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GENIUS ÜBER LOCI

Analysis of Kreuzberg urban issues, from IBA-87 to
date, focusing on its Muslim identity.

A case study:
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INTRODUCTION

The work on this master thesis started during an Erasmus exchange period in Berlin and it was the city itself who inspired the research that follows.

The aim of the work is to provide an actual analysis of Kreuzberg neighbourhood in relation to its ethnically heterogeneous identity, in order to promote its own empowerment as it is nowadays.

Before dealing with the current situation, the work offers an overview about IBA-1987's critical reconstruction and careful urban renewal in Kreuzberg, which characterized its architectural form more than anything else.

Related to that, it will be presented Oswald Mathias Ungers' urban theory about Berlin and the more general ones by Aldo Rossi. These theories will be the *trait d'union* between IBA-1987 and IBA-2020.

The later analysis of the actual inhabitants of Kreuzberg will lead to the Muslim migrants' question that characterised the neighbourhood during the second half of XX century, first as a growing phenomenon to handle and later as a permanent settlement which features social and urban relations.

The Muslim belonging in Kreuzberg will be presented thanks to the Open Society Institute survey and will be linked to the urban discourse through the anthropological studies about place identity, place attachment and sense of place.

Following, the thesis will move toward the Muslim worship places question, in order to present its identity strengthening measures for Kreuzberg.

Starting from an overview about Muslim Religious Organisations of Berlin, it will be possible to map every mosque all over the city and then, it will be presented an itinerary of Kreuzberg ones.

After defining uses and needs of the neighbourhood inhabitants, the work will focus on a single Mosque to suggest some architectural strategies and scenario to strengthen its identity, which could be used also for others Muslim worship places as well.

The conclusions will summarise the studies presented and, from there, will highlight the overcoming of the classical concept of Genius Loci, presenting the contemporary one of Genius Vivendi.

CHAPTER 1 - KREUZBERG URBAN STRATEGIES: FROM IBA-1987 TO IBA-2020.

The chapter introduces the IBA-1987 phenomenon and presents the architectural strategies implemented by the two bodies that constituted it, IBA-Neu and IBA-Alt, which had different approaches, but agreed on the metaphor of the city as a sufferer to heal through treatments both formal and social.

Subsequently, the related criticisms of Ungers and Rossi will be presented, from which their urban theories will be extrapolated. The first one is important because he introduces the concept of diversity, even though he takes it into account to justify his idea of separation by character (the city in the city). The second one instead is important for his conception of locus and place belonging, which will be used later in the thesis discourse.

Finally, the chapter will face the theme of segregation and mixture, in order to introduce the soon to come IBA-2020 and its issues and goals.

1.1 - IBA-1987: OVERVIEW.



The *Internationale Bau Ausstellung* (IBA) was a 1978 decision of the House of Representatives institutionalised architecture exhibition of the Senate in West Berlin with the aim of organizing an international exhibition of architecture similar to those held in 1910, 1931 and 1957.

Initially, it was planned to limit the period of action of the IBA for only five years, from 1979 to 1984; however, some organizational delays led to prolonging the action for a further three years, until 1987, the year of the celebrations for the city's 750th anniversary.¹

IBA's work initially materialised with conferences and debates, with the intervention of the greatest architects of the time and later, thanks to local and federal funding, including the construction of buildings in various areas of the city, becoming part of the *Interbau-57* that led to the reconstruction of the Hansa district.

As an intentional contrast to *Interbau-1957*, the rediscovery and recovery of the historic

In the previous
page: Team of IBA
Berlin outside the
office (1987) with
Directors Hardt-
Walther Hämer (top
centre), Josef Paul
Kleihues on the
right © FHXB Frie-
drichshain-Kreuz-
berg Museum, Lizenz
RR-F

1. D. Cutolo,
L'Altra IBA -
L'Internationale
Bauausstellung
Berlin 1984/1987
e il Behutsame
Städterneuerung
di Kreuzberg,
Politecnico di
Torino, Torino,
2012.

inner city largely destroyed by war and the Berlin Wall were the key topics of IBA 1984/87. The existing city was to be rebuilt, repaired and preserved as a living space in inner-city model sections of what was then West Berlin.

IBA's work was not aimed solely at solving architectural and urban problems, but also social objectives, according to the motto *Innenstadt als Wohnort* (city centre as a place of living).²

The early urban development of the post-war period in Germany rejected the historical building structures (highly compacted blocks with back houses, partly still medieval buildings). In the old city centres the hygienic conditions and the infrastructure were deficient, in addition the experience of the bombing war spoke against a too narrow development. Healthy and safe life would only be possible in a completely new city. This *tabula rasa* was necessary: The old city should be as complete as possible. The new IBA contrasted with the Interbau

². S. Schmalzing, *Masked Nostalgia, Chic Regression: The "Critical" Reconstruction of Berlin*, Harvard Design Magazine, No 23, fall 2005 - winter 2006.

of 1957 (Berlin-Hansaviertel). For the first time in the history of the building exhibition, the central concern was the renewal of old buildings and possibly the insertion of new buildings in the inventory. The *Bauausstellung Berlin GmbH* was founded in 1979 by the Berlin Senate. At the heart of the IBA Berlin 1978-1987 were thus two approaches to urban development:

- the IBA New Building (IBA-Neu), Kleihues;
- the IBA Old Building (IBA-Alt), Hämer.

So, parts of the city were demolished and replaced by completely new structures (eg. the development around the Kottbusser Tor in Berlin-Kreuzberg or the Rollbergviertel in Berlin-Neukölln). Other existing buildings - also of good quality - were deliberately abandoned to decay, soon to be replaced by office towers (eg. Frankfurt-Westend). The urban development of the 1960s and 1970s was marked by widespread ignorance of the historical inventory. The concept was called "Land Redevelopment".³

Demolition and housing shortages led to

3. D. Cutolo,
L'Altra IBA -
L'Internationale
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Berlin 1984/1987
e il Behutsame
Stadterneuerung
di Kreuzberg,
Politecnico di
Torino, Torino,
2012.

massive protests, which in 1977 led to the competition strategy for Kreuzberg and from 1979 the illegal "maintenance" of many vacant houses in the district. This was the starting point for the IBA-Altbau. Its main concerns include the preservation, stabilization and development of existing social and functional structures of the city as well as the enforcement of processes such as self-help and tenant modernization.⁴

Thus, under the pressure of the public, a change of course took place from the practised Land Redevelopment to the *Behutsame Stadterneuerung* (Careful Urban Renewal), thanks to a professor of the Berlin College of Fine Arts, Hardt-Walther Hämer (planning director from 1979 to 1985), who sent his students to the endangered areas and made the design of alternatives to the subject of joint work.

The concepts for the redevelopment area of Kreuzberg Kottbusser Tor and for the redevelopment area of Charlottenburg Klausenerplatz respected for the first time

4. H. Bodenschatz, "Die IBA 1987 - eine Brücke zwischen den Siebziger- und Neunzigerjahren" in Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin international architectural competition - Berlin 1987/2012, 25 Jahre Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1987: ein Wendepunkt des europäischen Städtebaus, Niggli, Sulgen, 2012.

the historical street layout in a larger area. They refrained from destroying the historic street and square structure, but even these concepts were associated with a nearly complete demolition of the existing building fabric. It was intended to modernise a few buildings of the block edge, most should be replaced by new buildings.

The private S.T.E.R.N. (Gesellschaft der behutsamen Stadterneuerung mbH - Society of careful urban renewal) founded in succession to the IBA GmbH, continued the renewal process from January 1986 to December 1992 with the same team. The state of Berlin was awarded the European Urban and Regional Award in 1994 for its exceptional achievements in the context of the cautious urban renewal in Kreuzberg. Altogether, the IBA-Altbau in particular led the planning into a new epoch: the new building is back behind the securing and modernisation of the stocks. With its pilot projects, it was the catalyst for support programs for urban renewal and changes in the law for

remediation and environmental protection.⁵

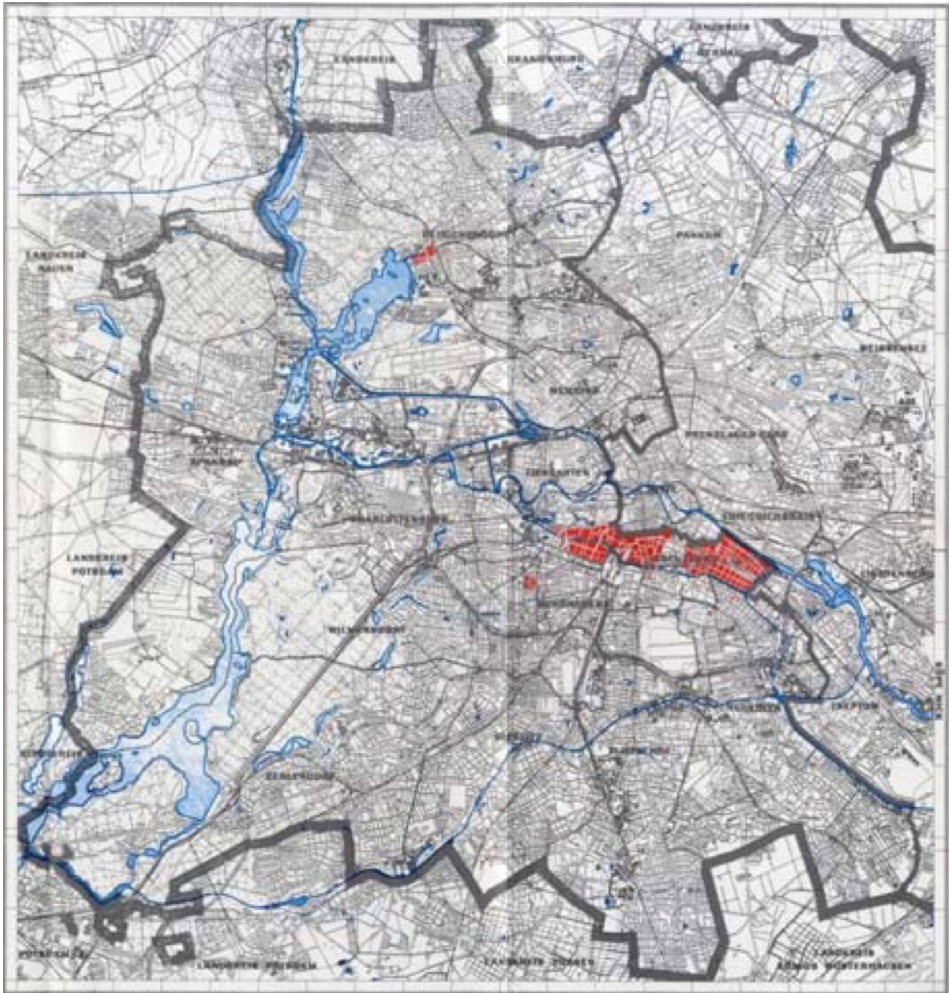
The division of the IBA into two sectors continues to be presented today through the caricature of an IBA-Neu all focused on aesthetics and an IBA-Alt all focused on the social.

