements on neighbourhood tourism, rather than on their own encounters. Therefore, during interviews, I was constantly focussed to find ways to elaborate

on specific, actual encounters of respondents. When the topic of nuisance, for example, was put forward by a respondent, the respondent was asked to describe actual encounters in which nuisance played a role. To get people to talk about their own encounters with tourists, the memory of respondents needs to be triggered. Ideally, people need to remember how they experienced an encounter, for example what they saw, heard or smelled, and which emotions were present. Photos are used as the most important strategy to trigger memories about individual encounters and to focus the conversation on these encounters. A set of 17 photos was used during the interviews<sup>5</sup>, see appendix 5. The photos were selected in such a fashion, that they cover a range of everyday situations in the research area. Moreover, the photos were selected to include a wide variety of contextual elements, such as objects, tourists with different bodily attributes, and a range of practices. During interviews, respondents were asked to describe what was depicted on an interview photo. These descriptions are valuable, as the respondents all highlighted other aspects of the situation depicted on the photo. The fact that all respondents commented on the same photos makes their comments better comparable. Second, triggered by the visual input and by their reflections on them, respondents were subsequently asked if they encountered similar situations. When this was the case, respondents were explicitly asked if they could elaborate on their own encounter<sup>6</sup>. In retrospect, the interview photos turned out to be a very powerful interview tool. First, it was a crucial tool to help respondents to focus on actual encounters. Second, the use of interview photos resulted in elaborations of respondents on the role of contextual elements in encounters. Third, interview photos were a useful tool to keep the conversation going.

Once the conversation focussed on a single encounter of the respondent, whether triggered by the discussion of a photo or not, the aim was to capture as many aspects of that encounter as possible (see conceptual model, figure 1). The input photo was put aside, so that the conversation could focus on the encounter of the respondent. In most cases, it was more effective to simply ask to describe the encounter, rather than to ask about specific elements of the encounter separately. In most cases, most contextual elements, as well as the direct experience, were already covered when respondents were asked to describe an encounter. Importantly, in this fashion the different aspects are dealt with in relation to each other, making the data more valuable. However, if specific elements seemed to be missing, more specific questions helped to fill the gap. Of course, as soon as the different elements of one encounter are covered, this does not mean that all relevant questions about the encounter are already being asked. The topic-list of the interview guide should be considered supportive of the interviewing process, rather than a check-list that indicates if all topics are covered. Another conversational strategy that I applied is what I call 'comparative questioning'. It is a technique to facilitate interviewees to elaborate on a phenomenon *in contrast* to other phenomena. This can entail questions about how things changed over time, about differences of a place in comparison with other places or about differences within the area. For a respondent it is easier to elaborate on a topic in relation to other things, than to reflect a phenomenon on its own. In practice, respondents were questioned about the difference between the Oranienstraße and the Bergmannstraße or Mitte. Another example could be to ask how encounters with tourists differ depending on the time of the day or week or in what respect tourists differ from Berlin people from other neighbourhoods that visit the Oranienstraße.

### *Sampling and practical considerations*

The selection of respondents was aimed to obtain a diverse mix of respondents, in order to capture a diversity of encounters and meanings of neighbourhood tourism experiences and to avoid biases as much as possible. The sampling of the interviewees is based on the principle of snowball sampling, where informal contacts are used to find new interviewees (Bryman 2004: 100-102). At the end of the interviews, interviewees were asked if they knew someone that also lives in the neighbourhood who would be interested to participate. In line with the exploratory nature of this study, the aim of the sampling was to achieve a sample of

---

<sup>5</sup> Except for the first interview.

<sup>6</sup> In the introduction to the interview, the respondents are informed about my special interest in their own encounters with tourists, see appendix 3.

respondents that is diverse in terms of age, sex, ethnic background, importance of the neighbourhood and daily occupation, rather than to be representative of the population. Another factor that was taken into account is the geographical distribution of interviewees within the research area. In practice, most people were asked on the street if they were willing to participate, while others were approached in their working environments. Again others were approached after a discussion night about tourism, or were contacted in reaction to an article in a neighbourhood magazine. Difficulties with the search of respondents were related to finding elderly, long-term residents. Also, it was difficult to find respondents whose lives are barely impacted by tourism, for example as they spend little time in the neighbourhood. During the search for respondents, some people said they did not want to participate because they had little to do with tourists. In general it was harder to find respondents, willing to do a long interview, than expected. However, the long search for respondents resulted in many short conversations with residents, something which was valuable in itself as well. The snowballing principle worked out well: five respondents were found through the suggestions of other respondents.

Nr	Date	Name <sup>7</sup>	Age	Sex	Occupation	LR <sup>8</sup>	Background particularities
1	2010-09-08	Kerstin	41	F	Gallery employee	5	Unknown
2	2010-09-28	Özlem	46	F	Social worker	32	Raised in Berlin, Turkish roots
3	2010-10-11	Florian	26	M	Student	6	Raised in Stuttgart
4	2010-10-12	Sarah	26	F	Language teacher	3	Raised in Stuttgart, Croatian roots
5	2010-10-12	Sandra	42	F	Self-employed, mother	8	Raised in southern Germany, Colombian roots
6	2010-10-19	Laura	24	F	Café employee	2	Raised in Frankfurt
7	2010-10-20	Carlos	37	M	Graphic designer, father	2	Raised in Berlin, Spanish roots
8	2010-11-04	Jonas	34	M	Architect	6	Unknown
9	2010-11-09	Monika	59	F	Dance school owner	21	Raised in Frankfurt
10	2010-11-09	Nicole	28	F	Magazine editor	9	Raised in Hamburg
11	2011-02-23	Walter	61	M	House tenant	28	Raised in Berlin
12	2011-03-24	Peter	39	M	Artist, father	8	Raised in Hamburg and Münster

Table 2: Respondent characteristics.

Practical issues concerning the preparation of the interviews are mainly based on Crang and Cook's (1995) guide to qualitative interviewing. First, potential respondents were asked to participate and appointments were made to do the interviews. Most interviews took place in neutral places like cafés, while some interviews were conducted at the work-places or homes of respondents. The interviews took place in a relatively formal setting, to enable an effective, concentrated interview and in order to make interviewees feel they are taken seriously. The duration of the 12 structured interviews ranged between 1 hour and 8 minutes, and 2 hours and 27 minutes, with an average of one and a half hours. In retrospect, the length of the interviews enabled in-depth interviews that included detailed descriptions of actual encounters of the respondents. It provided respondents with the possibility to cover a diversity of their encounters with tourists. The length of the interview also enabled a good assessment of how the cumulative occurrence of encounters can play an important role in the experience of respondents. Moreover, in many interviews, the most valuable insights were provided in the latter part of the interview. This was probably due to the fact that the respondents started to reflect on their previous statements and started to link themes with each other. Also, in some cases, respondents seemed to feel more comfortable with the interview situation after a while. These aspects underline the importance of relatively long, in-depth qualitative interview. The interviews started with a personal introduction, an explanation of the interview procedure, the subject of the research, and some notes on privacy and practicalities (appendix 3). Also, during the introduction of the interview the following aspects were recorded: age, sex, ethnic background, occupation, address, length of residence and household structure. An overview of

<sup>7</sup> The names of the respondents have been changed into pseudonyms to guarantee anonymity.

<sup>8</sup> Length of residence, in years.

some of the respondent characteristics can be found in table 2. When respondents wished to receive a summary of the results of the study, an e-mail address was recorded as well.

During the interview geographical terms were avoided. The use of the word 'Begegnung' for example, meaning 'encounter' in German, was avoided, because during the first interview it became clear that that word was interpreted by the respondent as an in-depth meeting of people, including at least a conversation. Instead, the more low-key word 'Treffen' was used in later interviews, to include other types of encounters that are not necessarily verbal, as described in chapter 2<sup>9</sup>. Additionally, as a preparation for the interviews a German language list was developed, including a thematic word-list and an interviewing phrase-list. The list was also used as back-up during interviews. All interviews were conducted in German. Whenever respondents are cited in this study, the quotes will be not simply be dropped as in-betweens, but the quotes will be interpreted and it will be explained how those quotes relate to concepts and theory. Quotes are left in the original language to prevent that details of what is said and how things are said are lost. Sometimes it was an advantage that my skill of German is not perfect, as this made it easier to ask what an interviewee means with his or her statements.

### **3.4 Data analysis**

All interviews were recorded with respondent approval (see appendix 3) and later transcribed with the computer program *Transcriber*. The transcriptions of interviews and the data obtained through observations together constitute the raw data that needs to be analysed in order to develop theory. The framework to analyse the data used in this qualitative study is grounded theory (Bryman 2004: 401-406). In grounded theory, the collection and analysis of data are closely related to the development of theory. In practice this means that the analysis of interviews can raise new questions that can be elaborated on in succeeding interviews: it is through the interaction of the researcher with the data that new questions and concepts can develop (Corbin & Strauss 2008: 216). The method is rather inductive of nature: theory arises from the data. The process and the tools that are used in the development of theory are elaborated on in this section.

First of all, through coding, raw data is raised to the conceptual level (Corbin & Strauss 2008: 66). It enables the filtering of raw data, and is required before the researcher can generate concepts. Importantly, concepts are *interpretations*, the product of analysis (Corbin & Strauss 2008: 159). The coding of concepts can be done through the writing of memos that reflect on the raw data and on the development of concept by the researcher (Corbin & Strauss 2008: 159-193). The analysis of data is aimed at discovering relationships between aspects and generating concepts. Some of the relevant concepts emerged from the data obtained during interviews, while others emerged after rereading and analysing interviews afterwards. Subsequently, the obtained concepts are grouped in such a manner that categories or themes are developed. The development of categories is aimed at reducing and combining data in order to represent a phenomenon (Corbin & Strauss 2008: 159). It is, in other words, important to keep in mind that aspects are interrelated and that they should thus be studied as such. The analysis procedure requires a constant shift between zooming in on individual concepts and zooming out on the relations between themes that could form categories. The analysis procedure continues to a point where "emerging concepts have been fully explored and no new insights are being generated." (Bryman 2004: 544). Bryman labels this point with the term "theoretical saturation", while Corbin and Strauss (2008: 195) label it "conceptual saturation".

In order to analyse the masses of data obtained from the interviews the computer program MAXQDA is used. MAXQDA enables researchers to structure, label, code and compare data obtained from interviews (Corbin & Strauss 2008). While the interviews were transcribed in the original language of the interview, the labelling, coding and comparing of the data was done in English. Figure 3 presents a screenshot of MAXQDA in action. The upper left corner shows the active documents. The lower left corner contains the code system, with a list of all codes that were assigned during the process. It also contains information on the number of assigned

---

<sup>9</sup> The interest in all types of encounters, including non-verbal ones, was stressed during the interview introduction, see appendix 3.

codes. The lower right corner shows the retrieved segmented for a filter action. In this case it shows the results for the fragments of text that were labelled with "Tourist attitudes: party and experience hungry". When segments are clicked, the segment is shown in the upper right corner of the screen. The segments then appears in the context of the original interview, in this case the transcribed interview held with Nicole. Note that text fragments can be labelled with more than one code.

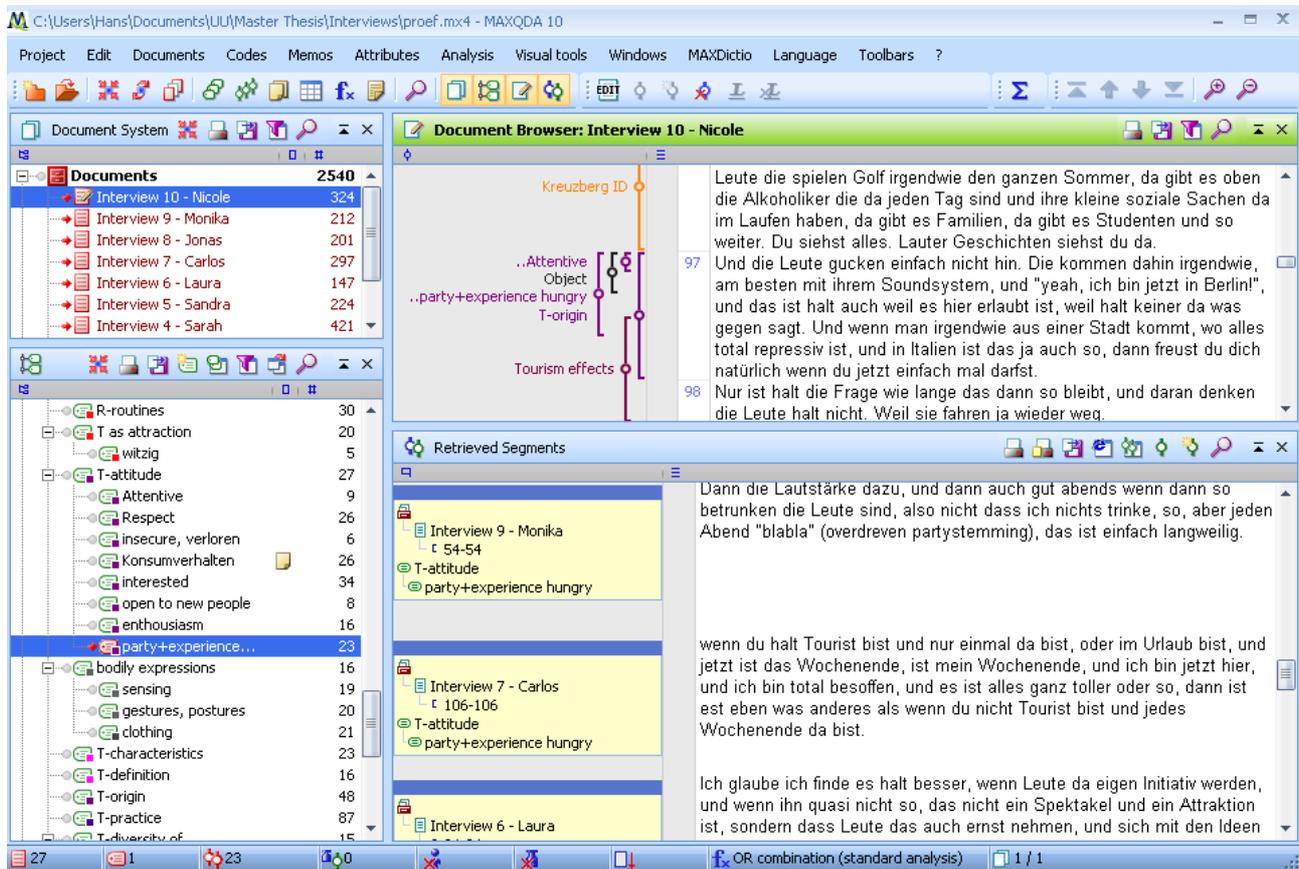


Figure 3: MAXQDA screenshot.



## Chapter 4 – Introducing the research area

This chapter provides a context for the rest of the study. It consists of a first impression of the research area and describes some general characteristics, and links this to the rest of Kreuzberg. An introduction to the Berlin context in general, as well as some characteristics and growth of the tourism sector in Berlin more specifically, were already provided in section 1.3. Kreuzberg is located in central Berlin. Other central city districts include Friedrichshain, Prenzlauer Berg, Mitte, northern Neukölln and Schöneberg, as depicted in figure 4. The figure also shows the location of the research area within this context.

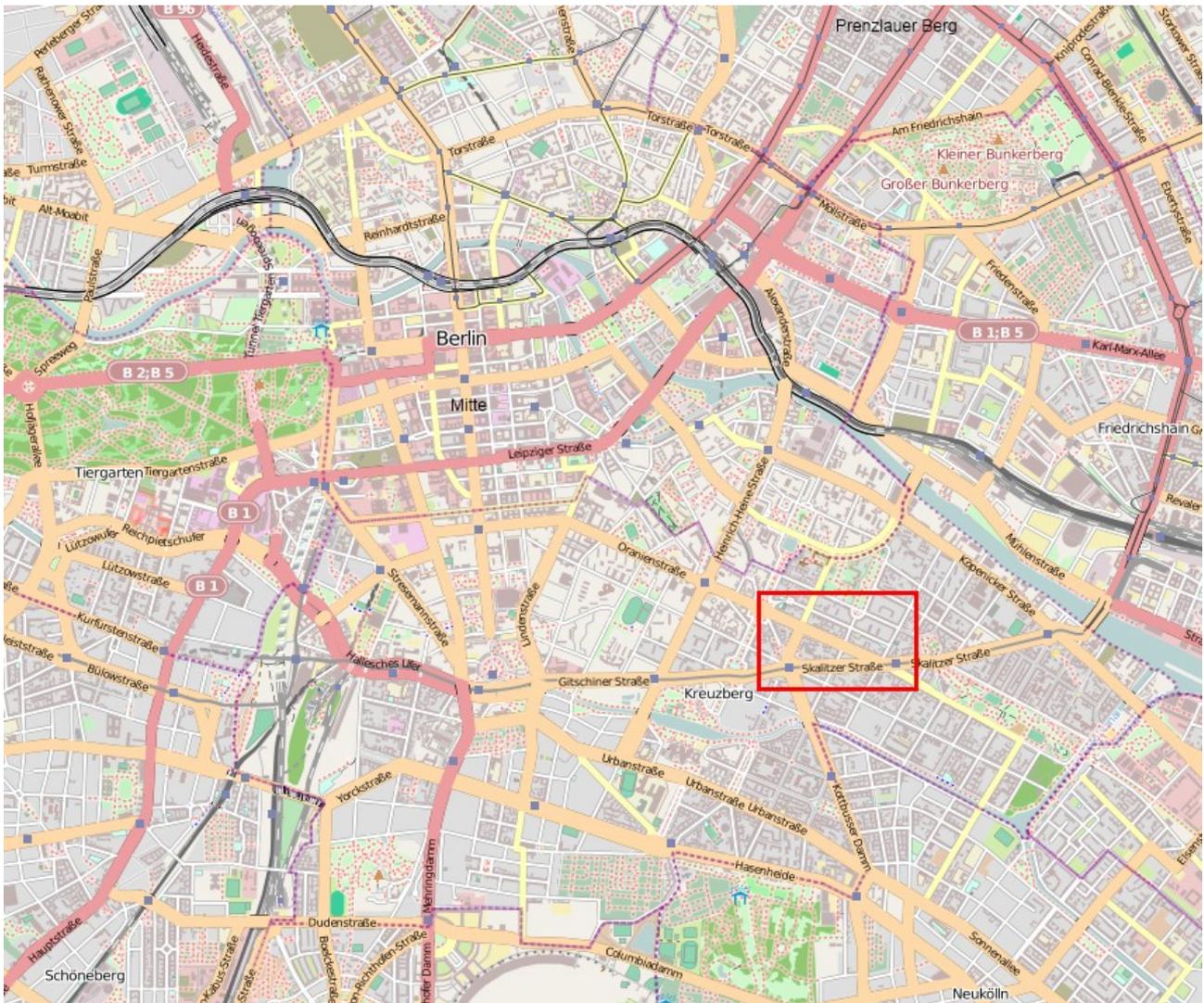


Figure 4: The research area in the context of central city districts.  
Source: Open Street Maps, 2011, edited by author.

In this study, the area of main interest consists of the Oranienstraße between Oranienplatz and Görlitzer Bahnhof, Kottbusser Tor, the Adalbertstraße between these two places and the direct surroundings (figure 5). The area is located in the centre of the eastern part of Kreuzberg, which is also called Kreuzberg 36. The Oranienstraße and Adalbertstraße are relatively narrow streets, lined with mostly relatively small shops, restaurants, cafés and bars. It provides these streets an atmosphere that can be described as intimate, lively, slightly chaotic and at times a bit crowded. The little square at the crossing of Oranienstraße and Mariannenstraße is called Heinrichplatz. The restaurants and eateries in these streets are from a variety of international cuisines. Most amenities are individually owned, rather than that they are franchises or chains. However, some restaurants and shops have branches in other parts of the city.

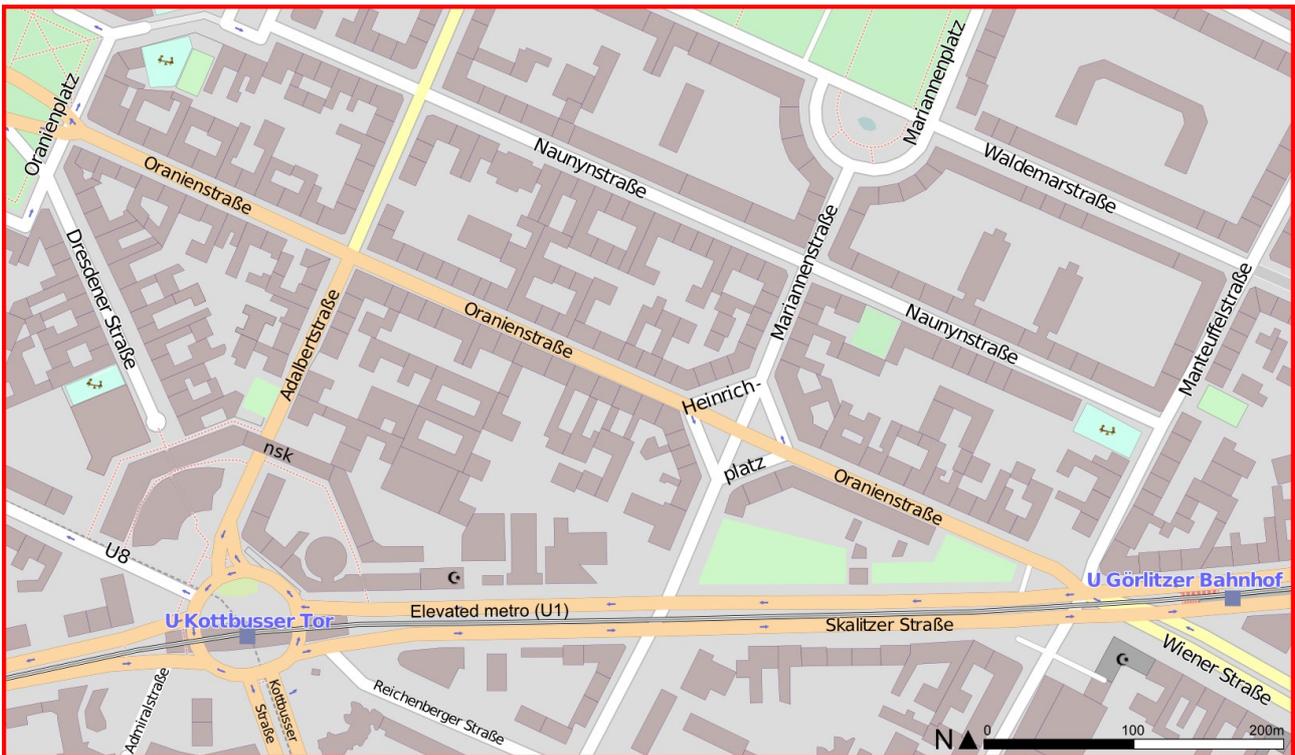


Figure 5: Research area map.  
 Source: Open Street Maps, 2011, edited by author.

Kottbusser Tor (sometimes informally called *Kotti*) is home to a few supermarkets, a library and a number of smaller food stores and eateries, but also clubs and cafés. Many of these eateries are owned by people with a Turkish background, often also serving Turkish food. The same holds true for many amenities in the Adalbertstraße. Kottbusser Tor is a busy, lively square, mainly due to a large amount of traffic, a busy metro station and the many urban functions concentrated here. The *Neue Kreuzberger Zentrum* (NKZ) from the early 1970's is a visually dominant building at Kottbusser Tor (see figure 6). Most buildings in the area were built between 1880 and 1900, while many houses in the area were destroyed and rebuilt as part of urban restructuring programs in the 1970's and 1980's. Directly south of the Oranienstraße, following the trajectory of the Skalitzer Straße, which itself is a major road for car traffic, runs the overground metro line U1. This metro line has overground stations at Kottbusser Tor (which also serves metro line U8) and Görliitzer Bahnhof in the west and east of the research area respectively. Additionally, high-frequency bus line M29 runs through the Oranienstraße, while bus 140 runs through the Adalbertstraße. During the weekend the metro runs 24 hours a day, while on other days of the week night buses N1, N8 and M29 serve the area. In terms of public transport, the area is very well connected with other central city districts. Apart from the urban functions already mentioned, the area is home to a big variety of other functions. These includes schools, hairdressers, book shops, bakeries, a diversity of grocery shops, a food market, mosques, galleries, a cinema, clothes stores and pharmacy. In recent years, the share of gastronomic uses in the area has increased, especially in the Oranienstraße and Adalbertstraße, as well as at Kottbusser Tor. The Oranienstraße does not house any supermarkets at present, while there used to be three big ones, for example. There are now more cafés, restaurants and night shops. Also, there are several recent examples of a transformation of uses, from fashion store into restaurant, from fashion store into night shop, and from bakery into restaurant. Some amenities had to close due to increased rents. At present, gastronomy is the major urban function of the amenities in the research area. As part of the observations, it was counted that about 55 percent of the amenities that line the streets are gastronomic<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> This count was done on the Oranienstraße (between Görliitzer Bahnhof and Oranienplatz) and the Adalbertstraße (between NKZ and Oranienstraße). All amenities where foods or drinks can be bought and consumed where counted as gastronomic.

In terms of nightlife, the area houses a number of bars, clubs and music venues. To mention a few: *Möbel Olfe*, *SO36*, *Bateau Ivre*, *Farbfemseher*, *Monarch*, *Roses*, *Luzia*, *Festsaal Kreuzberg*, *Que Pasa* and *Ballhaus Naunynstraße*. The clientèle of the gastronomic and nightlife facilities consists of people from Kreuzberg, but also attracts a lot of people from other parts of Berlin, as well as tourists. Also, some relatively small museums and galleries are located in the research area, namely *Kreuzberg Museum*, *Museum der Dinge*, *Kunsthau Bethanien*, *NGBK* and some other small art galleries. The Kreuzberg Museum deals with themes such as urban redevelopment projects of the 1970's and 1980's, protest movements, migration and everyday life. The museum also features temporary exhibitions and is visited by school classes, neighbourhood residents and tourists. None of the aforementioned museums and galleries is a major crowd-puller for the area, although they do attract a reasonable amount of tourists. There are three hostels in the direct surroundings of the research area: *Comebackpackers*, *Baxpax Hostel* and *36 ROOMS Hostel*. Additionally, there are some holiday apartments, among others in the Reichenberger Straße, Graefestraße, Oranienstraße and Lausitzer Straße. The area is home to a lot of small-scale businesses in the creative industry such as design bureaus, media businesses and artists, which are located mainly in Hinterhöfe. In the direct surroundings of the research area, several green areas can be found. They are used by neighbourhood residents, as well as by other people. In the west, Oranienplatz is part of a north-south orientated green structure. In summer, this functions as a meeting place for neighbourhood residents. The shores of the Landwehrkanal, located to the south of the research area on the border with city district Neukölln, are popular places for strolling, leisure and also houses a much-frequented food market. Görlitzer Park, located to the east, is a relatively large park, with a soccer field, a swimming pool, a petting zoo and a large open park area. Also, the research area is home to several playgrounds. The former Berlin Wall is located just north of the research area. The location of the aforementioned places in the surroundings of the research area can be found on the map presented in figure 7.



Figure 6: Bird's eye view of the research area.  
Source: Bing Maps, 2011.

Kreuzberg as a whole has around 145.000 inhabitants. The neighbourhood has a high population density: 14.260 inhabitants per square kilometre (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2009). The research area is even denser populated, with around 29.000 inhabitants per square kilometre<sup>11</sup>. The population of Kreuzberg is characterised by a great diversity of people. What follows next is an impression of the main inhabitant groups of eastern Kreuzberg:

<sup>11</sup> Own calculation, data derived from Digitaler Umweltatlas (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2009).

- People who have been living in the area for a long time, often for generations. In German, this group is often referred to as *Urberliner* or *Alteingesessene*. This group consists mainly of seniors and elderly people.
- People with migration backgrounds, most abundantly people with a Turkish or Arabic background. This group consists of several generations: elderly, but also many families and youngsters.
- People who moved to Kreuzberg in the 1970's and 1980's, who are now typically in their fifties. Most of these people are from the former Western part of Germany. Many of them came as political activists, punks, artists, squatters or came because of forms of communal living.
- High-educated yuppies. A fair share of this group has (young) children. In media, this group is most prominently linked with gentrification.
- Young people (20-35 years old) from other places. Many of them from the rest of Germany, but also a lot from southern Europe, western Europe and North-America. Their motivation for moving to the area is often found in the following: they find it an interesting area, are interested in the creative scene and nightlife or come because of their political orientation. This group includes students and other high-educated people, as well as people who can be described as hipsters. A part of this group is formed by people who live in the area for only a few months or years.

Unfortunately, there are no conclusive population statistics available for the research area, but it seems that the former two mentioned groups are declining. Partially this is due to gentrification processes that result in higher rents. Also, and related to this, Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg had an unemployment rate of 15,0% in 2009, compared to 13,7% in Berlin as a whole and 8,2% in the whole of Germany (Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin 2010: 48). On the other hand, the share of the research area population in the latter two groups increases. This is especially the case since 5 till 10 years. Additionally, there are several other groups of daily users of the area: people who work in the area, alcoholics and homeless people. These two latter groups are concentrated around Kottbuser Tor.

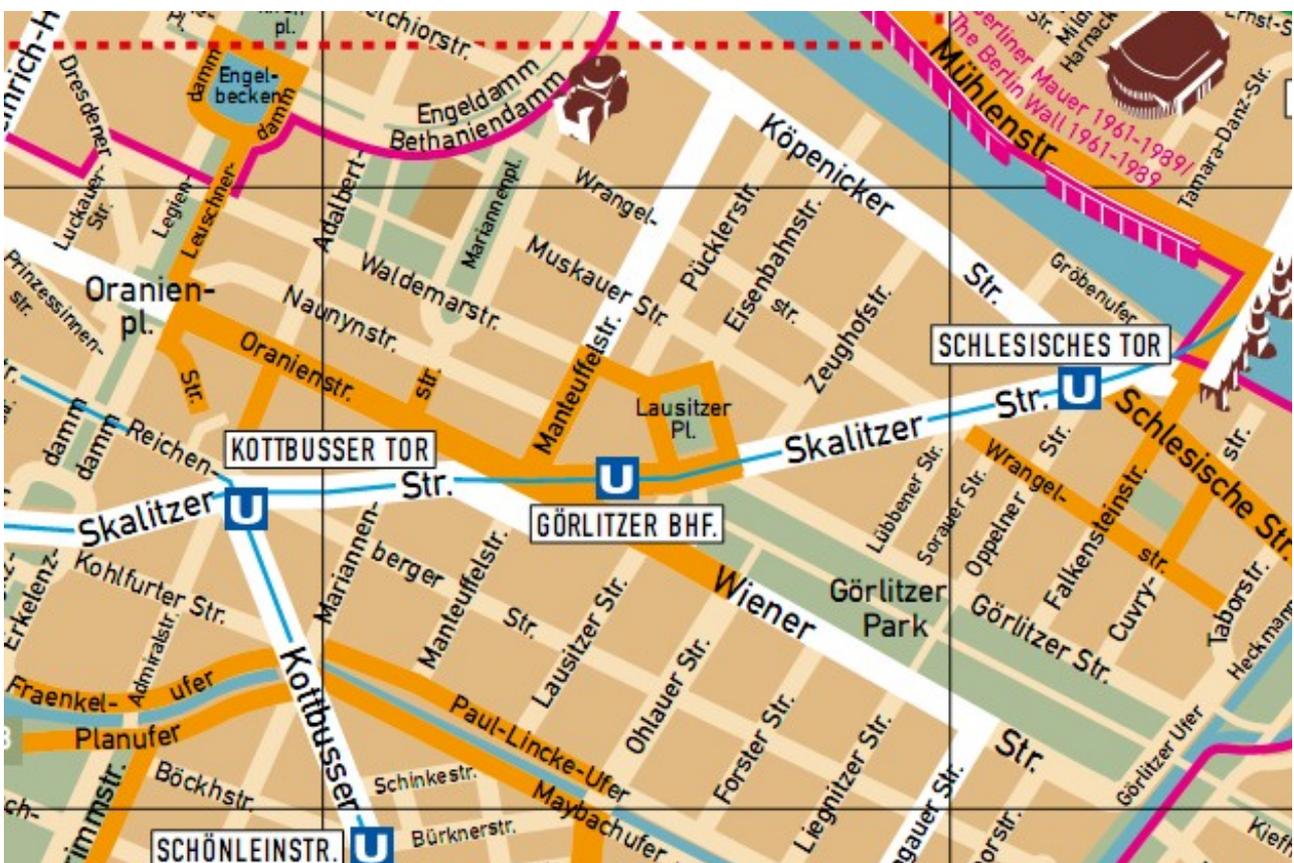


Figure 7: Dinamix city map 2011; eastern Kreuzberg crop.  
Source: Dinamix, 2011.

Since 2001 Kreuzberg is part of *Bezirk* Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, one of the 12 *Bezirke* of Berlin. Currently, the mayor of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg is Franz Schulz (*Die Grünen*). The research area is one of the 19 most urgent urban revitalisation areas in Berlin. *Quartiersmanagement Zentrum Kreuzberg / Oranienstraße* is the organisation designated by the Berlin government to deal with social problems in the area including unemployment, education and integration. In German media, in newspapers and on television, the area was often linked with alcoholics, drug dealers, unemployment and integration problems. Additionally it had the image of a dangerous area. However, the media coverage emphasis seems to shift towards other topics as well, especially related to leisure, gastronomy, nightlife and general increased popularity of the area. This holds true for local newspapers, city magazines, as well as for tourist guidebooks.

Most tourists visiting the area are from Germany, the rest Europe or North-America. Many people from South-European countries such as Spain and Italy, as well as from western- and northern Europe, visit the area for a short period of time, often weekends. Most tourists are relatively young, but there are quite a lot of senior tourists as well, especially during the day. In general, the amount of tourists is highest in summer, but spring and autumn are also popular times of the year to visit. In winter there are less visiting tourists.

More characteristics, practices and other aspects of both tourists and residents are accounted for in the next chapter.



## Chapter 5 – Tourist-resident encounters

This chapter focusses on the encounters between tourists and residents. It takes into consideration the when, where and how of these encounters, as well as the role of physical attributes of the context. The chapter answers the first research question, as introduced in chapter 1, applying the research methods introduced in sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2:

*When, where and how do tourists and residents interact with each other and in what respect are these encounters related to the physical attributes of their shared situation?*

The structure of this chapter is centred around types of social practices during actual encounters, irrespective of whether these practices are conducted by residents or tourists. This enables an assessment of a wide variety of encounters and provides the chapter structure in order to answer the research question. The order in which these social practices are discussed is as follows. The chapter starts with a discussion of encounters centred around practices that mainly take place in public space: gazing and photography, little chats, and educational practices. Building on this, the spatial practices of both residents and tourists are discussed. A separate section focusses on social practices related to crowdedness and congestion. The sections thereafter are on practices that mainly take place in more private places, such as restaurants, bars, and clubs. Sections on the following social practices are discussed: consumption of food and drinks, practices related to the exchange of goods and services in both formal and informal economies, and nightlife practices. After that, a section follows on practices that are related to lodging, both in specialized places, such as hotels, and more informal arrangements at homes of residents. Subsequently, a discussion of encounters centred around practices of protest and events follows. The chapter finishes with a concluding section that answers the first research question. Naturally, the fact that encounters often consist of different types of practices is not ignored. In the sections on a specific type of practice, this practice is explicitly linked to other types of practices as they occur during actual encounters.

A number of aspects of encounters between tourists and residents is discussed throughout the aforementioned sections. Essentially, these aspects are the other elements of the conceptual model discussed in section 2.7.1 (figure 1). The following aspects are integrated in the discussion of social practices that shape encounters:

- places and physical attributes;
- objects, bodily expressions and attributes;
- groups and group dynamics;
- resident routines;
- times;
- conflict and synergy.

Thus, for every section, these aspects and their influence on practices and actual encounters are discussed.

### **5.1 Watching and photography**

#### 5.1.1 Watching

A major practice of tourists is watching around to explore their (new) environment. Because of this, they are often distracted by the things they see. As a result, they regularly do not pay attention to other things going on. Residents in the routines of their everyday lives seem to pay more attention to what happens on the street level, especially things that are in front of them. Tourists on the other hand, also look on the higher levels of the street, for instance to façades, and also more to things all around them. The practices of tourists can be described as exploratory, in relating to elements of their surroundings as potentially interesting. During observations, it became clear that this includes all possible types of places and all possible types of objects. In contrast, the practices of people in their routines seem to be more

function-oriented, for example by paying attention to things that can help them to efficiently get from A to B. The most common time to watch around is during the day, for the obvious reason that things are easier to see when there is day light. Watching is often accompanied with other activities, such as talking about what is seen with others, and with practices of photography. This issue is dealt with in the next section.

### 5.1.2 Objects and places being photographed

During observations and interviews it became clear that tourists take pictures of a wide variety of objects and places, as can be seen from figure 9. Judging by observations, graffiti and posters, façades, general street scenes, and acquaintances seemed to be the most popular subjects of photography. Although there are some buildings that are more frequently photographed than others, such as the NKZ-building at Kottbusser Tor and buildings at Heinrichplatz, photography is relatively spread out throughout the area. Naturally, the amount of pictures taken at a place in the area depends on the frequency of visits to that place (see also section 5.3). In contrast to other areas visited by tourists, there are no real must-sees or highlights like churches, temples or museums that stand out. Rather, photography seems to relate to the general atmosphere of the area, including buildings, terraces, shops, gastronomy, and importantly, people. This implies that everyday users of the area, including residents and people who work in the area, are probable elements on pictures of tourists and other photographers. Other, more singled out objects being photographed include doors, graffiti, posters, windows, food, drinks, menus, advertisements, cars, musicians, and dish antennas. Photography takes place at different types of places, such as on streets, in parks, in *Hinterhöfe*, shops, restaurants, and in the metro.



Figure 8 (a-b, from left to right): Tourist practice: taking a picture of a banner.

Although, as explained above, photography is generally spread out throughout the area and a wide variety of places and objects are photographed, some photography practice patterns emerged during structured observations. As an example, some objects such as the banner hanging on the façade of a building depicted in figure 8, capture the attention of unrelated individuals. What is more, such objects trigger similar photography practices, also in terms of bodily postures and the handling of cameras. The pictures were taken during structured observations (25-08-2010, 12:13 & 12:24) on location 1 (see figure 2). The people on the pictures are unrelated. Throughout the day, numerous similar situations occurred, although predominantly during the morning and afternoon. The pictures are a good illustration of the fact that tourist photography practice is context dependent. In this case, practice depends on a combination of contextual factors:

- time of the day, visibility;
- event (football world cup in South Africa), political situation (presence of the German army in Africa), resident practice (which is related to political opinions);
- mobile material object (banner);
- tourist practice (carrying camera, walking pass, noticing banner, walking to other side of the street, taking picture).

Interestingly, some of the people who photographed the scene were Spanish speaking people. Most likely, not all of these people could understand the German text on the banner, but rather photographed the banner as an object as such. Photography in the area is by no means exclusively practised by tourists. Many respondents put forward that they take pictures in their daily lives. Some take pictures as a hobby, for example of street art. In this case, the actual practices and the objects of interest are very similar, if not indistinguishable from those of tourists. Others respondents take pictures of the area for documentation, while Nicole had to pictures of gastronomy in the street for the magazine where she does an internship. In some cases, tourists are the subject of the photos made by residents. Note how physical elements of the situation (kitchen, window, elevation above street level, street), postures and gestures of both residents and tourists, as well as the everyday routine of sitting in the kitchen and watching the scenery, are all constitutive of the following encounter:

“Ich habe an der Naunynstraße gelebt, Ecke Adalbertstraße. Dann saß ich manchmal in der Küche und habe ich draußen eine Gruppe gesehen. [...] Und dann wollte ich ein Foto von denen machen. Ich saß so mit einem Freund in diesem Fenster und wir haben darüber geredet und dann habe ich die Kamera hingehalten, und die haben alle gewunken.” *Sarah*

This quotation also puts forward the socially interactive aspect of photography. In this case this constitutes of the interactions between Sarah and her friend, pointing a camera at tourists, and waving. Photography as an interactive practice will be discussed in the following section.

### 5.1.3 Photography as an interactive practice

It is important to stress that photography is an embodied practice. Both the person taking a picture and people who are being photographed have different postures and handle different objects during the photography process. A short impression of such postures, bodily expressions, and practices can be found in figure 9. Additionally, photography is a practice in which people interact with objects and people that surround them, rather than a form of passive visual consumption. Photography is a deeply social practice, often within the context of the own group. People pose together, often with objects, particularly with drinks and food. Additionally, these and other elements of the context such as bars, graffiti and parks are used as scenery for pictures. People, in other words, actively interact with the context during practices of photography and sometimes alter it. During observations, many varieties of this phenomenon were observed. As an example, a group of French youngsters on a school trip posed with a number of posters they discovered on various locations. At some point, one of the boys pulled a concert poster off of a pole. During the remainder of the way, the poster functioned as an object central to the group dynamics. While walking, the poster was passed around the group, people playfully posed with it and took pictures of it on different locations. After a few hundred meters the attention was drawn away from the poster, but it was still carried along, apparently as some sort of souvenir. Also, people interact during photography by watching and pointing at objects being photographed, especially in groups (see figure 9d,g,j and 10e). Often this is accompanied with discussing the things being photographed. In the age of digital photography, gathering around a camera to check photos after they are taken is another social practice, often combined with laughing and discussing them in a group. Photography, in other words, is a practice that can take an important role in social interactions. All these practices can result in spatial group practices like standing still to take a picture, waiting for a person to finish taking pictures, and gathering again. Another much observed phenomenon is that passers-by, whether tourists or residents, curiously observe photographers and checked what they were taken a picture of. In figure 9d, for example, the man on the right is a passer-by who observes the two tourists that take a picture of the graffiti. In some cases

this leads to comments or small chats between photographers and other people. The practice of taking pictures can trigger a diversity of other reactions by residents. As an example, a resident with a dog and a tourist started some small-talk about the weather and a about the dog. This happened after the tourist had asked if she could take a picture of the two, and after that picture was taken. Sometimes the reactive practices of residents can be of a more conflictual nature. To prevent from being on a picture, some people stop walking until a picture is taken, walk around the photographer, or cross to the other side of the street, either because they do not want to disturb the photographer or because of privacy reasons<sup>12</sup>. Others turn their head away when they notice they are being photographed or start protesting. An example of a conflictual encounter that resulted from a tourist taking a picture, involving both verbal and non-verbal protest, is described by one of the respondents:

“Das war am Kottbusser Damm. Also als er da vorbei gelaufen ist, hat dieser Typ irgendwie ein Foto gemacht von uns oder von meinem Freund. Er war auf jedem Fall auf dem Bild. Mein Freund war nur sauer, ich weiß nicht, er hat "Arschloch!" oder sowas gesagt. Und genau, er hat auf dem Boden gespuckt.” *Sarah*

The reaction of not wanting to be photographed is not a new phenomenon. Walter remembers an encounter that took place during the 1980's. He remembers how some squatters he knew were so annoyed by being photographed, that they took away cameras of tourists. They would only return the cameras in return for a fee, although without the film:

“Es gab Touristen die so neugierig waren, dass die mit deren Fotoapparaten ins Haus reingegangen sind. Na, die waren die große Verlierer. Die wurden die Fotoapparaten weggenommen. Gegen eine Bezahlung von 10 bis 20 D-Mark wurde der Fotoapparat *ohne* Film wieder zurück gegeben.” *Walter*



Figure 9 (a-l, from left to right, from top to bottom): Photography includes gestures and is part of an interactive process.

<sup>12</sup> More on the experience of photography and privacy can be found in section 6.2.2.

## 5.2 Knowledge centred practices

### 5.2.1 Directions and tips

Tourists who are unfamiliar with the area often use maps, guidebooks, electronic devices, and signs in public space to get around. Handling these objects or reading these signs is often done while standing still on the street or while sitting somewhere. Looking for directions or places to go is not just a mental process of interpreting and decision-making, but also a practice taking place in a physical context. The following situation highlights this: during the night, a tourist used the light of a showroom to be able to read his map in the dark, interacting with and redefining the purpose of the context. In addition, gaining information is often done by the involvement of other individuals in a practice of social interaction. It was observed that many tourists exchange information and experiences with other tourists, especially at hostels, but also at other places. Often, this practice is a low key conversation starter, regularly resulting in joined activities. Additionally, tourists often initiate conversations with residents in order to gain information. Almost all interviewed respondents indicated that they are regularly asked for directions or tips about nice cafés or restaurants. Also, they are sometimes asked about practicalities, such as how cash machines work or how to buy a metro ticket. In short, these small conversations are initiated by tourists in order to gain information. This type of encounter often involves objects such as maps and guidebooks. Most of these small conversations are in English as most foreign tourists do not speak German, but there are also examples of foreign tourists who try to speak German. On the other hand, several respondents indicated they sometimes speak other languages, such as Spanish or Italian, with unknown tourists on the street. The tourist practice of asking for directions occurs mainly at specific places within the research area, especially at metro station exits and at street corners. As one of the respondents puts it:

"Kottbusser Tor, da steigen sie dann aus. Da ist der Drogerie, und der Kaisers, da gehe ich oft einkaufen. Und an der Stelle werde ich dann ganz oft gefragt, "Where is Oranienstraße?"." *Nicole*

This quotation highlights two practices. First, a resident routine, namely grocery shopping at a specific place and second, a recurring pattern of tourist practice, namely arriving with the metro at Kottbusser Tor and then asking for directions to go to Oranienstraße. This example shows that specific resident routines and specific recurring tourist practices intersect at specific places. Another place within the research area where this happens is at Oranienplatz, a square located near the route of the former Berlin Wall. Kerstin, whose workplace is located directly near Oranienplatz, mentions that she is regularly asked about the exact location of the Berlin Wall, while no other respondent mentions this type of question.

Although small conversations are often centred around the exchange of information, they are often also accompanied by little chats of a social nature. For instance about Berlin or Kreuzberg, about tourists or residents themselves or about the country of origin of the tourist. For tourists, small-talk can form a way to get in contact with locals and find out about insider information (in German often referred to as *Geheimtipps*) they would otherwise not have access to. Florian sometimes makes use of such situations and hands over a flyer of concerts he organises. Although the respondents indicate that generally they are willing to help tourists, some also state that they are sometimes reluctant to share all information and tips they could provide<sup>13</sup>. Also, one of the respondents indicated that she sometimes intentionally sends tourists in the wrong direction, while some other respondents know people who sometimes do so<sup>14</sup>. There are also plenty of examples where these small interactions are initiated by residents. As an example, a young German couple in the Oranienstraße, handling a Berlin map, was approached by an elderly German man, who was clearly looking for some small-talk. For him, the map was a conversation starter with these young people. Also, several respondents indicated that they sometimes approach tourists, rather than the other way around. As Özlem explains:

"Wenn man irgendwo sitzt, zum Beispiel im Café oder im Restaurant, und da sind zwei

<sup>13</sup> For more on this topic, see section 6.4.2.

<sup>14</sup> The intention behind this practice is discussed in section 6.2.2.

Leute die unbeholfen schauen und wirklich was erfahren wollen, dann frage ich natürlich "Kann ich behilflich sein?", "Suchen Sie was?", man kommt ins Gespräch..." Özlem

## 5.2.2 Tours

### *Tour groups*

The area is visited by a variety of touring groups. Such tours can take the form of many different types: school groups, excursions and organised walking tours. Most organised tours have a special focus, such as street art, population diversity or food and are often named accordingly: "Street Art Tour", "Weltstadt Kreuzberg" and "Global Food Tour" are just three examples. The most common moment for walking tours is in the daytime, although some night time tours were observed as well. Additionally, the area is toured by people in buses or on bicycles. The two most common group types of organised tours, on the basis of observations, are school groups (typically 15-40 people) and guided walking tours (typically 10-20 people). However, the area is also visited by many other groups. A little hint of the diversity of groups on tour, noted during observations:

- a group of civil servants from the SPD political party from Munich, having lunch at a Turkish restaurant in the Adalbertstraße as part of their week-long excursion, while their touring car is parked in the Oranienstraße;
- a group of Scandinavian design students waiting at an house entrance in the Mariannenstraße (figure 15f);
- a group of twelve Germans, all aged over 40, who rented a tour-guide;
- a Spanish girl in her mid-twenties showing around her parents;
- a group of Berlin schoolchildren, working outdoor on an exercise on building styles and Kreuzberg history.

The latter example demonstrates that groups on tour are not necessarily tourists from other cities or countries. In their practices, this group of schoolchildren revealed some striking similarities with other groups on tour. They explored the neighbourhood in small group, accompanied with a guiding text, walked slowly and constantly looked around. As will be argued later, these are typical practices for tourists as well.

An important distinguishing feature of tour groups is their extent and form of organisation. Some tours are highly organised, with a clear leading figure guiding a group around. However, this practice is sometimes combined with other forms of organisation. An example of this is a large school group that gets an hour of free time after they walked through the area as a group. The group gets time off to explore the neighbourhood themselves and are expected to regroup at a specific time and place. After the group dispersed in smaller groups, the school children subsequently organised activities such as eating at different places or shopping. Therefore, the way a large group is organised impacts the way other users of public space encounter individuals of that group.

### *Tours and internal dynamics*

During tours, there is typically one guide, who regularly tells something to the participants of the tour. On the walking tour "Weltstadt Kreuzberg", for example, a tour in which I participated, participants are informed about different types of migration in Kreuzberg history and about the diversity of Kreuzberg inhabitants, but also about street art and the squatter scene of the 1980's. In the case of a walking tour, moments where the guide interacts with the whole group, take place mostly while the participants stand in a circle. The eyes of the participants are focussed on the guide and on the objects and places that the guide refers to. Consequently, the attention to what happens in the rest of the surroundings tends to decrease, which can lead to conflicts (see section 5.3.2). Most tour guides are aware of this and choose the places where they hold still accordingly, namely on places where other people are not hindered by the group. This especially holds true for guides who lead tours on a regular basis. Experienced tour guides hold still on places where no flows of people take place, such as at squares, in *Hinterhöfe* or at house entrances (figure 10a,c,f). Within the research area, Heinrichplatz and Kottbusser Tor were observed as being popular places for groups to gather

and listen to talks of tour guides. Groups that organise their tours themselves, such as student groups or other less organised groups, on the other hand, have been observed as paying less attention (see figure 15c).



Figure 10 (a-f, from left to right, from top to bottom): Groups on tour.

Tour guides often use the physical attributes of the context to tell their story. Figure 10f shows an example of a Street Art Tour, where the tour guide points at a poster and tells a story, while the participants watch and listen. Interestingly, the practices of a guide often also trigger the interest of people who do not participate in the tour, whether they are tourists or not. In this particular case, the people on the nearby terrace listened to what the guide had to tell. After the group had gone, they also watched these posters at the house entrance and took pictures of them. During walking tours, interactions between participants and guide are common. This includes asking questions about the stories told, but also about the tour guide him- or herself. Participants often start to interact with each other as well, also when they do not know each other beforehand. This illustrates that tours are not just about the exchange of knowledge, but rather are also encounters with social interaction between different types of participants. In practices this means that a Danish student comes in contact with an Israeli school teacher, while an elderly German woman from a small village starts talking with a London-based designer. In some cases, social interaction during the tour can lead to contacts after the tour, as the following example illustrates. A group of school children who live in Kreuzberg (~13 years of age), had to organize a tour through their neighbourhood. In these tours, the school children told about places where their daily lives take place, such as the library and kebab shops. Maysoon El-Awad, one of the school children that participated in this project, comments on what happened after the tour<sup>15</sup>: “Mit einer Gruppe aus Köln waren wir nach einer Tour shoppen, und wir haben uns sehr gut verstanden. Wir haben sie also besser kennen gelernt und auch E-Mailadressen ausgetauscht.” (Kreuzberg Museum 2011). In some cases participants play an very active role during tours and interact with the context in playful manners. *Stattreisen* offers a tour where participants play a game which is similar to the board

<sup>15</sup> This quotation is part of a text featured in the exhibition “Wir sind Kreuzberg!” in the Kreuzberg Museum (22-02-2011 — 03-04-2011).

game "Mister X". In small groups, the participants ride the U-Bahn and following some rules they have to hunt other participants in the meanwhile. Similarly, together with a friend, Nicole observed a tour where participants play games in public space during a summer night at Heinrichplatz. She describes this encounter as follows:

"Im Sommer saßen wir da oft die ganze Abend, haben uns ein Bier geholt, und haben da die Leute beobachtet. Letztens zum Beispiel saßen wir da und dann kamen Stadtführungen, das sind so neuen alternativen Arten von Stadtführungen, die spielen dann immer Spiele. Und die haben auf dem Heinrichplatz auf jeder Insel, irgendwie so kleine Mensch-Ärger-Dich-Nicht-Männchen aufgestellt und sind dann immer wenn die Ampel grün war, immer hin und her gerannt, in verschiedenen Gruppen. Und wir haben eine Stunde gebraucht bis wir ungefähr verstanden haben was die da machen. Mit Walkie-Talkies waren die auch. Und dann waren die am Mariannenplatz und haben dann den ganzen Boden irgendwie rot und blau angemalt, und wieder irgendwie ein Spiel gespielt." *Nicole*

Note how Nicole's routine of drinking a beer with a friend during summer nights, interferes with playful practices of tourists. This encounter shows how objects and physical attributes of the shared situation (such as traffic lights) can play their part in encounters. Another important point that can be learned from the previous quotation is that activities of tour groups can attract the attention of residents. This can lead to a variety of encounters, in which non-participants get involved in the situation to varying extents. This is discussed in the following sections.

#### *Encounters between tour groups and residents*

In many cases, groups on tours can be observed in public space. However, it is also possible that residents can see tours from their homes, as could be the case when a group visits a *Hinterhof*. Sandra, for example, frequently observes groups of cycling tourists from her window, as her house is situated directly alongside the Berlin Wall cycling route. In other cases, the house where people live is watched and talked about during tours. Laura describes how she regularly observes tourists and their practices from the window of the building where she lives:

"Es kommt vor dass Gruppen von Leuten das Gebäude gezeigt wird. [...] Ich habe das nur von oben aus dem Fenster gesehen, dass sie quasi in einer Gruppe da stehen, dass eine Person die die Stadtführung macht, oder die Viertelführung oder so, halt etwas erzählt über das Haus, und dass dann alle hoch gucken. Die stehen dann eine Weile, vielleicht 10 Minuten oder so, und gucken und hören zu." *Laura*

Tours can lead to a diversity of encounters between residents and tour participants. The previous examples show how tours are relatively passively observed by residents. However, organised walking tours can also trigger encounters in which residents get more actively involved. Here are some examples of such actual encounters. First, during a walking tour of *Stattdreisen* in which I participated, the tour guide told about the following encounter he had at a previous walking tour. He was telling the participants about the synagogue at *Fraenkelufer*, while the group was listening to him. While he was doing so, a car drove by from which a youngster shouted "*Das ist ein Judenhaus*<sup>16</sup>!". This encounter shows that walking tours are sometimes commented on by outsiders. During another organised tour I participated in, the participants were told about integration and the multicultural identity of *Kreuzberg*. A by-passing elderly man (~70 years old), who apparently picked up the subject, started complaining about integration problems, about "foreigners" in general and about neighbourhood problems, while he pointed at some of the buildings he thought were most problematic. The tour guide clearly felt uncomfortable with the situation and started discussing these topics with the man. In reaction, the elderly man started talking to the participants of the tour, stating that they should not believe the "overly positive stories" of the tour guide. This encounter took place in the *Bergfriedstraße*, which is located just outside the research area. As a third example of an encounter between tour groups and residents, a girl of around 14 years old, jokingly mingled into a circle of people on a walking tour. She then called out

---

<sup>16</sup> In German, this word relates to the deportation of Jews during the Nazi regime.

“Boo!” and disappeared, joining her giggling girl friends. In return, the participants on the tour, all aged over 25, had to laugh about this incident.

## 5.3 Spatial practices and crowdedness

### 5.3.1 On the move

People move around the area using a number of modes of transportation (figure 11). They walk around, cycle, or are moved around in buggies by their parents. They travel by car, use public transport in the form of bus and metro or, especially at night, use a taxi. Modes of transportation more specific for tourists include touring cars, cycle taxis and even Segways. The latter two modes of transportation were observed incidentally, whereas touring cars were observed regularly. Some of these buses are only on their way through, often with people taking pictures through the windows of the bus (figure 11f). Other buses halt in the area to let out groups of people. This was observed both in the Oranienstraße, in the Skalitzer Straße and at Kottbusser Tor (interview photo 15, appendix 5). Although both residents and tourists cycle in the area, tourists more specifically do so in groups. Often, they are easily recognised by the fact that they cycle on identical, rented bicycles. During observations, many of such groups were observed. Typically, such groups consist of 2-12 people, sometimes accompanied by a guide. In terms of practices, these cycling tourists often cycle slowly, especially when they observe their surroundings or communicate with each other in the meanwhile. Also, they were regularly observed as violating traffic rules, for example by cycling on the wrong side of the street (figure 11a). A relevant aspect impacting on the spatial practices of groups is group size. A general observation is that tourists are more frequently on the move in groups than residents. This is due to a numbers of reasons. First, tourists are often on vacation in groups, and do the majority of their activities with that group. In practice, such groups typically consist of 2 to 8 people. This includes young and senior couples, friend groups or groups of several senior couples. Second, tourist tours, as discussed in the previous section, are done mostly in groups. Third, tourists frequently do activities together, either with other tourists or with



Figure 11 (a-f, from left to right, from top to bottom): Tourists and residents on the move.

friends they visit. Residents, on the other hand, are more often on the move by themselves, in their daily routines. Even when residents have joint activities with acquaintances, this does not necessarily mean they also go to that place together, as it is common to meet at a specific place.

### Routes

The majority of tourists in the research area is on the move within the area, where they visit the streets, the *Hinterhöfe*, shops and other types of places. Most tourists arrive with the metro at Kottbusser Tor or Görlitzer Bahnhof and continue their way walking. On the basis of observations, figure 12 indicates a typical tourist walking route. It also captures the routes of tourists that arrive at one metro station and walk the Oranienstraße and Adalbertstraße back and forth, which is also a rather common practice. Moreover, the figure depicts the relative tourist presence within the research area<sup>17</sup>. As can be seen from the map, the relative tourist presence between places varies strongly. The Oranienstraße and Adalbertstraße, as well as Kottbusser Tor are highly frequented, while other streets, such as the Naunynstraße are barely visited by tourists. This despite the fact that the Naunynstraße is located very near to highly frequented areas. Tourists at Heinrichplatz are most abundant on the north side, where a lot of terraces are located. At Heinrichplatz, the flows of tourists are west-east rather than north-south. Note that the figure illustrates tourist routes during the day and early evening, rather than late at night (see section 5.4.2). The extent to which walks of tourists are planned varies, but most seem to be relatively spontaneous explorations. As mentioned in the previous section, guidebooks, maps and information obtained by asking other people often accompany such trips. During observations, there were also tourists that followed suggested routes. An example of such a route is the 'Radical Kreuzberg' walking tour featured in Lonely Planet Berlin City Guide (2009: 145-146), which runs through Mariannenstraße and Oranienstraße. During observations, many people holding a *Dinamix City Map* (1.4 million copies in 2011) were observed. This map suggest areas worth exploring, rather than routes, and features Oranienstraße, Adalbertstraße and Dresdener Straße (figure 7). Note how strikingly similar this map is compared to the map presented in figure 12. In the research area there are no sign-posted routes. However, directly north-west of the area runs the aforementioned sign-posted Berlin Wall cycle route. Similarly, organised tours, as discussed in the previous section, follow

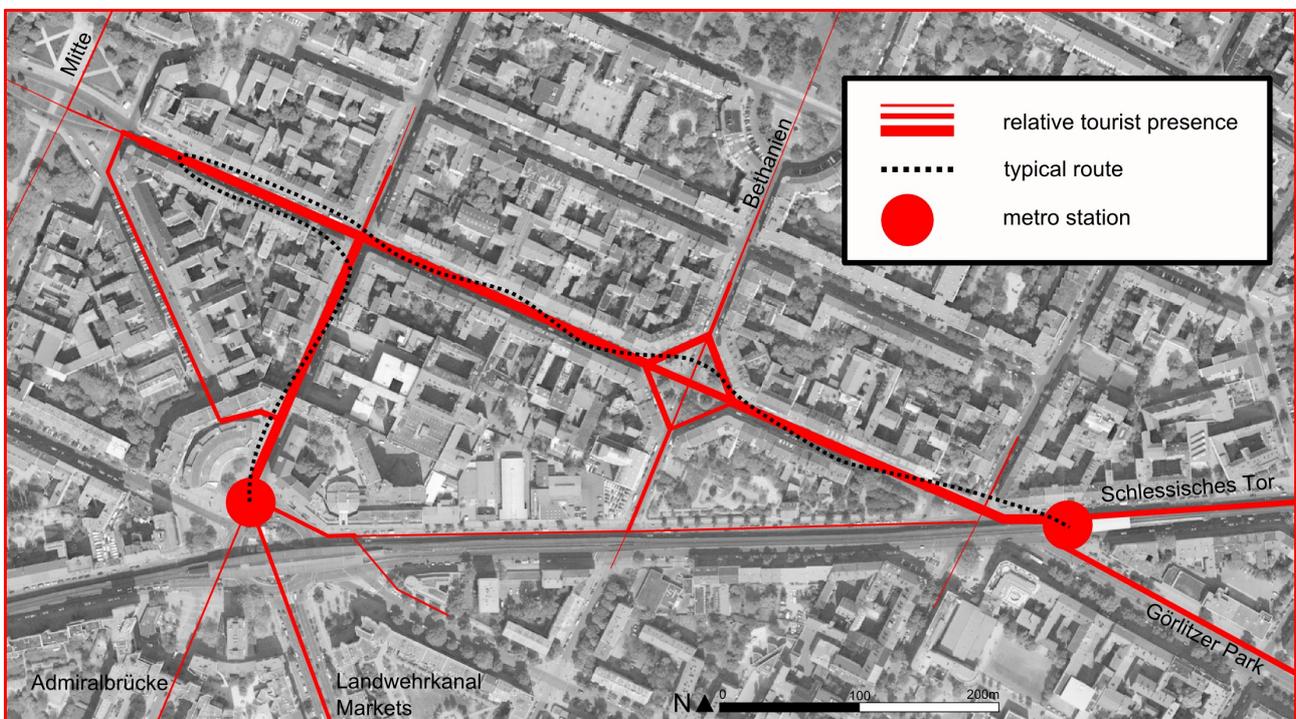


Figure 12: Indication of tourist routes.

<sup>17</sup> Streets on the map without a red line were observed as only incidentally visited by tourists.

the same route over and over again. The Adalbertstraße and Oranienstraße were part of all these organised tour routes. Although most tourists arrive by metro and spend their time within the direct surroundings of the research area, others arrive from or leave to other parts of Kreuzberg and Berlin. In the north-west, only a small amount of tourists continue their way to Berlin-Mitte, although Museum Island, for example, is only one kilometer away. This is probably due to the (perceived) lack of interesting things between the two areas. In comparison, relatively many tourists continue their trip to the east, in the direction of Görlitzer Park, Wrangelkiez, Schlessisches Tor and East Side Gallery. To the south, a fair amount of tourists heads in the direction of Admiralbrücke and Landwehrkanal (see figure 12). However, this mainly occurs on specific days of the week, for example when there is a market at the Maybachufer.

A general observation is that routes and spatial practice of residents are more spread out over the area than the routes of tourists. Routine routes of residents can be found between places of their everyday lives, such as their homes, work places, schools and shopping facilities. Of course, the routes are highly individual and depend on the location of these important anchor points and on other activities of residents. Therefore, these routes are very diverse. Because it is not within the scope of this thesis to give a comprehensive overview of the diversity of routine routes, it was chosen to focus attention on one routine practice, namely grocery shopping. Based on observations, figure 13 gives an impression of the routes many residents use to do their grocery shopping. Supermarkets are concentrated mainly at Kottbusser Tor and from there on to the south, to Kottbusser Damm. Most other major locations for daily shopping

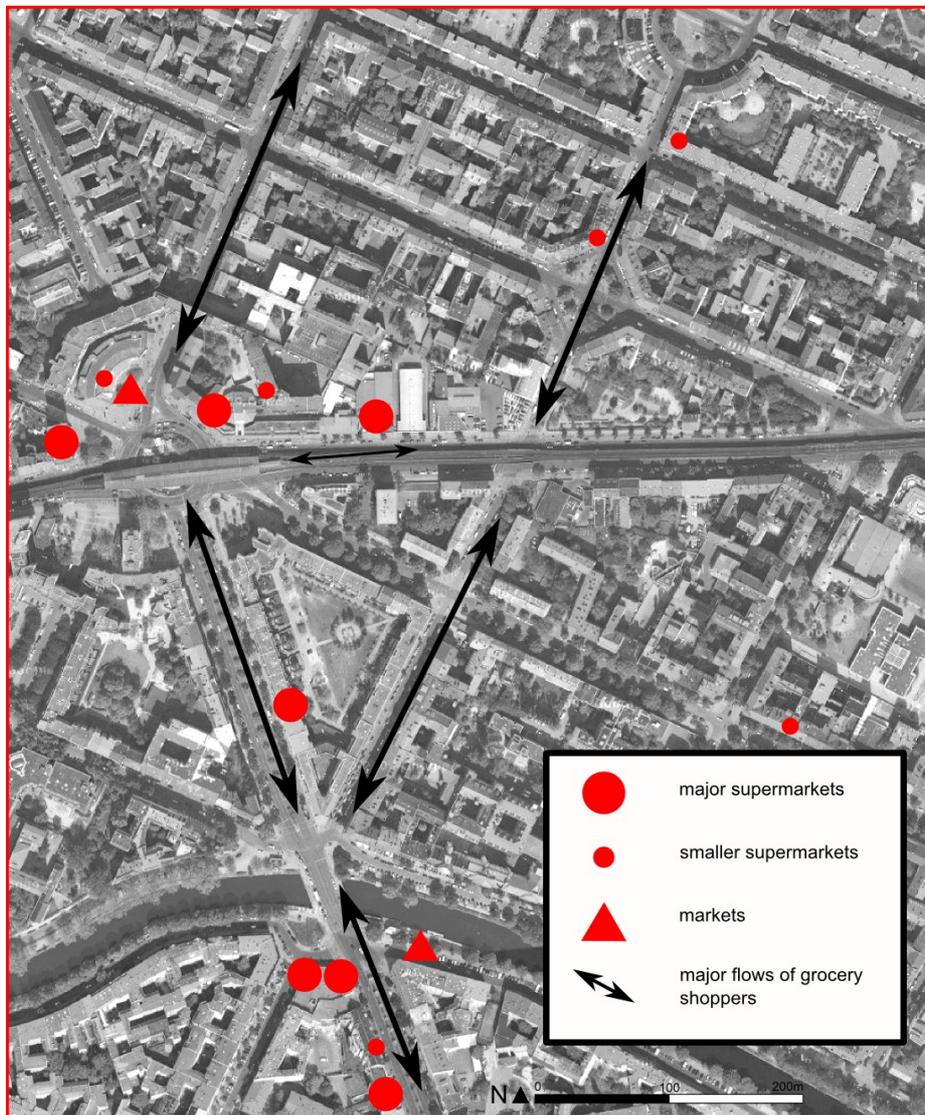


Figure 13: Major flows of grocery shoppers.

can be found here as well. Major flows of grocery shoppers were observed on streets directed to the aforementioned concentrations of supermarkets, as depicted in the figure. Furthermore, the places where the routes of residents depicted here are concentrated, only partially overlap with the major flows of tourists (figure 12). The figures suggest that the major points where routes intersect can be found in the Adalbertstraße, at the street corners of the Oranienstraße and at Kottbusser Tor.

Routes are constantly adjusted, depending on things that happen in the context. People may change their route when they encounter road works or crowded situations. Another major factor affecting spatial practices of people is the weather. It was observed that people take shelter in shops and gastronomy as soon as it starts to rain. This especially holds true for many tourists who, unlike residents, have little other options to go to if they wish to hide from the weather. On the other hand, with sunny weather there are more people walking and cycling the streets, both tourists and residents. During winter and with bad weather, there are clearly less people on the move.

The aforementioned tourist routes and resident routes overlap, resulting in actual encounters between the people performing those routes. In some cases, this leads to conflictual encounters of crowdedness, which will be discussed in section 5.3.2. However, another crucial element of spatial practice is discussed now: spatial practice is by no means only about moving around or getting from A to B.

### *Getting from A to B, and other meanings*

The practice of moving around entails much more than just getting from A to B. Moving around often involves activities such as window shopping, watching around and experiencing the general atmosphere. It also involves watching other people that are on the move or people on terraces. This is an interactive process: a major activity of people on terraces is observing the people passing by. Eye contact and flirting also take place on the street. This latter practice was observed on the street, for example between teenage Turkish boys and a group of Scandinavian girls. During trips, people often also do other activities, such as talking with other people, calling someone on the phone (especially residents) or listening to music by means of an electronic device. Thus, for both residents and tourists, moving around in public space is often combined with other practices, and thus has a more than functionalistic meaning. However, unlike tourists, for residents public space is often just a means to get from A to B. As part of their everyday lives, residents often go to planned, specific places, such as school, work or the supermarket. These routine practices contrast with the practices of most tourists, who use the streets mainly to stroll around, rather than to go to a specific destination. However, residents do *also* use streets as a place to stroll around and do other activities. Residents go jogging, take their dog for a walk or simply walk around to enjoy the atmosphere. Also, during routine practices of getting from A to B, the context can simultaneously have other meanings for residents as well, for example by enjoying the atmosphere while on a routine trip. In that sense, the street can have different meanings for a resident on different moments, depending on the activities performed. In the case residents stroll around the street to experience the general atmosphere, their activities are more similar to that of tourists. Furthermore, for many residents the street is an important place to meet acquaintances. It was frequently observed that people greet each other on the street, often followed by small conversations (figure 14d,e,f). Many of these events seemed to be spontaneous and can be considered as typical for neighbourhoods. Most respondents also indicated that they regularly meet acquaintances on the street. Additionally, there is a number of places within the research area that were observed as places where specific types of people gather over and over again. Kottbusser Tor, for example, is home to gathering groups of alcoholics (figure 14a). It is also a gathering place for young people, especially for young men with migrant backgrounds. Additionally, the entrance of the Kaiser's supermarket in the north-eastern part of Kottbusser Tor, as well as Heinrichplatz are popular place to gather, especially for young people before going out.



Figure 14 (a-f, from left to right, from top to bottom): Everyday life on the street.

### *Group dynamics and spatial practices*

During observations it became clear that spatial practices of groups are different from spatial practices of individuals or couples. Behaviour of people that form a group, whatever it is that defines that group, differs from behaviour of an assembly of the same amount of unrelated individuals. This additional group dynamics effect can take the form of many types of group practices. A variety of group dynamics were noted during observations or brought up during interviews. First of all, individuals in groups often talk and joke within their group (figure 10a,b). In order to do so, people in groups frequently walk next to each other, often with 3 or 4 persons. As a result of these internal dynamics, groups have a tendency to walk slowly. As a rule of thumb, groups often move forward as slow as the slowest person in the group. It is also caused by the fact that individuals in groups deploy their own activities, for example as they take pictures or do window shopping (see interview photo 6, appendix 5). As a result of varying speeds of individuals within a group, regrouping is often necessary. In practice, this means that individuals wait for each other, especially at street corners. Group dynamics often entail inattentive behaviour, especially in traffic. It was often observed that people simply follow others people of their group, rather than that they pay attention themselves. Especially in larger groups, gathering people and getting a group organized can take some time (figure 10a,d). While gathering or waiting, individuals tend to turn themselves towards other members of the group, consequently turning away from the rest of their context. As a result, groups often form a blockade, for example as people are waiting at an entrance (figure 15f). Importantly, actual situations are often the result of a combination of spatial group dynamics described here and other practices. Importantly, group dynamics are not exclusive to tourists. Group dynamics of a group of children walking to school, for example, can have a similar congestive effect as that of a group of tourists walking slowly. However, the impact of group dynamics of tourists on space is more profound, as tourists are simply more frequently on the move in (bigger) groups, and as tourists are more likely to combine their spatial practices with practices like taking pictures, watching around and waiting for each other. These and other additional practices while on the move, as discussed in this section, are therefore a relevant

element. Spatial practices discussed in this section, as well as spatial practices discussed in previous sections can lead to a variety of conflictual situations, of which crowdedness is one. This phenomenon is discussed in the next section.

### 5.3.2 Crowdedness

Public space is shared between tourists and residents, which leads to a variety of encounters. One type of such encounters is related to congestion. During observations, many of such encounters were observed, often with the involvement of one or more groups. As a first general observation, crowdedness was especially apparent at the pavements of Oranienstraße and Adalbertstraße and at street corners. Crowdedness on the street is a phenomenon that results from a combination of factors, namely the physical attributes of the context and the (group) practices of the users of that context. In the context of the Oranienstraße and the Adalbertstraße, a major feature of the physical context are the narrow pavements. In these streets, the pavements on each side of the street measure between 3 and 3,5 meters. As a comparison: the pavements of the Wiener Straße, which is the continuation of Oranienstraße to the east, are around 10 meters wide. Moreover, a large number of objects limits the use of the pavement as a place to walk. First, on-street terraces can be found on large parts of the pavements of the research area, especially in the Oranienstraße and the Adalbertstraße (figure 16). Most of these terraces consist of movable benches and tables, in practice these terraces are semi-permanent features of the physical context of the street and limit the available space for flows of people. Although most benches and tables are removed during the night, these objects narrow the pavements of the street during the most populous moments of the day and week. At some places, the terraces take up 50% of the width of the pavements (figure 17). Additionally, terraces are placed on those places that are already relative populated. This is a reinforcing process, meaning people looking for liveliness fled to places where there are terraces, while entrepreneurs put terraces on places where there are a lot of people passing by. This is also illustrated by the similar spatial patterns depicted in the figure about a typical route of tourists (figure 12) and the presence of on-street terraces (figure 16). Although the overwhelming majority of terraces can be found along the Oranienstraße and Adalbertstraße,



Figure 15 (a-f, from left to right, from top to bottom): Crowdedness on the street.

most other terraces can be found directly around metro stations and incidentally at street corners.

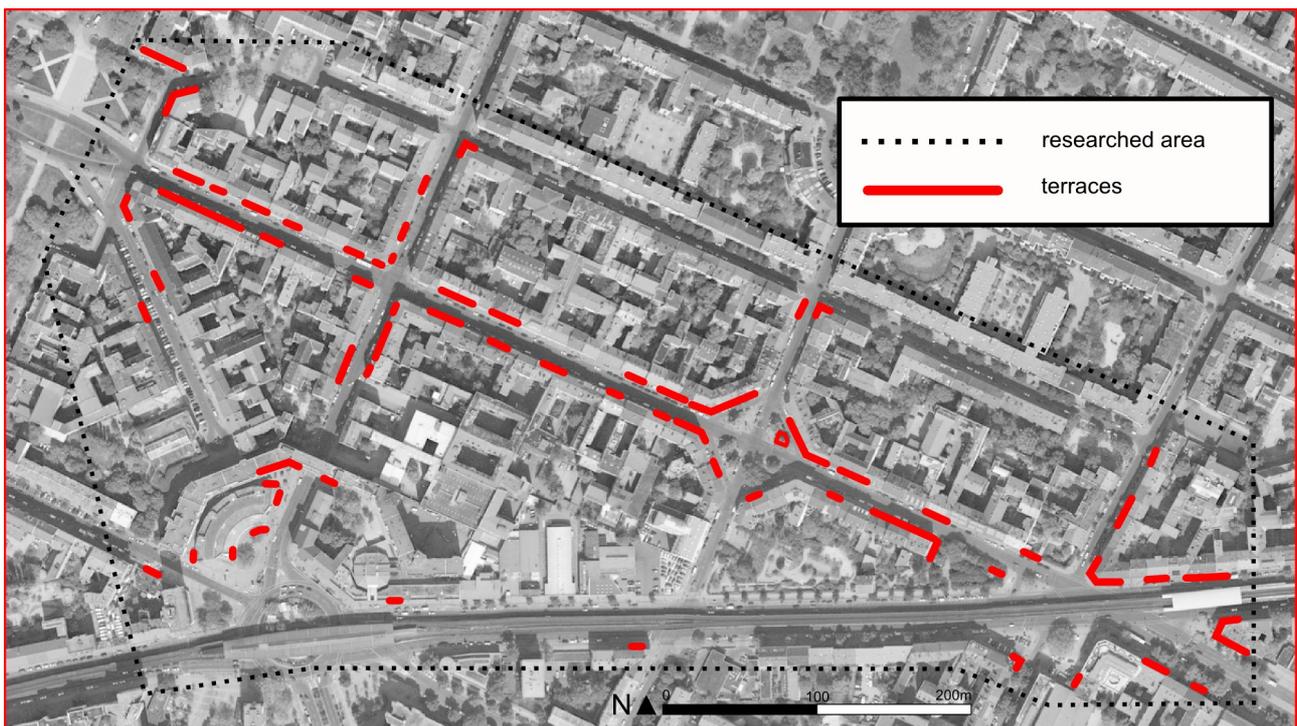


Figure 16: On-street terraces.