This lead to a german slogan that said that IBA-Neu was doing *Stadtbau* (urbanism), while IBA-Alt was doing *Stattbau* (instead of building).⁶

6. W. Jobst Siedler in P. A. Croset, Berlino '87: la costruzione del passato, Casabella, Ottobre 1984, pp. 4-25.

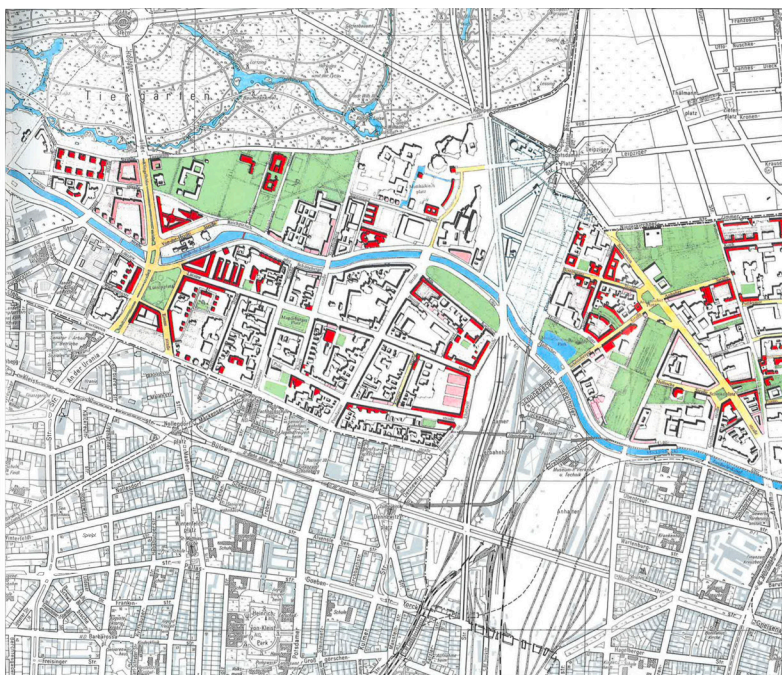
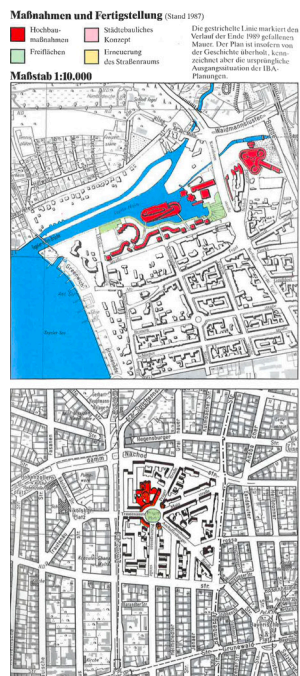


Position of IBA interventions in Berlin.



Position of IBA's intervention areas in West-Berlin © SENBAUWOHN by Internationale Bauausstellung 1987 - Projektübersicht, Berlin 1991, no numbered page.

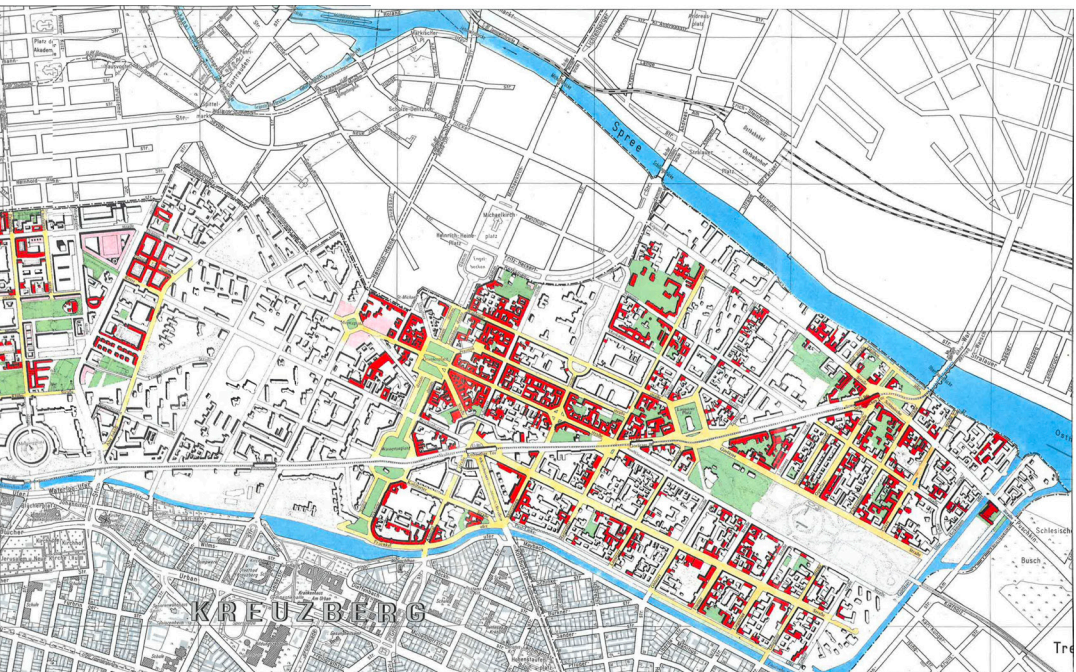
Types of intervention.



Since the research will focus on Kreuzberg neighbourhood, it will be presented through four historical maps the impact of IBA's intervention in the area of interest.

The maps have been extrapolated from Google Earth and one of them has been post-produced by the author, in order to enlight the reasons why IBA decided to concentrate its efforts mostly in Kreuzberg.

The first map will show the 1945 urban fabric



IBA'S areas with relative interventions. © SENBAUWOHN by Internationale Bauausstellung 1987 - Projektübersicht, Berlin 1991, no numbered page.

of the site of interest as a starting point for the next phases.

The second map represents the site in 1953 with its criticisms, due to war bombing and consequent crisis, while in the third the areas of IBA's intervention have been highlighted.

The fourth and last map will offer a present view of Kreuzberg, as a final comparison of the urban development of the area.

Berlin-Kreuzberg 1945.



Berlin-Kreuzberg 1953.



Berlin-Kreuzberg and IBA's areas.



Südliches
Tiergartenviertel

Luisenstadt

Südliches
Friedrichstadt

Kreuzberg So 36

IBA Neubau

IBA Altbau

Berlin-Kreuzberg 2020.



1.2 - IBA-NEUBAU.

During the eighties, more than 150 projects, financed by the BRD, by the municipality of Berlin and by private individuals, restored the dignity and the form of a concluded plant to areas of low morphological-architectural quality and place there elegant houses, equipped urban gardens, commercial structures.

The IBA set itself up as a kind of control body, guaranteeing both the quality of the projects and their execution.

The IBA program was based on the concept of *Behutsame Stadterneuerung* (Careful Urban Renewal): as evidenced by the examples of urban redevelopment carried out in the Kreuzberg district, in the residential blocks near the Spree, along the axis of Koepenicker Straße - Schlesischer Straße.

The fact that the entire program was not yet concluded in the year of the demolition of the Wall and the reunification of the city lead to the reorganization of IBA, with the new intent of redeveloping the urban fabric of East Berlin and reconverting the old

industrial areas.

A new concept appears, that of building in space 'between things' in interstitial spaces, between existing artefacts. Even the resulting space assumes importance becoming a functional and symbolic node.

Eisenman himself named this process with *In-between*.

For instance, the lot where the complex stands on Friedrichstrasse, presents a series of pre-existing buildings that Eisenman stitched through an overlap of meshes transferred between them. The complexity is rendered by the interweaving of these meshes.

Kleihues, which was the director of IBA in 1979, condemned literal reconstruction as "increasingly nostalgic".⁷

Clearly aware that any nostalgic or sentimental undertone could derail the broad coalition of Berlin politicians and international architectural stars in support of Critical Reconstruction, he was eager to position his agenda within the larger trajectory

7. J. P. Kleihues, "Die Gebiete des Stadtneubau-bereichs" in Internationale Bau-austellung Berlin, Projektübersicht, Bauausstellung GmbH, Berlin, 1987, p. 5.

of Modernism itself, alluding to Theodor Adorno's Critical Theory and to Modernism's 'enlightened dialectic' as the ideological backbones of Critical Reconstruction.⁸ In another article, he explains that "critique, finally, implies the claim of modernity to possess an awareness of crisis while retaining a positive attitude to life." But he immediately warns: "The temptation is great to escape from an awareness of crisis into the perfect world of a [...] historical order or, in the course of a fanatical pursuit of new creations, to succumb to what Nietzsche called a frenzy of originality."⁹

Finally, Kleihues reminded his international colleagues working in Berlin that they were expected to assimilate: "To build in Prussia, you have to behave like a Prussian"¹⁰. According to him: "the critical reconstruction presupposes not the conservative reconstruction of the urban fabric, but the overlapping of multiple strategies, the reconstruction of urban spaces - where possible - and historical

8. J. P. Kleihues, "Die Gebiete des Stadtneubaubereichs" in Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, Projektübersicht, Bauausstellung GmbH, Berlin, 1987, p. 6.

9. P. Kleihues and C. Rathbeger, "From the Destruction to the Critical Reconstruction of the City: Urban Design in Berlin after 1945" in Berlin / New York: like and unlike, Rizzoli, New York, 1994.

10. Quoted in Berlin Babylon, <http://www.berlinbabylon.de/Media.Sumo/Kleihues.pdf>

block structures that create new urban situations with the addition of new elements that are consciously opposed to the past."¹¹ He also defines critical reconstruction as "a way to open the dialogue between tradition and the modern, which seeks the contradiction of the modern, not in the sense of a rupture, but of a development that remains visible through space-time stages."¹²

Despite his not so original ideas, his real achievement was the ability to escape the prison of pure academicism by translating his colleagues' thoughts into tangible policies.