Second, a number of fixed material objects on the street further decreases available space. These objects include poles, traffic lights, bus stops, rubbish bins, trees and fences (especially at the corner of Oranienstraße/Adalbertstraße). These objects can be found throughout the research area, but are specifically concentrated at street corners. Furthermore there is a number of semi-permanent mobile material objects, such as advertisements, bicycle stands and parked bicycles. Additionally, poles and fences trigger resident routines, as they are often used to park bicycles (see figure 15 and 18). Thus, while poles and fences are barriers in themselves, they also attract a lot of objects that further decrease available space.

Third, people themselves are part of the whole situation and take up a certain amount of space with their bodies. Obviously, the amount of people in general is an important factor in crowdedness and congestion. In general, tourists are more frequently on the go in groups than residents, and also in bigger groups. This means that they take up more space, and importantly, do so *as a group*. Group dynamics such as walking slowly, walking next to each other, gathering and waiting in groups, produce encounters of crowdedness. They result in situations where other users of public space have to wait or alter their routes. For the larger part, these practices, including the group dynamics that shape them, have already been described in previous sections. In other words, it is not only the physical presence of people that shapes congestion, it is also shaped by the practices and routines of residents and tourists that take place on the street. Another important factor in how much space people take up, is related to the objects people carry with them. In general, residents carry around more objects than tourists: they walk around with objects and animals such as shopping bags, baby buggies, dogs and bicycles, while most tourists only carry around small objects like cameras, maps, water bottles and relatively small bags suitable for day trips. Additionally, crowdedness on the street is also related to many other factors that influence people's practices, such as changed legislation:

“Was jetzt noch dazu gekommen ist, ist das Rauchverbot, jedenfalls sind dadurch auch mehr Leute auf der Straße.” *Monika*

By combining the information of the previous sections and the maps depicted on figures 12, 13 and 16, the most crowded places within in the research area can be detected. The places most

affected include the street corners of the Oranienstraße and Adalbertstraße, the street corners of the Oranienstraße and Mariannenstraße, and the Adalbertstraße between Oranienstraße and Kottbusser Tor. More generally, the parts of the narrow streets Oranienstraße and Adalbertstraße where the terraces are located are also home to quite a lot of congestion, although less than the previously mentioned places. The large amount of people at Kottbusser Tor does not lead to crowdedness as often, due to the relatively wide pavements and the lack of terraces directly on those pavements.

Importantly, encounters of crowdedness and congestion are often the result of a *combination* of the practices discussed previously. Walking next to each other with four persons can become conflictual in combination with, for example, a busy terrace on narrow pavement and an approaching resident with a buggy. Taking a picture on a street corner can lead to a conflict in combination with others waiting for a traffic light or the presence of a number of parked bicycles. For more examples of the importance of this combinational aspect, see figure 15. The fact that crowdedness is often due to a number of factors is also mentioned by respondents. Mentioned factors in the following quotation are the size of a school group, group dynamics, the fact that a resident was in a hurry, the limited availability of space and the social code of standing on the right side of the escalator, which is a resident routine. Özlem describes this encounter as follows:

"Da war eine Frau in Eile. Die kam nicht durch und hat dann auch gesagt, "Mensch, lass mich doch mal durch". Das war auf eine Rolltreppe, am Hermannplatz. Da war auch eine Gruppe von internationalen Schülern, die haben dann die Rolltreppe einfach blockiert. Die haben sich nicht an die rechte Seite gestellt, und da wollte jemand schnell hoch. Die haben sich einfach nicht realisiert, und dann hat sie die wohl angemacht, verbal, "Scheißtouristen!" und ich weiß nicht noch was. Und dann hat die Reiseleiterin noch gesagt, "Naja, wir müssen es auch verstehen, weil sie lebt hier, und ihr bewegt euch hier so frei. Vielleicht ist es besser wenn ihr euch an die rechte Seite stellt denn dass die Leute vorbei können, dann passiert so etwas auch nicht". [...] Die Schüler waren erstmal... schockiert. Die haben nicht verstanden warum sie jetzt da angemacht werden." *Özlem*

The encounter makes clear that crowdedness can trigger practices by residents, in this case yelling at tourists. Other resulting practices, observed in the research area and mentioned by respondents, include waiting, nudging, using elbows, walking on the street rather than on the pavement or changing to the other side of the street. These are examples of practices in specific encounters. However, crowdedness can also affect resident routines on a more long-term basis. Several respondents stated that they spend significantly less time in the Oranienstraße because of crowdedness<sup>18</sup>. As an example, the crowdedness on the Oranienstraße affected the routines of Sandra. She cycles her 6-year old daughter back home from school through the Naunynstraße, as the Oranienstraße is too crowded, especially in the afternoon. Note, however, that Sandra does not relate this adjusted routine to tourists specifically, but to the crowdedness of the Oranienstraße in general, which makes cycling with young children difficult:

"Ganz früh morgens, da ist nichts, das ist 8 Uhr morgens, da ist die Oranienstraße leer, um 4 Uhr nachmittags ist sie voll. [...] Wenn ich mit Paula zum Beispiel mit dem Fahrrad fahre, dann fahre ich [durch die Naunynstraße], weil mir [die Oranienstraße] zu eng ist. Weil Paula ist 6, die darf noch nicht auf der Straße fahren, also die muss auf dem Bürgersteig fahren. Und das ist tatsächlich schwierig auf der Oranienstraße, das ist einfach... Es geht... aber es wird schon eng. Also es ist dann aufsteigen, absteigen, aufsteigen, absteigen.

HP: Manchmal fahrt ihr mit dem Fahrrad, und manchmal auch nicht, und dann durch die Naunynstraße?

Genau, dann fahren wir durch die Naunynstraße, genau. Und da ist ja nichts. Es ist ja wirklich nur die Oranienstraße." *Sandra*

The quotation also reveals that congestion and crowdedness in the area are very local

---

<sup>18</sup> The reasons for this changed routines and how this change is valued varies among respondents. See also chapter 6.

phenomena. It also highlights the fact that crowdedness strongly differs between different times of the day. The morning is a time of the day when the area is relatively empty (figure 15d). Also, most cafés and shops do not open before 10am. At night, crowdedness on the street occurs predominantly near some popular bars that are located on the Oranienstraße, most notably *Luzia*, *SO36* and *Bateau Ivre*.

## 5.4 Encounters in gastronomy and nightlife

### 5.4.1 Encounters in gastronomy

In addition to moving around in public space, tourists spend a lot of time in gastronomical places. These places include terraces, cafés, restaurants and bars. The same holds true for many residents, whose everyday lives take place in these establishments to an important extent. In terms of practices, residents and tourists on terraces and in restaurant are quite similar. People consume products, such as foods, drinks and cigarettes (figure 17). They communicate with each other, play and sometimes meet new people. On terraces it is quite common that people share tables, especially when there is not a lot of places left. In some cases this leads to spontaneous small-talk between strangers. On terraces, as well as at indoor places located next to a window, a common practice is to observe passers-by, as well as the other way around. When terraces of gastronomic places are full, people frequently gather around them, standing on the pavements. This is especially true at specific places, such as at the terraces of café *Luzia* (Oranienstraße), especially during summer nights. Spending time outdoor, on the street, on terraces and in parks, is more common in summer, spring and autumn, rather than in winter. The obvious reason for this difference is that the weather is better. In the morning, bakeries and a few cafés are open for people to fetch breakfast or a coffee. However, most shops, cafés and restaurants do not open before 11am. From then on, the terraces, cafés and restaurants are continuously used, although peaks between 12am and 2pm (lunch), as well as between 6pm and 9pm (dinner) were observed.



Figure 17 (a-f, from left to right, from top to bottom): Terraces.

### *Differences between practices of residents and tourists*

Although practices of residents and tourists in gastronomic places are quite similar and often indistinguishable, there is also a number of practices that is more specific for each group. Practices and routines more typical for residents include the following: to read a newspaper or a book, to have meetings, to write or to bring a laptop and work. Especially these latter routines are practised by people who work in the area, as well as by residents. For both residents and people who work in the area, gastronomic places can form a possibility to (temporarily) alter the context in which their daily lives unfold. For people who work in the area, lunch time is a common time to do so. This phenomenon is most apparent in the western part of the research area. In addition, these places are used to meet friends or to socialize with colleagues. Furthermore, gastronomic facilities are of major importance for people in the creative sector. For them, these places are important for networking. Many of the cafés and bars are visited over and over again by the same people, something which creates an atmosphere sometimes described as a *Stammkneipekultur*. Another meaning of gastronomy for residents is that it can function as a source of neighbourhood information. Posters and leaflets, as well as other residents or staff can inform residents with local information. For many neighbourhood residents, in other words, cafés are places where a lot of everyday life takes place. Monika sums up a number of her routines and practices that take place at cafés, and explains their social importance:

“Ich gehe jeden Tag bestimmt ein mal ins Café. Die Frau kennt mich auch, und weiß schon was ich möchte, finde ich auch sehr angenehm ja, dass du halt für 2,50 dein Espresso und ein Croissant kriegt und du kannst eine Zeitung lesen, ich kaufe mir keine Zeitung. Und du kannst in Ruhe denken oder was schreiben. Und man grüßt sich, na klar. Ich gehe oft für Gespräche ins Café mit Leuten. Und das ist anders als nur da für ein Bier sitzen, oder man geht mit einem Buch ins Café.” *Monika*

In addition to cafés, restaurants and bars, there are some other places that are used by residents to meet or do joined activities. These places include a library, a *Nachbarschaftshaus* (neighbourhood house), mosques and a variety of sport-, music- and dance associations. Most of these places are housed in *Hinterhöfe*, and are not noticeable from the street. In terms of practices of meeting neighbourhood residents, these places fulfil a similar urban function as the cafés and restaurants mentioned before. However, these places are barely visited by tourists.

There are also practices that are more typical for tourists than for residents. This includes socialising within the own tourist group and meeting other tourists. Within the research area, there are several places that are visited by many tourists. In some cases, such as at the Mexican-themed restaurant and bar *Que Pasa*, the presence of many tourists creates an atmosphere that could be called a backpacker atmosphere, especially during summer nights. For some tourists, for example for tourists who stay in one of the nearby hostels, *Que Pasa* is a place where they can meet other tourists. Places such as *Que Pasa* can be seen a social hub for tourists, from where groups of tourists explore the rest of the area. For these tourists, this place has a completely different meaning than for residents who seek places where the atmosphere is less formed by tourists. As many tourists cover long distances during a day, gastronomic places can be important places to rest. Also, these places are used to reorganise: tourists plan the remaining of the day, read a guide book, magazine or study a map. Conspicuously, many tourists take pictures of food, drinks and menus while they spend time in gastronomic amenities. Also, these objects are often discussed and exchanged. Another practice typical for tourists at gastronomic place is the reviewing of previously made photos.

Especially with good weather, some of the practices that otherwise take place in gastronomic locales, relocate to places in public space such as parks. Görlitzer Park, situated just a few hundred meters east of the research area, is home to a wide variety of practices. It is a common practice to bring own drinks and food. During the night, barbecues are not uncommon, especially in summer time. People play or listen to music, and play sports such as frisbee, football or badminton. For some residents parks are an important part of neighbourhood life. Especially Görlitzer Park is a place that is also much visited by tourists. It was observed that large numbers of especially Spanish and Italian youngsters meet in this park, both tourists and residents. In addition they use the park to play guitar or djembe. The

intensity to which parks are used strongly depends on factors such as weather, time of the day and day of the week. Smaller parks and play grounds in the area seemed to be an important meeting point for neighbourhood residents such as children and their parents, and are less frequented by tourists.

#### 5.4.2 Nightlife encounters

Similar to practices in gastronomic places, as discussed in the previous section, practices of residents and tourists while going out are rather similar. People listen to concerts, dance, get to know new people, drink, etcetera. Other activities include going to a theatre or watching art at a gallery opening. Unlike residents, tourists mostly have no possibility to meet up at someone's home before leaving to go out. This suggests that tourists are more likely to go to gastronomic locales before they head to parties. Additionally, a common practice of both residents and tourists is to drink a beer on the street, in front of a night shop or in the metro, before going to a bar or club (figure 18). In this case, people mostly buy a drink at a *Spätkauf*. Within the research area, Kaisers at Kottbusser Tor and Heinrichplatz (especially using the little pillars to sit on) are popular spots to drink a beer.

Practically daily, the area is used by people to go out. However, nightlife is more substantial and visible during weekends. Also, in spring, summer and fall there are more people going out, which is partially related to the larger amount of tourists during this time of the year. In addition, nightlife is less visible in winter, as the people that do go out, spend less time on the streets to socialize because of lower temperatures.



Figure 18: Street corner Oranienstraße-Adalbertstraße, Friday night, 20:07.

In terms of practices, during the night the area is a place where people meet each other. This is true for both residents who live in the direct surroundings, as well as for residents from other parts of Kreuzberg, but also from other city districts. Although most people going out in the area are between 18 and 40, there are also many people who are older than that. Both residents and tourists go out with groups of friends. Just like cafés and bars, many clubs have a revisiting public, a *Stammpublikum*. Also, residents go out with their visitors from other cities or countries. As a result, the visiting tourist can meet locals, for example other friends of their host. The nightlife public is probably as diverse as the neighbourhood itself. Another observed phenomenon is that groups of, for example, Spanish Erasmus students go out together. Interestingly, these people can and do make contact with Spanish tourists. Another phenomenon is that groups of young international tourists, who just got to know each other in a hostel or in a bar go out together. Typically, such groups consist of 4-12 people. A last group of partying people can be described as party tourists. Many of these tourists arrive with a low

cost airline and stay for the weekend. Many of them specifically come to Berlin to party for the weekend. Typically they are from Europe and come in groups. Such tourists include the visitors of nightlife venues, as well as DJ's and musicians from other cities and countries. In a way, musicians and DJ's that keep returning to Berlin are tourists. On the other hand they are co-creating the music- and club-scene of Berlin or Kreuzberg. For more on this topic, see also section 5.6.3. One specific activity, practised by some party tourists, are pub crawls. During a pub crawl tour, participants visit a number of bars with a guide, often for only a very short time. Participants of pub crawls are exclusively tourists, at least according to my observations. Some bars in the area are at times visited by organised pub crawl groups. However, pub crawls in the area are rather irregular and not as noticeable as in some other tourist areas in Berlin, such as around the Oranienburger Straße in Berlin-Mitte and the Simon-Dach-Straße in Friedrichshain.

As in other contexts, nightlife nuisance can be a source of conflict in the neighbourhood from time to time. In the research area, an example of a place that regularly has problems with nearby residents is SO36 in the Oranienstraße. This mainly relates to the extent of insulation, which is not adequate according to residents. Another source of nuisance is formed by a number of practices that occur just outside bars and clubs, such as waiting in a queue, smoking, making a call or by groups of people gathering to socialise outside. This is most common on nights with fair weather. In reaction to disputes with neighbouring residents, many gastronomic places and hostels put up posters to request their guest to be quiet after 10pm (see figure 19).



Figure 19 (a-c, from left to right): Poster requests.

The street is home to a lot of practices common in public spaces of nightlife areas. Especially after 1am, taxis drive through the street to find customers, people walk around on the street, search for a place to eat a snack, or wait on the street for their night bus. Not uncommon are loud groups of people, walking on the street after going out. In some cases, this includes screaming, singing or smashing beer bottles. As in many other contexts, nightlife practices of one day can overlap with early morning practices of the next. It was observed that some bakeries can function as a last drink stop for some, while others buy their breakfast before going to work. Again, these issues caused by differences in overlapping routines and practices, are by no means exclusively linked with tourism. This type of practices was observed in the research area, but it was not tourist-specific and similar to the situation in other Berlin nightlife areas.

More specific for the neighbourhood, there are several outdoor locations that grew into meeting places during the night. The Admiralbrücke, just south of the research area, is such a place (figure 15e). This bridge started off as a small-scale meeting place for some people, but now often attracts hundreds of people, especially with fair weather. This includes both residents and tourists. Mostly this starts during the day and goes on well into the night, in summer often till 3am; not only during weekends. In terms of practices, people are chatting, drinking beer and playing guitar or djembe. Often there are several groups of musicians, some of whom also use amplifiers to increase volume. The situation also attracts bottle collectors and people selling magazines (see section 5.5.2). In recent years, residents that live directly near the bridge complained about nuisance and the fact that police does not intervene, which

also received a lot of media attention. The problems of the residents relate to rubbish, people urinating in house entrances and nuisance of people and music during the night.

### *Encounters between tourists and residents in nightlife*

Encounters between residents and tourists, although performing similar practices, seemed to be relatively seldom. However, this was difficult to observe, as people are not easily identified as tourist or resident. Judging from the interviews, some of the residents that regularly go out could provide examples of encounters with tourists, but also indicated that this was not on a regular basis. This may be related to the fact that some tourist groups are busy with themselves, speaking amongst each other in their own language. The chances that spontaneous interactions with strangers do occur are probably lower than when people speak the same language. Also, residents who go out often go with friends, which suggest that they are not very interested in meeting tourists who probably only stay for a short amount of time. However, some other tourists are keen on meeting new people and actively seek contact with locals. In that case, a question about whether someone lives in Berlin is common. Nicole, for example, had this type of encounter in a club in Görlitzer Park:

“Das hatte ich im *Edelweiss*, da habe ich in der Kloschlange gewartet und dann kamen zwei, ich glaube, Schweden oder Norweger oder so. Und irgendwie habe ich mich mit ihm kurz unterhalten beim warten. Und dann ist die erste Frage gewesen "Bist du Berlinerin?", und dann meinte ich "Ja...", und dann "Oh cool!"." *Nicole*

Sometimes tourists and residents meet each other and go out together. Sarah remembers a spontaneous encounter she had with a tourist from England, at the time she was relatively new in Berlin herself:

“Ich habe einmal einen Jungen aus England kennengelernt. Mit ihm habe ich mich in der U-Bahn unterhalten, irgendwie zufällig, ich weiß nicht, und er war nur Tourist. Er war mit Freunden eigentlich da, und ist alleine unterwegs gewesen. Und als wir uns in der U-Bahn unterhalten haben hat er gesagt "Komm mal mit im Club". Dann war ich neu in Berlin, und das war mitten in der Nacht, und dann habe ich gedacht "Okay!". Dann standen wir auf einmal vor dem *Weekend* und da hat er mir irgendwie 10 Euro Eintritt gezahlt. Da hat er mir noch Getränke ausgegeben und so. Und ich habe dann irgendwann, ich glaube um 6 Uhr morgens, als wir halt viel getanzt haben, bin ich irgendwann gegangen einfach, und ich glaube er ist noch im Club geblieben." *Sarah*

## **5.5 Exchange of goods and services**

### 5.5.1 Professional roles and encounters

The research area is a place where large numbers of people have their jobs (figure 20). Some of these jobs are directly linked to tourism, such as the jobs of people who work in gastronomy or as taxi driver, while other jobs are of a more general nature. For many people, the area is the place where their daily routines unfold, and as a result these people encounter tourists in their daily lives to some extent. Of course, the extent to which tourists impact these daily routines differs: a taxi driver probably has more to do with tourists than a waste collector. Some of the respondents marked that they encounter tourists during their work. Sarah, for example, teaches German to people who are new to Berlin, Florian meets many tourists in a bar which was in the *Easyjet Magazine*, while Kerstin encounters tourists in the gallery where she works. Apart from the local clientèle, Kerstin notes that the gallery is especially frequented by groups of young Spanish tourists and senior couples. These customers regularly ask questions about the pictures displayed in the gallery, just like other visitors. The gallery sells a lot of these pictures to tourists, especially those with what Kerstin calls "Kreuzberg-Motiven". She also notes that some tourists specifically ask for this type of pictures and that the photographer and owner of the gallery now makes more of these type of pictures in order to meet the demand. In gastronomy, the practices of ordering, serving and paying are important elements in encounters between tourists and (local) staff. In the case of international tourists, these practices are most commonly in English, although some non-verbal ordering in the form of simply pointing at menus was also observed. Some tourists approach the staff in English



Figure 20 (a-f, from left to right, from top to bottom): Professional roles on the street.

immediately, while others try to order in German or ask the staff if they speak English. In some cases language-related confusion seemed to frustrate the staff. To ease the process of ordering, most restaurants have multilingual menus. In order to attract customers, the staff at some restaurants actively approaches passers-by to pursue them to come in (figure 20d). In the research area this phenomenon is most common and dominant at the Indian and Singaporean style restaurants called *Mirchi*, *Shanti* and *Amrit* in the eastern part of the Oranienstraße, but was also occasionally observed at the Turkish restaurant *Hasir* in the Adalbertstraße. This type of encounter between staff and potential customers often also includes jokes, flirts and chats initiated by the staff. Besides, hesitating passers-by are asked where they are from and are handed a menu without having asked for it, practices that some passers-by seemed to find rather obtrusive. This type of practices is similar to that in other touristy parts of Berlin, as well as in many other tourist contexts around the world. In the case of *Mirchi*, staff use the physical attributes of the context, namely the narrowness of the pavement, to slow down passers-by in order to make it easier to approach them (figure 20d). This practice is more common for groups of people than for individuals. For residents, these practices can mean that they are regularly approached during their daily lives. Nicole, who lived directly above one of these restaurants, claims that she was approached by restaurant staff on a daily basis. Other encounters between staff and customers are centred around practices of paying. Laura, who works in a neighbourhood café, mentions that many customers from other cities comment on the low prices, both in this café and at parties on other locations:

“Ich habe zum Beispiel hier schon im Café dass Leute, wenn ich ihn den Preis gesagt habe den sie für den Kaffee zahlen sollen, gesagt haben so, "Äh, das ist ja krass billig!!", und "Das ist Berlin!!" und so. Das passiert einfach oft.” *Laura*

Conversations with customers are not only related to the exchange of goods and services, however. Especially in gastronomy, a lot of informal conversations between the staff and customers take place, whether locals or tourists. Laura provides an example of an encounter in which she had a informal conversation with tourists who just arrived from a different time zone:

“Einmal habe ich mich mit Leuten unterhalten die gesagt haben dass sie gerade ein totalen Jetlag haben, und dass es für sie gerade 3 Uhr nachts ist, für mich war es 10 Uhr morgens. Und die haben Bier getrunken, also ich glaube sie wollten sich irgendwie erklären warum sie jetzt Bier trinken so früh am Morgen, aber für sie war es eben 3 Uhr nachts. Und naja, die haben mir so ein bisschen gefragt so, ob ich hier lebe, und wie ich es hier finde, und warum ich es hier mag. Und dann habe ich ihnen das erzählt so.”  
*Laura*

### 5.5.2 Informal economies and encounters

Apart from the formal economy, there is also a large variety of ways in which people try to profit from tourists in the informal economy. Of course, this does not serve tourists exclusively, but tourists are definitely a major factor in these processes. Most notably, there are musicians, magazine sellers and beggars. Musicians provide their services on the street, but also in cafés and in the metro. In creative ways, they use features of the context, such as poles (figure 21b), to act as a stage. Often, they play a few minutes at one place, ask for money and then move along to the next place. In some cases, a lively encounter develops around the practices of the musicians. During observations, several examples were found of people dancing with musicians, while others offered drinks to musicians and started a conversation (figure 21c). The scene itself often attracts curious looks of other people. Notably, the musicians are often Roma men and boys, but there are also a lot of musicians from Germany and from all over the world who try to make money with music, especially during the weekends and during the night. In many cases, the musicians are tourists themselves. As an example, a Spanish couple in their twenties did a lot of street concerts, trying to make some money with selling CD's. For them, however, making some money during their holiday was not so much a necessary way of surviving, but rather a way of being part of the life of Berlin. In fact, many of the musicians and DJ's that are active in Berlin's nightlife are from foreign countries (more on this topic in section 5.6.3).

In Berlin in general, begging is a common phenomenon, especially in the metro and at metro stations. The same holds true for the metro stations in the research area. At the entrances of



Figure 21 (a-f, from left to right, from top to bottom): Informal economies on the streets.

these metro stations people are begging especially during the night, most commonly homeless people or alcoholics. Additionally, and more specific for the research area, beggars are active on the Adalbertstraße between Kottbusser Tor and Oranienstraße. This is especially practised by young Roma women, regularly accompanied with very young children<sup>19</sup>. The beggars approach passers-by with objects such as cardboard signs with texts in up to five languages and with cups. Also, they often actively approach people, most commonly in English or Spanish. The beggars make use of physical attributes of the context by sitting on the pavement of the Adalbertstraße with a cup in front, on levels with other objects that have already narrowed the pavement, such as depicted in figure 21e. By doing so, the pavement is further narrowed, which results in the slowing down of people passing by, enlarging the chance people spend some money. Another tactic is walking with a cup along terraces, where people are not likely to walk away (figure 21f). The tactic of walking along terraces where people are unlikely to walk away, is also practised by vendors of magazines, newspapers and flowers (figure 21d). These vendors are furthermore active inside cafés and restaurants, although they are sometimes sent away by staff. In addition, there are some bottle collectors active in the area, which is a common phenomenon in Berlin. These people collect empty bottles for their deposits, as many people drink beer on the street and leave their empty bottles on the street after they finish their drinks. There is a general understanding among these two groups of people, as they are aware of their reciprocal practices. It was observed that many foreign tourists pick up this practice and imitate it. Another aspect of the informal economy, although not directly linked to tourism and not as visible as the aforementioned, is drug dealing. In the research area drug dealing is most common at Kottbusser Tor, especially in the north-western part of the square. During observations, I was frequently offered drugs, especially when I was alone. Drug dealing (and drug use) also takes place in clubs and at parties. Just outside the research area, Görlitzer Park is another place where a lot of drug dealing takes place.

## **5.6 Staying and hosting**

### **5.6.1 Lodging practices**

Tourists can be typified according to the way and where they stay. A first aspect is whether tourists stay in the neighbourhood or not. This aspect influences the where and when of encounters between residents. Tourists that stay outside the area mostly arrive in the area by metro and are likely to perform a number of practices that often go along with this, as explained in section 5.3.1. On the other hand, tourists that stay in the neighbourhood are more likely to walk around the neighbourhood, also during times of the day that most other tourists are still in the place where they lodge. As an example, these tourists are more likely to have breakfast in the neighbourhood and go to the bakery or supermarket. Second, tourists stay at different types of accommodations including hotels, hostels, holiday apartments, homes of friends and family, using Couchsurfing<sup>20</sup> or paying for a room or apartment. This aspect influences whether tourists are more likely to meet up and do activities with fellow tourists (such as in hostels) or are more likely to come in contact with residents. The latter is more likely when they lodge in the homes of family or friends, or when they use informal lodging services like Couchsurfing. Apart from this, there are also people who live their daily lives outside Berlin, but who own their own Berlin apartment for holidays. These apartments are mostly part of normal apartment buildings. Sarah provides an example of this and comments on the fact that these apartment are in some cases only used once in a while:

“Als ich in der Naunynstraße gewohnt habe, war über mir eine Wohnung und da haben Schweizer gewohnt. Die kamen dann immer wieder für zwei Wochen hin, zwei, drei, vier Mal im Jahr vielleicht.” *Sarah*

Another option for tourists is sub-renting a room or apartment from people who live in Berlin:

“Viele Leute, viele Bekannte von mir, vermieten ihr Zimmer nicht mehr an Leute die zum Beispiel Erasmus machen oder so, sondern pro Tag, 20 Euro pro Tag.” *Nicole*

<sup>19</sup> The same phenomenon also takes place at other places frequented by tourists, such as in Berlin-Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg.

<sup>20</sup> Couchsurfing is an internet community where members offer other members a place to sleep, mostly in their own homes.

The price of 20 Euro a day is similar to that of hostels, whereas the price is roughly double or triple that of the common price residents pay for a room. For residents of Berlin, sub-renting a room to tourists can be a profitable thing to do. For tourists visiting Berlin, sub-renting a room can be attractive as it is relatively cheap. Moreover, it offers them good facilities, contacts with Berlin residents, and probably a more everyday Berlin experience than hotels. As a consequence, other groups in search of temporary accommodation, such as Erasmus students or people doing an internship who visit Berlin for a number of months, are faced with competition for rooms by tourists. Many rooms that are sub-rented per day or week —rather than per month— are offered on websites such as *wg-gesucht.de* and *studenten-wg.de*, as depicted in figure 22. The fact that the advertisement in that figure features multiple languages indicates that sub-renting rooms is aimed at an international public, including tourists. In addition, some dwellers rent out a room of their apartment to tourists throughout the year. In some cases, these dwellers claim that the motivation to do so is that they otherwise would not be able to afford increased rents. In other cases, owners of apartments transform their properties to profitable holiday apartments. This practice is legal in Berlin since 2002, when the so-called *Zweckentfremdungsverbot* was discontinued (Jurawelt 2003).

**25€ room per day / 25€ habitación por día / 25€ zimmer tageweise**

Allgemein	Lage & Kosten
Zwischenmiete	Berlin (12047) / Kreuzberg
Zimmer in 2er WG	maybachufer
15 m <sup>2</sup>	30 € Kaltmiete mtl.
Frei ab 01.02.2011	0 € Nebenkosten mtl.
Frei bis 01.04.2011	0 € Kautio   0 € Provision



» 57 Anzeigen in 1 km Umkreis gefunden      » Karte

**WG Merkmale**  
2er WG ( 1 Frauen & 1 Männer ) sucht 1 Frau oder Mann

**Ausstattung**  
Rauchen erlaubt, Küche, Backofen, Kühlschrank, Herd, Mikrowelle, WC, Badewanne, Dusche, Bad-Mitbenutzung, Garten, Dielen, Durchlauferhitzer, DSL Internet, Gasheizung, möbliert

tageweise Anmietung möglich

**Weitere Angaben**  
hi!

we have a room for rent in our supernice apartment, at the side of the landwehr canal. The room is a medium one, wooden floor, high ceilings and going directly into the garden. Therefore its also very quiet and sunny.  
Bed, desk, chairs, towels, everything is fresh and available!  
the appartment is very big itself, huge living-kitchen and bathroom, also bikes.  
If you want to spend ur holidays and r still searching for a lovely place to stay... in a easy going atmosphere here you have your opportunity!  
just send me an email! :)  
1 person: 25,- / night  
2 persons: 40,- / night

tenemos una habitacion doble libre. La habitación es muy linda y luminosa y se pueden quedar hasta 2 personas.  
Solo alquila si quisieras alquilársela tambien al apartamento etc.

Figure 22: Multilingual room advertisement.  
Source: *studenten-wg.de*.

Above mentioned practices imply that Kreuzberg residents can encounter tourists in unexpected places, such as the staircase of their apartment building. In practice, this can mean residents are constantly confronted with new faces in the rather private spaces of their

apartment buildings. Recently, this topic gained a lot of interest in local media, especially in relation to practices of these temporary neighbours such as throwing loud parties, rubbish and the effect on the availability of normal apartments (Berliner Zeitung 2010). During interviews, this issue was not put forward by respondents, probably due to the fact that this phenomenon is less common in Kreuzberg than in, for example, Berlin-Mitte.

### 5.6.2 Encounters with visitors

Most respondents mentioned that they host friends or family from time to time. This happens throughout the year, but less during winter. Typically, visits take place during the weekend and last for about two or three days. However, the duration of visits of friends can also be much longer:

“Eine Freundin aus Paris, die hat bei mir ein Monat gewohnt. Also sie hat auch selber Konzerte in Berlin gegeben, und hat wieder durch mich ein paar Leute gekannt und wusste auch durch meine Freunde die ihr den Schlüssel gegeben haben so "Komm mal ins Café Kotti, das ist cool" {laughs}.” Sarah

The quotation reveals that visitors can come in contact with acquaintances of the friends or family that they visit. Also, visitors can gain information through their host, or through his or her acquaintances. In this sense, residents form a sort of gateway for their friends and family. Often, this role is deliberately played by residents. Respondents indicate that they suggest their guests places and activities that other tourists do not know about. Residents take their visitors to a diversity of places, such as an *Off-Bühne*, to undiscovered restaurants or bars, to friends and even to demonstrations:

“Also ich gehe mal, wenn ich Freunde zu Besuch habe, also Touristische Freunde irgendwie, immer wenn eine Demo ist, nehme ich die mit auf die Demo. Dann laufen wir zusammen die Demo einfach, und dann erkläre ich ihm halt was gerade passiert. Zum Beispiel mit meiner Freundin Vivi aus New York, wir waren zusammen auf der Demo gegen die O2-Arena. Das fand sie super, weil natürlich die Demokultur hier in Berlin auch eine Partykultur ist, ich meine es wird auch immer getanzt auf Demos, das ist eine schöne Sache. Und das fand sie total super, wir haben uns so Plakate gemacht und so.” Florian

This quotation shows that encounters with visitors can include practices (crafting, demonstrating) and objects (protest signs) that are not normally associated with tourism. Reversely, visitors can also trigger residents to visit places they not normally go to. Sarah, for example, made a boat trip through Berlin with her grandmother, something she never did before.

### 5.6.3 Temporary residents

As was already demonstrated, residents in the area encounter tourists in a variety of contexts. The same holds true for people who temporarily live in Berlin, ranging from a few weeks up to a year, or longer. Although their period of stay is longer than that of tourists, the shared characteristic is that Berlin is a temporary context for them. At this point, it is not my intention to deal with how the differences between these groups should be defined (see section 2.3). For the purposes of this section, they are called temporary residents. This group of people is discussed in the context of this thesis because there is only a loose boundary between temporary residents and tourists. The differences with tourists in terms of practices, motives and attitudes are gradual. During informal conversations with temporary residents, most people stated that the experience of living in Berlin for a while was their major motivation. Their daily activities vary. Some are living the life of tourists, for an extended period of time. Some work on projects or have jobs. In some case, these people have jobs that just cover the expenses of their temporary time in Berlin. Some people, both from other German cities or from abroad, do an internship ranging from a few weeks to a year. Others temporarily study in Berlin, for example international students who do a semester-long Erasmus program. Similarly, many artists and musicians temporarily visit Berlin. They organise an exhibition or concert and get in contact with others in the scene in Berlin. Temporary residents come from mainly from Europe and North-America. Most of the people described above came as tourists first.

In terms of practices, it is relatively easy to survive without learning the German language, especially within the international community of other temporary residents. The degree to which temporary residents master German differs. Some people do only speak a bare minimum of German after years of stay in Berlin, while others learn the language thoroughly. Over time, temporary residents get to know the area better, in that sense becoming more like normal, long-term residents. The time aspects also reflects in the more everyday activities they deploy. For residents, the places they can encounter temporary residents is more varied than the places where they are likely to encounter tourists. Such places where most tourists do not go include sport clubs, libraries and, for example, video stores. Another major aspect in terms of encounters with residents is found in the fact that temporary residents themselves often have visitors from abroad. Just as the visitors of other Kreuzberg residents, these visitors are more likely to go to places other short-term tourists do not find out about.

As mentioned in previous sections, many musicians and artists in Berlin are from abroad, many of whom do temporarily stay in the city as well. For some visiting musicians, spring and autumn are preferred above winter and summer, as these are the best tour seasons. Florian, who organizes concerts and tours for bands from Germany and other countries, explains:

“Ich habe ein Jahr in den USA gelebt. Und deshalb kommen diese [Freunde] immer wieder, die meisten sind auch Künstler, Musiker und so. Und bin ich für die, sozusagen der Guide, also ich organisiere Konzerte für die.

HP: Und die kommen dann im Sommer einige Monate hierher?

Kommt ganz drauf an, also meistens im Frühling oder im Herbst, weil das die beste Zeiten sind für Touren. Und dann sind sie so zwei Wochen auf Tour, und vielleicht noch zwei Wochen in Berlin am Schluss.” *Florian*

The quotation shows that there can be multiple motivations for visiting Berlin. The visiting artists Florian talks about, combine several purposes in one trip. This is a good example of how temporary residents share many properties with tourists, as well as with residents. Similarly, the artist group Peter is part of, regularly invites artists from other countries to visit Berlin. In a period of time ranging from a few week to a few months, these artists create projects, often in collaboration with Berlin artists or other visiting artists.

A part of the temporary residents start up a small business or initiate these type of projects: they open up a bar or a gallery or organise events. In other words, they actively intervene in the city context and co-create the neighbourhood. In fact, the art and music scene in Berlin are shaped by such people to an important extent, something which is quite apparent in neighbourhoods like Kreuzberg. Berlin, in comparison with other big cities in Europe, is very suitable for this type of experiments. Both because of the low prices of places to unfold such projects, as well as because of the general relatively low cost of living.

## **5.7 Encounters centred around other practices**

### **5.7.1 Demonstrations**

A recurring event that attracts large numbers of visitors is Labour day, which takes place on the first of May every year. During the day a street festival is organised, where snacks and drinks are sold and consumed on the street. People from the neighbourhood, as well as large numbers of visitors, listen to on- and off-stage music. The demonstrations later on the day sometimes involve violence between demonstrators and police. Among the participants of the demonstrations are Kreuzberg inhabitants, people from other city districts, but also people from other parts of Germany and even from abroad. In German media, this phenomenon is sometimes referred to as “Krawalltourismus” or “1. Mai-Tourismus”. Some of the respondents also used such terms. Also at other occasions, people from outside Berlin specifically come to Berlin to participate in demonstrations. In February 2011 for example, a protest against the eviction of Liebigstraße 14, which featured a communal living project and cultural venues, attracted a large number of demonstrators from outside Berlin. In other cases, residents take visiting friends to demonstrations (see section 5.6.2). In addition to protests in the form of demonstrations, other forms of protest can be found in public space. This includes posters, graffiti and flyers. Some major issues in recent years include protests against the Media Spree

urban development plans, increase of rents and other aspects of gentrification. Other protests however, thematise the increased presence of specific groups of people in the neighbourhood, among them “hipsters” (figure 23c), “gentrifiers”, yuppies, and less common also tourists. During their stay, tourists can encounter such protests in the form of posters (figure 23a,b).



Figure 23 (a-c, from left to right): Protest against tourism and gentrification in public space.

### 5.7.2 Events

During events in Berlin or in Kreuzberg, particular types of tourist practices occur. Some of these events take place on a regular basis, while others are non-recurring events. An example of the latter is a football qualification match between Germany and Turkey on Friday 8<sup>th</sup> of October 2010, 20:45. On this day, a public viewing of the match was organised at Oranienplatz. This event gave rise to a variety of activities, as many supporters of the Turkish national team visited the area. Among these supporters were large numbers of people from other German cities in the former western part of the country. During the day, spontaneous activities developed at Kottbusser Tor, where people started selling and buying Turkish and German football goodies. Also, several youngsters took pictures of the NKZ building, while friends posed on the side of the building with a Turkish-language sign (see figure 9f). In addition, many young people from Turkish decent from the western part of Germany<sup>21</sup> drove around the area with Turkish flags, while hooting the horns of their cars. This observation of this series of practices is a good example of the fact that some tourism phenomena are really one-time-only events. Examples of yearly recurring events that attract large numbers of tourists to the research area include *Mayfest*, *Karnaval der Kulturen*, music festival *Fête de la Musique* and a literature festival called *Lange Buchnacht*.

## 5.8 Chapter conclusions

This chapter has answered the first research question:

*When, where and how do tourists and residents interact with each other and in what respect are these encounters related to the physical attributes of their shared situation?*

First of all, this chapter revealed that tourist-resident encounters occur at a large diversity of places and times, and involve a wide variety of practices by both residents and tourists. Structured observations in the research area indicate that objects, bodily attributes and other contextual elements play an important role in how tourist-resident encounters unfold.

Answering the when-aspect of the first research question, the first conclusion is that tourist-resident encounters take place throughout yearly, weekly and daily time cycles. The research area is visited by tourists throughout the year, but especially during spring and summer. There are more tourists during the weekend, when the area is visited by many people on a city trip and by party tourists. Also, tourist presence is concentrated during the afternoon and night. The extent to which these temporal fluctuations lead to encounters with tourists depends on resident routines. Residents, for example, who spend much time outside their home during the

<sup>21</sup> Judging from the number plates.

night, are more likely to encounter tourists than residents who stay home at night. This observation leads to an important aspect in answering the question when residents encounter tourists, namely that encounters occur during routines of everyday life. Residents encounter tourists while they are in a hurry, while getting from A to B, while doing grocery shopping, during work time, etcetera. In addition, residents encounter tourists during times of leisure, for example while eating out or during nightlife. In practice this means that residents are confronted with a cumulative occurrence of encounters with tourists during their daily lives. Specific types of tourist activities occur on specific times of the day and are spatially concentrated. These aspects are specified in greater detail further on in this conclusion.

Answering the where-aspect of the first research question, an important conclusion is that tourists and residents encounter each other in public space and in urban amenities, as these places are shared between different types of users. Encounters take place at a diversity of places, including streets, parks, metros, terraces, cafés, markets, shops, bars, restaurants and nightlife facilities. Less frequently, tourist-resident encounters occur at places that are not normally associated with tourism. Based on observations, such places include house entrances, *Hinterhöfe*, resident apartments, demonstrations, and art and music amenities. In the research area, tourist presence is most abundant in streets where urban functions are concentrated. During the day this is concentrated at Oranienstraße, Adalbertstraße and Kottbusser Tor. In contrast, close-by streets such as the Naunynstraße are far less visited by tourists. At night, tourists, visitors from other city districts and neighbourhood residents encounter each other especially in and near nightlife amenities, which are concentrated at Kottbusser Tor and in the Oranienstraße. Few facilities in the research area are predominantly visited by tourists. Examples are hostels, as well as a few gastronomic places, such as restaurant and bar *Que Pasa*, which functions as a meeting point for tourists. However, many places are used both by residents and tourists, resulting in large numbers of tourist-resident encounters. Moreover, many other places are almost exclusively visited by local people, including homes, playgrounds, offices, as well as small shops and bakeries outside the most frequented streets. In addition, many residents host visitors at their homes from time to time, in some cases by sub-renting their apartment or room. This results in a diversity of encounters, for example in stairwells of apartment buildings. Also, residents and their visitors often have joined activities, resulting in that these tourists visit places that most other tourists do not visit. Such less common tourist places include supermarkets, demonstrations and homes of friends.

Within the spatio-temporal context sketched above, actual tourist-resident encounters take place. The how-aspect of encounters is shaped by a wide variety of practices and routines of tourists and residents, as well as by objects, bodily attributes and other contextual features involved in these encounters. In some respects the practices of tourists and residents are similar, but there are also crucial differences. It is important to realize that the spatial aspect, the temporal aspect and the how of encounters affect each other. On the basis of structured and unstructured observations, the chapter revealed a great variety of tourist-resident encounters, which often involve a combination of practices, as the following sections will discuss.

Major activities of tourists in public space include watching around, exploring, often combined with photography practices. A wide variety of objects and places is being photographed, especially street art, buildings, posters and acquaintances. Another major subject of photography are street scenes, which often include people. Sometimes this leads to situations where residents perform reactive practices in order not to be on a picture. Photography is an embodied practice, in which people interact with the context, as well as with other people, for example by discussing objects and places being photographed. Practices of photography, watching around and pointing, often involve bodily gestures and objects. In turn, this can trigger the curiosity of other people, both tourists and residents. Encounters centred around practices of asking and giving directions are spatially concentrated at specific places, such as at metro station exits. Other encounters initiated by tourists are aimed at gaining tips about bars, restaurants and other amenities. In some cases this type of encounter is accompanied with small-talk or joined activities. Another tourism related phenomenon that occurs in the area are guided tours. During tours, guides inform participants about aspects of the neighbourhood, such as history, residential buildings, street art and posters. Tours can trigger reactions of residents, in synergetic and conflictual ways. In this chapter, evidence was

presented that information provided in tours is sometimes contested by local residents by approaching tour guide participants. In addition, walking tour spatial practices sometimes result in crowdedness-related conflicts, for example due to the spatial practice of standing in a circle.

Moreover, the spatial practices of tourists within the area follow similar patterns. Most commonly, tourists arrive by metro and walk a route on the Oranienstraße and Adalbertstraße. Characteristic of the spatial practices of tourists are strolling, often in couples or groups, and walking in a relatively slow pace, due to combined activities like photography and social interaction with acquaintances. The spatial patterns of the largest flows of tourists are similar to the distribution of terraces throughout the area. Tourist-resident encounters related to crowdedness occur mainly when tourist routes and resident routine routes overlap. The latter routines routes are often concerned with getting from A to B, and are related to resident activities such as cycling to work and grocery shopping. Conflictual encounters of crowdedness are most abundant at street corners, at narrow pavements with terraces and at places where other objects block the way, such as poles, advertisements and parked bicycles. As such, these encounters are related to physical attributes of the shared situation. In the research area, terraces are concentrated in the Adalbertstraße and Oranienstraße, where they occupy up to fifty percent of the pavement. Tourists are often involved in encounters of crowdedness, mainly because they are more often on the move in groups than residents. The typical group size ranges between two and eight people. However, the area is also frequented by much larger groups, mainly school groups and walking tours. In addition to mere group size, tourist group dynamics are another major contributor in situations of crowdedness. This includes spatial practices such as walking next to each other, walking slowly, waiting for each other and following others without paying attention to traffic. Such spatial practices become especially problematic in combination with practices such as watching around, photography practices and social interaction within the group.

Many tourist-resident encounters take place at terraces, restaurants, cafés and bars, where the practices of tourists and residents are similar. People enjoy food and drinks, socially interact with acquaintances, observe other people, get to know new people, listen to music and dance. However, there are also differences. Residents meet friends and colleagues, read newspapers or have a chat with a waitress they know. On the other hand, practices more typical for tourists are meeting up with other tourists and taking pictures of the group and of surroundings. Differences in practices can be conflictual, for example when a loud group of tourists shares a place with a resident who quietly wants to read a newspaper. Residents may not always be aware that they encounter tourists, for example when they meet people who contribute to the art or music scene. In nightlife, party tourists, people from other city districts and neighbourhood residents encounter each other at places such as bars and clubs. Additionally, in public space some tourists adopt practices of locals, such as drinking beer on the streets and leaving empty bottles for bottle collectors. Especially the most frequented places within the research area are confronted with nightlife nuisance. Residents are confronted with singing, screaming and urinating people. However, these practices are not only performed by tourists and these conflictual encounters are thus not exclusively tourism-related. Some locals encounter tourists during the roles they perform in the formal or informal economy. In places of gastronomy and nightlife, such encounters include practices of inviting people in, ordering, paying, small-talk and flirting. In the informal economy encounters are centred mainly around playing music, begging, collecting bottles for deposit and selling goods, such as drugs, newspapers and flowers. People who play music, sell newspapers or are begging have developed a set of spatial tactics. They make use of the physical attributes of the context, for example by walking alongside terraces and approaching people in closed spaces such as metros.

An aspect that plays a role in tourist-resident encounters in the contexts discussed above, is verbal and non-verbal communication. Verbal communication between Germans and non-Germans is most frequently in English. This is the case during practices such as asking and giving tips and directions, small-talk, and social interaction in gastronomy and nightlife. Gastronomy entrepreneurs and people in the informal economy adapt to new clientèle, for example by offering menus in English, Spanish and other languages. Similarly, beggars approach people in English or Spanish and carry around multi-lingual signs. However, another

finding in this chapter is that many encounters do not include verbal communication, but are rather characterised by bodily attributes, bodily expressions, eye contact and spatial practices. In some tourist-resident encounters, residents perform practices of protest, for example by yelling or by nudging tourists. This occurs especially in reaction to photography practices, situations of crowdedness and inattentiveness in traffic. In the following chapter, the reasons behind these reactive practices will be investigated, as well as the experiences of residents of other encounters.

In conclusion, this chapter demonstrated that a great diversity of encounters between residents and tourists takes place in the research area, in a diversity of spatio-temporal settings. Also, the chapter demonstrated that these encounters involve a wide variety of contextual elements, including the practices and routines of residents and tourists, bodily expressions and attributes, objects and physical attributes of the shared situation.



## Chapter 6 – Resident experiences of encounters with tourists

This chapter focusses on the bodily experiences of residents with tourists, as well as on the meaning that residents attach to tourist-resident encounters. It answers the second research question, as introduced in chapter 1:

*What are the bodily experiences of residents with tourists and which meaning do they attach to these encounters?*

The discussed themes have emerged from the analysis of the data obtained from semi-structured interviews with neighbourhood residents (see sections 3.3.4 and 3.3.5). The structure of this chapter is as follows. The first section deals with tourist diversity, recognising tourists and finishes with a discussion of how observing tourists can be a source of diversion for neighbourhood residents. Second, a section about the experience of encountering tourists that explore the neighbourhood follows. This includes parts about the feeling of being watched, photography and privacy. Also, it discusses the educational aspect of tourism for tourists and residents. Third, a section about crowdedness related issues will be dealt with. Fourth, the perceived influence of tourists on atmosphere in a variety of contexts will be discussed. The fifth section focusses on the cumulative effect of encounters with the help of an in-depth analysis of the case of one respondent. The sixth section discusses the theme of neighbourhood change and how this affects the direct experience of residents. The chapter finishes with a concluding section that answers the second research question.

### 6.1 Observing tourists

#### 6.1.1 Tourist diversity

Tourists in the area are not perceived by residents as a homogeneous group. The respondents all identified and described different groups of tourists, distinguishing between differences in terms of practices, origin, perceived attitudes, and bodily attributes. Carlos states:

*"Touristen sehe ich auf der Straße, ganz unterschiedliche Touristen. [...] Ich glaube, dass es echt unterschiedliche Arten von Touristen gibt." Carlos*

Residents, in other words, perceive tourism as a diverse phenomenon, with a wide variety of different tourists. Some respondents state that the tourists in the research area differ from tourists that only visit classical highlights, such as the Brandenburger Tor. These respondents distinguish tourists in the research area, from "klassische Touristen" in Berlin-Mitte. Specific types of tourists are connected with specific types of practices, as well as with bodily attributes and perceived attitudes. As this description of a party tourist shows:

*"Ein Partytourist sieht sehr gut aus, kommt von irgendwo anders her, macht vielleicht auch irgendwas mit Medien {laughs}, besauft sich gerne, lacht viel und spricht mit dir wenn du mit ihm sprichst. Also wenn du ihm ansprichst antwortet er, und findet es cool dass du mit ihm redest." Sarah*

Many other respondents also use the term 'party tourist', in reference to tourists that visit Berlin to go to parties. Other terms used to refer to this type of tourist include "Easyjet-Touristen", "Technotouristen", and "Trinktouristen". Another type of tourists many respondents refer to, are tourists that come to demonstrations. These tourists are labelled with terms like "linksradikele Touristen", "1.-Mai-Touristen", "Protesttourismus", "Sensationstouristen" and "proletarische Krawalltouristen". All respondents are aware of the diversity of origins of tourists. Furthermore, many respondent identify groups of young Spanish or Italian tourists explicitly, often with reference to group dynamics. Other terms to underline the diversity of tourists include "Hipstertouristen", "Mallorcatourismus", "englische Punks", "Architekturstudenten", "oldschool-Touristen", "Fußballtouristen", and "Fashion-Week Touristen". Some of the descriptions of respondents relate to definitional issues of tourism and tourists. Several respondents include temporary residents, such as Erasmus students, or musicians and artists doing projects in the city, as a type of tourist. They emphasise the temporary element to underline their statement, although they are also aware of differences in terms of practices.

Other respondents include visitors from other city districts as a type of tourist. In the following quotation, Sandra comments on a phenomenon she observes in her daily life, namely the fact that people from other city districts visit the area to visit cafés and restaurants:

“Dann gibt es viel Weggehtourismus, aber jetzt auch gar nicht unbedingt von anderen Städten, sondern auch Prenzlauer-Berg-Touristen {laughs}, die mehr dann so am Kotti die ganze neuen Bars gehen, einfach so ein... neuer Zielpunkt. [...] Also wenn man Tourismus so versteht, dass man... da einfach nicht wohnt, also Tourismus jetzt ganz eng gesehen. Das ist nicht die Kneipe, das Geschäft, wo ich aussuchen würde weil es das in Prenzlauer Berg auch geben würde, sondern ich gehe da explizit hin weil ich dahin gehen möchte. Deswegen Tourismus, weil es gibt ja schon fast so eine Art Pilgerphänomen, wenn du so in der U-Bahn bist. Das ist jetzt nicht eine einzelne Person, sondern das sind ganze Gruppen, die sich dann von A nach B bewegen. Deswegen finde ich ist das fast so wie Tourismus, so reisen und wieder weggehen.” *Sandra*

For this respondent, people from other city districts can be viewed as tourists, due to the fact that these visitors have similar motives as other tourists, often come in groups, and that their visit is a temporal activity outside their everyday environment.

### 6.1.2 Recognising tourists

Tourists are not always easily recognisable by neighbourhood residents. Respondents are aware of the fact that both residents and tourists take pictures, that there are Spanish tourists as well as a lot of Spanish people who live in Kreuzberg, and that both tourists and residents go on terraces to relax. During the interviews, many respondents spontaneously started to speculate about whether the people on pictures were tourists or not. In some cases, respondents were sure about it, in other cases they said they were not. In reaction to interview photo 13 (appendix 5), for example, several respondents commented on the girl with a camera, saying that she could be a tourist, but just as well a professional photographer. The fact that respondents are aware that not all tourists are easily recognized, resulted in a lot of reactions similar to the following:

“Können Touristen sein, aber können auch normale Leute sein, kann ich gar nicht sagen.” *Peter*

On the basis of the interviews, a few groups of elements were identified as clues that neighbourhood residents use to recognise tourists. First, tourists are recognised by objects such as cameras, bags, water bottles, rented bicycles and maps. Respondents are aware of the fact that some of these objects are not exclusive to tourists, and mention that cameras are also frequently used by residents. Second, clothing and facial expressions are important clues. Almost all respondents mention that they think tourists are dressed differently from residents. They state that tourists are averagely dressed more posh, more styled and have more expensive clothes. In this respect, Scandinavians are mentioned frequently, but also a hipster-style is often mentioned, for example with the use of labels such as “krasse New-York-hipster” and “London-style hipsters”. The following quotation sums up a number of clues that Nicole identifies as typical for such tourists, including the type of clothing, the way clothes are worn, glasses, accessories and hair dress:

“Die sehen ziemlich uniform aus. Ich meine, das ist natürlich auch mein eigener Blick, aber ich habe den Eindruck die haben alle ihre Uniforme an. Die haben großen Hornbrillen so an, und irgendwie die Frauen haben diese großen Schmucksachen, riesigen Pullover, und die Jungs haben alle diese engen Röhrenjeans, die runter hängen beim Arsch. Und äh, irgendwie denken sie dass es so Berlin sei, dass es cool ist... Alle Jungs haben auch die selbe Frisur, diesen Seitenscheitel. Und sie denken halt glaube ich wenn sie so herumlaufen dass sie dann total nach Berlin aussehen. Oder sie denken gar nicht darüber nach, ich weiß es nicht.” *Nicole*

Other respondents also refer to people with walking shoes or with jackets bound around their hips. Third, tourists are recognised by residents by practices such as taking pictures, doing a walking tour, walking slowly, waiting for each other, not paying attention in traffic and looking around. Also, tourists are recognised by group size and group dynamics, including the use of their own language and by talking loudly:

"Touristen kommen oft in Gruppen. Also es gibt auch welchen die einzeln sind, aber es fällt auf wenn sie in Gruppen sind, weil sie dann... Viele reden laut, und auf ein anderen Sprache, und laufen vor einem her. [...] Aber würden die nicht alle zusammen herumlaufen, wurde man sie gar nicht als Touristen identifizieren." *Sarah*

"Auf jeden Fall fallen mich natürlich großen Touristengruppen auf. Also besonders Italiener und Spanier, weil sie immer zusammen unterwegs sind und laut sind und die sitzen dann gerne im Görlitzer Park herum. Die bringen ihre Musik mit, und spielen ihre ganzen... artistischen Spiele da. Sehr gut zu erkennen." *Nicole*

In the experience of these respondents, tourists in groups are often loud, and therefore easily recognised. For Nicole, especially Spanish and Italian tourists are easily recognised, because they are, in her experience, always in groups and because of similar practices. Sarah highlights that group size is an important clue in identifying tourists, saying she would not recognise the people depicted on interview photo 7 (figure 29) as tourists if they would walk around individually. Also, it is often a *combination* of above mentioned elements that confirm residents in their suspicion that someone is a tourist. As the following quotation, commenting on a girl with a camera and several bags on interview photo 6 (appendix 5), reveals:

"Also sie erkennt man an der Kamera, ne. Und wäre sie jetzt Künstlerin dann hätte sie wahrscheinlich nicht so große Taschen unter den Armen" *Sarah*

The relevance of whether residents recognise tourists or not is the following. As explained above, there is an awareness that individual tourists, or tourists in small groups of two or three persons, are not always recognised, as they are less distinguishable from other people. Therefore, the encounters with these tourists are not experienced as encounters with tourists. Resident experiences of the presence of tourists in their neighbourhood is thus mainly based on encounters with tourists in recognisable groups. This is an important point, as it implies that tourist group practices and dynamics are overrepresented in the experiences of residents. Assessing whether someone is a tourist is not just something respondents did in the artificial situation of the interview. It is also something respondents actually do, consciously or unconsciously, during their everyday lives. This was apparent, for example, in the descriptions of respondent's own actual encounters with tourists. Often these descriptions involved a justification of why respondents thought individuals in those encounters were tourists, using the clues identified in this section. Additionally, most respondents explicitly stated that the intentions and attitudes of tourists are not always easily recognised, as well as the fact that their practices are not always easily interpreted. Examples of this are provided throughout the rest of the chapter.

### 6.1.3 Observing tourists as a source of diversion

Almost all respondents indicated of their own accord that observing tourists can be a source of diversion. What aspects of tourists this relates to varies between respondents. First, several respondents indicated that they enjoy guessing the origin of tourists on the basis of clues mentioned in the previous section, such as clothing, language and bodily attributes. The following quotations are examples of this:

"Ich freue mich eigentlich über Touristen. Ist auch interessant zu gucken, sind es Skandinavier, dann haben die vielleicht tollere Klamotten an, oder auch nicht. Oder sind es irgendwelche Punks, Englische Punks oder so. Finde ich auch superinteressant, wenn ich so Leute sehe die dann woanders herkommen und ein bisschen ein anderen Style haben, oder eine andere Art haben zu sprechen." *Carlos*

"Das macht auch Spaß sich anzugucken was sie anhaben. Du kannst dann halt raten woher die kommen, oder dir vorstellen was das so ungefähr für Leute sind. Kannst du so ein bisschen so Gesprächsfetzen auffangen. Und das macht schon Spaß, weil du halt an den Klamotten so oft einfach siehst wo die herkommen. Also Schweden erkennst du total gut, weil die immer total gut aussehen, irgendwie. Weil die so total nach dem letzten Trend angezogen sind. Und es ist auch unterhaltsam, auf jeden Fall. " *Nicole*

Another source of diversion for some neighbourhood residents can be found in the observation of activities of tourists. Several respondents indicate that they enjoy observing what tourists take pictures of. In reaction to some of the interview photos, several respondent indicate that

they find it "süß", "lustig" or "witzig" to observe that many tourists take pictures of graffiti and posters. Florian, in reaction to interview photo 4 (figure 28), comments on this and explains the reasons for this:

"Ja, witzig, ja... ja. Die fotografieren die Graffitis, auch schon sehr oft gesehen. Aber ich weiß nicht, ich finde es dann irgendwie dann ganz lustig, also ich finde nichts schlecht oder so, ich laufe daran vorbei und denke "Mwaha, das ist ja witzig" und so, weil ich halt sehe, dass das für die halt nicht selbstverständlich ist und so." *Florian*

Other tourist activities that respondents enjoy to observe include the encounter where Nicole observed how tourists played games in public space (see section 5.2.2). Also, she enjoys tourists that bring music instruments to Görlitzer Park and add to the atmosphere when they play music, although she is also annoyed by it from time to time. Sarah enjoyed the encounter with the Scandinavian tourist group that waved at her when she took a picture of them from her kitchen window (see section 5.1.3), while she also mentions that she is delighted when tourists visit concerts of her band. Also, respondents that indicated that they regularly have visitors, enjoyed to observe what kind of places their visitors discover. For them, it is interesting to see how revisiting friends get to know the area better and better, and how they employ more everyday activities on their visits.

In the following quotation, Florian explains how a specific type of tourist was used by him and his friends to make a sort of practical joke. This involved what he calls "hipster tourists", by whom he sometimes gets a bit irritated. He and his friends used to deliberately not inform these people that they had to change to another metro. They enjoyed to see the faces of these tourists when they realised that they were heading in the wrong direction:

"Freunden von mir und ich haben so eine Strategie, das ist ein bisschen böse. Zwar, es gab ja in der U8 immer wieder Pendelverkehr. Also, das heißt dass bei der Heinrich-Heine-Straße musste man immer aussteigen, und die nächste fuhr dann wieder zurück. Und dann haben wir immer den Leuten die wir ganz gut fanden, haben wir immer gesagt dass sie aussteigen mussten. Und so krasse Hipstertouristen haben wir immer nicht gesagt dass sie aussteigen mussten. Und dann haben wir immer so beobachtet was für ein Gesicht die haben wenn die wieder zurück fahren {laughs}. Zum Spaß, also nicht aus Hass oder so." *Florian*

Thus, the unfamiliarity of tourists with the city can be a starting point for encounters between residents and tourists. Note how specific elements of the situation, such as the temporarily changed metro schedule, are constitutive of these encounters. Also, it shows how facial expressions, rather than verbal communication, can be a crucial element in encounters that form a source of diversion for neighbourhood residents. In other cases, however, the verbal communication is an important element in the encounter. Some respondents mention that for them it is interesting to have a bit of small-talk with tourists. Sometimes, the opportunity to speak in a different language is also appreciated:

"Ich rede gerne, also ich kann sieben verschiedene Sprachen sprechen und dann freue ich mich wenn ich mit jemandem Italienisch reden kann." *Sarah*

"Manchmal wenn ich Leute sehe die nicht wissen wo sie entlang laufen sollen, da helfe ich auch, ganz gerne. Weil es auch interessant ist, so Smalltalk, zwei Minuten, auf Englisch oder Spanisch." *Carlos*

The presence of Spanish tourists has an additional meaning for Carlos. His parents are Spanish and Carlos himself was raised in Berlin. He claims he does not speak Spanish that well. For him, having small-talk with Spanish tourists on the street is a way to practice his Spanish language skills. Additionally, he mentions that, in comparison with other tourists, it is easier for him to get involved with these people. He explains:

HP: Ist das für Sie noch extra interessant, das es auch Spanier gibt um ein bisschen über Spanien oder so zu reden?

Ein bisschen ja. Zumindest weil ich dann auch, ich spreche nicht so gut Spanisch, aber zumindest spreche ich dann auch Spanisch. Und dann freuen die sich auch weil die meisten auf der Straße sprechen ja kein Spanisch. Und dann kann man kurz darüber reden oder so, aber... ist ja eigentlich...

HP: Ist es ein Pluspunkt um manchmal ein bisschen Spanisch zu reden?

Ähm... Ja, aber ich glaube das ist auch egal, also... Ja, auf jeden Fall, ja doch, ist ein Pluspunkt. Weil da kann ich jetzt mehr mit anfangen. Aber ich glaube es ist auch immer gut wenn es irgendwie interessante Leute sind." *Carlos*

The quotation shows how neighbourhood resident attributes, in this case being from Spanish decent and a propensity to practice the Spanish language, are essential to understand the meaning encounters can have for a neighbourhood resident.

## **6.2 Experiencing the presence of tourists exploring the neighbourhood**

### **6.2.1 The feeling of being watched**

Some of the respondents have the feeling they are part of the reason tourists come to the neighbourhood. They express that they think tourists visit the area not just because of its sights, but rather because of the atmosphere and the residents that co-create that atmosphere. Several respondents express this feeling in terms of that they are part of the scenery that tourists appreciate and watch:

"Man wird auch ein bisschen dann Bestandteil von der Inszenierung.

HP: Ja, haben Sie das Gefühl?

Naja, ein bisschen schon. Also, dass man nicht mehr einfach ruhig im Café sitzen kann, sondern... Die Leute gucken einen an und gucken alles an. Also, es ist jetzt nicht, dass sie dich unglaublich störend angucken würden, aber man merkt schon wenn man wieder angeguckt wird. Also... Man wird halt anders angeguckt als wenn dort Leute vorbei kommen die hier in der Gegend wohnen. Und man ist weniger für sich. Man ist mehr Teil eben auch, Teil des Tourismus." *Kerstin*

This respondent states that tourists do not observe her "incredibly disturbing", but still she notes that the way tourists look at her is different from the way neighbourhood residents do. An interesting point in this quotation is that the feeling of being watched is part of an ordinary, everyday experience, which takes place during the practice of drinking a coffee. Several other respondents similarly state that they sometimes have the feeling that they are being watched, although they use different wordings to describe it:

"Dann kommt man sich schon vor wie im Zoo." *Walter*

"Wenn mir einfach nur Blicken treffen oder so, dann habe ich das Gefühl ich werde irgendwie gelesen." *Laura*

"Ich glaube das ist was dann unangenehm ist, dass man benutzt wird für deren Amüsement, oder für deren Erinnerung oder so." *Carlos*

"Du wirst halt... eben genau... zur Waffel des Tourismus, du wirst konsumiert irgendwie {laughs}" *Jonas*

As can be seen from the quotations, residents use a number of terms to describe feelings of being watched. The terms directly or indirectly refer to the practices and bodily attributes of tourists and often also refer to perceived attitudes of those tourists. The latter quotations refer to the idea that being watched is in a way experienced as being utilised or being consumed. For them, this is an unpleasant experience. Respondents brought up that this is especially true for several groups of Kreuzberg residents. Most mentioned groups were people with migrant backgrounds, punks and people with alternative clothing styles. In reference to these groups, respondents summed up a number of bodily attributes that they thought tourists were looking for, including headscarves, tattoos, hairstyle and clothing styles. According to Özlem, migrant groups in Kreuzberg have the feeling they are permanently observed<sup>22</sup>. An important aspect is the way people are dressed. She observed that women with headscarves were looked at in what she perceived as a disrespectful way:

"Dann schubsen sie sich an, wenn sie eine Frau mit Kopftuch und Kinderwagen sehen. Dann sagen sie "Guck mal, guck mal!", äh, oder schauen jemanden ganz lange nach.

---

<sup>22</sup> Özlem herself does not feel observed; she does not wear a headscarf and says that she thinks she is not being watched because she does not fit in a typical migrant profile.

[...] Das ist natürlich auch dieses, äh... wie betrachte ich, wie schaue ich. Wenn zum Beispiel jemand mit einem Kopftuch vorbeigeht, wie wird diese Person betrachtet? Schaue ich von oben herab, so mit einer gewissen Arroganz, oder bin ich offen, und neugierig. [...] Man muss nicht immer was sagen, der Blick sagt manchmal viel mehr als das Wort." *Özlem*

In the experience of this respondent, bodily expressions and the (perceived) attitudes of tourists are important in how she values these encounters. In this example, bodily attributes such as the way people look at others, the practice of nudging others and to gaze after someone are crucial for understanding the situation. The quotation also indicates that, according to Özlem, this is often more important than words. This also highlights that all encounters between residents and tourists, also those that do not include verbal communication, are important to understand the impact of tourism on neighbourhood residents. This confirms the theoretical conceptualisation as introduced in section 2.5.1 on the importance of bodily expressions and attributes in encounters.



Figure 24: Interview photo 12.

For Carlos, there is a subtle difference between situations that are acceptable and situations that are not. Commenting on interview photo 12 (figure 24), which displays two people who seem to look at a girl with a headscarve, he explains how he thinks elements of the context are important. He includes several spatial aspects of the situation (distance to the people being watched; keep walking or holding still) and bodily expressions (pointing, laughing):

"Und wenn die dann jetzt dieses Stück türkische Lebenskultur sehen, und dann so lächeln oder so, "Ah guck mal, das ist ja so eine, haben wir ja gelesen, die gibt es hier mit Kopftücher" oder so, dann bin ich auch so ein bisschen so, hm... wir sind... es ist ja kein Zoo oder so. Es ist ja so ein fließender Übergang auch, irgendwie, eigentlich ist es okay, und irgendwann ist es aber auch nicht mehr okay, oder wenn sie jetzt auch noch mit dem Finger zeigt, und alle stehen bleiben. [...] Das ist ja auch relativ viel Abstand, und die laufen auch weiter, die sind nicht stehen geblieben so, ich glaube das ist in Ordnung. Ich glaube das hängt viel davon ab auch wie dicht ist es, oder wie privat auch diese Szene ist." *Carlos*

This quotation shows how Carlos struggles with subtle differences in context that make a large difference in how the encounter should be interpreted.

Some respondents emphasise that it is not just the actual practice of being watched that is unpleasant, it is also about what people think about them what makes the situation unpleasant. In reaction to the question how she experiences the fact that her home is being watched from time to time, as part of a walking tour (see section 5.2.2), Laura states:

“Ich finde es schon erstmal seltsam, und fühle mich, wie sagt man, exotisiert. Dass ich das Gefühl habe, oh ja, okay, ich lebe auf irgendwie einer Weise die für andere Leute... beguckenswert ist. Ja, das fühlt sich halt an wie so ein Objekt, irgendwie so, man wird irgendwie so ausgestellt. Und das fühlt sich nicht gut an auf jeden Fall.” *Laura*

Further on in the interview, Laura more explicitly explains what this feeling of being exotised entails. She then states that she does not want to be categorised as part of the “irgendwie interessante exotische Bevölkerung von Kreuzberg”. During the interview it becomes clear that she thinks tourists do so because of the way she looks and the clothes she wears. She states that this triggers a feeling of not being taken seriously; an idea she also relates to in the previous quotation when she says that it feels like being a “displayed object”. The idea that clothing and style can form a reason for tourists to look at residents is also mentioned by many other respondents. Some of the other respondents, for example, said they do not feel watched, which they relate to they “do not have a special appearance”.

The feeling of being watched also has to do with reference points in history. Monika and Walter, who have been around in the area since the early 1980's, feel less watched than they did back then. They both mention that they felt “like in a zoo” from time to time. Monika especially had this feeling when buses full of West-Germans slowly drove through the Oranienstraße, as well as when these people explored *Hinterhöfe* with cameras. Note how Walter refers to the role of clothing, bodily postures of tourists and the routine of sitting on the street that all played their part in these encounters:

“Im Sommer saßen wir alle auf der Straße. [...] Da kommt ständig jemanden vorbei die dich begafft, weil sie eben halt anders aussahen. Die hatten alle Lederjacken, Punks. Die sahen anders aus, waren aber nicht anders. Die wollten bloß anders leben. Und auf Grund ihres Aussehen wurden sie fotografiert. Wie im Zoo, wenn du ein exotisches Tier siehst, dann holst du ein Fotoapparat raus und sagst "Oh, das habe ich noch nie gesehen", und machst ein Foto. Und so haben die sich benommen, die Touristen, teilweise.” *Walter*

Both Monika and Walter state that in their current encounters, they do not have these experiences anymore. In comparison to tourists practices in the 1980's, they think their experiences now are rather decent. This implies that their history of previous encounters influences the way contemporary encounters are experienced.

## 6.2.2 Photography and privacy

Another element in the theme related to being watched, is photography. In reaction to some of the interview photos, especially interview photo 6 (figure 25), issues of photography and privacy were brought up by most respondents. In section 5.1.2, it was already discussed that some neighbourhood residents do not like to be on pictures, and that they react to photographing people by turning the head away, walking around and in some cases triggers protests. Most respondents indicate that it frustrates them when they are being photographed, although to different extents. Terms used in response to this interview photo include *übergriffig*, *total ätzend*, *nervt mich* and *grenzverletzend*. The following quotation highlights some of the reasons why this is valued as negative by some neighbourhood residents:

“Leute die die ganze Zeit ungefragt fotografieren, und dich sozusagen mit in ihr Fotoalbum nehmen, und dich veröffentlichen, und du willst einfach in Ruhe gelassen werden, du willst einfach im Café einen Kaffee trinken. Das ist halt übergriffig.” *Jonas*

Note how this respondent feels restrained from a routine practice, namely drinking a coffee in a café. The quotation also highlights how the experience of being photographed can be affected by thoughts about what will happen with the photos afterwards. Respondents are aware of the fact that photos have a life after the moment they are taken. Several respondents mention they do not like to be photographed, because they can appear on photos that people upload to Facebook. Also, others are aware of the fact that pictures are often objects that are used in social interactions after returning home. Laura, for example, feels uncomfortable with the fact that she does not know how people are going to comment on photos. For her, being photographed is experienced as being harassed, as it violates “die Selbstbestimmung entscheiden zu können wo das eigene Gesicht auftaucht”.



Figure 25: Interview photo 6.

For privacy reasons, several respondents indicate that they think tourists should ask for permission to take pictures. However, they are aware that in the case of street scenes this is almost impossible because of the amount of people involved in a street scene. What is more, asking people before taking a picture would mean that the spontaneous nature of a street scene disappears. As Sandra comments:

“Möchtest du ein naturgetreues Foto, dann kannst du ja gar niemanden fragen, weil dann ist es vorbei {laughs}. Und ja, ich finde das gehört irgendwie dazu. Aber ich meine, das sind ja irgendwie Stimmungsbilder auch, die man macht... Das ist eigentlich eher sympathisch, weil es um so ein Einfang geht von der Stimmung, viel mehr wie von dem Gebäude, [...] oder was mir halt selber irgendwie gerade berührt, das möchte ich festhalten im Form von einem Foto. Das finde ich sympathisch.” *Sandra*

As this quotation shows, Sandra has no problems with being on a street scene photo of tourists. For her, the fact that tourists take pictures of the general atmosphere rather than of buildings alone, is valued as something positive. This contrasts with the comments of most other respondents, who oppose tourists taking pictures of street scenes when people are on them. An example of another respondent who does not seem to bother is Florian:

“Ich finde es eher lustig irgendwie, also finde ich es nicht so schlimm.” *Florian*

As with being watched in general, the extent to which an encounter is experienced as unpleasant depends to an important extent on contextual features. It depends on the distance between photographer and people being photographed. Related to that, it depends on whether people are photographed as part of a street scene, or if they are photographed as singled out individuals. For some respondents, especially for Laura, the aspect of whether one's face is on the photo is crucial in how the situation is experienced. The important role of context is also thematised in the following quotation, where the respondent comments on people taking pictures in the metro during the night:

“Wenn ich merke ich bin im Bild... Ach so, vor allem in der U-Bahn zum Beispiel, weil da kannst du nicht weggehen. Also sonst kannst du dich bewegen oder so, wenn du siehst da wird fotografiert. Aber vor allem in der U-Bahn nachts, kommen vielen auf die Idee Bilder zu machen, und dann denkst du dir so "Oh, ich will jetzt nicht auf dem Foto sein". Da drehe ich mich vor allem weg. Also das sind dann wirklich diese Partyleute.” *Sarah*

This quotation shows that the context in which the tourist practice of taking a picture takes place, is crucial in understanding the situation. The fact that a metro is a closed place where one can not avoid an unpleasant situation by walking away, makes Sarah turn her head away. The experience of the encounter, in other words, was related to the physical attributes of the

situation. In the following quotation, Nicole describes an encounter in which a tourist took a picture of a homeless person drinking a beer. She explains how the homeless person got angry and how the tourist was frightened as a result:

"Ich habe das mal erlebt, dass jemand irgendwie einen Penner einfach fotografiert hat. Der ist dann echt sauer geworden und hat irgendwie herum gemeckert. Die waren dann ganz erschrocken. Das sind halt immer so kurze Momente, wo die Leute plötzlich in der Realität ankommen und merken, dass es hier nicht nur Urlaub ist. [...] Also die ist dann halt, dann war es irgendwie so "Weg!", also der saß da herum mit seinem Bier, und ist auch gar nicht aufgestanden, hat angefangen so zu meckern. Und sie war halt ganz erschrocken, und so völlig... Sie hat das gar nicht gemerkt. Sie hat ihn auch nur wie ein Objekt fotografiert, wie alles andere auch so." *Nicole*

Similar to Laura's wordings in the previous section, Nicole bring up the concept of a person being "objectified" by the way someone relates to that person in a practice of photography.