He organized the multi-year building program using a two-tiered strategy: IBA Alt was pursuing 'careful urban renewal' dealing with the preservation, renovation, and reuse of the existing ageing housing stock, while IBA Neu was the laboratory for *critical reconstruction*, proposing new buildings as a means to mend the holes in Berlin's ragged urban fabric. Kleihues

11. J. P. Kleihues, "Die Gebiete del Stadtneubau-bereichs" in Internationale Bau-austellung Berlin, Projektübersicht, Bauaustellung GmbH, Berlin, 1987, p. 8.

12. Ibidem, p. 8.

claimed that "the culture of the European city, whatever development it may take, cannot afford to waive the methodological organization of its urban design based on certain, binding goals"¹³ and he instructed all IBA architects to "pick up historical traces, respect the traditional layout, and conserve existing buildings."¹⁴ Emphasising the importance of architectural coherence for a successful re-urbanisation of Berlin's old neighbourhoods, Kleihues crafted a catalogue of design guidelines mainly based on the typology and stereometry of the traditional urban block:

- the historical road layouts and the escape lines should be respected or rebuilt;
- the maximum heights allowed were the historic ones of 22 meters at the eaves level, or 30 meters at the ridge of the roof (for which two floors of backward attic can be created);
- twenty percent of the gross surface area should be used as a residence;
- the settlement density was not

^{13.} J. P. Kleihues, "Die Gebiete des Stadtneubaubereichs" in Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, Projektübersicht, Bauausstellung GmbH, Berlin, 1987, p. 6.

^{14.} K. Anderson, "Rebuilding Berlin—Yet Again" in Time, June 15, 1987, p. 67.

to be calculated only on the basis of quantitative parameters, but also considering the destinations of use and the building regulation;

- the building model was the urban section that insists on a lot whose maximum size is the block;
- the parcel was determined as a real instrument of intervention.

These criteria were "intended to ensure that the sum of Berlin's many construction projects is a lively and liveable city."¹⁵

But, according to Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, the critical reconstruction with "the respect of the gutter line limits only relatively the density, while inevitably leads to the creation of volumes that appear to come out of a mould."¹⁶

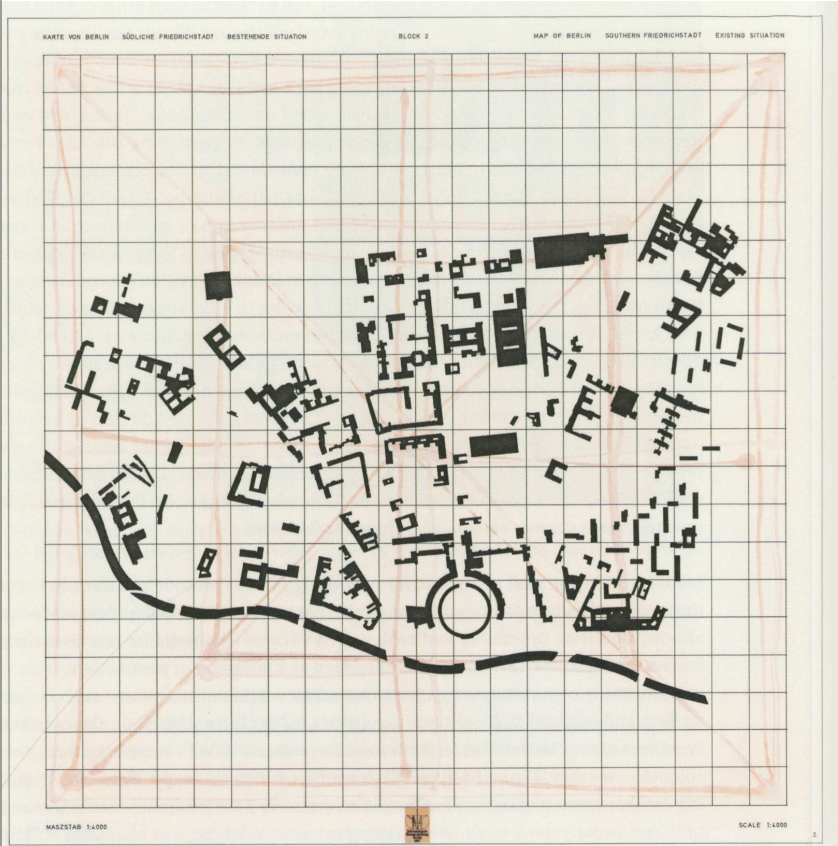
And Kollhoff added that "the gaps were filled, proud to have respected the gutter lines, without being able to do anything but miniatures of the houses of the seventies of the last century, optimized and reduced in decoration."¹⁷

15. B. Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German history in the urban landscape*, London: The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1997, p. 231.

16. Ibidem.

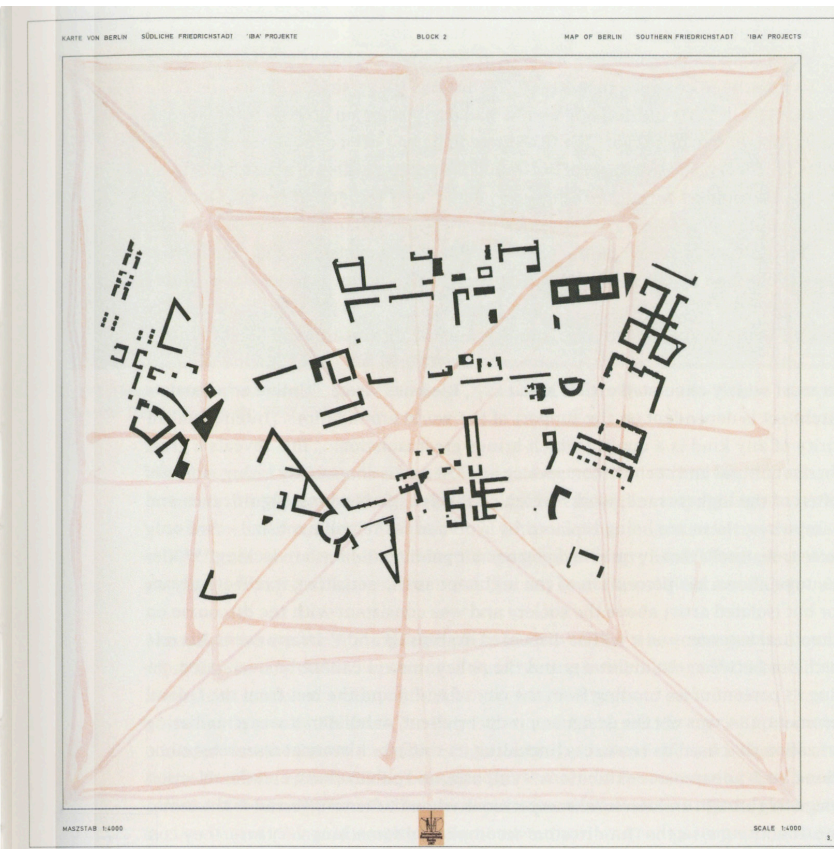
17. Ibidem.

To conclude, "Critical reconstruction reaches back beyond world wars, dictatorships, and modern urban experiments and finds a Berlin identity in the decades before 1914".¹⁸ In fact, with it one can partly recreate the



18. B. Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German history in the urban landscape*, London: The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1997, p. 109.

morphology of the baroque enlargement grid, while renouncing the urbanistic qualities typical of that grid itself, the plot structure and the functional mixture.



Comparison of the existing buildings in the war-torn Kreuzberg and new additions of Critical Reconstruction. © IBA - 1984/87 by Internationale Bauausstellung 1987 - Projektübersicht, Berlin 1991, no numbered page.

IBA-NEUBAU | Appendix: Sample Projects

Self-Construction Experiment Wohnregal



View of the Admiralstraße facing Fraenkelufer, with the corner house by Inken and Hinrich Baller in the background, 1989 © Landesarchiv Berlin, F Rep. 290 Nr. 0016908 / Photo: Edmund Kasperski.



Façade view of the Wohnregal with steel scaffolding used for planting outside, 1987 © FHXB Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Museum.

Address		Admiralstraße 16, 10999 Berlin-Kreuzberg
Architects		Peter Stürzebecher, Kjell Nylund and Christof Puttfarcken
Type		Participative new residential building

28

The idea of DIY in building a new apartment in the form of a *Wohnregal* (residential shelving) was developed in an empty site in the heart of the city as an alternative concept to homes in the leafy suburbs. Instead of moving to the outskirts of a city, residents should stay in their district, and enhance the inner city as an urban and a socially diverse living space. Twelve individual apartments were stacked vertically over one another like houses in what was dubbed the Wohnregal. The framework for these shelves was produced from pre-fabricated concrete parts and timber, a modern, robust and affordable solution. The apartments were then built into the frame like shelf units.

To finance their building, the residents turned to the tradition of the cooperative, and founded a self-construction cooperative, which also owned the apartments. It was the first housing construction cooperative for a joint new building project since 1945.

The future residents, who were also members of the cooperative and contractors, were not only involved in planning, they also took the individual construction into their own hands. Self-construction was an integral part of the financing and reduced the overall costs significantly. As a result, each of the mostly two-story units had a different floor plan.

Since Wohnregal was a daring experiment, the construction took longer than anticipated. There were also disputes over the design and financing. Completed in 1986, it was one of the self-construction projects of IBA Berlin. It is still considered a role model for architects, construction politicians and groups of builders.

Residential and Office Building at Checkpoint Charlie



House at Checkpoint Charlie by Peter Eisenman, 1986 © Landesarchiv Berlin, F Rep. 290 Nr. 0284763 / Photo: Günter Schneider.



Residential and office building at Checkpoint Charlie, 1986 © Landesarchiv Berlin, F Rep. 290 Nr. 0284765 / Photo: Günter Schneider.

Address		Rudi-Dutschke-Straße 28 / Friedrichstraße 43, 10969 Berlin-Kreuzberg
Architects		Eisenman/Robertson Architects
Type		New residential building

29

The residential and office building is located at Checkpoint Charlie, at the historic epicentre of the Cold War. With this building, IBA Berlin sought to add architectural and functional value to the junction of Kochstrasse/Friedrichstrasse, and implement one of the most important goals of IBA Berlin: Reclaiming the inner city as a residential space.