### *Other aspects of privacy*

In addition to being watched, Laura is regularly asked by strangers about the communal living project she lives in. She differentiates between people who themselves live in similar projects and others, whose questions Laura partially experiences as obtrusive and with little respect:

"Also es ist halt unterschiedlich. Also es kommen auch Leute vorbei die vielleicht selber in ein Wohnprojekt wohnen und sich damit schon auskennen und die dann da vielleicht auch ein bisschen sensibler fragen. Aber es kommen auch Leute die sagen "Äh! Habt ihr allen ein eigenes Zimmer, oder schlaft ihr alle auf Matratzen in einem Zimmer?", dass ich so denke, eh nein, also so." *Laura*

This encounter shows that privacy is not only related to how people look around or take pictures. Privacy is also about the questions people ask, and how they ask these questions. Laura experiences such questions as obtrusive, for example when people ask where and how she sleeps. As she puts it:

"Und wieso sollte ich irgendwelche Leute die ich nicht kenne erzählen wo ich schlafe? Also es ist... Ich finde das einfach so ein bisschen... distanzlos. Und ich habe dann auch das Gefühl das ist teilweise vorurteilsbelastet, und äh... Ich mag das dann nicht wenn Leute da irgendwas rein projizieren." *Laura*

The latter part of the quotation shows that Laura does not like the fact that people speculate about where and how she lives, as she has the feeling that people might have prejudices about it. An additional aspect of privacy some respondents brought up is the privacy sphere of neighbourhood residents in general. Most respondents refer to their homes a part of their privacy sphere, although some also include their neighbourhood as their privacy sphere. Most explicitly, Özlem defines what she thinks entails the privacy sphere of neighbourhood residents:

"Aber wenn ich dann eine [...] Gruppe von 30, 40 Leuten sehe, also der Massentourismus, einfach nur durch den Kiez durchlaufen, oder wie äh Trampeltiere in Wohnquartiere einfallen, in Hinterhöfe, wo Menschen *leben*, und nicht reflektieren "Störe ich hier jemanden, überschreite ich *Gren-zen*?"

HP: Und wann würden sie sagen überschreiten sie die Grenzen?

Wie sie die Grenzen überstreifen? Äh... ich sag mir, ich habe als jemand die einen Ort aufsucht, die nicht dort lebt, sollte schon drauf achten ob ich in der Privatsphäre der Menschen eintrete, ohne gefragt zu werden.

HP: Was meinen Sie genau mit Privatsphäre, wo fängt die Privatsphäre an? Ist das nur in einem Haus, in einem Hinterhof, oder ist das auch in der Oranienstraße selber?

Das ist natürlich auch das *Wohnquartier*. Also ein ganz normaler Wohnviertel, wo Menschen einfach ihren Alltag, ihren Leben verbringen, äh, wo jetzt keine touristische Attraktion ist. [...] Das muss man nicht vermarkten, das ist Wohngebiet, die Leute haben ihr Recht auf Privatleben. " *Özlem*

The quotation shows that the privacy sphere is not limited to the own home, for Özlem. She argues that the neighbourhood itself should be seen as part of the privacy sphere, as it is part

of the everyday environment where the lives of residents take place. The quotation implies that in her opinion, the privacy of residents is violated when groups of people visit the area without approval. Note how she emphasises that the area is a *residential* area (Wohnquartier), without any "tourist attractions".

### 6.2.3 The educational aspect of tourism for tourists

Of their own accord, several respondents brought up the theme that tourists can learn from Kreuzberg and that they find this important. These neighbourhood residents think Kreuzberg can serve as an example for tourists from elsewhere in relation themes such as migration, political activism and integration. As Florian states:

"Ich finde man kann hier viel von lernen, von der Nachbarschaft, gerade so mit den ganzen Integrationsdebatten in Deutschland. Weil ich finde es total wichtig, dass die Leute hier einfach mal herkommen und sehen wie es aussieht und so." *Florian*

Another issue Florian brings up is about the question why Berlin is such a cheap place to live, in comparison to other major world cities. In his view it is important that people learn about the role of political activism:

"Was ich halt jetzt interessant finde, ist das vor allem viele Nord-Amerikaner immer sagen, "Warum ist die Stadt so billig?". Die versuchen natürlich dann auch dies zu erklären und so, und für die ist es immer halt erstmal ein Strukturproblem, also eine... Dass nach 1990 viele Leute weggezogen sind und es gibt ganz viele Wohnungen die stehen leer und so weiter. Was auch stimmt... Aber das ist immer für die das einzige Model, das als Erklärung gilt. Aber meine Ansicht ist halt, dass Kreuzberg oder Neukölln auch immer noch so sind wie sie sind, das ist halt vor allem eine Folge von politischer Aktivismus." *Florian*

For Florian education is an important aspect of tourism. This also explains why he reacts pronouncedly positive on interview photo 15 (figure 26), which features a group of school children who get off a bus. In reaction to this photo he says:

"Das finde ich super! Weil die lernen dann halt was und so und wissen dann wie man das im Kontext setzt und so. Ja, und was ich auch immer mache mit meinen touristischen Freunden, wir gehen immer ins Kreuzbergmuseum. Weil ich meine das ist ja nur eine kleine Sache, aber trotzdem man erklärt ein bisschen was und so, und das finde ich halt gut irgendwie. Also so ein bisschen gegen diesen Sinn von Austauschbarkeit und so." *Florian*

Again, he explicitly mentions the fact that he finds it important that tourists learn something from Kreuzberg. As a result of this attitude, he also takes his tourist friends to the Kreuzberg Museum. Further on in the interview, he also relates this to his own experiences, namely to his



Figure 26: Interview photo 15.

own school trip to Berlin. Interestingly, Florian is the only respondent to link this photo with the value of education, while most other respondents associate the depicted situation with (perceived) negative sides of bus tourism and tourism in big groups, such as congestion issues and the impact on atmosphere. Although Laura has difficulties with being watched (see section 6.2.1), she appreciates the fact that people can learn about things she finds important, such as forms of communal living and political ideas:

“Ich finde so die Idee von gemeinschaftlichen wohnen und auch das politische soziale Kulturprojekt was daran hängt, finde ich es auch wichtig wenn Leute was davon erfahren. Das sind irgendwie wichtige Ideen, und ich will auch dass die sich verbreiten.”  
*Laura*

In her view, the own interest of people is an important element in how she values that people are informed about the house she lives in. For her, the fact that her house is one of the sights of a walking tour is unpleasant. She indicates that she would prefer that people came to inform themselves about the ideas behind the communal living project on their own initiative:

“Ich glaube das würde ich lieber so wollen dass Leute aus einem eigenen Interesse da vielleicht hinkommen und sich irgendwie informieren, oder einbringen wollen, und nicht dass das so Bestandteil von einer Stadtführung ist, wo irgendwie Leuten auch [erzählt wird], was weiß ich, keine Ahnung, "Hier ist das und das Denkmal", am ersten noch ein Kriegsdenkmal oder so, "Und ach ja, hier ist so ein alternatives Wohnprojekt", so "Aha, aha...", irgendwie so gemischt, alles das gleiche. Das finde ich irgendwie unangenehm. [...] Ich glaube ich finde es halt besser, wenn Leute da eigenes Initiativ zeigen. Und wenn ihn quasi nicht so... das nicht ein Spektakel und ein Attraktion ist, sondern dass Leute das auch ernst nehmen, und sich mit den Ideen die da hinter stecken irgendwie auseinandersetzen.” *Laura*

In Laura's perspective, a walking tour makes her house into one of many sights, rather than that it is a way for people to really learn something from it. She has the feeling that it is a form of spectacle and that the ideas are not taken seriously. This is the reason she prefers people to come on their own initiative to inform themselves about it. The quotation implies that the aspect of whether people are really interested in what they are seeing or hearing is a major aspect on how this respondent experiences and values the presence of tourists on tour. Most other respondents also value a real interest of tourists in the area as something positive.



Figure 27: Interview photo 17.

### *Are tourists really interested?*

In actual encounters, bodily expressions are an important indicator for residents to assess whether tourists are really interested in what they do. This includes the way tourists handle their cameras and which postures they entails. Laura and Peter for example, who both

commented on the bodily posture of the photographer on interview photo 17 (figure 27), put forward that the photographer on that picture looks interested because he is kneed down while taking a picture. Peter, who also contrasts this with snapshot photographers he sometimes encounters, puts it this way:

“Ich glaube das ist auch ein Unterschied, er versucht ja schon ernsthaft da ein Bild ein zu fangen. Ist extra runter gegangen von seinem Fahrrad, hat das abgestellt, ist da rüber gegangen, hat so die Höhe angepasst, konzentriert sich, nimmt sich Zeit. Da ist ja schon ein ernsthaftes Interesse da. Das ist nicht nur ein Schnappschuss, wie manche anderen die so im Vorbeigehen ein Foto machen.” *Peter*

In this case, the bodily expressions of the photographer<sup>23</sup> were interpreted in the same fashion by both aforementioned respondents. However, the following example shows that bodily expressions of tourists are sometimes interpreted completely different by different neighbourhood residents. In reaction to interview photo 4 (figure 28), Laura states the following:

“Auf dem Bild stehen Leute in einem Hauseingang, und gucken alle in die gleichen Richtung, nämlich auf die eine Hauswand die beklebt ist mit Plakaten, und zeigen dahin, und fotografieren, und äh... {sighs}. Man sieht die Leute von hinten, das heißt man erkennt ihr Gesichtsausdruck nicht, aber sie wirken so ein bisschen... äh... {sighs}. Also die Person die hier am nächsten steht, hat die Hände in den Hosentaschen und seinen Kopf so zur Seite gelehnt, das ist so, "Aha... ja...", so ein bisschen wie "Okay, jemand hat mir im Museum gezerzt und jetzt gucke ich mir dieser Ausstellungsstück an.” *Laura*

This quotation is exemplary of the importance of bodily expressions of tourists in the experience of residents. For Laura, the posture of the boy with the brown shirt, with his hands in his pockets and how he turns his head, indicates that this person is not sincerely interested in what he is seeing and hearing at the moment. She states that it looks like as if he was forced to do the tour, rather than that he participates out of own interest. However, the interpretation of Peter of this exact same photo is completely different, as he thinks the people on the photo are really interested in what they are doing. Just like Laura, he refers to the bodily expressions and practices of the participants to underpin his statement:

“Könnte eine Studentengruppe sein. Die ein bisschen analysieren, was es hier so an visuelle Botschaften geklebt ist, und darüber diskutieren. Die gucken das ja fast an wie eine Ausstellung. Eine Entdeckergruppe, auf der Suche nach Zeichen des Ausdrucks, dieses beschriebenes Mythos der Rebellion. Ich freue mich natürlich, dass die Leute Interesse haben an den Sachen die dort geklebt sind. Also dass es scheinbar auch ein ernsthaftes Interesse gibt, die Sachen zu betrachten und zu besprechen. [Und das Interesse zeigt sich weil sie] alle ihre Köpfe auf einem Wand gelehnt haben.” *Peter*

As the previous quotations indicate, neighbourhood residents can have contrasting interpretations of tourists attitudes, on the basis of their bodily expressions and practices. The different interpretation and experience of the same situation probably has to do with the general reservations Laura has with tourists. These reservations are partially formed by the way tourists relate to the environment and object they observe during their tour. For her, the way tourists approach the posters on the interview photo reminds her of how people relate to objects in museums. In the following quotation she explains how she feels that this indicates that people relate to what they are seeing as “something dead”, or “as history”. In the perspective of Laura, this is unpleasant, while for her the content of the posters are important messages, for example about demonstrations. She puts it this way:

“Für mich hat dieser Hauseingang, ist einfach so, ist einfach irgendwie so ein... Naja da findet halt irgendwie Leben statt, da rufen Leute zur Demonstrationen auf, da gibt es Partys die angekündigt werden, zum Teil kommerziell, zum Teil nicht kommerziell, und äh... Das ist einfach was was, naja, das lebt halt noch, das ist nicht Tot, das ist nicht in einer Vitrine, das ist nicht Geschichte oder so, das ist äh... ja das ist aktuelles Leben.

---

<sup>23</sup> Some other respondents did not react on the bodily expressions of the photographer, but rather on the idea of whether this person would be a tourist or a resident (see section 6.1). Again others focussed on the man on the right, handling a map.

Also ich würde mir eigentlich wünschen, dass Leute sich zum Beispiel Demonstrationsaufrufe durchlesen und verstehen wollen was die Gedanke dahinten sind. Und sich vielleicht überlegen, "Ist das auch eine Sache die mich was angeht, und wo ich vielleicht demonstrieren will?". Und nicht dass sie sich angucken und sagen "Ja, pff, okay, jetzt habe ich da ein totes Stück Geschichte".

HP: Und den Eindruck hast du?

Ja." *Laura*



Figure 28: Interview photo 4.

Note that Peter also refers to the museum concept to describe the situation on interview photo 4. However, for him this is an indicator of real interest. In contrast, Laura doubts the real interest of people to consider the content of posters. Similarly, Özlem is sceptic about the willingness of tourists to learn something in the neighbourhood. She thinks tourists will not alter their prejudices about Turkish and Arabic residents, that she thinks many tourists have. She says there are many tourists who come to watch Turks and Arabs:

"Viele kommen mit ihren Bildern im Kopf in diesen Stadtteil, und gehen auch mit ihren Vorurteile weiter. Das ist ganz grob wie Völker schauen, ja...? "wir gehen mal Türken und Araber schauen", ich sag das jetzt ganz platt. Das sind Aussagen von Touristen, diese Aussagen habe ich jetzt nicht ausgedacht, das sind wirklich Aussagen von Touristengruppen die sagen "Wir gehen mal Türken gucken". Und mit *dieser* Vorstellung, wenn Gruppen hier herkommen, Die *wollen* im Grunde nichts lernen oder sie wollen im Grunde nichts mitnehmen, weil sie wollen nur schauen und gehen." *Özlem*

Özlem also doubts if tour guides always provide participants with the right information, and therefore suggests a quality label for tour guides should be introduced. The last part of the quotation also reveals that Özlem thinks that learning from Kreuzberg is significant. However, as mentioned before, she is sceptic about whether this actually happens because she doubts the willingness of tourists to alter their views. This attitude towards tourists also affects Özlem's experience of other tourists practices, such as the fact that some tourists visit *Hinterhöfe*. Other respondents, who have a more positive attitude towards the willingness of tourists to learn, value this phenomenon differently. Florian, for example, relates the visiting of *Hinterhöfe* with an interested attitude of tourists:

"Die kommen sogar hin und wieder bei mir im Innenhof von meinem Haus und so. Finde ich ganz super. Weil ich meine, dann wohnt man ja automatisch so in einem historischen Haus, das ist dann auch cool. Weil ich finde es schön wenn Leute da Interesse für haben. " *Florian*

Thus, most respondents find it important that people learn something from Kreuzberg. Some of the younger respondents linked the importance of the educational aspect of tourism in Kreuzberg with their own experiences. Many of them lived in Western Germany and visited Berlin during a school trip, however none of them could remember being in Kreuzberg during such a trip. The importance of education also influences how neighbourhood residents relate to their own visitors. Monika mentions the educational aspects as motive to take her guests to an 'alternative' theatre, and it is put forward as an important motive by Florian to take guests to demonstrations (see section 5.7.1). Nicole sometimes sends tourists in the wrong direction, as she finds it important that people also see the less-visited streets:

"Ich denke mich auch so, wenn ich die Leute in die falsche Richtung schicke, und die sich dann ein bisschen verlaufen, dann können sie auch mal ein bisschen was von den hinteren Straßen sehen weißt du. Und können auch mal irgendwie ihren eigenen Weg laufen, und müssen nicht irgendwie stur zu dem Ort wo sie denken dass es interessant ist." *Nicole*

#### 6.2.4 The educational aspect of tourism for residents

Tourism in the neighbourhood does not only have an educational value for visiting tourists. It can also arouse the interest of neighbourhood residents for their daily environment. Photographing tourists, for example, can attract the attention of passers-by (see section 5.1.3). Respondents who brought up this aspect value this as a positive element of tourism. Also, an encounter with people on a walking tour can trigger the interest of residents. It can trigger a moment of reflection, about the special place Kreuzberg is or about German history, as this response to interview photo 4 (figure 28) shows:

"Ich freue mich dann. Also manchmal sehe ich sowas und dann laufe ich vorbei und denke, "Hey, was machen die denn hier?". Dann gucke ich so und denke, "Ah stimmt, toll! Da sind ja ganz viele Plakate, das ist irgendwie interessant.". [...] Oder wenn ich höre dass einer was sagt, ein Guide oder so... Also ich bleibe nicht unbedingt stehen und höre zu, aber manchmal wenn ich dann so höre was er gesagt hat, dann denkt man darüber nach. Dann habe ich mal gehört dass jemand dann über Juden und diese Naziverfolgung gesprochen hat. Man sieht ja auch manchmal auf den Fußboden, so kleine Steine, die daran erinnern, und das fand ich auch interessant. Und dann am nächsten mal dachte ich auch so, "Was ist hier wohl passiert in dem Haus"." *Carlos*

The previous quotation shows how the practice of a tour guide can trigger the thoughts of a resident. What is more, Carlos unveils that this happened not just during that single encounter, but also the next time he passed by this specific house. However, it is not just the words of a tour guide that can trigger thoughts. In reaction to interview photo 5 (appendix 5) he argues that the tourist spatial practice of standing still triggers his interest for things that he normally does not even notice:

"Diese Sachen fallen mir erst auf wenn Leute so stehen bleiben, weil dann sehe ich erst, "Ah, das ist anscheinend was interessantes, was es nicht überall gibt". Dann wird man erst bewusst dass es ja vielleicht was besonderes ist, dass Leute "Deutsche Truppen raus aus Afrika" so offensiv auf ihre Hauswand hängen." *Carlos*

This quotation shows that actual encounters with tourists can trigger an awareness about the everyday environment of neighbourhood residents; and in this case also for a political issue. Similarly, Florian comments on the fact that the large amount of graffiti is not normal in many other places. For him, the situation depicted on interview photo 4 (figure 28) is a symbol of the fact that Berlin is a special place. Note how in the following quotation he states that during everyday life, things do not always appear as special. Returning from a visit to his parents who live close to Frankfurt am Main, or encountering a group of tourists on the street, can trigger an awareness of the place he lives:

"Es ist halt eher vielleicht für mich wie ein Spiegel irgendwie. Und ich meine, wenn man hier jetzt seit ein paar Jahre lebt dann ist ja alles vollkommen normal, diese alltägliche Apokalypse irgendwie. Das ist für mich wenn ich nach meine Eltern fahre auch wieder ein Schock. Dann denke ich, hier gibt es ja gar keine Graffitis und so, und dann fahre ich wieder zurück und denke ich "Oh, Graffiti!". Das Bild ist für mich halt eher eine total

gute Symbolisierung, nicht von das was in Berlin da ist, sondern was die andere Städte nicht haben. Weil es halt verboten ist, dass man ins Gefängnis geht wenn man ein Graffiti anbringt." *Florian*

Additionally, visitors can also trigger residents to visit places they do not normally go to or do not pay attention to during daily routines. Sarah comments on how she went on a trip with her grandmother and how she noticed things she does not notice when she cycles as part of her daily routine:

"Und auf einmal habe ich so viel über die Geschichte gelernt, und habe den Gendarmenmarkt mir einmal richtig angeguckt, anders als wenn ich immer nur mit dem Fahrrad vorbei gefahren bin. Und das ist... da habe ich dann die Geschichte Berlins besser wahrgenommen." *Sarah*

This respondent also mentions that the activities of her visitors sometimes provide her with new insights. For example, she attained new information about a big street art painting in the neighbourhood, after a friend of hers participated in a street art tour. The examples provided in this section show how tourists can shed a new perspective on people's everyday environment.

### **6.3 Experiencing crowdedness**

#### *Experiencing crowded streets*

The topic of crowdedness on the street was brought up by almost all respondents, especially in reaction to interview photo 6, 12, 13, 14 and 15 (appendix 5). In the experience of respondents, tourists are often involved in situations of crowdedness. They explain this by the common practices of tourists, such as walking slowly, looking around, moving around in groups, as well as group dynamics (see chapter 5). Also, respondents relate these practices with tourist attitudes, such as ignorance, inattentiveness and a holiday mindset. First of all, many respondents identified group dynamics as an important element. In reaction to interview photo 6 (figure 25), the following respondent comments on the role of tourist group dynamics as an important element in the production of crowdedness. In this case he mentions how tourists tend to wait for each other, for example when another member of the group takes a picture:

"Schlecht ist es nur wenn sie im Weg stehen. Wenn man da gerade entlang laufen möchte und die bleiben stehen weil die irgendwas entdecken, und man will aber vorbei... Dann warten die Anderen noch, warten bis sie das Foto gemacht hat, und dann macht sie noch ein Foto." *Carlos*

Situations such as depicted in interview photo 6 are experienced as irritating by Carlos. A similar element in the production of crowdedness is related to group size. This, as well as the group dynamics that form a spatial characteristic of a moving group, is commented on by the following respondents:

"Das sind schon richtig fette Gruppen, und die bleiben auch in sich hängen irgendwie. Es ist wie ein räumlicher Körper der sich durch einen Raum bewegt, sozusagen, der seinen eigenen Raum mitnimmt irgendwie." *Jonas*

"Große Gruppen sind an sich schon so geschlossen und so groß, dass sie viel Raum brauchen. Und wenn nicht viel Raum da ist, sind sie total dominierend. Und von daher sind solche Busladen<sup>24</sup> immer irgendwie, in so dichten Räume, städtischen Räume, eigentlich nervig." *Peter*

In the latter quotation, Peter expresses how he experiences big groups as annoying. For him, this is due to both the actual space that groups occupy, but also to the dominating effect that groups have in his experience. The presence of groups can be annoying, which in turn can lead to other effects. For Kerstin, walking on the Oranienstraße can be a tiring experience. She relates this to the presence of tourists, as well as to physical attributes of the context:

"Es ist auch anstrengend, also gerade die Oranienstraße, weil die Oranienstraße... einen sehr schmalen Bürgersteig hat, viele Leute mit einem Fahrrad versuchen dadurch zu kommen, oder mit Kinderwägen. Und weil die ganze Cafés draußen Tischen und Stühle haben ist es sehr eng. Und dadurch dass eben auch viele Touristen da sind ist noch

<sup>24</sup> He refers to the situation depicted on interview photo 15 (figure 26).

weniger Platz. Und ist es anstrengend auf der Straße zu gehen, also ist es nicht möglich dadurch zu kommen.

HP: Und das war früher nicht so?

Nein. Es war weniger einfach. Die Cafés hatten nicht alle Tischen draußen, und es waren wirklich weniger Leute unterwegs. Es war kein Gedrängel, also war das nicht so anstrengend." *Kerstin*

Note how physical elements of the situation on the street (narrow pavement, people with bicycles or baby buggies, terraces) play their part in the experience of crowdedness for Kerstin. Another crucial factor is the amount of tourists that is on the streets. For her, this can be a demanding experience, especially compared to the past. Later on in the interview, she expresses that this has led her to change her routine of drinking a coffee on the Oranienstraße. She tells that since 2 or 3 years she now goes to Kottbusser Damm instead, even though it is further away<sup>25</sup>. Other respondents refer to other objects that play a role in the production of crowdedness. Examples of this include parked bicycles, as well as bicycles with a child passenger bicycle trailer that some people carry around on the narrow pavements of the streets.

As we already saw in section 5.3.2, crowdedness can lead to conflictual encounters between residents and tourists. The following quotation shows that such conflicts can also arise between neighbouring urban functions, in this case between a neighbourhood community centre and a café. Özlem works in a *Nachbarschaftshaus* located in a *Hinterhof* in the Oranienstraße, which is often visited by elderly residents, frequently in wheelchairs. Near the entrance to the Oranienstraße there is a café with a terrace. Last summer these two places had a conflict about the terrace of the café. The quotation also shows how the conflict was related to conflicting practices of visitors of these places:

"Es ist schon ein sehr enger Bürgersteig. Wir hatten letztes Jahr große Auseinandersetzungen, weil sie ihre Tischen bis auf der Straße, also auf der Fahrbahn gemacht haben. Und dann haben die Leute ihr Fahrrad mitten auf dem Weg gestellt, und die Füße noch auf dem Stuhl, und die Leute sind überhaupt nicht mehr durch gekommen. Also gerade alte Leute. [...] Es sind viele Menschen mit Rollstuhl hier oder mit Gehbehinderung, und die sind nicht mehr durchgekommen da vorne. Und die Leute *gucken* nicht. Die stehen da im Eingang, trinken ihr Bier aus der Flasche, unterhalten sich, *versperren* alles und haben auch den Blick nicht mehr für das was dort eigentlich tatsächlich passiert. Die sind nur noch auf sich fixiert." *Özlem*

The quotation shows that the annoyances Özlem talks about here are related to a number of physical attributes (tables, bicycles), but crucially also to practices and group dynamics of the people on the terrace. These practices include putting legs on a chair, drinking beer on the street and blocking the entrance. What is more, she relates these practices with the attitudes of these people, namely an attitude that she interprets as egoistic, fixated on fun and inattentive towards other users of the pavement. In addition, she links the practices and (perceived) attitudes of these people with a generational difference and with the imagery of media and marketing:

"Und das ist auch eine neue Generation, die sehr, ja, auf sich fixiert ist, konsumorientiert, egoistisch... Die nur noch Fun... Ich meine das wird ja auch medial immer gepriesen. Wenn man sich die ganze Werbung anschaut, ja, es wird immer mit Alkohol verbunden, immer mit Tanz und immer mit Events. Und das ist ein Bild, ein einseitiges Bild, womit die Menschen durch die Welt ziehen. Also die verhalten sich überall so, diese Gruppe von Menschen." *Özlem*

Özlem sees a conflict between different groups of users of public space. In the rest of the interview it becomes clear that for Özlem, these groups consist of long-time residents on the one hand, and a new, young generation of residents and tourists on the other. In her perspective, the conflict results from the growing dominance of the practices of the latter group, and the (perceived) attitude that these practices accompany.

Crowdedness related annoyances are also experienced in public spaces other than streets. In

<sup>25</sup> Although crowdedness was an important reason, Kerstin notes that higher prices and changed atmosphere are other factors in this changed routine.

the metro, for example, situations of crowdedness can develop when tourist groups block the doors of the metro:

“Auch wenn man hier in die U-Bahn geht... Wer gewohnt ist U-Bahn zu fahren der guckt, wo ist ein Eingang. Aber die Touristen stehen dann alle an einer Tür und blockieren. Sie sind einfach fremd. Und zwei Leute können viel flexibler mit so einer Situation umgehen, es sind einfach die großen Gruppen.” *Monika*

Monika refers to a combination of factors that results in a situation of crowdedness, namely tourist group size and unfamiliarity of tourists with the metro system. Similarly, an activity that some tourists are not used to is cycling in the city. Several respondents relate this with the origin of these tourists, namely from countries where cycling is not common or when they are from non-urban environments. However, some respondents also state that tourist practices in traffic are often also related to an inattentive attitude of tourists and to group dynamics. As an example, several respondents commented on how groups of tourists often cross the street, simply by following others of the group without paying attention to traffic.



Figure 29: Interview photo 7.

Many reactions on inattentive behaviour of tourists in traffic were triggered by interview photo 7 (figure 29). Although cycling by tourists was not depicted on any of the interview photos, the theme was brought up by many respondents. For residents, the conflictual aspect lies especially in the fact that many tourists are occupied with other activities during cycling, such as looking around. As the following respondent states:

“Fahrradfahren, das ist katastrophal. Also der Verkehr hier in der Straße ist schon ziemlich heftig, da muss jeder so gucken wie er durch kommt. Wenn dann aber eine Touristengruppe mit 12 Fahrrädern ankommt, die den Ort nicht kennen... Die kennen nicht die Art und Weise wie hier Fahrrad gefahren wird, die träumen da auf ihrem Fahrrad und gucken durch die Welt. Und wenn du einen Termin hast, du möchtest irgendwo hin, ist das einfach ein Verkehrshindernis.” *Monika*

Note how Monika states how the practices of tourists are experienced as irritating when it coincides with the everyday life activity of having an appointment. Many other respondents also link their irritated experience with similar everyday occupations, such as being in a hurry, being on a schedule and simply wanting to get from A to B quickly. The fact that everyday routines can conflict with the practices of tourists is also put forward in the following quotation. Peter explains how the slower speed of tourists sometimes conflicts with his own tempo, although it does not always irritate him:

“Wenn ich getaktet bin, und irgendwas funktionieren muss, und ich schnell irgendwo hin

muss, dann stört mich das. Also, es kann sein dass es mich stört, manchmal ist es mir egal. [...] Das Behindernde der Gruppen ist ja einfach dieser andere Takt, dass die viel langsamer sind, dass die mehr Zeit haben Sachen anzugucken. Wenn man selber in einem anderen Takt dadurch will, ne, man will einfach einen Weg überbrücken... Und für die ist der Weg das Ziel. Für uns, Alltagsleute, ist der Weg ein Überbrücken zum Ziel. Und das ist kein flanieren, sondern durchrauschen." *Peter*

This respondent explicitly contrasts the use of streets between tourists and residents. For him the street is a way to get to his goal, while he states that for tourists the street is a place to stroll and watch the things around.

Many respondents recognise the situation depicted on interview photo 7 (figure 29) and indicate it is part of their daily experience. The fact that situations of small irritations occur regularly, can lead to ignoring it. This holds true for Walter, who regularly encounters situations similar to that depicted on interview photo 7:

"Wenn du hier lebst, registriert du das nicht. Weil das halbstündlich so ist." *Walter*

In contrast to some other respondents, the fact that he regularly encounters such a situation leads him to ignore it as a normal phenomenon. Similarly, some other respondents recognised the situation, but said it does not frustrate them anymore as they got used to it. However, for other neighbourhood residents the fact that a situation occurs on a regular basis can be the reason of the frustration.

#### *Crowdedness related irritations and the cumulative effect*

Irritations related to the occurrence of similar situations on a regular basis was identified as the cumulative effect of previous encounters in section 2.6 of the theoretical chapter. This is the case for Özlem, whose work place is located in two different buildings, one in the Oranienstraße and one in the Adalbertstraße. Özlem regularly has to walk between these two places. This routine route of about 200 metres is located exactly where most congestion was observed (see section 5.3.1). Also, she indicates that she regularly encounters situations of crowdedness at the entrance of one of these two locations, as it is a popular place for tour groups to gather. She tells that there are often groups of 30 or 40 people, who do not pay attention when she tries to enter her work place. This inattentive attitude also plays an important role in the following quotation. The respondent relates this attitude to tourist practices, in this case looking around, taking pictures, standing on the middle of the street and not reacting to verbal requests<sup>26</sup> to make place. Also note the role of Özlem's routine and the role of practices, bodily and facial expressions (see footnote) of the three persons involved in this encounter:

"Ich musste ganz schnell mit meinem Laptop in das andere Büro, weil ich was gebraucht habe. Ich meine, die Straße ist hier wirklich sehr eng, und ich will durch... Da stehen zwei Touristinnen mitten auf dem Weg. Rechts und links war kein Bewegungsraum. Sie machten ihre Fotos, und waren einfach nicht anwesend {laughs}, waren in einer anderen Welt. Und dann habe ich die ein paar Mal angesprochen, dass ich durch möchte, und wurde ignoriert. Dann musste ich kurz antippen, also berühren, damit sie überhaupt reagierten. [...] Sie sind kurz so ein bisschen zur Seite gegangen und haben weiter gemacht. Also jetzt nicht weiter "Entschuldigung, tut mir Leid, habe ich nicht mitgekriegt", gar nicht, sondern "Och..."<sup>27</sup>." *Özlem*

The quotation makes clear that the respondent was especially annoyed by the perceived arrogant attitude of the tourists; an attitude the respondent gathered from the fact that the tourists did not respond to her verbal request and the lack of apologies. Note how she comments on the contrast of her routine and the practices of the tourists as "being in a different world". The perceived attitudes of tourists can trigger thoughts of frustration, as the following quotation shows. She describes how the situation continued:

"Dann gehe ich über die Ampel, kommt mir die nächste Gruppe entgegen {laughs}.

<sup>26</sup> Özlem later indicates that the two individuals were German tourists, implying that they could have understood what she said.

<sup>27</sup> While she says this, Özlem imitates the facial expressions and postures of the tourists, putting her nose up in the air, to indicate an arrogant attitude.

Und das ist dann natürlich... weil ich denke, "Hm, soviel Zeit möchte ich auch mal haben, muss die Straße jetzt verstopft sein, können die Leute nicht mal ein bisschen aufmerksamer durch den Kiez laufen?". [...] Also es wird nicht drauf geachtet ob man stört oder ob man im Weg steht. Und das ist natürlich auch für meinen Ablauf störend. Ich meine, ich mache jetzt kein Drama draus, aber das sind so Sachen die sich dann *sum-mie-ren*. Ja? Da stört es mich ein bisschen, und dann kommt eine andere Situation." *Özlem*

This respondent explains how the sequence of situations of crowdedness can result in frustration. She explicitly notes how experiences of such encounters add up ("*sum-mier-ren*"). Although she claims she does not want to "make a drama out of it", it is clear that the cumulative occurrence of situations of crowdedness frustrates her. In other words, the cumulative effect of encounters of crowdedness, rather than just the situations as such, is crucial to understand how neighbourhood residents experience encounters. The cumulative occurrence of crowdedness related encounter does not necessarily lead to expressed frustrations. Not all crowdedness related annoyances hit the surface. Several respondents state that they often do not do anything, although they are irritated. This holds true for Sarah, as the following quotation shows:

"Wenn man hier wohnt dann möchte man schnell von A nach B. Und wenn dann aber so hier in der Oranienstraße eine Gruppe von Touristen vor einem her läuft, dann ist man ein bisschen genervt. Weil sie laufen so dass man nicht durchkommt manchmal, nicht immer, aber manchmal. Ich sage normalerweise nichts wenn ich genervt bin, ich bin dann nur genervt und warte bis sie vorbei gehen. Aber es kam eine Türkische Frau die hier auch gewohnt hat, die ist an mir vorbei gelaufen und hat die Touristen fast so geschubst. Also sie war richtig cool, war halt auch voll genervt, und meinte so "He man, wir wollen hier durch, wir wohnen hier!" {laughs}. In dem Moment war echt so "Ja! Sie sagt das, das ist gut!", weil das einem halt öfters passiert." *Sarah*

#### *Experiencing crowdedness caused by tourists or by residents*

In the experience of crowdedness it is relevant to know which people cause the situation, at least for some neighbourhood residents. The following quotation shows that irritations about crowdedness are experienced more profoundly when tourists are involved in the situation. For Laura, for example, there is an additional tourist effect:

"Ich merke wenn ich zum Beispiel die Straße entlang laufe und da steht eine Gruppe Leute mir irgendwie im Weg so, und ich muss irgendwie an denen vorbei, und ich habe es vielleicht eilig oder so, reagiere ich anders wenn ich das Gefühl habe, das ist gerade eine Gruppe von Touristen, und Touristinnen, als wenn das halt einfach Leute sind die ihr alltägliches Leben gerade irgendwie regeln und bequatschen und so. Ich habe dann... eher so ein Ding von, oh, ich will da eigentlich nicht gesehen werden, und ich will nicht... ich will nicht, dass die mich den Weg versperren {laughs}. Aber äh... ich bin quasi mehr genervt davon, dass sie da im Weg herumstehen." *Laura*

Analysing her own on-street experience, Laura discloses that she is more irritated by tourists blocking her way, than when other neighbourhood residents do so. She relates this to the general reservations she has towards tourists in the neighbourhood. This demonstrates that the annoyance about crowdedness caused by tourists is not just triggered by the physical presence of individuals causing a blockade. It demonstrates that general ideas about tourism can have their effect in the direct experience of actual encounters with tourists. This idea is further confirmed by a quotation of Sandra, who, in contrast, has a general positive stance towards tourists in the neighbourhood. Commenting on people forming a blockade on the pavement, she states that it is irrelevant to her if those people are tourists or residents:

"Was lustig ist, bei diese Situation ist es völlig Wurst ob das ein Tourist ist oder nicht, weil es ist einfach eng da. [...] Das hat mit Touristen nichts zu tun. Also, finde ich. Du musst in den Bus einsteigen, zum Beispiel. Also da gibt es genau so viele Beispiele von türkischen Mamas die da stehen und genauso undurchbrechbar sind, ne, als Personenvolumen {laughs}, wie Touristen auch. Und äh, ich sehe da irgendwie nicht den Punkt. Also..." *Sandra*

## 6.4 Tourists and atmosphere

### 6.4.1 Perceived impact of tourists on atmosphere in public space

#### *Terraces: crowdedness and liveliness*

Almost all respondents associate terraces with crowdedness, as well as with a lively atmosphere. These two aspects of the same phenomenon can trigger different experiences. The following quotations reveal that the direct experience of a situation similar to that depicted on interview photo 13 (figure 30), can differ between residents. Commenting on this photo, Carlos states:

“Eigentlich ist es ja schön, draußen sitzen, auf dem Bürgersteig ist es dann ja sehr schön. Hier ist ja auch noch ein Café, und hier ist noch ein Café, und wenn dann Leute sitzen und quatschen belebt es ja die Straße. Und ich finde es auch gut wenn es Touristen sind, das ist dann auch egal eigentlich.” *Carlos*

Note how the sequence of terraces on the pavement creates a lively atmosphere, in Carlos' experience. In reaction to the same photo, Özlem also comments on the sequence of terraces, with strikingly similar wordings. However, the meaning of the same phenomenon is completely different for her:

“Es ist einfach zu viel für den Ort. Also wenn man jetzt bedenkt, ne, hier ist eine [Terrasse], dann ist hier drei Meter weiter noch eine, ein Meter weiter noch eine. Dann geht man weiter, dann ist vielleicht zehn Meter weiter noch eine, das ist ja wirklich... äh wie so eine Perlenkette aufgereiht... Das ist zu dicht.” *Özlem*

Özlem is the only respondent to not associate terraces also with an appreciated atmosphere. This is probably due to the conflict she and her organisation had with a café with a terrace, as well as with crowdedness related frustrations in general. All other respondents enjoy the terraces in the area and hold that it creates a lively atmosphere. Respondents are well aware that the atmosphere appreciated by them, is also appreciated by tourists. Several respondents indicate that they can understand that tourists come to Kreuzberg. Often they refer to the fact that they search for the same type of neighbourhoods on their own holidays. Description of what constitutes the atmosphere in the neighbourhood, differs between respondents. Many respondents indicate that atmosphere is a very subtle aspect of a place and is difficult to grasp. As Kerstin comments on the atmosphere she thinks tourists are looking for, in relation to her own tourist experiences:

“Ja man ist ja immer ein bisschen auf der Suche nach etwas was nicht leicht zu greifen ist, nach eine Spirit oder eine Atmosphäre von Gelenkigkeit. [Das] lässt sich spüren oder vielleicht auch nicht so sehr spüren. Also eine *Situation*, irgendwas.” *Kerstin*



Figure 30: Interview photo 13.

Carlos' quotation shows that atmosphere is shaped by physical attributes of the context, but more importantly also by the activities of the people that use that terraces. For respondents, it is the combination of the objects and practices that creates the atmosphere they appreciate in the narrow streets of the research area. Mentioned practices include people sitting outside, gabbling people and observing passers-by (see section 6.1.3). Walter, for example, appreciates the atmosphere that is produced by several factors, including the narrowness of the street, the type of people on the terraces, as well as the graffiti and the fact that the terraces enliven the streets during day and night. For him, it is also a matter of identity, as he contrasts the atmosphere with on-street terraces in other city districts:

“Ja, und hier<sup>28</sup> ist es eng. Das würdest du woanders nicht finden. Dass da eine Bushaltestelle ist, und da sitzen die Leute. Dann setzen sich die Leute vielleicht auf der Bank und warten bis der Bus kommt. Das macht es eigentlich freundlicher finde ich. In Berlin-Mitte, oder Kollwitzplatz, das sind alle Etablierten, da geht alles im Gang. Für mich schon langweilig. Ich gehe da nicht gerne hin.” *Walter*



Figure 31: Interview photo 14.

All respondents indicate that the atmosphere on the street is shaped by the users of the street. In some cases it is explicitly stated that tourists are actively involved in the production of atmosphere. In reaction on interview photo 14 (figure 31), Carlos explicitly indicates that in his perspective, tourists are not just watching or consuming the atmosphere, but co-creating it as well:

“Das ist ja toll, wie ein richtiges Straßencafé, wie in Frankreich oder so, wo Leute auf der Straße sitzen. Finde ich gut, wenn ich da entlang laufe und sehe, dass da was passiert, dass da Leben passiert. Und eben auch Touristen gehören dann irgendwie auch ungefähr dazu. Oder die machen das vielleicht auch *mit*. Weil das ist gar nicht so einseitig wie ich sage, dass es nur die Berliner sind, und dann kommen die Touristen dazu um das zu gucken. Ich glaube Touristen nehmen auch ganz aktiv daran Teil.” *Carlos*

Another respondent that emphasises the role of other users of the street in the creation of atmosphere is Sandra. Also, she points out how the physical properties of the Oranienstraße, notably the narrow pavement and the terraces, play a role in the creation of a lively atmosphere. In the following quotation she emphasises how precisely the narrowness enables short encounters, such as eye contact with other users of public space:

“Das ist einfach ein schmaler Bürgersteig, und da sind einfach viele Cafés. Das ist ja auch das schöne, also das ist ja auch das was es belebt, dass die da draußen sitzen und dass es auch eng ist. Weil das ist ja auch warum man da irgendwie... ein anderen schnellen Blickkontakt hat. Das ist ja auch das was man sucht.” *Sandra*

<sup>28</sup> Walter comments on interview photo 12 (figure 24).

The quotation reveals that the narrowness of the street and the practices of users, and the atmosphere this produces, are features of this specific street that she appreciates. In some cases, the lively atmosphere can affect the routine routes of residents. Carlos, for example, consciously chooses to cycle through the Oranienstraße to experience the lively atmosphere. However, he only does this in the afternoon, when the street is populated with many people on the pavements and terraces. In contrast, in the morning he takes the shortest route:

“Ich fahre zum Beispiel morgens die Naunynstraße, weil die leerer ist, und irgendwie morgens will ich dann zur Arbeit und will schnell gehen. Und abends manchmal fahre ich eigentlich ganz gerne die Oranienstraße, weil ich da viel mehr Leute sehe auf der Straße und viel los ist, und es lustig und schön ist das Leben auf der Straße zu sehen. Oder im Sommer wenn Leute draußen sitzen und reden. Das ist dann toll zu sehen. Aber ich weiß nicht ob das dann Touristen sind, aber es ist trotzdem so.” *Carlos*

On the other hand, some other respondents mention that they sometimes avoid the busiest streets, not just because of crowdedness, but also because of the atmosphere.

#### *Tourist-specific influences on atmosphere*

Respondents identify a number of typical tourist characteristics that co-create the atmosphere on the streets in the research area. First, the size of tourist groups has an effect. Several respondents mention that this is most apparent in the case of tourist groups that arrive with touring cars. In reaction to interview photo 15 (figure 26) Jonas comments:

“Ich habe immer das Gefühl, das ist ein bisschen wie die Landung eines Raumschiffs von Außerirdischen irgendwie. [...] Es nimmt den Raum so die Intimität halt, dann bist du in einer Mannschaftsstärke.” *Jonas*

The latter part of this quotation hints to the idea that group size has an impact on atmosphere. According to Jonas, groups can take over a space and dominate the atmosphere, especially in narrow streets like the Oranienstraße. In his experience, this decreases the intimacy of the atmosphere. Second, the presence of tourists on the street provides an international flair, in the experience of several respondents. As mentioned before, several respondents indicate that observing the diversity of tourists can be a source of diversion. What is more, as the following quotation indicates, the diversity of tourists can also enhance the atmosphere:

“Eigentlich macht mir das Spaß, so internationale verschiedene Kulturen zu beobachten. Oder zu haben als Atmosphäre. Also wenn in einem Café an einem Tisch Leute Französisch sprechen oder so, finde ich toll, das macht Flair.” *Carlos*

The respondent indicates that he appreciates an international atmosphere. For him, hearing the French language is an indicator of the international atmosphere that he appreciates. However, he also indicates that he does not like it when tourists affect the atmosphere to such an extent as that they start to dominate it:

“Aber wenn halt 30 Leute Spanisch sprechen, dann ist es *too much* auch.” *Carlos*

The aspect of increased diversity is mentioned by many other respondents, and in some cases, contrasted with the past. Monika, who has been around in the area since the 1970's, appreciates the increased diversity in the street, both in terms of non-German residents and non-German tourists. Moreover, several respondents appreciate that international tourists form an element in the metropolitan identity of Berlin.

#### *Experiencing atmosphere, depending on resident practices and attitudes*

As we saw, the experience and appreciation of atmosphere can differ between neighbourhood residents. However, the experience of the same phenomenon can also be different for the same resident in different situations. It can depend on the type of activity a resident is doing, for example whether someone is on a schedule and has to get from A to B quickly, or if someone has some time off and strolls around the area for fun. Peter, for example, argues that in his daily life, he normally sees the Oranienstraße as a way to get from A to B. He states that he is sometimes annoyed by people who block the way or move around in a slower tempo:

“Man merkt auch wie sich größere Gruppen durch die Straße bewegen, und dass man

dann nicht mehr durch kommt. [...] Wenn ich Fahrrad fahre, dann fahre ich dadurch, ich meine... Die Wege die ich da zurücklege die sind ja auch alltäglich. Meistens tickt die Uhr... Schnellgehen. Also ich fahre dann selten leisurmäßig, wie ein Tourist. Und ich fahre dann durch, und sehe dann auch nicht so viel." *Peter*

In the routines of his everyday life, when he is moving around between his house, work place and the schools of his children, this respondent does not notice his surroundings that much. However, in other cases the context has a different meaning for him. The atmosphere becomes an important element of how he experiences the same space. In the following quotation he describes an encounter in which he strolls the Oranienstraße with his little son. Note how his practices and experiences of the street are different for his everyday experience:

"Das kommt immer auch auf meinem Zustand an, wie ich gerade drauf bin. Wenn ich jetzt mit den Kindern... Zum Beispiel war ich vorhin, habe ich Paula weggebracht nach einer Veranstaltung. Und dann war ich eine Stunde mit meinem Sohn unterwegs. Dann waren wir eine Stunde einfach auf der Oranienstraße, und dann sind wir selber fast Touristen. Dann sind wir eine Stunde unterwegs, und gucken uns da was an, gehen in einen Comicluden rein, lassen so die Seele baumeln, dann ist es gar kein Problem. [...] Wenn ich in Flanierlaune bin, dann takte ich mich ein wie die Touristen auch. Dann habe ich einfach ein anderes Zeitempfinden, ein anderes Anliegen für den Tag. Und dann kann ich mich auch an die Geschwindigkeit anpassen. [...] Dann waren wir noch in einem Buchladen. Wir sind auch spazieren gegangen, die Straße hoch und auch wieder runter. Dann haben wir uns auf einem Bank gesetzt, haben Autoverkehr angeguckt, die Leute angeguckt, wir reden dann auch darüber was so passiert. Er interessiert sich sehr für Autos." *Peter*

This respondent contrasts his everyday experience with that of the described encounter. Differing practices include walking slower, strolling the street back and forth, looking around, going in shops for leisure, sitting on a bench, and observing people and cars. The quotation shows that the fact that these activities are done together with his son are an important element of the encounter. This signifies the relevance of resident characteristics, in this case having children or not. This also affected his experience of the context, for example as he observed cars on the street because his son likes this. Terms used hinting at the contrasting experience of this situation compared to his everyday experience include "Flanierlaune", "ein anderes Zeitempfinden", "ein anderes Anliegen für den Tag" and "die Seele baumeln lassen". Especially this latter description highlights that the experience is unlike that of everyday life, but more similar to that of tourists with whom he shares the street. Also, note how similar the practices and attitudes of this neighbourhood resident compared to that of tourists. Peter's "dann sind wir selber fast Touristen" in reference to this encounter confirms this idea. In conclusion, this section shows that the experience of similar encounters can differ for a resident in different situations. In the routines of everyday life, a situation can be experienced as annoying because of crowdedness. With a different mindset, a similar situation can trigger an experience where the appreciation of the atmosphere is a central aspect.

#### 6.4.2 Atmosphere in cafés and restaurants

In this section, some additional atmosphere related aspects, more specific for enclosed spaces, such as cafés and restaurants, are discussed. In the experience of neighbourhood residents, the atmosphere in such places can change due to the presence of tourists. Respondents appreciate the fact that atmosphere is created not just by physical properties of a place, but also to an important extent by the people who are part of the situation. As Carlos states:

"Atmosphäre sind auch die Wände und was an den Wänden hängt, oder die Bedienung, ist auch Teil von dieser Atmosphäre. Aber viel Atmosphäre sind eben auch die Leute selber die da sitzen." *Carlos*

All respondents that thematised the aspect of atmosphere in cafés, bars and clubs, stated that regular customers, also referred to as *Stammpublikum*, are important for the atmosphere of these places. The people that regularly visit a place often know each other and the staff, if only their faces. Often, such places are an important meeting point for neighbourhood residents. Carlos explains how the atmosphere of such places differs from that of other places:

“Wenn du ein Café hast mit Stammkunden, die immer dahin gehen, dann kennen die sich und kriegt das eine andere Atmosphäre, als wenn da oft Leute sind die so nur einmal da sind und dann nie wieder da sind.” *Carlos*

So, the fact that places are frequented by regular guests changes the atmosphere and attractiveness of such places. On the other hand, people that only visit a place once do not co-create this neighbourhood specific atmosphere, but rather reduce it. Obviously, this is the case with most tourists, as for they are mostly one-time visitors.

In contrast, other places are perceived as touristy by many respondents. Frequently mentioned, although not depicted on any of the interview photos, are 'Que Pasa' and the Indian restaurants in the east of the Oranienstraße. Respondents experience these places as touristy with reference to a number of objects and practices. First, mentioned objects and decoration include Buddha statues, lights and the shiny style of the bar. Some respondents contrast this with the rest of Kreuzberg. Second, the staff practice of actively approaching passers-by is perceived as obtrusive (see section 5.5.1). This reminds many respondents of their own tourist experiences. Of course, tourists themselves are a major factor in the creation of atmosphere. As far as a touristy atmosphere is concerned, respondents mainly refer to groups of loud, young tourists. Additionally, cheap cocktails and advertisements featuring texts such as "Happy Hour Every Hour" are mentioned by respondents as indicating a touristy place. Many respondents prefer not to go to restaurants or bars that they perceive as touristy. As Carlos comments on the Indian restaurants and *Que Pasa*:

“Kenne ich von eigenen Urlauben, dass man als Tourist schnell irgendwo hingelockt wird, was dann nicht so gut ist, aber was groß ist, wo viele Leute rein passen, oder was so dekoriert ist oder so. Das hat immer mehr verändert, immer mehr Lichtketten und irgendwie so ein bisschen *cheesy*, dann noch diese riesengroße Outdoorfläche. [...] Wenn ich selbst zu essen gehe dann will ich lieber irgendwo hingehen wo es ein bisschen gemütlicher vielleicht ist, und das ist ein bisschen anstrengend wenn die in großen Gruppen da sind.” *Carlos*

### *Changed routines*

What is more, changed atmosphere in cafés and restaurants can result in changed routines of residents. Monika mentions that the presence of tourists and other groups hinder her in her practices of reading a newspaper or book in a café. Therefore, she abandoned some amenities she used to go to. More drastically, for Özlem, the changed atmosphere resulted in the fact that she now barely visits cafés in the Oranienstraße any longer. She states that she had the routine to visit cafés in the area with other residents and with colleagues after work. However, since six years she abandoned this neighbourhood routine. In the following quotation she explains why this happened. According to her, the *Stammkneipe* atmosphere, as well as service and quality have declined. Note how she states that tourist groups are responsible for the change of atmosphere:

“Das hat einfach damit zu tun, dass es diese lokale Stammkneipenkultur nicht mehr gibt. Da sind dann ganz viele Touristengruppen, die in den Cafés kommen, laut sind, man kann sich nicht mehr unterhalten, die Atmosphäre ändert sich. Und von daher geht man auch nicht mehr hin. Und die Qualität lässt nach. [...] Zum Beispiel war ich früher viel in der Rote Harfe am Heinrichplatz. Das Problem ist auch, man kommt aus der Arbeit raus, möchte sich mit Freunden treffen, und das ist immer überfüllt. Also es gibt einfach auch kein Platz und kein Raum mehr, weil das schon besetzt ist. Dann versucht man das zweimal, dreimal, viermal, und irgendwann sagt man "Ich komme nicht mehr". Und der Service lässt nach, durch diesen ständigen Durchlauf. Auch die Bediensteten sind ja gestresst... Man baut auch nicht mehr diesen persönlichen Kontakt auf. Was eine Stammkneipe oder Stammcafé ausmacht ist das man entweder zu dem Besitzer oder zu dem Kellner oder Kellnerin persönlichen Kontakt aufbaut. Man kennt sich, man grüßt sich, man fragt "Wie geht's?". Und all das bricht weg.” *Özlem*

The quotation makes clear that, for Özlem, personal contact with staff is an important element in what defines *Stammkneipe* culture. In her perspective, this element of neighbourhood life has disappeared from her daily life, which she considers a loss. Most markedly, she refers to

this loss as something that “breaks away”. The quotation also shows that increased numbers of visitors to cafés and restaurants can play an important role in the change of routines. In the rest of the interview, Özlem relates this increased popularity with the increase of numbers of tourists in the area. In a way, she feels pushed away by tourists and other new users of the area. Özlem experiences tourist groups as loud and obtrusive and says this limits her in having conversations. In contrast, Sandra has a different experience and she does not recognise that the atmosphere in cafés she visits are dominated by obtrusive tourists<sup>29</sup>. She assumes that this has to do with the fact that she has young children and that this affects her experience of the neighbourhood. Sandra suspects that she automatically looks for places that are more relaxed, rather than very lively:

“Seitdem ich in Kreuzberg wohne, habe ich Kinder, was auch eine andere Stadtwahrnehmung gibt. Ich glaube weil ich automatisch im Unterbewusstsein vielleicht eher auch Orte wahrnehme wo es ruhiger ist, vielleicht suche ich die auch gar nicht auf. Wenn ich irgendwo hingehen möchte ich irgendwo hingehen um... irgendwas zu besprechen. Deswegen würde ich gar nicht in einen Ort gehen der sehr besucht ist. Und ich glaube wenn Touristen Orte aufsuchen, dann suchen sie auch eher Orte wo was los ist. Klar. [...] Mit Kindern ist man einfach anders unterwegs. Genau, du gehst einfach viel auf Spielplätze {laughs}. ” *Sandra*

### 6.4.3 Atmosphere in bars, clubs and at parties

Aforementioned factors such as tourist group size and regular customers play a role in nightlife atmosphere as well. In addition, perceived attitudes of tourists have a major impact on how residents experience tourists presence in bars, clubs and at parties. The most important of these attitudes, that recurred during the interviews, include excitement, openness to new people, a party and experience hungry attitude, and in some cases a lack of respect. First, although excitement and enthusiasm are generally not valued as negative attitudes, several respondents are also irritated by overly excited tourists. In reference to this attitude, respondents often mention loud groups that dominate closed spaces and alter the atmosphere. Clearly, practices of enthusiasm and excitement can reduce a calm and relaxed atmosphere of a place. Too much excitement is experienced as annoying one-sidedness and ignorance by some of the respondents. This excitement can relate to shops, bars, clubs, or Berlin in general. As Sarah states:

“Vor allem ist man auch genervt weil jeder immer sagt so, "Ah, Berlin ist so toll!", und "Berlin is great!". [...] Und dann gibt es Leute die sagen nur "Schön, schön! Foto, Foto!", und interessieren sich nicht wirklich dafür. Und *fühlen* auch nicht was los ist.” *Sarah*

Second, tourists are perceived by respondents as eager to meet new people. For residents, this is sometimes experienced as obtrusive. Sarah continues:

“[Ich meide den Ort], weil da halt viele Leute sind die... sehr offen und so kontaktfreudig sind. Aber wenn du schon viele Leute in Berlin kennst, also du bist auch weiterhin offen und kontaktfreudig, aber du bist dann nicht so "Ah! Du kommst aus Italien, wow!" {irony in voice}. Also das stimmt halt, man ist nicht mehr so neugierig auf Leute von außerhalb.” *Sarah*

So, Sarah claims that she is less open towards tourists than the other way around. She explains this difference, by stating that she already knows a lot of people in the city and is not always interested in meeting new people that only stay in the city temporarily. This also has to do with the extent to which she is settled in the city. For this reason, she indicates that at present she would probably not be as open to a spontaneous night out with a tourist as she was when she just arrived in Berlin (see section 5.4.2). In the rest of the interview, however, Sarah puts forward a number of encounters where she experienced conversations with tourists as interesting. Similarly, Laura indicates she is sometimes irritated by tourists that are very open to meeting new people, which she sometimes experiences as obtrusive. However, she also has pleasant conversations with tourists, for example with customers of the bar where she works. This holds true for the encounter described in section 5.5.1, where she met two tourists

---

<sup>29</sup> Interestingly, Sandra visits a number of cafés that other respondents identified as “only visited by tourists”. For more on this topic, see section 6.6.1.

with a jet lag. She explains why she experienced this as an enjoyable encounter:

“Ich fand das eine ganz nette Begegnung. [...] Irgendwie fand ich das glaube ich auch sympathisch dass sie erstmal was von sich erzählt haben, nicht so gesagt haben, "Ja, hier jetzt sag mal", so, sondern "He hallo, wir haben gerade einen totalen Jetlag und so... Und wie geht es dir so?". Dass ich auch quasi... dass ich auch für mich weiß, das sind Leute die Urlaub machen und eine weite Reise hinter sich haben und so. Also dann weiß ich einfach mehr über mein Gegenüber. [...] Also es ist eher auf gleicher Augenhöhe, wenn man sich unterhält und beide was von sich erzählen so.” *Laura*

So, Laura experienced the aforementioned encounter as pleasant because she had the feeling she was an equivalent participant in the conversation. This implies she experiences some other conversations differently (see section 6.2.2). In addition, several respondents indicate that conversations with tourists are often of the same type, with the same topics and same questions. These questions include “Are you from Berlin?”, “What are the cool bars and clubs?”, etcetera. Some respondents indicate that for them, this can be a bit boring and annoying. However, this is not necessarily the case:

“Wenn jemand irgendwie zu mir kommt und interessiert irgendwas fragt, oder sich einfach nur ganz normal unterhält... Das merkst du schon an die Themen. Wenn jemand schon ankommt und nur darüber reden will was ist der coolste Club, und kennst du dies und kennst du das, und warst du schon da, dann ist es schon "Ja war ich, und...", weißt du {laughs}. Und dann... wenn jemand mit mir über andere Sachen redet, dann sehe ich den gar nicht mehr als Tourist.” *Nicole*

A third attitudinal aspect of tourists is that they are often party- and experience-hungry. Several respondents contrast this holiday mindset with their own, more everyday life mindset. As an example, they state that they do not feel the need to experience something wild everyday. This also implies that they have the impression that many party tourists do have this urge. Respondents connect this attitude with drunkenness, going out till extremely late and with extreme excitement. Several respondents find this annoying. However, almost all of them also indicate that this is not exclusive to tourists. Nicole also indicates that she is annoyed by some nightlife practices of tourists, namely by tourists that take a taxi to get to a club or people that are extremely well-dressed. For her, these practices, combined with a focus on partying, are experienced as destroying the atmosphere that she likes:

“Man ist nicht mehr unter sich, sozusagen. Und weil die Leute dann auch nicht... Lust haben sich an zu passen, sondern einfach sich selber so drauf stöbern, "Ich bin jetzt hier und mache es hier meines", macht das eben diese Stimmung die da vorher war einfach kaputt. Das ist halt dieser Konsumtourismus. Man geht irgendwo hin und es interessiert eigentlich überhaupt nicht, "Aha, diese Leute arbeiten hier, leben hier, haben ihren Alltag, wie ist das so". Sondern es ist einfach dieses "Ich komme hierher und mache nur Party".” *Nicole*

This quotation also indicates that for neighbourhood residents the practices and attitudes of tourists can dominate a space, at least in the experience of this respondent. Also, several respondents specifically mention groups of Spanish and Italian people as typical party tourists. They were described as the loudest, the most eager to party, and the most enthusiast of all tourists. Many respondents mention that they often come in big groups and that they have group dynamics that are experienced as very dominant.

Fourth, and related to this, several respondents associate party tourism with a disrespectful attitude of some tourists. Many respondents grasp this attitude from nightlife practices, which are often alcohol-related. As examples of such behaviour, Carlos mentions screaming around on the streets, extreme drunkenness and, as he later describes it, a less respectful attitude towards other people. This issue was brought up while the interview with this respondent focussed on night life, tourists attitudes and practices:

“Wenn du nur Tourist bist dann kannst du auch machen was du möchtest, weil du bist da nie wieder und dich kennt keiner. Du fühlst dich auch nicht so verantwortlich. Und dann kannst du auch noch mehr besoffen sein, oder herumschreien, oder dich schlecht benehmen, als wenn du nicht Tourist bist.” *Carlos*

So, Carlos links the practices of tourists with a holiday mindset, something he also relates to

his own experiences as a tourist. He contrasts the practices of tourists with that of residents. Residents know that it is possible that they will re-encounter people in their neighbourhood and therefore are less likely to lose their mind:

"Wenn du halt Tourist bist und nur einmal da bist, und "Jetzt ist mein Wochenende, und ich bin jetzt hier, und ich bin total besoffen, und es ist alles ganz toll!" oder so, dann ist es eben was anderes als wenn du nicht Tourist bist und jedes Wochenende da bist."  
*Carlos*

So, Carlos explains some disrespectful or over-the-top behaviour of some tourists, by the fact that tourists lack an affiliation with the neighbourhood. Similarly, other respondents have the impression that some tourists think they can do whatever they want in Berlin. Some of them link this with the image of Berlin or Kreuzberg. Özlem thinks many tourists come to Berlin to let off steam ("Sau rauslassen") and links this with the origin of tourists where this is not accepted. Notably, respondents barely mentioned actual encounters with tourists in which such practices played a role. These issues were only mentioned in very general terms. Also, actual encounters in which nuisance played a role were not brought up by any of the respondents. The same holds true for light nuisance, littering and urinating people. Also, most respondents identified these issues as phenomena that are not tourist-specific.

### "Tourists not welcome"

The importance of atmosphere, as we saw notably co-produced by the people that visit places, should not be underestimated. It is of major importance for cafés, bars and clubs that want to attract a 'cool' and 'hip' local audience:

"Und dann irgendwann kommen wieder die Touristen, und ist es wieder uninteressant für die Leute die hier wohnen. Also irgendwann verliert es eine Coolness. Es geht sehr viel um Coolness, hip sein, hm... [...] Und genau diese Atmosphäre die da herrscht, ist ja das was eigentlich anzieht."  
*Sarah*

Some nightlife amenities are well aware of this importance and have developed a number of strategies to ensure 'the right atmosphere'. Consequently, not just aspects such as the products they sell, the music they play or the interior design, but rather attracting the 'right type of people' is crucial for such places. As the previous quotation shows, for some places it is important that the atmosphere is not affected by tourists. There is a diversity of strategies to attract a local, rather than a tourist audience. This is done by limiting the accessibility to and information about these places: in some cases places have hidden entrances, lack signs, refrain from being in magazines, do not have a website or use mailing lists to ensure that not everyone knows about these places. Additionally, there are bars that only open during weekdays to avoid party tourists that come over to Berlin for the weekend. In other words, for these places it is important to stay an insider place, a *Geheimtipp*. As Sarah explains:

"Es gibt eine Bar in Kreuzberg, die ist auf einem Dach, und das hat zwei mal in der Woche geöffnet. Und sie schicken eine Mail herum, und dann sagen sie, "Ja, wir haben wieder eine Party, komm vorbei", und dann... "only residents", so wie "Bitte nur Anwohner herkommen". Also das heißt man sollte diesen Ort geheim halten und es sollen keine Touristengruppen kommen. Weil es halt... stressiger ist glaube ich. Ja, das heißt, Touristen sind nicht immer erwünscht {laughs}."  
*Sarah*

Implicitly, this quotations indicates that tourist practices and attitudes influence the atmosphere at nightlife places, namely by making it more 'stressful'. This relates to the tourist attitude of excitement, as identified in the previous sections. As this respondent indicates, there is a social code that visitors of these places are expected not to share information about these parties with tourists (see section 5.2.1). Florian, who works in a bar in Kreuzberg, gives another example of the tension between wanting to be a neighbourhood bar with a local audience and the presence of a specific type of tourists. In this case, he refers to tourists that are mainly interested in drinking:

"Die Bar war in Easyjetmagazin. Und die sind nicht so wirklich glücklich darüber und so, weil die eher so eine Nachbarschaftsbar haben wollen. Und der Laden läuft jetzt super. Aber die meisten Leute die dort hinkommen sind inzwischen halt auch nicht mehr die Leute die sie dort haben wollen, also eher so Trinktouristen. Also Leute die auch nur

trinken die ganze Zeit und total besoffen sind." *Florian*

Note how the presence in the Easyjet magazine is linked with a specific type of tourists and their practices. Further on in the interview, Florian provides an example of how the behaviour of tourists can conflict with the activities of the bar that are aimed at neighbourhood residents. He states that some concerts with soft music are sometimes interrupted by tourists:

"Wenn man zum Beispiel eine Veranstaltung dort hat. Und die meisten die dahin kommen sind halt Stammgäste die halt wissen, jeden Dienstag gibt es da leise Musik. Und es ist dann natürlich klar wenn dann eine Gruppe von total besoffenen Engländern, Norwegern, Dänen darein kommt, die halt nicht wissen was da passiert, dann stören die natürlich die ganze Veranstaltung." *Florian*

However, Florian did not think of this as problematic. As far as he could remember, no major problems with these tourists occurred after they were informed about the situation and asked to change their behaviour.

## **6.5 The case of Nicole: the cumulative effect of encounters**

This section focusses on how a number of encounters with tourists changed the attitude of one specific neighbourhood resident. Nicole was selected as she is one of the respondents that provided a lot of detailed descriptions of actual encounters. Also, her case provides the best example of how a history of negative encounters with tourists can shape attitudes to tourism in general and towards specific types of tourists more specifically. Also, she explicitly gives a detailed description of how this affects her present direct experiences, as well as how it changed some of her practices and routines.

Nicole has had a number of encounters with tourists that lead her to think that many tourists are not really interested. The first encounter took place during summer, when Nicole helped her sister to show around ten of her Italian acquaintances. They toured them around the city, showing them clubs and bars, but also the Jewish museum in which Nicole used to work. However, she had the feeling they were not really interested:

"Dann kommen die an und sind in Kreuzberg und sagen ich will jetzt aber Sauerkraut und Würstchen essen. "Wo gibt es Würstchen?", die ganze Zeit "Wo gibt es Wurst, wo gibt es Wurst, wo gibt es Wurst?". [...] Und dann haben wir ein volles Programm gemacht, also eine Stadtrundfahrt, die tollsten Clubs und die tollsten Bars, und alles wollten sie sehen und so. Haben sich dann aber auch nicht wirklich dafür interessiert, sondern haben so ihr Programm abgehackt. [...] Ich habe lange im jüdischen Museum gearbeitet. Und dann habe ich denen gesagt, "Hier, ich mache euch eine Führung durch das Museum, ich kenne das alles auswendig". Dann rennst du da mit denen durch, und die haben mich aber überhaupt nicht irgendwas gefragt oder so. Das hat sie überhaupt nicht interessiert. Sondern es hat sie halt nur interessiert irgendwie wo man dann danach wieder deutsches Essen kriegt. [...] Also das war schon anstrengend, weil man will ja auch dass die sich wohl fühlen." *Nicole*

This quotation shows that in Nicole's perceptive the visitors were not interested in her story at the Jewish Museum, as they did not ask any questions. They were interested in German food instead. This lack of interest annoyed Nicole. Additionally, the groups dynamics and practices of the group irritated her:

"Ich spreche kein Italienisch, nur ein ganz bisschen, und ich bin aber mit denen unterwegs gewesen. Und ich habe mich mit denen so gut wie gar nicht unterhalten. Weil die haben die ganze Zeit Italienisch geredet, haben die ganze Zeit italienische Witze gemacht, also diese Gruppendynamik. Irgendwie die ganze Zeit "Hehehehe". Und das hat die auch nicht interessiert dass ich das irgendwie jetzt nicht verstehe." *Nicole*

This encounter was experienced by Nicole as negative due to the way she perceived the attitudes of the tourists. In addition to the lack of displayed interest in the Jewish Museum, they also did not make a real effort to involve Nicole in the conversations, as they were just talking and joking in Italian. Moreover, Nicole thinks these people were superficial, because they laughed all the time and were only interested in German sausages. Also, she indicates that the Italian group was extremely dependent and did things within their group all the time. Apart from this specific encounter, Nicole provides a number of other examples where groups

of young South-Europeans play a central role. As an example, she states that she encounters many groups of Spanish tourists in Görlitzer Park. She thinks these tourists are loud, dominant and only interested in parties. In the following quotation, Nicole points at a cultural difference, as she states that these tourists are always on the go in groups:

“Die haben auch überwiegend so eine Kultur, dass sie halt nichts alleine machen. Das die *im-mer* mit ihrer Gruppe unterwegs sind. [...] Ich habe schon, echt ganz ehrlich, also man sollte nicht die Leute über einen Kamm scheren, klar, aber ich habe da schon, auf jeden Fall, äh... eine Abneigung gegen. Weil ich automatisch denke, die Leute können nicht alleine denken. Und die sind irgendwie oberflächlich, hauptsächlich die ganze Zeit lachen, so.” *Nicole*

This quotation reveals that Nicole developed an aversion to south-European tourists over time, due to the reasons mentioned before. Although she specifically emphasizes this group, she also has general reservations towards tourists that are only interested in parties and are overly excited. Another thing that annoys Nicole is ignorance. She provides several examples. First, she observed many tourists that took pictures of a wall which features street art, according to a guidebook. In reality, the street art has been replaced with advertisements. However, there are still many tourists that take pictures of the wall, as they are unaware of this. The second example is related to the fact that many events and parties are organised by volunteers. She is annoyed by the fact that many visitors do not realise this and are not interested in the ideas behind it. Third, it annoys her that many tourists are ignorant about the immense social problems in the neighbourhood, such as poverty, drug dealing and the problems of junkies and alcoholics. She provides the example of a tourist that photographed a homeless person “as an object” (see section 6.2.2). The following quotation summarizes the above described problems Nicole has with ignorant tourists. It is symbolic for the ignorance of tourists about neighbourhood problems, as well as for tourists that are just interested in partying. In the quotation, Nicole talks about a recent change at Kottbusser Tor, namely about a place that used to be a gathering place for alcoholics and junkies. Recently, many party tourists, unaware of this, now occupy the place as a meeting point before going out:

“Da sind normalerweise immer unter diesem Dach die Junkies oder die Alkis. Und das ist deren Platz. Niemand würde jemals auf die Idee kommen, wenn man sich verabredet um irgendwo hin zu gehen, sich *da* hin zu stellen, weil irgendwie ist es halt deren Ecke. Also gar nicht aus Angst oder so, aber das ist halt *deren* Ecke. Und jetzt stehen da immer diese, offensichtlich, Touristen. Das siehst du auch, weil was stellt man sich dahin, die merken das überhaupt gar nicht. Die denken irgendwie, "Cool, ich bin mitten in eins der coolsten Szenevierteln und gehe jetzt gleich feiern!". Und merken überhaupt nicht dass um sie herum die totale Armut herrscht und die Leute Drogen verkaufen. Die *sehen* das überhaupt gar nicht, die sehen halt nur was sie sehen wollen.” *Nicole*

The quotation highlights the fact that two worlds, namely that of alcoholics, junkies and poverty, and that of party tourists, seem to overlap at Kottbusser Tor. It annoys Nicole that party tourists are only occupied with partying in a 'cool city district', while they are ignorant about the social problems that exist in that very same district.

In addition to ignorance, Nicole has several examples of encounters where she perceives tourists to have an arrogant attitude towards neighbourhood residents. One of these examples is the following encounter. It took place at night, during the resident routine of doing grocery shopping, which Nicole often does after her work. While Nicole wanted to reach her bicycle, she was ignored by a party tourist who was blocking her way. This irritated her immensely, especially as the tourist did not respond, did not seem to care and was only occupied with himself:

“Was mich wirklich, wirklich schockiert hat war irgendwann... Weil ich dann immer so lange arbeiten muss, gehe ich zum *Kaisers*, weil die bis 12 auf haben. Dann kann ich da noch einkaufen gehen. Und dann ist man müde und mag schnell was zu essen kaufen, mitten in der Woche. Und dann kam ich wieder raus und wollte mein Fahrrad abschließen. Dann stand da vor meinem Fahrrad irgendwie so ein Typ, mit so ein Mantel... Extrem gestylt, Londonermäßig sah er aus irgendwie, eine perfekte Frisur, große Brille, so ein Mantel, diese Hosen, Röhrenjeans, und stand da irgendwie so und

guckte so<sup>30</sup>. Ich bin um ihn herumgelaufen und wollte mein Fahrrad abschließen, aber ich kam nicht dran. Und dann... gucke ich ihm so an, er reagiert überhaupt nicht, guckt weiter in die Luft irgendwie. Ich habe ihn so ein bisschen zur Seite gedrängelt, bin bis zu meinem Fahrrad gedrängelt, er reagiert immer noch nicht. Ich habe mich so geärgert, ich dachte, "Du Idiot! Was soll das! Was denkst du eigentlich was hier los ist?". Ich habe den halt böse angeguckt, habe den weggeschubst so. Und es hat ihn überhaupt nicht interessiert. Und da ist mir das erste Mal wirklich aufgefallen wie sehr sich dieser Platz verändert hat. Genau diese Ecke. Und das fand ich echt... krass. [...] Er war extrem mit sich selber beschäftigt, und hat auch so diesen Blick gehabt, "Du bist überhaupt nicht wert dass ich dich angucke, weil du hast nicht solche coole Klamotten wie ich an", weißt du. So war der." *Nicole*

By the way the tourist looked, Nicole got the impression that he thought she was not worth looking at. The last sentence of the quotation indicates that the bodily attributes of the tourist played an important role in this experience of Nicole. In that respect, the detailed description of the tourist, which includes bodily attributes, clothing and facial expressions, is relevant for understanding the irritations of Nicole regarding the arrogance of the tourist. Another interesting aspect of the quotation is related to the fact that this encounter took place during the evening of a weekday. Nicole indicates that she was tired and wanted to get the shopping done quickly. The fact that she, in her experience, constantly has to deal with tourists during her daily life annoys her:

"Dann denke ich, schon *wieder* werde ich damit belästigt. Also ich denke halt wirklich, egal wo ich hingehe, muss ich mich mit Touristen beschäftigen. Die sind voll das wichtige Thema in meinem Leben, weil ich sie ständig treffe. Ich habe auch gar keine Lust mich den ganzen Tag zu ärgern, aber ich muss mich irgendwie immer beschäftigen so. Und früher war das einfach kein Thema. Und *das* ärgert mich."