IBA-Neubau called for a critical reference to the historical location when designing new buildings. The historic city ground plan, with its typical block perimeter development, was to be advanced creatively. And that was the basis for the competition process for Block 5 in the southern Friedrichstadt quarter. American architect Peter Eisenman won the competition with a block concept which, in addition to filling empty sites, includes a green space in the form of an "artificially excavated city with overlapping walls and towers." The design thus incorporated the border location of the block and the political division of east and west.

While the green space was not implemented, Eisenman designed his residential building at the corner of the block, built in 1986, in a confident contemporary design vocabulary. The building volume is derived by superimposing different geographic orientation grids: One grid refers to the rectangular historic city structure of Friedrichstrasse, while a second grid stands for the Mercator geodesic grid - a symbolic connection between past and present. In terms of architecture history, the building completed in 1986 represents an important contribution for the development of the 1980s and 1990s deconstructivism and became one of the flagships of IBA Berlin.

Residential & Office Building in Friedrichstraße 32/33



Friedrichstraße 32/33, front façade, 2018 © Gunnar Klack.



Friedrichstraße 32/33, rear façade, 2018 © Bergfels.

Address		Friedrichstraße 32/33,	10969	Berlin-Kreuzberg
Architects		Raimund Abraham, Heike Büttner and Claus Neumann		
Type		New residential building		

It was declared to become a largely pedestrianised shopping street with the possibility of integrating work and home.

The front façade has balconies oriented to the southern building line, while the rear facade plane takes views to the northern administrative building. The building is centred on a vertical incision, where the entrance is located. The window strip of this vertical incision is behind the main façade and is emphasized by the steel structure it previously contained. Originally it was planned to be open to enable a free passage to the courtyard, as was provided in a circle with other commercial premises. There are cantilevered balconies on the first floor at the roadside, visually repeating the constant width of the vertical incision. The rear facade forms a semicircle, and thus creates a protected residential area.

Flexible commercial spaces are situated on the ground and first floors, while the 4 levels above are designated for living. In total, approximately 586 square meters of shops, restaurants, clinics or offices and twenty three rooms into apartments (social housing), each with about 80sqm.

The seven-storey residential and commercial building with underground garage was built of solid construction (masonry and concrete) and externally insulated and plastered (mineral plaster). The site required pile foundations. Although Friedrichstrasse was not transformed into a pedestrianised area after the fall of the Wall, what works against the achievement of the objective of urban space, is the lack of development on the corner diagonally opposite Puttkamer / Friedrichstrasse.

1.3 - IBA-ALTBAU.

If IBA-Neu took care of the new buildings in the area of western Kreuzberg (southern Friedrichstadt) under the leadership of Kleihues, in the meantime IBA-Alt was in charge of the renovation of the dilapidated buildings in the East area of Kreuzberg (Luisendstadt and SO 36).

Their goal was to repair and rebuild the districts of Kreuzberg, taking into account the existing building fabric, rents, living spaces, urban space, culture, ecology and aesthetics together, in a legally binding cooperation with local residents and traders. In short, the conservative renewal of the *Kreuzberg Mischung*.¹⁹

Because this was a neighbourhood where different realities coexisted. In addition to the local resident population, Kreuzberg hosted the *Gastarbaiter*, who came to Germany as a labour force for the economic recovery of the country (a phenomenon that will be discussed in the next chapter) and the Squatters that occupied the abandoned buildings because they were destroyed by

19. J. Kalepky, "IBA-Alt: Stadterneuerung statt Stadtautobahn" in Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin international architectural competition - Berlin 1987/2012, 25 Jahre Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1987: ein Wendepunkt des europäischen Städtebaus, Niggli, Sulgen, 2012.

the bombing of the war.

The fact that there were empty houses could be interpreted as an expression of an evident economic crisis of the model that wanted the demolition of these buildings, because this could not be financed promptly after the eviction of the occupants. Therefore, the demolition policy which started in 1963 eventually failed.

The struggles for the home of the 1970s, therefore, led the IBA towards an urban policy of reuse and against displacement. Only the abusive occupiers created the climate for the necessary change and, at the beginning of 1981, the Senate initiated the decisive turnaround in the restructuring policy: the leases were stopped and for the first time funds were made available for aimless repairs of profit.²⁰

It was only against the background of the escalation of urban conflicts in the late 1980s that IBA-Altbau was able to emancipate itself from the task of 1978 and became capable of acting. Its future program was

²⁰. M. Baumeister, B. Bonomo and D. Schott, Cities contested: urban politics, heritage and social movements in Italy and West Germany in the 1970's, New York: Campus, Frankfurt, 2017.

based on requests for urban protests against displacement and rent increases.²¹ The IBA-Alt manifesto was the twelve principles of urban renewal, which were approved by the House of Representatives on 17th March 1983. The aim of the 12 principles was socially-compatible preservation and resident-centric modernisation of neglected inner city quarters and existing buildings. The 12 principles can be summarised as follows:

1. The renewal must be planned and implemented (to preserve the substance) with the current residents and business owners.
2. Planners should reach an agreement with the residents and business owners on the objectives of the renewal measures, and produce technical and social plans hand in hand.
3. The unique character of Kreuzberg must be preserved, while trust and optimism must be restored in the at-risk city districts. Damage to buildings, which

21. H. Bodenschatz, "Die IBA 1987 - eine Brücke zwischen den Siebziger- und Neunzigerjahren" in Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin international architectural competition - Berlin 1987/2012, 25 Jahre Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1987: ein Wendepunkt des europäischen Städtebaus, Niggli, Sulgen, 2012.

- threatens their structural integrity, must be rectified immediately.
4. Cautious changes to ground plans must also make new forms of living possible.
 5. Apartments and houses are to be refurbished step by step and supplemented gradually.
 6. The building situation must be improved by a few demolitions, greening inner blocks and with façade design.
 7. Public institutions as well as roads, squares and green spaces must be renewed as required, and supplemented.
 8. The participatory rights and material rights of those affected by social planning must be coordinated.
 9. Decisions on urban renewal must be made openly and discussed locally where possible. The local representation must be enhanced.
 10. Urban renewal that generates trust calls for reliable financial commitments. Funds must be available rapidly and invested appropriately.
 11. New forms of organisation must be

developed. Trustee-based redevelopment bodies (services) and construction measures must be separated.

12. Urban renewal in accordance with this concept must be guaranteed to continue beyond the end of the IBA.

The first sentence already showed the new orientation, for which the goal was to minimize demolition.

Another issue that could not be ignored by IBA-Alt was that of immigrants. The Green Alternative Group in Berlin (which turned not yet into a major political force) was formulating a third voice against forced integration and anti-immigration policies during the IBA years. In a leaflet on immigration and asylum, the green alternative raised their objections to discriminating provisions on Senate housing and proposed measures that rejected the displacement of residents and the increase in rents.²²

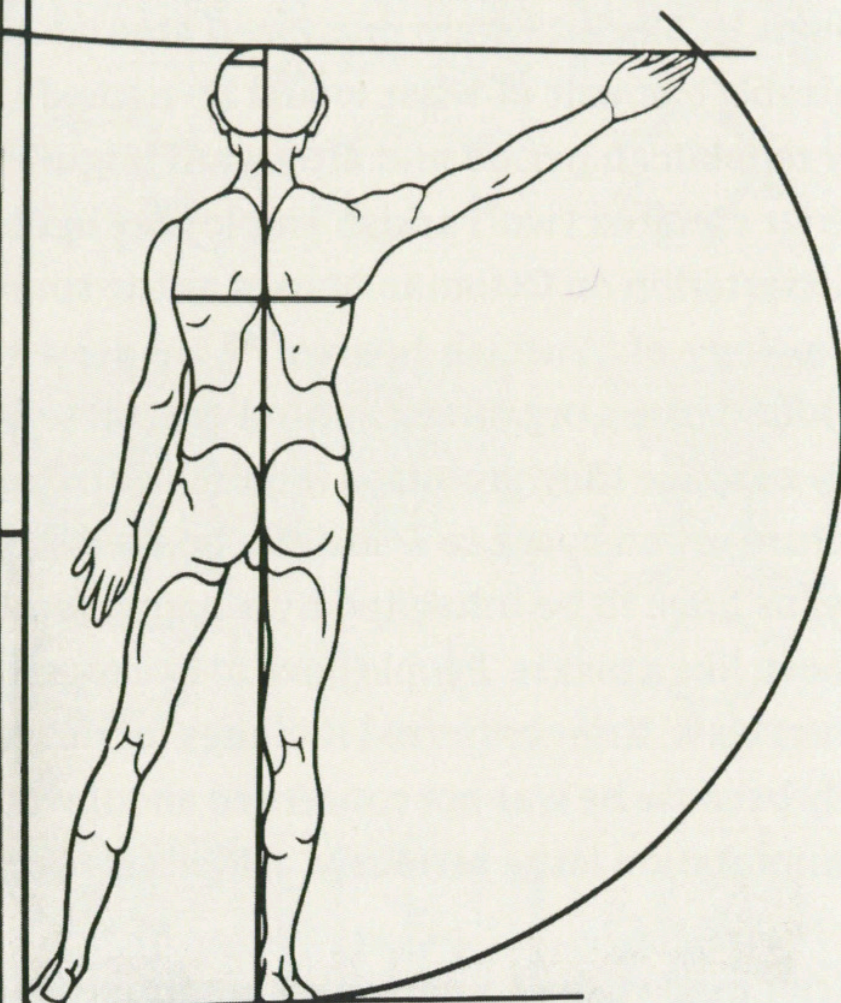
Aware that excessive renewal would replace immigrants due to dramatic rent increases, repairs were usually (not always) made based

22. E. Akcan, "Immigration, Participation and IBA '84/87" in Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin international architectural competition - Berlin 1987/2012, 25 Jahre Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1987: ein Wendepunkt des europäischen Städtebaus, Niggli, Sulgen, 2012.