So, Nicole indicates that the presence of tourists is a major theme that occupies her. Wordings such as "schon wieder", "ständig", "den ganzen Tag" and "immer" suggest that the cumulative occurrence of encounters with tourists are crucial to understand Nicole's frustrations. In the following quotation, Nicole states that the cumulative occurrence of negative experiences with tourists changed her attitude. She states that she has become really opposed to tourists:

"Und das was ich vorher auch meinte, ich bin halt so anti schon, dass ich nicht mehr... Also dass ich echt merke, ich bin da auch nicht mehr so offen. Weil ich irgendwie immer gleich an diese negativen Erlebnisse denke." *Nicole*

In this quotation, Nicole explicitly states that encountering a tourist can trigger thoughts about previous, negative encounters with tourists. As a result, Nicole claims she is not open towards new tourists she meets in her daily life. What is more, the cumulative effect influences her present direct experience of encounters with tourists. This direct experience can be triggered by a number of factors. Nicole reveals that hearing people speak Spanish or Italian, for example, can trigger a feeling of aversion:

"Das passiert halt immer mehr, das ist mir auch selber aufgefallen, dass ich dann mit meinen Mitbewohnern oder mit meinen Freunden die ganze Zeit lästre. Und dass ich schon langsam echt ganz negativ eingestellt bin. Wenn ich merke jemand spricht Spanisch oder Italienisch, gerade das so, dass ich dann so gleich eine Abwehrhaltung kriege, und gleich denke "Ich muss hier weg". Man wird halt immer mehr anti, weil man sich auch abgrenzen will von den Leuten." *Nicole*

The previous quotations reveal that the negative associations Nicole has during encounters with tourists, are part of her *direct* experience. This is underlined by the frequent use of the word "gleich" in the previous quotations. Also, she indicates that a triggered aversive attitude sometimes makes her want to leave a situation. Another important aspect in how she experiences the presence of tourists, is the mood of the moment. The following quotation shows how Nicole reacts to tourists when she is in a bad mood:

"Und dann entweder ich bin an dem Tag gut gelaunt und ich denke mir "Ach egal, Touristen können vielleicht ja auch nett sein" und an anderen Tagen stupse ich die dann

---

<sup>30</sup> While she says this, Nicole imitates the facial expression and posture of the tourist, putting her nose up in the air, to indicate an arrogant attitude.

einfach die ganze Zeit, weil ich Aggressionen habe {laughs}. [...] Manchmal wenn ich schlechte Laune habe, mache ich sie schon zum Opfer. Zum Beispiel wenn man irgendwo in der Schlange wartet und rein will, oder im Bus oder so, und du siehst genau, hier ist irgendwie diese ignorante Gruppe von Touristen, dann gehe ich extra mit den Ellbogen so durch. Und dann weiß ich halt dass es sie dann ärgert, und dann freue ich mich ein bisschen {laughs}." *Nicole*

In Nicole's case, her attitude and direct experiences can trigger practices like nudging tourists with her elbows. Nicole's history of encounters with tourists, as well as the attitude towards tourists she developed, also affects some other practices. She mentions that she takes care to dress in such a manner, that she does not look like a tourist. The cumulative effect of negative experiences with tourists, thus, affects Nicole in her daily life in many ways. At the end of the interview, she reveals that she thinks about moving out of the area, because she does not want to be confronted with tourists all the time. This emphasizes that encounters with tourists ultimately can have a major impact on the lives of neighbourhood residents:

"Ich denke mich manchmal, du musst lockerer sein. Aber es ist echt schwer. [...] Ich will eigentlich überhaupt nicht hier wegziehen, ich weiß auch gar nicht wohin, also weil es irgendwie wirklich mein Zuhause ist hier. Aber ich denke schon öfters darüber nach, weil ich möchte... möchte nicht die ganze Zeit sowas sehen." *Nicole*

## **6.6 Neighbourhood change**

### **6.6.1 Perceived relation between tourism and neighbourhood change**

All respondents explicitly state that the neighbourhood is changing. Most respondents relate tourism to neighbourhood change. Three major themes emerged as the most important, namely tourism and economic benefits, disappeared fear for the neighbourhood, and the relation between tourism and aspects of gentrification. First, the theme that the presence of tourists in the neighbourhood results in economic benefits was brought up by almost all respondents. Most respondents hold that tourism brings money and jobs to the neighbourhood, and value this as a good thing. The only real exception is Özlem, who thinks tourism will not be sustainable and that residents do not profit from it. Several other respondents also doubt if tourism will benefit neighbourhood residents, especially as some respondents think that gentrification effects, which they relate to tourism, will have a negative impact on low-income residents. Other respondents downplay their own reservations against tourism, as they realise that for other neighbourhood residents the presence of tourists provides new possibilities to earn a living. Nicole, for example, realises this when she states:

"Ja, und da denke ich dann, gut, das ist eben meine... versnobte Haltung auch. Weil ich nicht in der Situation bin dass ich... Also ich brauche das Geld der Touristen nicht, in meinem Job brauche ich keine Touristen. Und deswegen kann ich natürlich eher sagen, die sind Scheiße, die sollen weggehen. Aber andere Leute sind darauf angewiesen. Oder können damit endlich mal Geld verdienen. Von daher... darf man das halt auch nicht so verteufeln." *Nicole*

Second, many respondents relate the increase of tourism with the decrease of fear for the area. In their perspective, the neighbourhood used to have a worse reputation than it has now. The neighbourhood was associated with drug problems, crime and social problems. This image was also prominent in media, including newspapers, television and films. Moreover, several respondents shared personal stories related to this issue, for example about taxi drivers who were not willing to drive to the Oranienstraße. Until recently, many people did not dare to visit the area, according to these respondents. Referring to Kreuzberg in general, and Kottbusser Tor more specifically, Jonas puts it this way:

"Ich habe immer diese These, dass Angst vor einem Ort ein Ort noch schützt. [...] Ich habe es Gefühl, in Kreuzberg ist das so umgeschwappt. Es ist noch nicht so lange, dass hier viele Touristen sind. Jetzt ist diese Angst verloren gegangen, auch wegen dieser ganzen Hippieness-Faktor. Seit einiger Zeit hat es so ein bisschen ein Wild-West-Flair irgendwie." *Jonas*

This respondent states that the image of Kottbusser Tor has changed from a dangerous one, to

an interesting one with a "Wild-West-Flair". A number of other respondents also hold that places are disclosed to tourists by the disappearance of fear. In this respect, respondents also refer to an increased attractiveness of the area for new residents and for visitors from other city districts. Some respondents explicitly use the word 'gentrification' in this respect. According to Jonas, the presence of tourists further alters the neighbourhood image, which enables more gentrification. This is a process he dislikes, as he is generally sceptic about neighbourhood change in the form of gentrification and tourism.

Third, respondents associate tourism with processes of gentrification, such as increasing rents, increasing prices and the change of gastronomic amenities. Many respondents link increased prices in gastronomy with tourism, namely by stating that tourists are able to pay higher prices. Others emphasise that tourists are more willing to spend money, because they have a holiday mindset. The following quotation describes what a holiday mindset entails, according to Laura:

"In dem Moment dass man Urlaub macht, sich auch vielleicht Geld gespart hat, geht man ein bisschen unbefangener irgendwie damit um, weil man im Urlaub ist. Man kauft sich dann eben, also rückt dann nicht zweimal, ob man sich jetzt den Kaffee oder den Wein oder den Cocktail bestellt, sondern macht das halt. Das ist die eine Sache. Und natürlich Leute die sich die erhöhte Mietpreise hier leisten können, können sich dann wahrscheinlich auch ein teureren Kaffee leisten." *Laura*

Several respondents indicate that they are concerned about neighbourhood change in the coming years, sometimes in terms of feeling invaded. They fear that low-income households will be displaced by richer households as a result of gentrification processes. These respondents are afraid that these people will lose the social network that they build up over the course of many years. Özlem emphasises that effects of tourism are important. Referring to the effect for low-income households in the neighbourhood she states:

"Das hat mit dem sozialen Status zu tun. [...] Was mich stört sind die Auswirkungen, weil die Bevölkerung immer weniger daran partizipieren kann. Sie sind die Verlierer. Das ist was mich stört." *Özlem*

Similarly, Jonas mentions that a friend of his moved out of the area for this reason. He states that he himself also spends less time in the Oranienstraße. He reveals how he is annoyed by the fact that some neighbourhood residents retreat from the area as a result of an influx of other people:

"Es ist so ein Hippentourismus, besonders viele Leute aus dem Kulturbereich, die eigentlich nichts mit der Nachbarschaft zu tun haben, sondern ihre eigenen Zirkel haben. Es<sup>31</sup> ist ein ganz starkes Beispiel, wo es viel Einfluss... wo anderen Leuten Raum genommen wird." *Jonas*

This respondent refers to changes in gastronomy and nightlife in terms of spaces that are "taken away from other people". In the context of this quotation, it becomes clear that this respondent means that space is taken from long-term neighbourhood residents. Note how he does not link this process to tourists exclusively, but also to other groups of people, such as people in the cultural scene. Some other residents also see tourists as part of a more general process of neighbourhood change. Özlem, for example, differentiates between long-term residents on the one hand, and new residents and tourists on the other. Other respondents have an other emphasis. Sandra, for example, holds that people from outside have the right to visit the area as they have the same motive to visit or live in the area. She states:

"Ich kann das nicht nachvollziehen, weil wenn es irgendwas gibt was ich selber spannend finde in einem Stadtviertel, wo ich hingegangen bin und eigentlich da nicht mehr nachvollziehen kann warum jemand *anders* das besucht, eigentlich aus dem gleichen Motiv raus, dass man das dann nicht nachvollziehen kann, das finde ich absurd. Finde ich auch so ein bisschen intolerant. Deswegen sind wir auch da. Es sei jemand anderem ja auch gegönnt. Genau." *Sandra*

Processes of neighbourhood change can have a major impact on how residents perceive their daily environment. Some respondents refer to it as a threat, while Özlem refers to feelings of

---

<sup>31</sup> Jonas refers to café and bar *Luzia* in the Oranienstraße.

loss in relation to neighbourhood change:

“Ich möchte dort<sup>32</sup> nicht wohnen, auch wenn ich diese Straße liebe, aber mich auch zunehmend verabschiede, weil Kreuzberg für mich nicht mehr das ist was es war.”  
*Özlem*

Özlem, who has lived and worked in the area for over 30 years, refers to the change of the area in terms of something that is lost, something that disappears. For her it constitutes a loss of atmosphere and identity (“Kreuzberg ist für mich nicht mehr das, was es war”). This is an important reason why she retreats from the area. This retreat consists of an abandonment of routines, such as visiting cafés and restaurants (see section 6.4.2). Also, the wordings in the quotation suggests that it is a retreat in emotional sense as well, similar to saying goodbye to an old friend. Crucially, such feelings can affect the direct experience of residents, as will be discussed in the following section.

## 6.6.2 Direct experience and neighbourhood change

Encounters with individual tourists can trigger thoughts about general trends of neighbourhood change. In turn, thoughts and attitudes about general trends in the neighbourhood can change the direct experience of encounters. During interviews it became clear that ideas of neighbourhood change are not just abstract, but also affects neighbourhood residents in their everyday experience. Ideas and emotions related to neighbourhood change, in other words, can be part of the direct experiences of residents on the street. The following quotation illustrates this:

“Es sind eher andere Gedanken, die ich so habe. Wie die Mieten steigen, wie der Popularitätsindex ist, dass nur noch Hotels gebaut werden und Wohnungen teurer werden. Das sind so Gedanken die ich habe. [...] Und wenn ich die Touristen sehe, denke ich an die Bauprojekte, und wenn ich die Bauprojekte sehe, denke ich an die Touristen. Das gehört schon zusammen, das sind für mich keine getrennte Sachen.”  
*Peter*

For Peter, general effects of tourism are important, for example in relation to increasing rents or other aspects of neighbourhood change. He indicates that thoughts about this can be triggered when he observes tourists on the streets, or when he sees a hotel under construction. Most other respondents, similarly, also comment on general neighbourhood change processes. Thoughts about neighbourhood change can be triggered in everyday situations. In the following quotation, Sarah indicates that such thoughts can be triggered by hearing an accent:

“Dann werde ich so ein bisschen aggressiv und denke mir, “Was macht ihr hier in Berlin, was wollt ihr hier?”. Also das ist eigentlich total unbegründet, aber ich werde ein bisschen wütend. Das ist mir schon manchmal passiert, dass ich das gedacht habe. [...] Also ich war in einem Bioladen, und dann weißt du aber nicht ob es ein Tourist ist oder jemand der hier jetzt hergezogen ist, da war auf jeden Fall ein Junge der supergut angezogen war und ein bayerischen Akzent gehabt hat. Er hat sich was bestellt, und dann habe ich sofort gedacht “Was willst du hier?”.“ *Sarah*

During encounters in every places, hearing people speak with a Bavarian accent, especially when they are also chicly dressed, can trigger an experience of irritation for Sarah. This irritation is related to thoughts about neighbourhood change in general, rather than to the person that was involved in that particular situation. The quotation shows that bodily attributes of a person can trigger thoughts about neighbourhood change, but also reveals that ideas about neighbourhood change can affect the perception of tourists in the everyday lives of residents. Sarah is aware that her thoughts may be unfounded. She reflects on this and continues:

“Es ist komisch was für Gedanken man manchmal hat... Also ich weiß genau wenn ich mit den Leuten reden würde, dann würde ich die wahrscheinlich fast alle nett finden, und gar niemanden blöd.” *Sarah*

Thus, although there is an awareness that the association is based on prejudices, this does not necessarily prevent the direct experience in encounters.

<sup>32</sup> Özlem refers to the Oranienstraße.

## 6.7 Chapter conclusions

On the basis of in-depth, semi-structured interviews with neighbourhood residents, this chapter has answered the second research question:

*What are the bodily experiences of residents with tourists and which meaning do they attach to these encounters?*

Answering this research question, a first major conclusion is that similar encounters can be experienced differently by different neighbourhood residents. The use of photos during interviews with residents contributed to this insight, as the associations and experiences of different respondents could be compared. This made clear that encounters with tourists in everyday life are experienced in contrasting ways by residents. Depending on the individual perspective, such encounters can be experienced as conflict or synergy. In this chapter a wide variety of encounters was presented in which different types of tourist practices play an important role. First, tourist practices of photography can be experienced by residents as unpleasant, mainly due to concerns about privacy. On the other hand, photography practices can trigger the curiosity of residents passing by, for example due to bodily postures and gestures involved in photography practices. Second, encounters that involve the tourist practice of participating in walking tours trigger different experiences for residents. Some residents appreciate the interest of participants and acknowledge the educational value of tourism, while others associate walking tours with experiences of crowdedness. Third, the abundant presence of terraces on the streets of the research area can result in contrasting space experiences for residents. Some respondents perceive terraces as obstacles. Others, however, emphasise that they appreciate the lively atmosphere terraces create and acknowledge that tourists contribute to this. Finally, the effect of the presence of tourists in neighbourhood amenities such as cafés, restaurants, bars and clubs is experienced differently by residents. Some respondents experience a decline of atmosphere as a result of the presence of tourist groups, while others put forward encounters in which they appreciated small-talk with tourists.

On the basis of this chapter it can be concluded that the spatio-temporal setting and contextual elements of encounters play a decisive role in the direct experience of residents. The when and where of the situation, involved objects and physical properties of the context should be acknowledged in order to understand the resident experience, as well as the meaning that residents attach to it. A major factor in the experiences of encounters with tourists are perceived tourist attitudes. In turn, this is based on bodily attributes of the involved tourists, as well as on the practices and objects involved in encounters. Clothing, for example, plays an important role in identifying tourists and interpreting their attitudes and practices. Several respondents put forward that this especially plays a role in their perception of hipsters and party tourists. Subtle differences can result in different experiences for residents. As an example, a tourist performing a practice of photography can be experienced differently depending on the way the photographer holds a camera, the involved postures and the clothing of the tourist. One respondent put forward that the fact that a tourist kneels down while taking a picture indicated a genuine interest, which she appreciates. This chapter presented a wide variety of other examples that show that the combination of, and the relation between contextual elements in encounters are important to understand encounters from the individual perspective.

Crucially, encounters with tourists result in a direct, bodily experience for residents, in which all the senses are involved. The visual aspect is obviously central in observing tourist practices and bodily attributes, but also in non-verbal communication and bodily expressions. Sounds play a role in verbal communication, but also sound aspects such as languages, accents and volume can trigger experiences. Volume, both of spoken word and other sounds, is especially relevant, for example in experiences of nuisance. Also, several respondents indicate that the presence of tourists and other nightlife participants for them results in unpleasant encounters involving the sense of smell, especially due to litter and urine in house entrances near nightlife facilities. Also, in the individual perspective, triggered emotions are an important aspect of direct experience, including irritation, anger, fear and joy. The specific roles and meanings of these elements of direct experience in encounters are explained in the following sections.

From the resident perspective, the diversity of encounters with tourists leads to a great diversity of experiences. These diverse experiences are now elaborated on separately, with special attention to aforementioned contextual elements, aspects of bodily experience and attached meanings.

First, some residents have the feeling they are being watched by tourists because of the way they look. Respondents put forward that they experience this as unpleasant, as they feel they are being objectified, exoticised, categorised or consumed. Moreover, the unease of residents is mainly related to privacy issues, especially in relation to photography. This can trigger concerns about the lack of control they have over how people will comment on photos or fear that photos will be published online on websites such as Facebook.

Second, most residents appreciate the educational value tourism can have for tourists. They hold that tourists can learn something from the neighbourhood, for example in relation to themes such as migration, political activism and tolerance. Other residents, however, doubt the real interest of tourists and their willingness to learn.

Third, situations of crowdedness are experienced as annoying by many residents, especially when they conflict with resident routines or practices. When congestive situations occur cumulatively, emotions of irritation can be triggered. However, others perceive such situations as a normal aspect of city life. Perceived tourist attitudes such as inattentiveness are experienced as important contributors to crowdedness.

Fourth, in the experience of residents, the atmosphere of places is co-produced by people. Results in this chapter show that tourist presence in leisure amenities is often experienced as having a negative impact on atmosphere, due to a decline of the number of regular guests. Other respondents emphasise that tourist attitudes have a major impact on atmosphere as well. They indicate that an intimate atmosphere declines as a result of tourists who are obtrusive, overly excited or only focussed on fun. In the experience of respondents this contrasts with the more everyday attitudes of residents, which are experienced as more relaxed. However, the presence of tourists also leads to more synergetic experiences. Respondents indicate that tourists contribute to a lively atmosphere on terraces, which in the experience of some residents adds an international flair to the neighbourhood. Another, related issue that results from the presence of tourists is the experience of nuisance. Some respondents put forward that loud tourist groups conflict with their routines, such as reading a newspaper in a café. Others indicate that from time to time they can not sleep because of nightlife noise nuisance, although many respondents acknowledge that this is not a tourist-specific problem.

Finally, encounters with tourists can be a source of diversion for residents. Several respondents indicate that they enjoy observing tourist practices, for example photography practices. Others put forward that they like to guess the origin of tourists on the basis of clothing, language and bodily attributes. A similar synergetic effect of tourist practices, postures and gestures is that they trigger the curiosity of residents. Several respondents put forward that tourist practices trigger them to pay attention to places and objects in their neighbourhood they would otherwise ignore. Some respondents in this study indicate that, as a result, they gain a new perceptive and awareness about the context in which their daily life takes place.

On the basis of the analysis of interviews with neighbourhood residents, the difference in experiences of encounters, and the meaning residents attach to this, can only be understood by taking into account a number of factors, namely individual resident attributes, routines, stances towards neighbourhood change and the individual history of encounters with tourists. Resident attributes, characteristics, plans, preferences and routines play an important role. Length of residence and the amount of time spent in leisure amenities, for example, turned out to be important factors. However, the experience of resident-tourist encounters cannot be understood by relating it to resident characteristics alone. Rather, the meaning of encounters for residents also depends on the highly individual resident perspective. It depends on the unique, individual combination of resident characteristics, plans, preferences and needs. As an example, for a respondent with a migration background, small-talk with foreign tourists has a special meaning. He puts forward that small-talk with Spanish tourists for him means that he can practise the language of his parents, a language he does not normally speak.

In addition, the experience of encounters does not only differ between individuals. Similar encounters can also result in different experiences for the same resident *in different situations*. The terraces on the Oranienstraße, for example, can trigger an experience of frustration as a result of perceived crowdedness when a resident is in a hurry as part of daily routines. However, a similar encounter can be experienced as providing a lively atmosphere when that resident has some time off to stroll the street.

Another factor that plays an important explanatory role in how resident-tourist encounters are experienced is the individual stance towards neighbourhood change in general. In semi-structured interviews with neighbourhood residents, many respondents on their own accord put forward that they see tourism as one of the major processes of neighbourhood change. From the analysis of the interviews it became clear that this plays a major role in the resident perspective, both in terms of their general attitude towards tourism, as well as in the experience of actual encounters with tourists in everyday life. During actual encounters, in other words, the resident experience is affected by more general attitudes towards neighbourhood change and the perceived role of tourism therein.

Also, the individual history of encounters with tourists plays a decisive role in how residents experience encounters. The cumulative occurrence of negative experiences with tourists in the past, affects the way current and future encounters are experienced. In this chapter, a detailed description of a sequence of negative encounters of one respondent was presented, explaining how the cumulative effect resulted in an experience of frustration. For this respondent, repeated negative encounters with groups of young south-European tourists have led to an aversion of this specific type of tourists. In her perspective, these tourists were perceived as group-oriented, loud, not interested and as having a consumption-oriented attitude. As a result of encounter experiences, some residents have changed their routines. Some indicate that they stopped visiting cafés in the area, while others avoid the busiest parts of the Oranienstraße. For other residents, a history of negative encounters has resulted in a less open attitude towards tourists, which they indicate affects their current and future encounters with tourists.

In conclusion, the presence of tourists leads to a diversity of encounters in the daily lives of residents, which in turn results in a diversity of experiences and triggered emotions. In the individual resident perspective, this is experienced as conflictual or synergetical with their own plans, preferences and routines. In effect, this changes the resident experience of the neighbourhood as the everyday environment within which their daily lives unfold. In addition to conflicts and synergies in terms of practices and routines, the presence of tourists also affects place meanings of the neighbourhood in the perspective of residents. This theme will be elaborated in the following chapter, in which the main conclusions of this study will be presented.

## Chapter 7 – Conclusions and discussion

This chapter starts with a discussion of some of the characteristics of this study. It shortly introduces the topic and describes the research strategy. Also, among other things, the research methods are evaluated. Thereafter, the main conclusions of the study are discussed. The chapter finishes with recommendations for future research and policy.

### 7.1 Research evaluation

In this study, the meaning of the presence of tourists in a residential neighbourhood for residents has been assessed. The study has explored the diversity of tourist-resident encounters, as well as the experience and meaning of these encounters for residents. To assess these aspects, this study has applied the Spatial Triad of Lefebvre (1991). This qualitative research is exploratory in nature and made use of several ethnographic research methods. To assess the topic, a case study was applied, assessing the phenomenon of neighbourhood tourism in a research area in Berlin-Kreuzberg, namely the Oranienstraße, Kottbusser Tor and their direct surroundings. In this neighbourhood, residential, tourism and other urban functions are spatially concentrated. The focus on a relatively small area enabled an in-depth examination, with a detailed examination of aspects of tourism in an urban context. On the other hand, the size of the research area turned out well, as it was big enough to capture an immense diversity of resident-tourist encounters. Also, the relevance of the topic in the research area was affirmed, as the topic of neighbourhood tourism developed as the subject of a local societal debate during the research period. The main research question, to be answered in this chapter, is:

*To what extent does the presence of tourists affect the meaning of a residential neighbourhood for residents?*

A combination of research methods was applied in this study to answer this research question, including observations and semi-structured interviews with neighbourhood residents. The validity of the results profited from triangulation, due to the application of multiple research methods. The first set of research methods consisted of an examination of newspapers and tourist guidebooks related to the research area. Also, I participated in walking tours and attended neighbourhood discussion nights about topics such as tourism and gentrification. In addition, numerous informal conversations with tourists and residents in the area were held. Second, structured and unstructured observations were conducted. These observations assessed the diversity of tourist-resident encounters, with special attention being paid to the role of contextual elements during such encounters. These observations included 24-hour sessions, covering the diversity of encounters during the course of a day. As such, tourism related encounters as they actually happen were the subject of empirical research. Third, the experience and meaning of tourist-resident encounters for residents was assessed by applying semi-structured interviews as a research method. Twelve semi-structured, in-depth interviews of one and a half hour averagely were held with neighbourhood residents. Although a topic-list was used during the interviews, respondents were stimulated to put forward aspects of neighbourhood tourism that were important to them. Of their own accord, respondents provided valuable descriptions and explanations of their encounters with tourists. Aspects of neighbourhood tourism not thought of beforehand were brought up, and apparent details that play a role in tourist-resident encounters were put forward. As an example of an aspect of neighbourhood tourism not thought of before, many respondents indicated that tourists can be a source of diversion for them. During the interviews, 17 interview photos with everyday street scenes with tourists were used. Respondents were requested to comment on what they saw and how they would experience similar situations. These photos proved to be a very powerful research tool in combination with the semi-structured interview research method, as it enabled a comparison between different residents and an analysis of contrasting meanings. The visual input triggered respondent memory about their own actual encounters with tourists, so that these encounters could be discussed. Also, extensive semi-structured interviews proved to be a good ethnographic research method, as it helped to *understand* the experience and meaning of encounters from the individual resident perspective.

## 7.2 Conclusions

Tourist presence in an inner-city neighbourhood results in a wide variety of encounters between residents and tourists, as the neighbourhood is shared between these users. Through their practices tourists co-produce the neighbourhood as an exploration and leisure space, which leads to synergies and conflicts with residential space, both in terms of spatial practice and spaces of representation. Encounters with tourists are experienced and valued differently by residents, depending on —among other things— resident routines, contextual elements and resident attitudes towards neighbourhood change in general. Tourist presence plays an important role in the production of a neighbourhood, and thus in the change of the everyday environment of residents.

### *Shared space and encounters*

Within the shared context of the neighbourhood, residents and tourists employ a diversity of activities. To an important extent, neighbourhood space is shaped through the practices and routines of residents. These routines include grocery shopping, going to school, meeting acquaintances on the street, working in the area, meeting friends in cafés, strolling and visiting playgrounds. It is a place of evolved social networks. Within the research area tourist practices are diverse as well. Tourists walk around the streets and in parks, take pictures of street scenes and visit shops. They eat, drink and socially interact in gastronomy, listen to music and dance in nightlife. Rather than being passive observers, tourists actively participate in neighbourhood life (Franklin 2003). Tourists co-produce space as users of space through the performance of their practices (Bærenholdt 2004), such as photography, posing, touring, exploring, drinking beer on the street and visiting amenities. Tourist practices are performative in the sense that tourists do not just consume predefined places in predefined ways. What is more, people shape and reinterpret places through the element of play involved in these practices (Stevens 2007). A house entrance is used as a backdrop for a school class portrait, a poster becomes a souvenir and a kerbstone is used as a convenient way to sit while listening to a street musician. The active participation of tourists in neighbourhood life also means that they are actors in the production of atmosphere. Moreover, this study provides evidence for the idea that tourism is an embodied practice involving all the senses, rather than only an abstract consumption of images (Crouch 2001).

Tourist space is performed by tourists, but also affected by related spatial practice. The increase of tourist presence has played an important role in the transformation of the area in recent years, as tourists are supportive of amenities by means of their expenditures and practices. Spatial practices of local entrepreneurs and actors in the informal economy adapt to changing space users. In turn, their changed practices affect tourist's and other user's practices and routines. In the specific context of the research area, altered spatial practice includes the following elements. The number of terraces has increased drastically, forming a sequence along the routes with major tourist flows. Gastronomy, nightlife facilities and other leisure-related urban functions have expanded through transformation of amenities. In the informal economy, street musicians, beggars and people selling products have populated the area. They make use of the context, by approaching people alongside the growing number of terraces. Other actors provide tourists with walking tours, sub-rented rooms and holiday apartments. The growing tourist numbers in the area, in other words, gave rise to other processes of spatial practice that transform the neighbourhood, especially in the last five years. The aforementioned aspects of spatial practice are related with the presence of tourists. However, this is not to suggest that it is exclusively related with tourism, as changing neighbourhood functions also cater residents, visitors from other city districts, as well as people in the art, culture and music scene. Gentrification processes played an important role in the transformation of the neighbourhood, both in terms of a changing neighbourhood population and changing amenities. The diversity of urban leisure functions increased, ranging from an increased centrality as a nightlife area, an increased number of gastronomy and galleries, and an abundance of events. The area, in other words, has gained more characteristics of an inner-city neighbourhood with an increased diversity of users and uses. As such, it has become more connected with other parts of the city, both in terms of spatial practice and in terms of spaces of representation.

The various aspects of spatial practice in the neighbourhood do not take place separate from each other. The same places are used by different types of people, by residents, by tourists, but also by people who work in the area and by visitors from other city districts. Space is shared between these groups in public space, on terraces, in gastronomy and during nightlife. In the research area, there are few places that are exclusively used by tourists. Rather, tourist spatial practices overlap with spatial practices and routines of residents. As such, the neighbourhood constitutes a 'heterogeneous tourist space' (Edensor 2001), rather than a 'tourist bubble' (Judd & Fainstein 1999). The overlap of neighbourhood space and tourist space results in an abundance of tourist-resident encounters. These encounters are diverse, due to the diversity of resident and tourist practices and routines that coincide and affect each other. In addition, other contextual elements, such as objects, bodily attributes, natural elements, physical aspects of the context, as well as the spatio-temporal setting affect how encounters deploy. What is more, the study demonstrated that these contextual elements play their part in the resident *experience* of encounters. Results from this research indicate that the experience is triggered by bodily attributes of tourists, gestures, postures, clothing, sounds (languages, accents, volume), etcetera. These elements play an important role in how residents perceive the attitudes of tourists, which in turn affects the encounter experience. Encounters can result in situations of conflict and synergy between the practices of tourists and residents. Whether a situation is experienced as conflict or synergy depends on the individual resident perspective. A major finding in this study is that similar encounters can result in different experiences for different residents. As a bodily experience, encounters with tourists trigger emotions of annoyance, frustration, anger and joy. The differences in experience can only be understood by acknowledging the influence of individual characteristics, plans and preferences of residents. Crucially, the individual history of encounters with tourists plays its part as well. The cumulative confrontation with similar encounters can result in an accumulation of frustration for some residents. Similar encounters can also result in different experiences for the same resident *in different situations*. Terraces, for example, can trigger an experience of irritation as a result of perceived crowdedness when a resident is in a hurry. However, a similar encounter can be experienced as providing a lively atmosphere when that resident strolls the street for leisure purposes.

The experience of encounters by residents can only be understood by the assessment of spaces of representation that are related to spatial practice in encounters. It is crucial to include spaces of representation and place meanings of residents, as well as the spaces of representation of tourists as they are perceived by residents. In the direct experience of residents, conflictual place meanings are an important aspect in addition to the mere practices involved in encounters. Three major themes emerged in this study, themes where synergies and conflicts of place meanings play an important role.

#### *Exploration space versus residential space*

First, the neighbourhood as an exploration space results in conflicts and synergies with the neighbourhood as a residential space, both in terms of spatial practice and spaces of representation. An exploration space of representation is closely related to a tourist mindset and tourist attitudes towards space. This mindset entails attitudes such as curiosity, interest, and a hunger for new experiences. This space of representation is also constituted in guidebooks, which foster a mindset also characteristic of tourism in other contexts (Franklin 2003). Exploration space is constituted by tourist practices related to this mindset, including watching, pointing, photography and walking tours. It also involves social interaction between people involved in exploratory practices and involves objects such as cameras and guidebooks. These practices are performed at places such as streets, markets, parks and *Hinterhöfe*. Through photography and tour practices, the neighbourhood is reinterpreted and becomes a means by which aspects of the neighbourhood, such as history, sub-culture and cultural diversity, can be experienced. As such, the neighbourhood is understood as a place to explore, to take pictures of, a place to discover and as a place for new experiences. From the perspective of some residents, several aspects of these practices and place meanings conflict with their own conception of the neighbourhood. It conflicts with the conception of the neighbourhood as an intimate place part of their privacy sphere, as a place of routines and of mundane everyday life. Some residents have the feeling they are being watched and

experience being photographed without asking as obtrusive because of privacy issues. They indicate they think they are being watched because of their clothing or the way they look. Others put forward that the aspect that tourists visit and actively participate in everyday places is experienced as unpleasant. Encountering a group of tourists in the courtyard of the own apartment building, for example, is experienced as obtrusive by some residents, as they feel this is part of their privacy sphere. In other cases the exploratory mindset is experienced as a lack of respect, as curiosity conflicts with privacy, for example when tourists photograph homeless people. Some respondents indicate that they feel their neighbourhood is treated as a zoo or as a museum. They have the feeling that their neighbourhood is being consumed, similar to the stances of Meethan (2001) about the commodification of neighbourhood culture in other contexts. In this respect, respondents refer to street art tours, the terrace atmosphere that "is being consumed" and to party tourists focussed on experiencing nightlife. The unease of residents about the exploratory practices and associated place meanings in some cases results in reactive practices by residents during encounters with tourists. These reactive practice include turning the head away while tourists take pictures, walking on the other side of the street or yelling at tourists and tour guides. These practices can be seen as contesting tourist spatial practice and spaces of representation of the neighbourhood as a place to explore. In Lefebvrian terms these resident practices are a way of negotiating neighbourhood space and acceptable practices within that space.

On the other hand, however, the educational value of the neighbourhood for tourists is appreciated by some residents, as they see the neighbourhood as a place where visitors can learn something about topics such as migration, sub-culture and political activism. In this perspective, the exploratory attitude and practices of tourists are appreciated. Another identified synergetic effect is that tourists with exploratory practices can trigger the curiosity of residents. The interest of these residents is triggered by gestures and postures of tourists involved in practices of touring and photography. For these residents, such encounters temporarily shift the everyday mindset into the exploratory mindset of a tourist. As a result, these residents gain a new perceptive and awareness about their own everyday environment. As such, neighbourhood tourism can also have an educational value for residents. In addition, many residents indicate that they enjoy observing tourists, their clothing and bodily attributes, listen to languages and try to guess the origin of tourists. They observe what tourists take pictures of or how they pose during practices of photography. In many different ways, tourists are a source of diversion for neighbourhood residents. Observing others, in other words, is by no means a one-way process practised by tourists only.

#### *Leisure space versus residential space*

Second, the presence of tourists co-produces the neighbourhood as a leisure space, resulting in conflicts and synergies with residential space, both in terms of spatial practice and spaces of representation. Leisure space is the space of gastronomy, terraces, parks, bars, galleries, nightlife and events. It is a space lived by a diversity of users including tourists, people from other city districts and residents in leisure time. In the research area a growing share of urban functions caters this leisure space. As such, tourism in the neighbourhood contributes to the transition of cities from places of production to places of consumption and leisure (Judd & Fainstein 1999). In leisure space, the practices of residents and tourists are largely similar. People enjoy drinks and food, socially interact with acquaintances, they listen to music, they dance. People go to gallery openings, participate in events, and stroll along the streets. They observe passers-by while they relax on terraces, irrespective of the whether the people involved in these encounters are tourists or residents. This study presents plenty of other types of leisure related encounters where the practices of residents and tourists are largely indistinguishable. Tourists, for example, imitate resident practices that are common in the Berlin context, such as drinking beer on the street after buying it in a night shop. Also, tourists form an audience for a local band, while in other cases residents enjoy the guitar play of a tourist, possibly even without being aware of it. These examples present leisure space as a synergetic overlap of tourist space and neighbourhood space, where space is used for similar leisure activities. Therefore, this study is supportive of the findings of Franklin (2003), namely that residents increasingly also have a touristic attitude in leisure time during their daily lives, and that tourists increasingly employ everyday activities in the temporal context of their

vacation. As far as leisure is concerned, spaces of representation are mainly related to people's attitudes towards space and time. This entails attitudes such as an orientation on relaxation, a non-goal oriented attitude, typically a slow pace, and an orientation on social interaction and fun. Especially in leisure space, diverse people sharing the same place come in contact with each other. They meet new people, have some small-talk or employ joined activities. It is during this type of tourist-resident encounters that actual social and cultural exchange between people with different backgrounds occurs (Held 1999). This type of interaction does not necessarily include verbal communication, but can also be constituted by non-verbal practices such as eye-contact and dancing. In the perspective of residents, encounters involving small-talk with strangers is experienced sometimes as interesting, but sometimes also as obtrusive, for example due to a perceived eagerness of tourists to "talk with locals".

Although practices and attitudes in leisure space are similar for residents and tourists, there are also differences. For residents leisure plays a role in the (re)production of neighbourhood social networks, for example by meeting friends, colleagues and neighbours in an informal context. In the perspective of some residents, tourist presence affects neighbourhood atmosphere. Some respondents indicate that they experience a decline of Kiez-atmosphere, as cafés and bars are less populated with returning guests, while the share of one-time visitors such as tourists increases. Others however, experience encounters with tourists as adding an international flair that they appreciate. Subtle differences in practices and attitudes of diverse user groups in leisure space can have a major impact. Respondents indicate that tourist groups in cafés can be very loud, which conflicts with typical residential routines such as reading a newspaper in a café. In the experience of some residents the cultural background of tourists plays a role in this respect, as they indicate that such situations often occur with groups of young tourists from southern Europe. Similarly, in the experience of residents, tourists in cafés, bars and other nightlife facilities sometimes have an overly enthusiast or obtrusive attitude, which they feel creates an atmosphere which conflicts with the neighbourhood as a relaxed and mundane place. Thus, although leisure space in the neighbourhood is largely synergetic in terms of similar practices and attitudes of tourists and residents, a number of conflicts arise as well. Other conflictual aspects of leisure space in a residential neighbourhood are crowdedness and nuisance. Encounters of nuisance are most apparent in nightlife and take the form of littering, noise nuisance in public space during the night and people urinating in house entrances. However, these conflictual practices are not exclusively related to tourists. Rather, they are related to the contextual characteristic of the neighbourhood being —and becoming more and more— a nightlife area. In the experience of some residents, however, tourists are more likely to engage in nuisance behaviour, as tourists are outside their everyday environment and lack an affiliation with the area. Also, some residents indicate that they think that many visitors come to Kreuzberg with a certain image of the neighbourhood in mind, namely of Kreuzberg as a wild place, a place of endless parties, a place where everything is allowed and tolerated. In this perspective, conflictual aspects of leisure space in a residential neighbourhood are thus not only related to practices but also to place meanings.