The image is the front of *Werk und Zeit* of 1980, in which front they reproduced half of IBA's official logo with the ideal man who showed off his fine, sculpted muscles, while the back cover greeted the readers with the skeptical eyes of an ethnically ambiguous woman who wore working gloves.



on the needs and budgets of residents. As a result, the Senate immigration rules were bravely violated in the old IBA building segment and no "foreign worker" family was



displaced in Kreuzberg.²³

Hundreds of home meetings had already been conducted by tenant negotiations and the IBA to determine residents' wishes. Their

²³ E. Akcan, "Immigration, Participation and IBA '84/87" in Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin international architectural competition - Berlin 1987/2012, 25 Jahre Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1987: ein Wendepunkt des europäischen Städtebaus, Niggli, Sulgen, 2012.

results have been translated into action with the help of numerous cooperative and committed architects. The administrative department for restructuring and the Kreuzberg works management gave great support. The restructuring agencies have changed their previous attitude and have become widely engaged and constructive builders of a significant urban renewal. At the end of 1986, the S.T.E.R.N. reached 2200 fundamentally renewed and long-term values worthy of conservation. Instead of 2200 apartments, as originally planned, only 14 side wings and rear walls were demolished. The entire construction fabric - roofs, façades, ceilings, walls of the duct - was completely renovated, internal toilets and bathrooms were installed, heating stoves at the request of the tenants. The apartments have been merged into larger apartments and, above all, the apartments in the courtyard have been decidedly improved: the windows in the firewalls created additional lighting, the side wings merged with the fireproof

walls, becoming fluid. "Breakthrough instead of demolition" was the motto and the much appreciated Berlin apartment shows its immutability. After the renovation was completed, the courtyards were opened under tenant participation. Thanks to the great damage and the fundamental restructuring, the costs could be covered by the committed action of the architects.²⁴

The alternative renewal company *Stadtbau* worked intensively with the residents - mainly former squatters - who wanted to take their houses as a cooperative after the highly ecological renovation.

The question on the selection of IBA projects is therefore not easy to answer, above all because, first of all, the remediation approaches have changed radically and the demonstration areas have been expanded. Only a few projects have been started directly by the IBA, for example to implement the program presented by the IBA, to install a day centre in each block.²⁵ Many of the projects supported by the IBA in the extended

24. Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin international architectural competition - Berlin 1987/2012, 25 Jahre Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1987: ein Wendepunkt des europäischen Städtebaus, Niggli, Sulgen, 2012.

25. Ibidem.

demonstration areas developed practically "on request" - during countless meetings with the various actors in the area - for example in the framework of the commission for the renewal developed and rejected again, they presented alternatives and outlined solutions. Other projects that had been initiated by initiatives (tenants), were literally taken up by the organization, such as the construction site coatings.

The IBA sponsored the participation of residents in its interventions. The expansion of the structures of the actors in urban planning has been accelerated above all in the areas of careful urban regeneration.

The renewal or "self-sufficient" committees of the tenants who collaborated with IBA-Alt were established with the mandate of: "Determining the social situation of the tenants, their impact through the planned urban renewal measures and also to elaborate proposals, in order to avoid or mitigate the negative effects of the corrective measures." The instruments of participation

were not clearly defined at the beginning of the IBA, but were further developed during their course. For example, the "Commission for the restructuring of Kottbusser Tor" was founded in 1982. The sessions aimed to discuss and coordinate all public and private construction projects in the area, the procedures for the renewal and commissioning of architects. The distribution of votes within of the commission foresaw that the representatives of the inhabitants of the district should have a majority of one vote on the representatives of the administration is.²⁶

The philosophy of IBA-Alt can therefore be reduced to a simple formula: the rehabilitation of neighbourhoods marked by clarity and abandonment can only be achieved through construction quality and a multifaceted transformation process. This has influenced the location, the neighbourhoods, every single building and always the living conditions of the inhabitants.

26. C. Polinna, "Die IBA als Organisation und Prozess" in Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin international architectural competition - Berlin 1987/2012, 25 Jahre Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1987: ein Wendepunkt des europäischen Städtebaus, Niggli, Sulgen, 2012.

One of the main contributions of the IBA was that it managed to defuse the destructive potential of the ghetto and slums. The basis for this was consensus: in the district committees and renewal committees consent, as well as in a large number of building meetings, was required for the restoration and the best endowment by the owners of hundreds of residential buildings neglected with different thousands of apartments and for constructive self-help support in formerly occupied homes. The same applies to the creation of new forms of work, education and a large number of cultural, sacred and pedagogical projects.²⁷

The houses in 1981/1982 and the subsequent end of domestic occupation in November 1984, when 105 out of 200 squatted houses were legalized, marked not only the end of decades of social-democratic hegemony in West Berlin, but also an entry into a new urban policy.

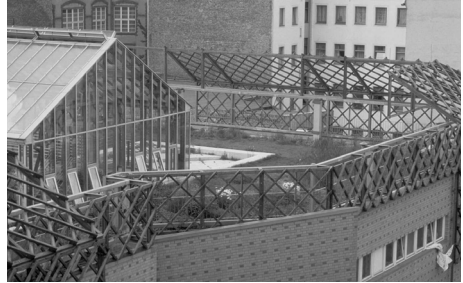
²⁷. E. Pfotenhauser, "Zwölf Thesen zur Bedeutung und Wirkung der IBA-Alt" in Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin international architectural competition - Berlin 1987/2012, 25 Jahre Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1987: ein Wendepunkt des europäischen Städtebaus, Niggli, Sulgen, 2012.

IBA-ALTBAU | Appendix: Sample Projects

Daycare Centre, Dresdener Straße



The car park in Dresdener Straße before conversion to a daycare centre for children, 1982 © FHXB Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Museum.



The daycare centre after conversion of the car park, with a rooftop garden and the roofed courtyard, 1987 © FHXB Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Museum.

Address		Dresdener Straße 128, 10999 Berlin-Kreuzberg
Architects		Dieter Frowein, Gerhard Spangenberg
Type		Refunktionalisation

43

A multi-storey car park was vacant and scheduled for demolition. Recycling and using existing resources was a central topic for IBA Berlin. Accordingly, the building was repurposed and turned into a daycare centre instead of a new building.

The car park, built in 1974, was part of the previously built new Kreuzberg centre at Kotbusser Tor, a huge building complex intended to shield off a motorway through Berlin that was planned but never built. After completion, it was soon clear that not only was the complex far too large for the urban development context, the predicted utilisation was greatly overestimated: The car park was never used.

Instead of an expensive demolition and rebuilding, IBA-Altbau considered repurposing of the car park in accordance with its principles of cautious urban renewal. According to these principles, all existing building substance is valuable and has a right to existence and re-use. The result: The car park was converted to a daycare centre with 136 places. The three-storey steel frame construction comprising pre-fabricated concrete parts was turned into four main storeys and a rooftop garden, which is now used as a play area. The planners incorporated ecological principles in their renewal work. The glasshouse, a roofed courtyard, forms a buffer climate zone with solar energy storage system and the green façade ensure the exchange of air.

The reconstruction was cost-intensive and completed in 1987. The project was among the most spectacular conversion projects in the city.

Block 70



Corner house on Fraenkelufer / Admiralstraße by Hinrich and Innen Baller, 1989 © Landesarchiv Berlin, F Rep. 290 Nr. 0016906 / Photo: Edmund Kasperski.



Views of the new residential buildings at the firewall in the inner block area, 1984 © FHXB Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Museum.

Address		Kohlfurterstraße, Admiralstraße, Fraenkelufer, Erkelenzdamm, Wassertorplatz, 10999 Berlin-Kreuzberg
Architects		Inken und Hinrich Baller
Type		Restoration and modernisation

44

The large Block 70 in Kreuzberg between Fraenkelufer and Kohlfurterstraße was the heart of renewal work as part of the wholesale redevelopment in Berlin in the 1970s. Eviction, vacancy and demolition were already at an advanced stage when work was stopped and IBA-Alt 1980/81 developed a concept for cautious redevelopment and new buildings in the block, in cooperation with architects and residents.

The idea of a road crossing through the block was rejected. Instead, the previously cleared sites were redeveloped with residential buildings by architects Inken and Hinrich Baller. Other new buildings were built and already vacant old buildings were cautiously modernised in a self-help approach with a new management body at significantly reduced costs. They included self-help and student groups, non-profit social and labour policy organisations as well as a self-building cooperative. Despite considerable resistance, the Non-Profit Housing and Residential Building Society (GSW) – responsible for the original demolition concept – was persuaded to adopt the new IBA concept.

The new buildings were completed in 1984, followed by the cautious modernisation and self-help projects. The existing school was subsequently expanded, a daycare centre was built and the road area on Admiralstrasse and Fraenkelufer was planted and revitalised. With its expressive new architecture combined with innovative, socially-focused modernisation of old buildings under a new management body, the entire project remains one of the most attractive and impactful IBA projects.

Bonjour Tristesse



External corner view of Block 121 © Álvaro Siza's exhibition in Rovereto.



Inner corner façade, 2016 © Marta Caruso (Photo published in the March issue of Artforum Magazine, New York 'The Architecture of Álvaro Siza' - Author: Kenneth Frampton).

Address		Schlesische Straße 8, 10997 Berlin-Kreuzberg
Architects		Alvaro Siza, Peter Brinkert
Type		New building, but employed by IBA-Alt

Bonjour Tristesse is a social housing project and it was Siza's first built work outside Portugal. The project is situated in the Kreuzberg district, at the corner of a 19th century block, destroyed in the war. So, a series of single-story retail stores was constructed, however this solution did not match the heights of the surrounding buildings and did not provide any residences which were badly needed. In 1980 the retail stores were demolished in order to make way for the new Bonjour Tristesse.

The most prominent characteristic of the design is its continuous, curving façade that joins the adjacent buildings and effectively completes the corner of the block. Another feature of its morphology is the subtle rising of the roofline towards the corner. The grey exterior is penetrated by a dense and regular grid of windows, reflecting the typical order and rhythm of surrounding buildings.

It hosts commercial functions at ground level and residential on the six floors above. An early design proposal included 24 units and 4 stairs, however, but this was revised to 46 units and 2 stairs in order to better meet the urgent need for housing in Kreuzberg.

The project became known as Bonjour Tristesse for the graffiti marking that appeared on the uppermost portion of the facade in the late 1980s. Siza had originally wanted it removed but decided to leave it after he realized that painting over the select area would make it more prominent and that painting the entire façade was not financially possible.

Built during a time when the regeneration of Berlin was necessary, Bonjour Tristesse serves as a subtle yet striking contribution to the city's post-war identity.

1.4 - UNGERS AND ROSSI: URBAN THEORIES.

This master thesis aims to provide an actual analysis of Kreuzberg neighbourhood, in relation to its ethnically heterogeneous identity, in order to promote its own empowerment as it is nowadays.

The roots of Kreuzberg ethnically heterogeneous identity lead in the seventies, so, next to the second world war damages and the presence of Berlin Wall, those were the issues related to the district and which IBA-87 had to face.

That's why IBA's events offer a perfect comparison starting point, as it put the majority of its effort in the requalification of this very neighbourhood, as we saw in the previous paragraphs. It is true, that the motto of this design society was 'living in the city centre'.