Also, for people with a leisure mindset, the neighbourhood is a (temporal) playground, a place of creativity and play (Stevens 2007). The neighbourhood then has the meaning of an urban space to try new practices, meet new people, develop new ideas, adopt new identities, and as a place of serendipity of encounters. In the perspective of some residents this conflicts with the idea of Kreuzberg as a mundane, residential neighbourhood, as a place of evolved social networks and a place of everyday routines.

Another important contrasting element in terms of spaces of representation relates to poverty and social problems. On the one hand, Kreuzberg is a place of poverty and social problems for some residents, while for party tourists and other nightlife participants it is a cosmopolitan, hip and energetic place. A place of leisure, in other words. This contrast, as well as the ignorance of tourists about it, frustrates some residents. This also has to do with a recent change of the image of the area, at least in the perspective of these residents, namely that the fear for the area disappeared, disclosing the area to new types of residents and tourists. According to them, the place meaning transformed from one of a dangerous area with a ghetto-image, into a cool place with a Wild West flair, as one respondent put it.

Crucially, the conflict between the neighbourhood as a leisure space and the neighbourhood as

a residential space is not simply a conflict between residents and tourists. Rather, it is a conflict between a group of users that is interested in the new urban leisure functions in the neighbourhood on the one hand, and a group of users that is not that much interested in them. This first group consists of tourists, but also of visitors from other city districts, temporary residents, people in the culture and art scene and a share of neighbourhood residents. This group tends to be younger, more affluent and have a relatively recent interest in the neighbourhood. In contrast, the other group consists mainly of more long-term residents who saw their neighbourhood change over the course of years. The results from this study indicate that the appropriation of space for tourism and leisure purposes conflicts most with the plans and preferences of elderly people, of people who rely on social benefits and of people with a migrant background, groups that are typically long-term residents. Resident characteristics, plans and preferences are thus important explanatory aspects in how residents value neighbourhood tourism in general and how they experience encounters with tourists more specifically.

### *Crowdedness*

Third, a set of conflictual and synergetic encounters is related to crowdedness. Although this topic partly overlaps with the discussion on exploration and leisure space in the previous sections, it is elaborated here because it plays an important role in the specific context of the neighbourhood assessed in this study. These context-specific elements are narrow pavements and an abundance of terraces and parked bicycles. Tourists are often involved in congestive situations, as they are often on the move in groups. On top of the actual space such groups occupy, group dynamics are an additional cause of congestive situations. Groups of tourists block the way as they gather, wait for each other and walk next to each other in a slow pace. In addition, inattentiveness of tourists caused by photography and social interaction within the group are other factors resulting in crowdedness. Crucially, the combination of the aforementioned elements causes conflictual situations, where residents feel hindered in their routines of everyday life. Often this is experienced as frustrating, especially when such situations accumulate or when residents are confronted with crowdedness while they are in a hurry. In contrast, such situations are experienced as less hindering when residents themselves are strolling the street for leisure purposes. Situations as sketched above do also have indirect effects. Terraces can become the subject of conflicts between residents on the one hand, and cafés and restaurants on the other hand. The experience of crowded situations does not only depend on direct spatial practice, it is related to the perceived tourist attitudes towards the neighbourhood as well. Residents indicate that they are more likely to tolerate crowded situations when they perceive that tourists have an attentive attitude, rather than an arrogant attitude where tourists appropriate space for their own purposes without respecting other space users. Other respondents ignore situations of crowdedness as part of normal city life. Although crowdedness is predominantly experienced as inconvenient, it can also have an other, more synergetic meaning for other residents, where the chaotic nature of the street is experienced as liveliness. One respondent, for example, indicates that he regularly purposefully cycles through the Oranienstraße as he enjoys the experience of cycling through a crowded, chaotic and lively street.

### *The role of attitudes towards neighbourhood change in general*

The diversity of experiences that residents have when they encounter tourists, has been partly explained by individual resident characteristics, plans, preferences and routines. However, the differences in attitudes of residents towards tourists and tourism can only be understood with the inclusion of resident attitudes towards neighbourhood change in general. Among the respondents interviewed in this study there is consensus about the idea that the growth of tourism is one of the processes that constitutes neighbourhood change. However, the various aspects of neighbourhood change are valued differently. Results from this study indicate that when the general neighbourhood change is viewed negatively, tourism tends to be viewed negatively as well. For many residents, tourism is a component of a more general unease or anger about neighbourhood change. In fact, the extent to which residents are content with neighbourhood change has emerged as one of the most important aspects explaining the attitude of individual residents towards tourism. Several respondents hold that tourism

provokes gentrification processes in the neighbourhood, in that it contributes to an increased general popularity of the neighbourhood. They fear that tourism contributes to neighbourhood effects such as increasing rents and the forced displacement of less affluent neighbourhood residents, which they think are part of neighbourhood identity. In addition, several residents hold that the presence of tourists is, at least in part, responsible for effects such as the change of amenity types, increasing prices, and a change of atmosphere. Although the exact processes and mechanisms that constitute the relation between tourism and neighbourhood change in general are outside the scope of this study, results presented in this study are supportive of the concept of tourism gentrification as proposed by Gotham (2005).

Some residents have the feeling tourists (and other non-residents) are taking over the neighbourhood, they feel invaded. They see the neighbourhood as a fragile construct under threat by tourism, gentrification, general increased popularity and other processes of neighbourhood change. They fear a loss of neighbourhood identity by the influx of new neighbourhood users, who in their perspective lack an affiliation with the area. For these people tourism and other processes of neighbourhood change conflict with the neighbourhood as a space of representation entailing meanings such as the neighbourhood as a familiar place, a place of evolved social networks, a place of shared history and memories, a place of affiliation, the neighbourhood as a meaningful, valuable place for its residents. A conflict, in other words, with the neighbourhood as an imagined community (Rose 1990). Several respondents indicate that the (perceived) effects of tourism can trigger feelings of fear and anger for them. Rather than that these resident fear actual encounters, the emotion of fear is triggered as they relate encounters with general neighbourhood change. As such, the general attitudes towards tourism and neighbourhood change affect the direct experience of residents in actual encounters with tourists. In turn, the experience of actual encounters reinforces their general attitudes towards tourism and tourists. Other residents emphasize the positive effects tourism has on the neighbourhood. In their perspective, tourism is one of the processes that is important for the development of Berlin. They appreciate the fact that tourism creates jobs in the Berlin context of high unemployment rates. In general, residents with a less negative stance towards neighbourhood change are more likely to emphasize the way tourists contribute to a lively atmosphere, an international flair, and mention the supportive effect of tourists for the diversity of cultural and gastronomical amenities. Again, this shows the crucial role of individual attributes and attitudes in the valuation of neighbourhood in general and the experience of encounters with tourists more specifically.

#### *Negotiating neighbourhood space*

For some residents, the presence of tourists in their neighbourhood has led to a change of routines, as they retreat from specific streets and amenities, due to the perceived effect of tourists on atmosphere, an experienced dominance of tourists, increasing prices or due to issues of crowdedness. In other cases, residents abandoned routines such as socializing with colleagues after work or reading a newspaper in a café. Most drastically, the change of atmosphere and a history of negative encounters with tourists result in the fact that some residents move out of the area, or think about moving out. In other cases, resident attitudes towards tourists have changed. In practice this can mean that residents are less open towards tourists, for example by a decline of willingness to provide tourists with information and insider tips. In Lefebvrian terms, these residents contest the growing overlap of tourist space and neighbourhood space. Indirectly the experiences of encounters with tourists thus affect future resident-tourist encounters and therefore play their part in the production of the neighbourhood.

#### *Tourism and the production of a neighbourhood*

In conclusion, the presence of tourists in a residential neighbourhood leads to a diversity of encounters and experiences for residents, affecting the meaning of the neighbourhood as the context in which their everyday lives unfold. The production of the neighbourhood is shaped by the practices and routines of residents and tourists, especially as these practices interact in encounters between these different actors and contextual elements. Through their practices, tourists produce and reinforce place meanings of the neighbourhood, such as the neighbourhood as an exploration space and as a leisure space. Tourist space as a space of

representation does not exist without the continual performance of tourist space by tourists through their practices. These practices take place within the shared context of the neighbourhood. Leisure space is not exclusively tourist space, but is also used and co-produced by visitors from other city districts and by residents with similar preferences. The presence of tourists has declined the neighbourhood as an exclusively residential space, while it contributed to the fact that the neighbourhood has incorporated a larger mix and spatial concentration of urban leisure functions and users. As such, tourism is part of the processes that connect the neighbourhood with the rest of the city, as it becomes part of, and connects it to the leisure, art, culture and nightlife spaces of Berlin. As one of the major globalisation processes, tourism connects the neighbourhood with the rest of the world, with global tourism space. For residents these processes result in a diversity of actual encounters on the local level. In some cases these encounters are experienced as conflictual with residents' own plans and preferences, while in other cases it leads to synergy. It results in conflicts and synergies in terms of spaces of representation as well, especially between the neighbourhood as a residential space on the one hand, and the neighbourhood as an exploration space and leisure space on the other hand. In the resident perspective, these place meanings affect aspects such as neighbourhood identity and atmosphere, the experience of encounters with tourists and the routines of everyday life. While some residents see tourism as threatening the neighbourhood as a community, others incorporate tourism as part of neighbourhood identity, as a place of constant change.

### **7.3 Future research**

On the basis of the results and conclusions of this study, a few suggestions for future research are presented here.

First, the application of Lefebvre's Spatial Triad provides many possibilities for urban geographers to assess the production of space and the role of spatial practices, spaces of representation and representations of space in production processes. This study showed that the combined assessment of these aspects leads to an integrated understanding of the production of space. Semi-structured interviews with residents proved to be a powerful tool to assess the individual perspective of residents. In future research, other processes that co-produce neighbourhoods and impact on the meaning of a neighbourhood for residents could be focussed on. These processes of neighbourhood change include gentrification, the growth of the art and culture scene, the impact of temporary residents and the increase of urban leisure functions.

Second, it is suggested that similar studies are conducted in other contexts. Neighbourhood tourism and the impacts for residents should be studied in other neighbourhoods in Berlin, as well as in other cities. Such studies can make use of the findings of this study, by taking into account aspects of neighbourhood tourism that were found to be important in the experience of residents. Also, a comparative study with a focus on similarities and differences between neighbourhoods would improve the understanding of the role that context-specific elements of neighbourhood tourism play. This would further increase the external validity of the results from this study.

Third, this study revealed that tourism and gentrification are processes that are strongly related, both in terms of the importance of urban leisure functions and in terms of spaces of representation. In addition, the relatedness of these processes is important in the perspective of neighbourhood residents and the encounters in their daily lives. A detailed analysis on the relation between tourism and gentrification in inner-city neighbourhoods could reveal how these processes reinforce each other and produce the neighbourhood as a leisure space. In addition, such a study could shed light on how tourism and gentrification are perceived as a threat to the neighbourhood by some neighbourhood residents in a more detailed way than was possible within the limitations of this study.

Fourth, this qualitative research has focussed on revealing the diversity of encounters and experiences of residents with neighbourhood tourism. While this exploratory approach provided valuable insights into the complexity of the individual resident perspective, future research could extent these findings by increasing the number of interviewed neighbourhood residents. These findings could be extended by the application of additional research methods, including

other qualitative and quantitative research methods. Further research could assess the role of individual resident characteristics, preferences and attitudes, focussed on revealing patterns. It is suggested that such research should pay special attention to three aspects that were identified as important aspects explaining the experience and valuation of tourist presence in the neighbourhood. These aspects are resident preferences of urban leisure functions, length of residence and the general stance of residents towards neighbourhood change.

## **7.4 Policy recommendations**

On the basis of the results and conclusions of this study, a few considerations for policy are presented here. In general, it is important to be aware that tourism policies are likely to also affect neighbourhood residents and their practices and routines, as many places are shared between tourists and residents. In line with the conclusions of this study, tourism policy should take into consideration how it could affect the neighbourhood as a meaningful place in which the daily lives of residents unfold.

First, one of the most prominent tourism-related inconveniences for residents identified in this study is congestion. Study results show that narrow pavements and an abundance of terraces play an important role in the production of congestion in the context of the research area. To improve pedestrian flows and minimize congestion-related conflicts, a number of interventions can be considered. Possible policies could be the removal of objects blocking the way, widening of pavements, or even the transformation of streets into pedestrian zones. Also, permits can be considered to limit the space appropriation of terraces, as well as the stricter enforcement of existing regulations on terraces. Tour groups are another factor in congestion issues. Together with organisations and people who organise tours (spatial) strategies could be developed, in order to minimize the hindrance of residents in their daily routines. It is important to keep in mind that contextual characteristics not related to tourist presence play their part in the production of congestion as well, such as parked bicycles on the pavements. Policies affecting this practice should also be considered. When considering the above-mentioned interventions, it is important to keep in mind that interventions may also affect other spatial meanings and urban functions. Providing more space for pedestrians, for example, could affect the use of streets by bicycles, cars and buses. Also, the chaotic nature of pavements has multiple meanings for residents, as some residents experience this as creating a lively atmosphere and see it as characteristic for the neighbourhood. Similarly, the transformation of streets into pedestrian zones would highly impact on neighbourhood atmosphere, possibly further producing the neighbourhood as an urban leisure space in the perspective of residents. Moreover, it should be considered that interventions such as widening of pavements and transformation into pedestrian zones could result in an increase of visitors to the area.

Second, tourist awareness about the impact of their practices on neighbourhood residents should be stimulated, especially in terms of nightlife nuisance. In this respect, it is important to be aware of the place meanings Kreuzberg has for some tourists and other neighbourhood users, such as Kreuzberg as a wild place where everything is allowed and tolerated, as a place of endless parties, etcetera. Tourist awareness about the fact that neighbourhood residents are in the routines of their everyday lives, rather than in a holiday mindset, should be stimulated. Policy makers could work together with hostels, bars and clubs in order to develop effective ways to stimulate tourist awareness, in order to decline nuisance experiences for residents.

Third, the study demonstrated that tourism can have an educational value, both for tourists and residents. Tourism offers possibilities for a dialogue and cultural exchange between people with different backgrounds, especially when residents are involved. As an example, migrant families could organise culinary nights. For tourists this could be an interesting way to learn about the city and its cultures, while it stimulates these residents to find ways to profit from tourism using their (cultural) resources. Similarly, other residents, school children and civil society organisations could participate in the organisation of activities such as walking tours, events and art projects. In addition to economic and social benefits, encounters with tourists could provide residents with a new perspective on their own neighbourhood.

Fourth, a tourism concept for the city should be developed, with special attention for neighbourhoods. This tourism concept should be integrated in more general urban

development policies. The main choice in such a policy is whether it should be aimed at the spatial concentration of tourism functions in a limited number of places within the city, or whether tourism should be stimulated to spread across the city. Stimulating tourism in other city neighbourhood could decrease the impact of tourism on neighbourhoods where tourism now concentrates, including Kreuzberg. Also, other issues relevant for urban development and tourism should be part of tourism policy. Until recently, the transformation of normal apartment into holiday apartments was prohibited in Berlin. In some neighbourhoods this has led to noise nuisance, especially during the night. The unrestricted spread of holiday apartments throughout apartment buildings could be reconsidered in reaction to resident complaints, while stimulating the spatially concentrated development of tourist accommodation. The same holds true for other tourism-related urban functions which produce nuisance as well, such as cafés, bars and clubs. Meanwhile, it should be considered that many of these leisure functions used by tourists are also used by residents, and that restrictive policies in this respect will also affect the city's residents.

Finally, the growth of neighbourhood tourism and the impact this has for residents calls for societal debate. Which tourism-related functions should be stimulated to develop on which places? To what extent should tourism-related inconveniences and annoyances be accepted as characteristic of an inner-city neighbourhood? How can the neighbourhood profit from the presence of tourists? Which tourist practices are acceptable and which are not? A neighbourhood debate could contribute residents to cope with their changing neighbourhood, of which tourism is part. In Lefebvrian terms, this societal debate is a way to negotiate neighbourhood space as the shared context in which the encounters between residents and tourists take place.

## List of references

Alan, J., M. Pryke (1994): 'The production of service space', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 12(4), 453-475.

Allon, F., R. Bushell, K. Anderson, N. Apouchtine (2008), *Backpackers in Global Sydney: Final Report*, Sydney: University of Western Sydney, cited on 15 July 2010, available on the World Wide Web: [http://www.uws.edu.au/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0019/50734/Backpackers\\_in\\_Global\\_Sydney\\_Final\\_Report\\_with\\_Cover.pdf](http://www.uws.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0019/50734/Backpackers_in_Global_Sydney_Final_Report_with_Cover.pdf).

Allon, F., K. Anderson (2010), 'Intimate Encounters: the Embodied Transnationalism of Backpackers and Independent Travellers', *Population, Space and Place*, 16(1), 11–22.

Almeida Santos, C., Y. Belhassen, K. Catona (2008), 'Reimagining Chinatown: An Analysis of Tourism Discourse', *Tourism Management*, 29(5), 1002–1012.

Altman, I., S. Low (1992), *Place attachment*, New York: Plenum.

Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg (2009), *Digitaler Umweltatlas, Karte 06.06 Stand 31.12.2008*, cited on 14 July 2010, available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/umwelt/umweltatlas/>.

Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg (2011), *Tourismus in Berlin 2010*, cited on 10 April 2011, available on the World Wide Web: [http://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/Faltblatt\\_Brochure/tourismus\\_BE\\_2011\\_internet.pdf](http://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/Faltblatt_Brochure/tourismus_BE_2011_internet.pdf).

Anderson, B. (1983), *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.

ARD Tagesthemen (2011), *Der Aufstand im Kiez: Kreuzberg wehrt sich gegen Touristen*, 21.05.2011, cited on 22 May 2011, available on the World Wide Web: [http://www.tagesschau.de/multimedia/video/ondemand100\\_id-video907824.html](http://www.tagesschau.de/multimedia/video/ondemand100_id-video907824.html).

Bærenholdt, J. (2004), *Performing Tourist Places*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.

Berlin Tourismus Marketing GmbH (2007), *Berlin Wirtschaftsfaktor Tourismus*.

Berliner Zeitung (2010), *Wechselnde Nachbarschaft*, 16.08.2010, cited on 25 April 2011, available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.berlinonline.de/berliner-zeitung/berlin/306505/306506.php>.

Bryman, A. (2004), *Social Research Methods*, second edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Coleman, S., M. Crang, eds. (2002), *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*, New York: Berghahn Books.

Corbin, J., A. Strauss (2008), *Basics of Qualitative Research: techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*, third edition, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Crang, M., I. Cook (1995), *Doing ethnographies*, Norwich: Geobooks.

- Crouch, D. (1999), *Leisure/Tourism Geographies: Practices and Geographical Knowledge*, London: Routledge.
- Crouch, D., L. Aronsson, L. Wahlström (2001), 'Tourist encounters', *Tourist studies*, 1(3), 253-270.
- Crouch, D. (2002), 'Surrounded by place, embodied encounters', in: Coleman S., M. Crang, eds., *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*, pp. 207–218, Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Der Spiegel (2011), *Kreuzberger protestieren gegen "Touristifizierung"*, 01.03.2011, cited on 8 May 2011, available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.spiegel.de/reise/aktuell/0,1518,748314,00.html>.
- Die Zeit (2011), *Meine neuen Nachbarn*, 28.04.2011, cited on 29 April 2011, available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.zeit.de/2011/18/Berlin-Kreuzberg>.
- Dinamix (2011), *Hotel Map Berlin*, Berlin: Dinamix Publications, cited on 21 February 2011, available on the World Wide Web: [http://www.dinamix.de/files/original/galerie\\_vom\\_29.09.2006\\_11.27.45/DINAMIX\\_HotelMap\\_Mediadaten\\_2011.pdf](http://www.dinamix.de/files/original/galerie_vom_29.09.2006_11.27.45/DINAMIX_HotelMap_Mediadaten_2011.pdf).
- Edensor, T. (1998), *Tourists at the Taj: Performance and Meaning at a Symbolic Site*, London: Routledge.
- Franklin, A., M. Crang (2001), 'The trouble with tourism and travel theory?', *Tourist Studies*, (1)1, 5-22.
- Franklin, A. (2003), *Tourism, an introduction*, London: Sage.
- Gotham, K. (2005), 'Tourism Gentrification: The Case of New Orleans' Vieux Carre (French Quarter)', *Urban Studies*, 42(7), 1099–1121.
- Gotham, K. (2007) 'Destination New Orleans: Commodification, rationalization, and the rise of urban tourism', *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 7(3), 305-334.
- Haldrup, M., J. Larsen (2006), 'Material Cultures of Tourism', *Leisure Studies*, 25(3), 275-289.
- Hamnett, C. (1994), 'Social Polarisation in Global Cities: Theory and Evidence', *Urban Studies*, 31(3), 401-424.
- Healey, P. (2007), *Urban Complexity and Spatial Strategies*, London: Routledge.
- Held, D., A. McGrew, D. Goldblatt, J. Perraton (1999), *Global transformations: Politics, economics and culture*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Judd, D., S. Fainstein, eds. (1999), *The Tourist City*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Jurawelt (2003), *BVerwG: Außerkrafttreten der Zweiten Zweckentfremdungsverbot-Verordnung Berlin zum 1. September 2000 rechtskräftig*, cited on 25 April 2011, available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.jurawelt.com/gerichtsurteile/pressemitteilungen/oerecht/bverwg/283271/7405>.
- Law, C. (2002), *Urban Tourism: The Visitor Economy and the Growth of Large Cities*, second edition, London: Cengage.

- Leary, M. (2009), 'The Production of Space through a Shrine and Vendetta in Manchester: Lefebvre's Spatial Triad and the Regeneration of a Place Renamed Castlefield', *Planning Theory & Practice*, 10(2), 189–212.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991), *The Production of Space*, D. Nicholson-Smith trans., Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Originally published 1974.
- Lefebvre, H. (2004), *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, London: Continuum.
- Ley, D. (1996), *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Liggett, H. (1995), 'City sights/sites of memories and dreams', in: H. Liggett, D. Perry, eds., *Spatial Practices*, pp. 243-273, Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Lonely Planet Publications (2009), *Lonely Planet: Berlin City Guide*.
- Maitland, R. (2008), 'Conviviality and Everyday Life: the Appeal of New Areas of London for Visitors', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 10(1), 15-25.
- Meethan, K. (2001), *Tourism in Global Society: place, culture, consumption*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Murdoch, J. (2006), *Post-structuralist Geography*, London: Sage.
- Muzaini, H. (2006), 'Backpacking Southeast Asia: strategies of "looking local"', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(1), 144-161.
- NRC Handelsblad (2011), *Berlijn is een beetje toeristenmoe*, 21.05.2011, cited on 17 June 2011, available on the World Wide Web: <http://archieff.nrc.nl/index.php/2011/Mei/21/Buitenland/10/Berlijn+is+een+beetje+toeristenmoe/check=Y>.
- Pearce, D. (1999), 'Tourism in Paris: Studies at the Microscale', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(1), 77-97.
- Rath, J. (2007), *Tourism, Ethnic Diversity and the City (Contemporary Geographies of Leisure, Tourism and Mobility Series)*, London: Routledge.
- Richards, G. (1996), *Cultural tourism in Europe*, Wallingford: CAB International.
- Rose, G. (1990), 'Imagining Poplar in the 1920s: Contested concepts of community', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 16(4), 425-437.
- Selby, M. (2004), *Understanding urban tourism: image, culture and experience*, London: Tauris.
- Smith, N. (1996), *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*, New York: Routledge.
- Statistik Berlin Brandenburg (2010), *Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin 2010*, Berlin: Kulturbuch-Verlag Berlin, cited on 24 February 2011, available on the World Wide Web: [http://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/jahrbuch/jb2010/BE\\_Jahrbuch\\_2010.pdf](http://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/produkte/jahrbuch/jb2010/BE_Jahrbuch_2010.pdf).

Stevens, Q. (2007), *The Ludic City: Exploring the Potential of Public Spaces*, London: Routledge.

Tagesspiegel (2011), *Kreuzberg und die Touristen: "Das ist nicht mehr unser Wrangelkiez"*, 01.03.2011, cited on 1 June 2011, available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/das-ist-nicht-mehr-unser-wrangelkiez/3893872.html>.

The Guardian (2011), *Without tourists, Berlin is stuffed. But try telling that to the angry natives. Locals complain their city is becoming an overpriced playground*, 09.05.2011, cited on 17 June 2011, available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/may/09/berliners-angry-over-tourists>.

Thrift, N. (1996), *Spatial Formations*, London: Sage.

Tucker, H. (2003), *Living with Tourism: Negotiating Identities in a Turkey Village*, New York: Routledge.

UNWTO (2008), *Tourism Highlights 2008 Edition*, Madrid: UNWTO Publications Department.

Urry, J. (1990), *The Tourist Gaze*, London: Sage.

Welt (2011), *High sein, frei sein, Lärmterror muss dabei sein*, 16.05.2011, cited on 17 June 2011, available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.welt.de/reise/article13374155/High-sein-frei-sein-Laermterror-muss-dabei-sein.html>.

Williams, S. (2009), *Tourism Geography: a new synthesis*, second edition, London: Routledge.

Xie, P., H. Osumare, A. Ibrahim (2007), 'Gazing the hood: Hip-Hop as tourism attraction', *Tourism Management*, 28(2), 452-460.

### Photos

Figure 23a: Ahasver (2009); figure 23c: Monomorph (2010), interview photos 11, 12, 13 and 17 (appendix 5): Pul-Van Veen (2010).

All other photos were taken by the author in 2010 and 2011.

# Appendices

## Appendix 1 – Observation schedule

People	T/L	Sex	Age	Ethn.	Carrying	Other
P1						
P2						
P3						
P4						
Others						
Notes						

### Physical attributes

Rain	Building	Dog	Wheelchair	Flyer	Food	Bag	Urine
Sun	Window	Oth.animal	Stroller	Paper	Alc. drink	Sunglasses	Vomit
Wind	Door	People	Bicycle	Book	Oth. drink	Umbrella	Rubbish
Ice	Graffiti	Tree	Motor cycle	Guidebook	Drugs	Camera	
Water	Table	Street	Car	Map	Bottle	Phone	
Temperature	Chair	Rubbish bin	Bus	Advertisement	Eating tools	Laptop	
Light	Bench	Pole	Metro	Poster	Wrapping	Music objects	
		Pillar				Sport objects	

### Sequence of practices

	Involved people	Involved physical attributes	Practices	Main practices
1				Moving
2				Standing still
3				Sitting
4				Viewing
5				Pointing
6				Non-verbal communication
7				Talking
8				Handling
9				Consuming
10				

### Notes / Description of encounter / Other

---



---



---



---

## Appendix 2 – Observation schedule (example)

People	T/L	Sex	Age	Ethn.	Carrying	Other
P1	T	M	20	SE	T – Tourist L – Local	P1 + P2 = couple
P2	T	F	20	SE		
P3	L	M	45	IG		Waiter
P4						
Others	M – Male F – Female		Estimated			Professional roles Clothing Bodily expressions Other
Notes						

### Physical attributes

Rain	Buildings	Wheelchair	Flyer	Food	Bag	Urine
Estimated. Categorized: GG – German German IG – German with immigrant background WE – North or west European SE – South European OW – Other western O – Other		Stroller	Paper	Alc. drink	Sunglasses	Vomit
		Bicycle	Book	Oth. drink	Umbrella	Rubbish
		Motor cycle	Guidebook	Drugs	Camera	
		Car	Map	Bottle	Phone	
		Bus	Advertisement	Eating tools	Laptop	
		Metro	Poster	Wrapping	Music objects	Sport objects

### Sequence of practices

	Involved people	Involved physical attributes	Practices	Main practices
1	P1		P1 asks P3 to take picture	Moving
2	P3		P3 agrees	Standing still
3	P2 P3		Hands over camera to P3	Sitting
4	P1 P2		Pose with object	Viewing
5	P3		Takes picture, looks at result	Pointing
6	P3 P2		Hands over camera to P2	Non-verbal communication
7	P2		Thanks P3	Talking
8				Handling
9				Consuming
10				

### Notes / Description of encounter / Other

Informal scene

P3 looks a bit annoyed

## **Appendix 3 – Interview introduction**

### **Interview introduction (example)**

Vielen Dank dass Sie mitmachen möchten mit dieser Forschung. Ihre Meinung ist mir wichtig! Ich möchte mich selber zuerst mal kurz vorstellen: ich bin Hans Pul aus den Niederlanden und ich studiere Stadtgeografie an der Universität von Utrecht. Ich wohne seit Februar in Berlin und wie Sie gemerkt haben spreche ich nicht perfekt Deutsch, ich bitte um Ihre Verständnis. Als Abschlussarbeit untersuche ich Tourismus in der Oranienstrasse und Umgebung. Ich bin speziell interessiert in was der Tourismus bedeutet für Anwohner.

Ich möchte von diesem Interview gerne eine Audio-Aufnahme machen, weil das viel praktischer ist als Notizen schreiben während dem Interview. Und auch weil ich die Interviews dann besser analysieren kann. Nachdem ich die Interviews transkribiert habe werde ich die Aufnahme vernichten. Selbstverständlich werde ich alles in diesem Interview in Vertraulichkeit behandeln, und ich garantiere Ihre Anonymität. Ich hoffe also dass es okay ist, dass ich eine Aufnahme mache?

Dieses Interview ist eher ähnlich wie ein Gespräch: erzählen Sie mir bitte Ihre Perspektive und alles was für Sie relevant ist.

Bevor ich anfangen mit dem Interview, möchte ich zuerst noch ein bisschen erzählen über wie ich dieses Interview tun möchte.

Erstens habe ich einige Fotos mitgebracht, die ich Sie während des Gesprächs zeigen werde. Davon möchte ich Ihnen fragen zu beschreiben was Sie sehen. Danach möchte ich gerne wissen ob Sie ähnliche Situationen erlebt haben und bitte ich Sie diese Situationen zu beschreiben.

Zweitens ist es so dass ich mich interessiere für Ihre Meinung zum Tourismus in allgemeiner Sinne, aber auch speziell für einzelne Situationen wobei Sie selber auf Touristen getroffen haben. Mit dem Wort „Treffen“ meine ich übrigens nicht unbedingt, dass Sie und der Tourist mit einander geredet haben. Es kann auch sein dass Sie den Tourist nur gesehen haben, etwas gedacht haben und weiterhin ignoriert haben oder so. Ich möchte von einige dieser einzelnen Situationen detailliert wissen was passiert ist. Was für mich wichtig ist, ist das Sie während dem Interview versuchen an ein einzelnes Treffen mit ein oder mehrere Touristen erinnern. Versuchen Sie bitte von diese Situation viele verschiedene Aspekten zu beschreiben. Alle Details sind für mich interessant, zum Beispiel: wie sahen die Touristen aus? Was haben die gemacht? Und was haben Sie gemacht? Haben Objekte wie zum Beispiel Kameras oder Getränke eine Rolle gespielt? Wo war es genau, und wie spät war es ungefähr?

Ich möchte von solchen einzelnen Situation auch gerne wissen wie Sie das empfunden haben. Was haben Sie gedacht und welche Emotionen haben Sie dabei gehabt, zum Beispiel.

Ich möchte gerne auf jeden Fall über ein positives und ein negatives Treffen mit Ihnen sprechen.

Ich fange gleich an mit der ersten Frage. Haben Sie vielleicht noch Fragen?

Also, bitte erzählen Sie mir erstens etwas über ihr Alltagsleben und wo und wann Sie Touristen treffen in Ihrem Alltagsleben.

### **Introduction check-list (to take to interviews)**

- Danke schön!
- Vorstellen
- Aufnahmen machen
- Vertraulichkeit, Anonymität
- Deutsch
- Ihre Perspektive, was für Sie wichtig ist
- Bewohner als lokale Experte
- Tourismus im allgemeine Sinne
- Ihre eigene Begegnungen
- Mit „Begegnung“ meine ich nicht unbedingt reden
- Versuchen Sie an eine einzelnen Begegnungen zurück zu denken
- Viele verschiedene Aspekten, alle Aspekte interessant: wie sahen die Touristen aus?

- was haben die gemacht? und Sie? Objekte? wo/wann?
- Wie empfunden? Was gedacht, welche Emotionen?
- 1 positives, 1 negatives Treffen
- Fragen?
- Erste Frage

**Check-list resident characteristics**

- Alter
- Geschlecht
- Beruf
- Adresse
- Länge des Wohnsitzes
- Haushaltsstruktur
- Migrationshintergrund
- E-Mail-Adresse

## ***Appendix 4 – Interview guide: topic check-list***

### **Required topics**

Getting to know the respondent

Some resident characteristics

Daily routines, role of neighbourhood

Reflections on an actual encounter (at least one positive and one negative encounter)

Practices, characteristics of tourists

Description of what happened

Role of context

when, where, objects, natural features, other people

Direct experience, senses

Emotions

Role of previous encounters

Role of resident characteristics

Influence on attitudes

Influence on later encounters

Tourism and...

...other neighbourhood issues

...neighbourhood change

...positive and negative aspects

...attitudes towards individual tourists ↔ attitudes towards tourism in general

...coping: adjusted behaviour, resistance, tolerance

### **Optional topics**

Definitional issues, types of tourists, hostels, holiday apartments

Neighbourhood amenities, neighbourhood identity, atmosphere, ownership

Tourism marketing, media, urban planning, Berlin tourism, tourism industry

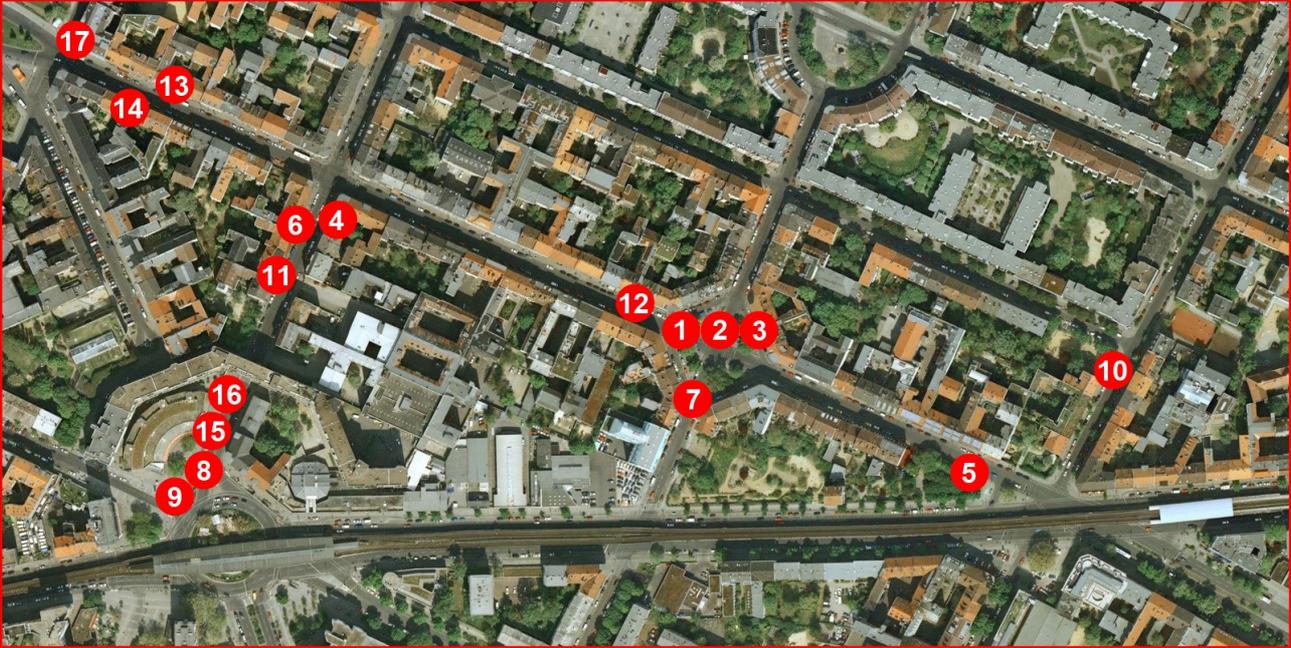
Differences in terms of time and place. Events.

Future: expectations, hopes, fears, ideas

Other

**Appendix 5 – Interview photos**

Methodological considerations relating to the interview photos can be found in section 3.3.5. Larger sized versions of the interview photos can be found here: <http://goo.gl/MS3pm>. The locations on which the photos were taken can be found on the following map.



Location of interview photos.  
*Source: Google Maps, 2010, edited by author.*



Interview photo 1.



Interview photo 2.



Interview photo 3.



Interview photo 4.



Interview photo 5.



Interview photo 6.



Interview photo 7.



Interview photo 8.



Interview photo 9.



Interview photo 10.



Interview photo 11.



Interview photo 12.



Interview photo 13.



Interview photo 14.



Interview photo 15.



Interview photo 16.



Interview photo 17.

## **Appendix 6 – German word list**

Alkis	Alcoholics
Bezirk	Urban district
BVG	Berlin's public transport organisation
Geheimtipp	Insider tip
Görl	Informal abbreviation of Görlitzer Bahnhof or Görlitzer Park
Hartz IV	German unemployment and welfare benefit system
Hinterhof	Typical Berlin style courtyard
Kiez	Neighbourhood
Kotti	Informal abbreviation of "Kottbusser Tor"
Nachbarschaftshaus	Neighbourhood social centre
Neue Kreuzberger Zentrum	Buildings at Kottbusser Tor from the 1970's (NKZ)
O2-World	Big multi-functional event complex in Friedrichshain
Off-Bühne	Alternative theatre
Penner	Homeless people (informal)
Spätkauf, Späti	Night shop
Stammkneipe	Café with regular customers
Stammpublikum	Regular customers
U-Bahn/S-Bahn	Metro
WG	Shared apartment, also: student house (Wohngemeinschaft)