It is also true, that IBA received some critics and those of Ungers and Rossi touched the theme of place identity, which is fundamental for this research.

Oswald Mathias Ungers begins his criticism of critical reconstruction, starting from

the differences in the approach of the two parts of the city towards the abovementioned. One part believed in the Marxist revival of an egalitarian city, which levelled out differences with adequate separations of functions and free views in every direction. The other part instead wanted to create places dedicated to culture, a new Arcadia, green spaces, ecosystems, anti-cities and utopias.

These attitudes showed that the focus was on the exhibition and not on the city itself and its traditions.

The city developed in competition with itself, based on different ideologies and rivalries in place.

The outcomes were heterogeneous voids alternated with masses of monuments.

The planning continued to demolish and plan, following the law of the *tabula rasa* and this presupposed the loss of the concepts of history, tradition and continuity.

Between 1965 and 1968, Ungers developed an idea of a plan for Berlin within his course:

this was based on the attempt to activate and to typify the potentials inherent in different urban structures. To do this, he addresses the theme of which structures were significant:

- structures that are determined by topography, such as the course of the Spree, and privileged territorial areas from the point of view of the landscape, which are mostly used as parks;
- structures that emerge based on a specific development trend such as, for example, the position, course and extent of the Magistralen;
- structures that are determined by planning decisions, such as urban motorways and the various systems of surface and underground metro lines;
- structures that have arisen as a result of economic, functional and political motivations such as, for example, the concentration of industrial settlements, the construction of residential areas on the outskirts, the Stalinallee;

- structures with a historical dimension, such as the Spreeinsel, the Olympiafeld, or important consolidated urban centres.

On these premises, Ungers elaborates five structural sections relating to the entire municipal territory of Berlin:

1. highways and annexed buildings;
2. squares and roads;
3. construction in public parks;
4. construction along waterways;
5. network of subways and related buildings.

Alongside this systematic analysis, Ungers decides to resort in parallel to another approach that refers to the historically consolidated traces of the city.

In no stage of the existence of Berlin has there ever existed a true unitary municipal territory, while there has always been an agglomeration of extremely differentiated urban fragments.

Only by recognizing these different identities, the history of the city can correspond to its ideal history again.²⁸

"An important step towards a new organization

28. F. Hertwerck and S. Marot, The city in the city. Berlin: the Green Archipelago. A Manifesto by O.M.Ungers, R. Koolhaas, P. Riemann, H. Kollhoff, A. Ovaska, Lars Müller Publishers, Zürich, 2013.

of the city consists instead in the complement of the fragments to be preserved that, during this process, will assume their definitive architectural and urban form.

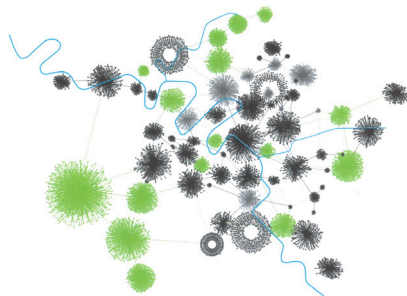
First of all, the objective needs of these fragmented urban islands should be identified and in a second time [...] they should be completed one by one, using a series of social facilities.

The future architectural and design tension should consist exclusively in the ability to enucleate and highlight the typical conformation of each individual urban island.

From this derives the importance of adequately defining the physiognomy of each part of the city and of characterizing it in such a way that it retains its specific

character.

The urban archipelago that is born of this, made of well-identified urban



islands, differentiated in their form, in the urban and social structure, corresponds then to the image of the city in the city. Each part of the city taken by itself contains its own identity conforming only to itself, which differs significantly from that of another party.

These are not mutually exclusive contrasts, but aspects that complement each other in a complementary way.

This is a dialectical urban conception, in the sense that it corresponds to the current structure of society."²⁹

Ungers stands in contrast to the ancient vision of the unitary city and, consequently, of a corresponding unitary society linked to it in which any individual manifestation would be systematically repressed.

"While in an anonymous metropolis, built according to a unitary model, a loss of identity inevitably occurs and consequently a process of depersonalisation, the one who lives in an open system, based on a dialectical structure, can choose his own

²⁹. O. M. Ungers quoted in B. Mezzapelle, "Berlino: una, nessuna e centomila", Slide lecture.

available at
www.academia.edu/40454674/Berlino_una_nessuna_centomila

identity space in able to respond to his aspirations and ideas.

The concept of the city within the city is completed by the sectors interposed between the urban islands: these should be separated from each other by natural strips of green (metaphor of the green archipelago).

The intermediate spaces treated as green come to form an artificial nature system [...]"³⁰

In conclusion, the Ungers model must be based on:

- the creation of a complex system, based on contrasts, which is opposed to a system-oriented in a unitary sense;
- the close connection between city and countryside, that is to say, the establishment of renewed relations between culture and nature;
- the enhancement of the place, the preservation of memory and historical conscience, in the sense of continuity in space and time.

The problem does not concern the design of an

30. O. M. Ungers quoted in B. Mezzapelle, "Berlino: una, nessuna e centomila", Slide lecture.

available at www.academia.edu/40454674/Berlino_una_nessuna_centomila

entirely new urban context, but the project for the completion and transformation of what already exists; it is therefore not a question of discovering a new urban system, but of perfecting the existing one.

Aldo Rossi, about cities and their characteristics, talks about locus and permanence:

"Cities tend to remain on their axes of development, maintaining the position of their original layout and growing according to the direction and meaning of their older artefacts, which often appear remote from present-day ones. Sometimes these artefacts persist virtually unchanged, endowed with a continuous vitality; other times they exhaust themselves, and then only the permanence of their form, their physical sign, their locus remains. [...] At first sight, it may seem that permanences absorb all of the continuity of urban artefacts, but in reality this is not so, because not all things in the city survive, or if they do, their modalities are so diverse as

often to resist comparison. In this sense, according to the theory of permanences, in order to explain an urban artefact, one is forced to look beyond it to the present-day actions that modify it. In substance, the historical method is one that isolates. It tends not only to differentiate permanences but to focus entirely on them, since they alone can show what a city once was by indicating the way its past differs from its present. Thus permanences may appear with respect to the city as isolated and aberrant artefacts which characterize a system only as the form of a past that we are still experiencing. In this respect, permanences present two aspects: on the one hand, they can be considered as propelling elements; on the other, as pathological elements. Artefacts either enable us to understand the city in its totality, or they appear as a series of isolated elements that we can link only tenuously to an urban system.”³¹

31. A. Rossi, *The architecture of the city*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1984, p. 59.

But permanencies for Rossi is not related to function. As a matter of fact, he intended

function as something attached to time and society.

"Moreover, I have already attempted to demonstrate how function alone is insufficient to explain the continuity of urban artefacts; if the origin of the typology of urban artefacts is simply function, this hardly accounts for the phenomenon of survival. A function must always be defined in time and in society: that which closely depends on it is always bound up with its development. An urban artefact determined by one function only cannot be seen as anything other than an explication of that function. In reality, We frequently continue to appreciate elements whose function has been lost over time; the value of these artefacts often resides solely in their form, which is integral to the general form of the city; it is, so to speak, an invariant of it. Often, too, these artefacts are closely bound up with the constitutive elements, with the origins of the city, and are included among its

monuments."³²

Another really important aspect to Rossi is the concept of collective memory, which he borrows from Maurice Halbwachs and which he uses to explain his way to perceive the urban structure.

"When a group is introduced into a part of space, it transforms it to its image, but at the same time, it yields and adapts itself to certain material things which resist it. It encloses itself in the framework that it has constructed. The image of the exterior environment and the stable relationships that it maintains with it pass into the realm of the idea that it has of itself."³³

"The value of history seen as collective memory, as the relationship of the collective to its place, is that it helps us to grasp the significance of the urban structure, its individuality, and its architecture which is the form of this individuality. This individuality ultimately is connected to an original artefact, in the sense of Cattaneo's principle; it is an event and a

32. A. Rossi, *The architecture of the city*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1984, pp. 60-61.

33. M. Halbwachs, "La memoria collettiva" quoted in A. Rossi, *The architecture of the city*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1984, p. 130.

form. Thus the union between the past and the future exists in the very idea of the city that it flows through in the same way that memory flows through the life of a person; and always, in order to be realized, this idea must not only shape but be shaped by reality. This shaping is a permanent aspect of a city's unique artefacts, monuments, and the idea we have of it. It also explains why in antiquity the founding of a city became part of the city's mythology."³⁴

"Because of the importance I attribute to this thesis of Halbwachs, I would like to summarize the three elements that I consider fundamental:

1. the relationship between, and also the independence of, economic factors and the design of the city;
2. the contribution of the individual personality to urban changes, its nature and its limits; thus also the relationship between the precise, historically determined means by which a condition arises and its general causes;

³⁴. A. Rossi, *The architecture of the city*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1984, p. 131.

3. urban evolution as a complex fact of social order which tends to occur according to highly precise laws and orientations of growth."³⁵

³⁵. A. Rossi, *The architecture of the city*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1984, pp. 143-144.

1.5 - TOWARDS IBA-2020: OBSERVATIONS.

The Department of the Senate for urban development and the environment is preparing the international building exhibition in Berlin 2020.

The "urban mix" is today a central principle, if not the guiding principle of urban planning, but it has not always been this way.

It is therefore necessary to examine the concept of *mixed city* to shed light on the routines behind it and to elaborate the core that is at the centre of the concept of "Urban Blending".

The assumption to be considered is that mixing and separation are inseparable. To talk about mixing, therefore, it is necessary first to investigate the history of separation.

An important step in the question of separation is the Charter of Athens, the final document of the IV CIAM Congress of 1933. This stated that urban planning should be based on four main functions: living, working, recovering (in free time) and

moving; planning therefore had to determine the structure of the districts, each of which was assigned to one of the four key functions.

The functional division of the districts, according to the Charter, would have allowed the city to grow harmoniously in each of its parts, since it would have had spaces and connections in which the development phases could take place in balance. This presupposes, however, considering the city not as the ordered result of accidental initiatives, but of actions that take on the character of a preconceived enterprise that adheres to the rigid rules of a plan. The growing socio-spatial differentiation has led to the development of neighbourhoods in major cities where social problems are concentrated. This would give segregation a new quality: it would cause an ethnic and social division and a polarization of the cities, making the place of residence itself a source of further deprivation and inequality. Therefore, cities can create

places of marginalisation, which are also places of exclusion.³⁶

Gentrification also describes a process of segregation: in the old buildings of the centre, a high percentage of affordable housing is discovered by young artists and intellectuals as an economic, urban and fashionable residential area. This influx will trigger appreciation processes that will lead to an increase in housing rents, which will eventually replace the original inhabitants (and often also the pioneers who trigger gentrification) from the neighbourhood. One of the effects of this process, which is currently observed particularly well in Berlin, is that the very model of urbanity praised by so many urban planners has re-evaluated some residential neighbourhoods where it is (or where it is currently developing) that eventually leads to suppression of those who actually achieved this urbanity - this phenomenon also shows a central inconsistency of the mixed city model.

36. H. Häußermann,
D. Läßle and W.
Siebel, Stadtpoli-
tik, Frankfurt a. M.
2008.

The emergence of such urbanity and the often sustained rebirth of cities would lead to a complete gentrification of the residential areas of urban centres and therefore to the displacement of families with lower incomes to the margins of cities.³⁷

In urban discourse, the divided city gradually lost its interpretative sovereignty. The classic argument, that only a functionally separated city could end the chaos, lost its powers of persuasion. During this discussion, as an antithesis to the loosening of the city, a target image was designed that found its conceptual expression through mixed city designations and compact cities.

For the first time ever, the discourse on urban planning has supported a functional mix and a high density of inhabitants and density of buildings, turning the fundamental values upside down by 180 degrees: the functional mix of uses was now considered something for which it was worth fighting for.

³⁷. H. Häußermann, D. Läßle and W. Siebel, Stadtpolitik, Frankfurt a. M. 2008.

For example, the urban sociologist Wirth, in his essay *Urbanism as a way of life*, stated that the confrontation of divergent personalities and life forms generally creates a relativistic vision and a sense of tolerance of differences which, in turn, is a condition of rationality and secularization of life.³⁸

In West Berlin, the construction of large residential complexes on the outskirts of the city was interrupted in 1974, when the scene of squatters, which peaked in the early 1980s, demanded a more mixed use in urban planning, but also in conservation of existing structures and, above all, co-decision and participation in urban regeneration. Existing urban planning practices and extensive and violent disputes in the context of house appointments have decisively influenced the programmatic project of the IBA 1984-87. In 1982, the IBA-Alt of Kreuzberg adopted the twelve principles of a careful urban renewal for the *conservation of the character of*

38. L. Wirth, "Urbanism as a way of life" in: *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 44, No 1 (Jul 1938), pp. 1-24.

The paper is interesting. The content needs to be presented in greater detail, and then the IBA can get started. The aims set out are almost too ambitious. This can only be good for Berlin, however.

Dr. Volker Hassemer, Chairman,
Stiftung Zukunft Berlin





An interesting mix of people gathered here in the IBA Studio. I don't otherwise meet this kind of people. It seems to me that the experience of the older generation and the enthusiasm of the younger come together, and will perhaps also complement each other. At any rate, it increases your curiosity and makes you want to get involved. You get a feeling of what Berlin could do with everything it has to offer.
 Udo Tremmel, sociologist

Kreuzberg (Principle 3).

The *urban mix* of Kreuzberg has then become an integral part of the cross-consensus model of the mixed and compact city.

The social and ethnic mix has become the symbol of the urban and European city, which has been the basis of the discourse on urban planning since the 1980s.

In recent contributions to the subject of gentrification, the paradigm of social mixing has in itself played an important role: the goal of the social mix has become the true model of Fordist urban development and is also sufficient in the age of technology. Only in a brief phase in the 1980s the discourse on social mixing was not an ordinance for an ideal of socio-political or urban planning, but for the preservation of social growth. However, with the privatization and economization of urban development policies since the 1990s, this short period of socially oriented restructuring has ended, but current social policy interventions have continued to

focus on social inclusion, despite lack of evidence empirical because the reversal of spatial exclusion effectively represents a solution to the problem.

Another aspect of the divided city to be considered concerns voluntary and forced segregation: On the one hand, attention is drawn to the deliberate segregation of the middle/upper strata in the 'good neighbourhoods', which is the reverse of spatial polarization in the cities and it is often ignored in the analysis. On the other hand, even voluntary ethnic segregation is brought into focus: migrants move specifically to neighbourhoods where they can fall back into existing networks. The ethnically mixed city model is based on a vague plot of integration and cohesion "based on common sense rather than empirical research".³⁹

The new concept of urban mix is a whole of everything: the everyday urban reality and the model of a cultural and neoliberal discourse, the result of the changing

39. S. Munch, *Integration durch Wohnungspolitik?* Wiesbaden, 2010, p. 399.

For me as a Berliner, the city is always everything at once: recreational space and a challenge, international crossroads and private island, unconventional and standardised. Like the people living here, Berlin seems to be always in search of something. An IBA 2020 should sketch architectural and urban development responses regarding the issue of a major city of the future and its identity.

Dr. Martin Schirdewan, publicist

The IBA is a gift. We should value it and make it worth something!
Heinrich Suhr, advisory board for urban development





An IBA in Berlin which we as (chamber of) architects would like to see requires a thorough process of consideration without developing specific designs for the experimental fields too quickly. However, since this is not a purely conceptual exhibition, the ideas will be built sometime in the future.
Christine Edmeier, vice-president,
Chamber of Architects, Berlin

production conditions and the heated objective of urban nostalgia.

Yet the social problem of social inequality cannot be reduced to its spatial form. Social inequality cannot be prevented or eliminated by redistributing it in urban space. In other words, a spatial mixture of existing social inequality lacks the real problem. Urban policy and planning can only influence social structures.

Bearing in mind that an IBA is not an urban development program, its strategy should focus on social inequality and analyse relevant decisions on where to intervene/ invest; but it should not try to create a social mix or even reassemble it.

In developing a strategy for a new IBA, it is also essential to become familiar with the IBA results in 1987 (or recall them again). At the centre of the cautious urban renewal were the acceptance of the existing city and the shifting of decision-making powers towards the inhabitants of the planned areas.

The approach of a different type of mixture therefore begins with the critical questioning of one's intentions and actions. A strategy that includes mixing not as something to produce, but as something existing and constantly self-producing, it must first of all accept the mixture. But this means, among other things, not adapting "problematic structures" of urban development in the 20th century, but understanding these structures as part of the city, as part of the existing urban mix. This strategy is an urban development planning approach without urban planning. Once again, it is not a matter of reconstructing and producing diversity in the sense of a nostalgic model of urbanity, but of accepting and admitting diversity. "Keeping oneself open for the modified options for the future is perhaps the most essential thing."⁴⁰

The transition from the mix to diversity/difference therefore offers not only opportunities for new approaches in the

40. T. Sieverts, *Nutzungsmischung im historischen und kulturellen Zusammenhang*, Bundesmin. für Raumordnung, Bonn, 1998, p. 150.

The Pre-IBA team hasn't set out one simple IBA topic, but from the start has searched for the really urgent themes with the help of committed Berliners. Assuming this exciting exchange continues in such an effective way, we can look forward to targeted solutions in keeping with the times.

Britta Jürgens, Deadline Architects



design of urban interventions, but also the need to become neoliberal and economic (partly compatible with the concept of difference). In other words, he should give up his leadership.

Such an approach could in turn be based on IBA's experiences in 1987: elements of the self-help concept, tenant participation in construction measures, decision-making majority for urban district residents in urban development committees. The concept of the PRAE-IBA team already contains some of these approaches and could be further elaborated with an approach based on differential thinking.

The IBA objective of the social mix (respectively, diversity/difference) should oblige to think about urban regeneration measures in their general context and to associate them with creative ideas against the displacement of the inhabitants. The state of a democratic urban society is also measured by the extent to which the interests of the less privileged population

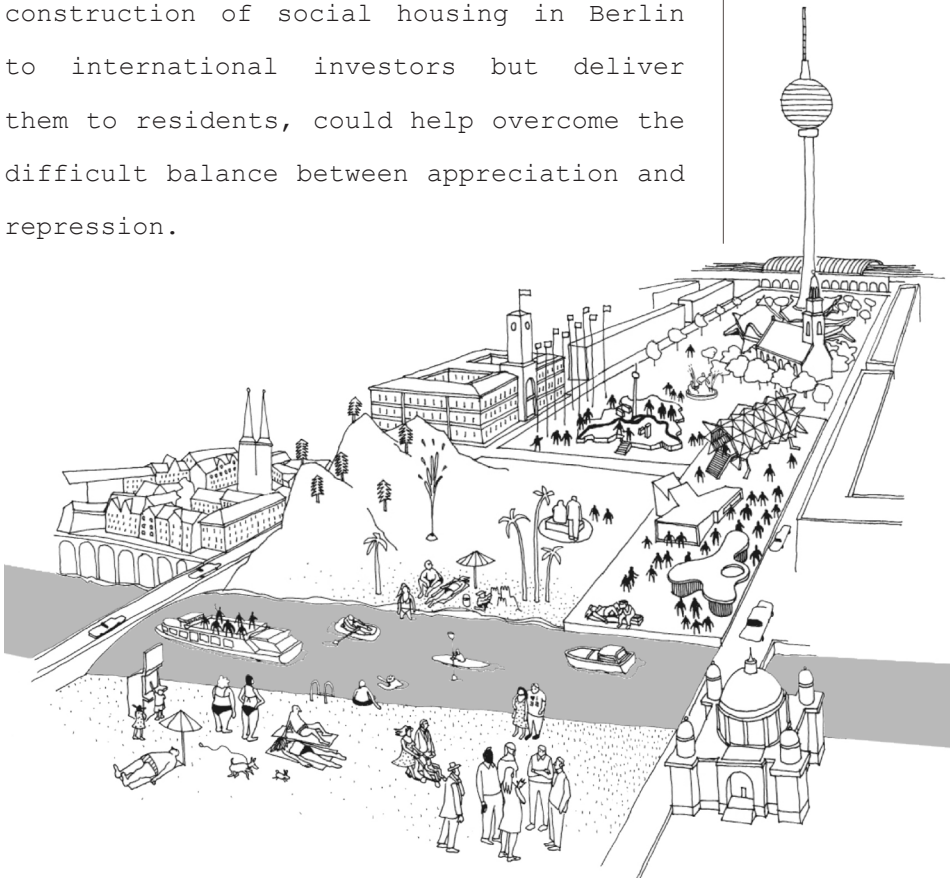
The IBA 2020 offers the opportunity to test new methods for developing the city. It can and should be a laboratory in order to test new formats of participation and involvement, to gain new partners for city development and find special forms for a shared and equitable dialogue between stakeholders.

Ulrike Böhm, Federation of German Landscape Architects,
Spokesperson for urban development and free space planning



groups are included.

The fact that a combination of urban planning projects and urban social policy is not impossible is also demonstrated by the history of IBA in 1987 and, again, their experience can be connected. Innovative concepts, for example, that do not sell the construction of social housing in Berlin to international investors but deliver them to residents, could help overcome the difficult balance between appreciation and repression.



IBABERLIN ZWANZIG ZWANZIG

The aim is to use sample search areas to show what the IBA can achieve in terms of its basic principle of a mixed city and its strategic approaches: Capital City, Spacious City and Instant City. Neither the areas nor the project approaches should be regarded as final. To a far greater extent, they are intended as a starting point for the discussions in the IBA Studio with potential partners and the city community as soon as the operative phase of the IBA begins.

The areas have in part been found in talks with local stakeholders and in workshops with specialists from the administration; in part, they are based on recommendations arising from the discussions and meetings held in the IBA Studio.

For further information on the IBA Berlin 2020 go to:
www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/iba_2020

The reality of life is not ultimately produced by planning, but by the daily practices of its inhabitants. IBA 2020 could become a laboratory that offers assistance in the specific implementation of housing construction projects.

Furthermore, it could also play a role in introducing a rate of financing for social housing in new construction projects.

CHAPTER 2 - KREUZBERG POPULATION AND CULTURE.

As we learned from the previous chapter, the reality of life is not ultimately produced by planning, but by the daily practices of its inhabitants. So, the first issue that this second chapter will face, will be the current population of Berlin-Kreuzberg.

From the current demographic situation, it will be necessary to take a step backward to the immigration question that took place in Berlin, to explain the ethnic heterogeneity that nowadays characterises some of Berlin district such as Kreuzberg.

This will explain why the Turkish population decided to settle in certain neighbourhoods of Berlin despite others.

Later, the discourse will deal with the Muslims sense of belonging to Berlin-Kreuzberg and to conclude, it will move towards a spatial connotation, thanks to the social urban studies of place identity, place attachment and sense of place.

2.1 - DEMOGRAPHY STUDIES.

The Berlin districts are this organised:

01. Mitte
02. Friedrichschain-Kreuzberg
03. Pankow
04. Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf
05. Spandau
06. Steglitz-Zehlendorf
07. Tempelhof-Schöneberg
08. Neukölln
09. Treptow-Köpenick
10. Marzahn-Hellersdorf
11. Lichtenberg
12. Reinickendorf

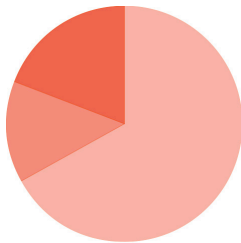
In the analysis they will be referred to by their number.

72

All data have been gathered from the *Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg* and they are updated to June 30th, 2019.

Population and density.

The current population in Berlin amounts to 3 754 418 people and it's this spread:

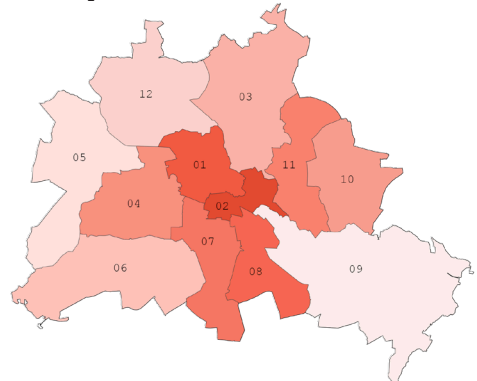


67% Germans

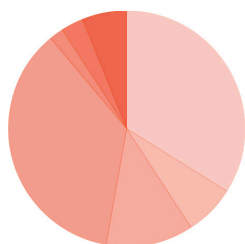
14% Germans with
migration background

19% Foreigners

Density (darker = denser)

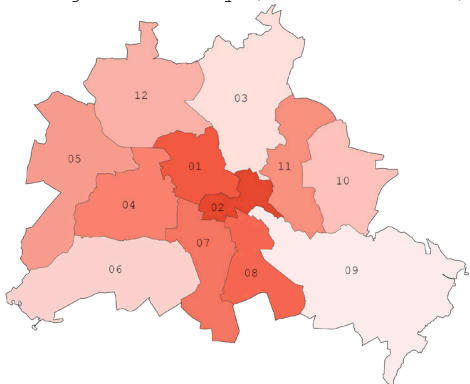


Foreigners and migration background population origins.

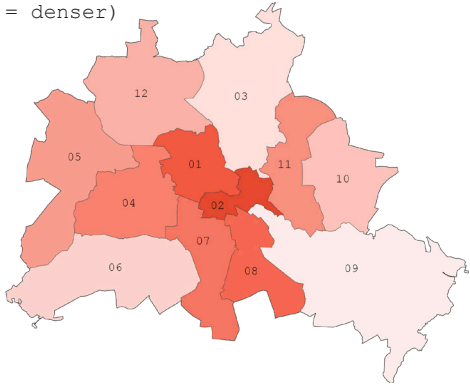


- 34% European Union
- 7% Former Yugoslavia
- 12% Former Sovietic Union
- 36% Islamic countries
- 2% Vietnam
- 3% United States of America
- 6% Not assignable

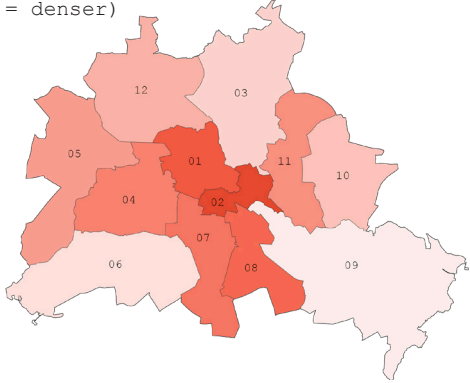
Foreigners density (darker = denser)



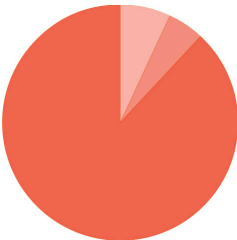
Migration background density (darker = denser)



Total foreign origin density (darker = denser)



Islamic foreigners and Islamic migration background.

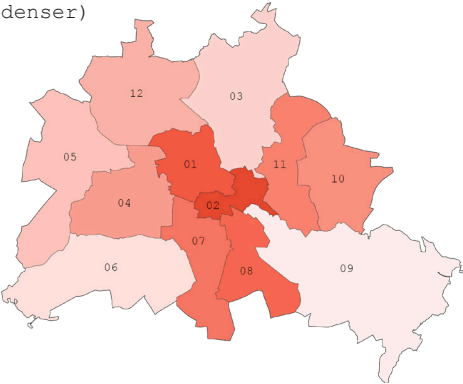


7% Islamic not Turkish

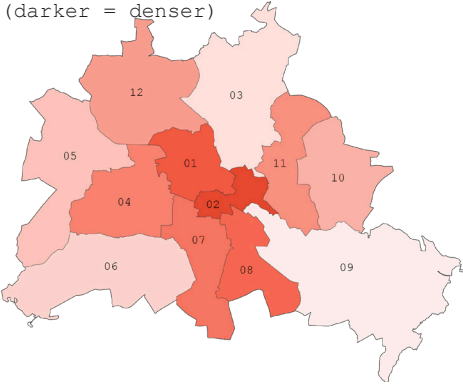
5% Islamic Turkish

88% Not Islamic

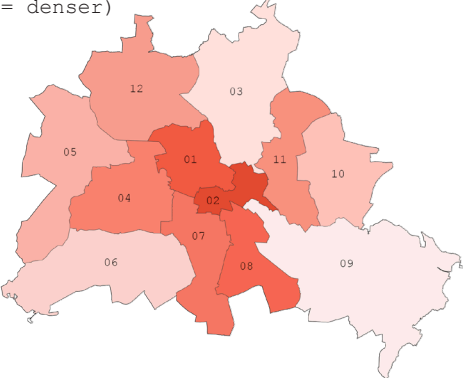
Islamic foreigners density (darker = denser)



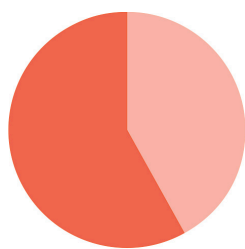
Islamic migration background density (darker = denser)



Total Islamic origin density (darker = denser)

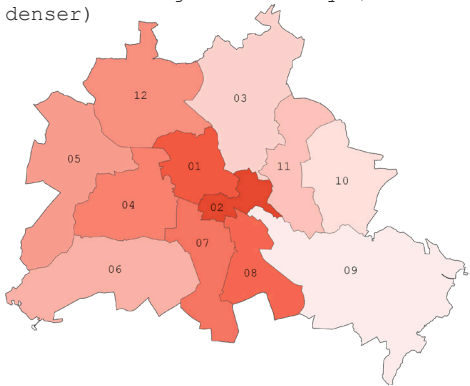


Islamic Turks and not.

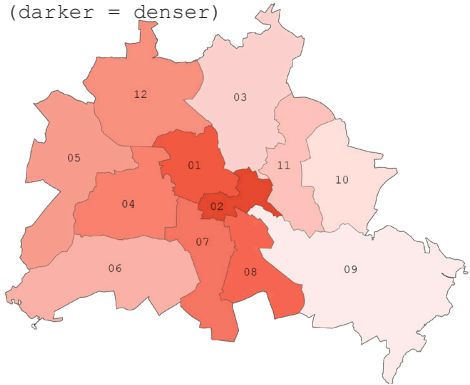


42% Turks
58% Other Islamic People

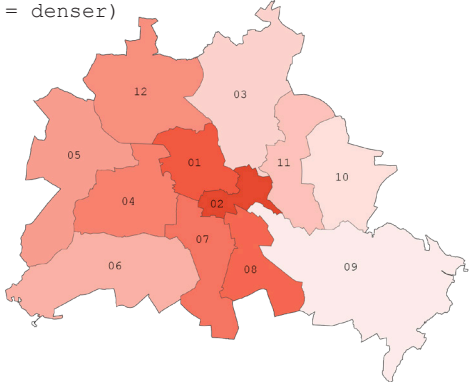
Turkish foreigners density (darker = denser)



Turkish migration background density (darker = denser)

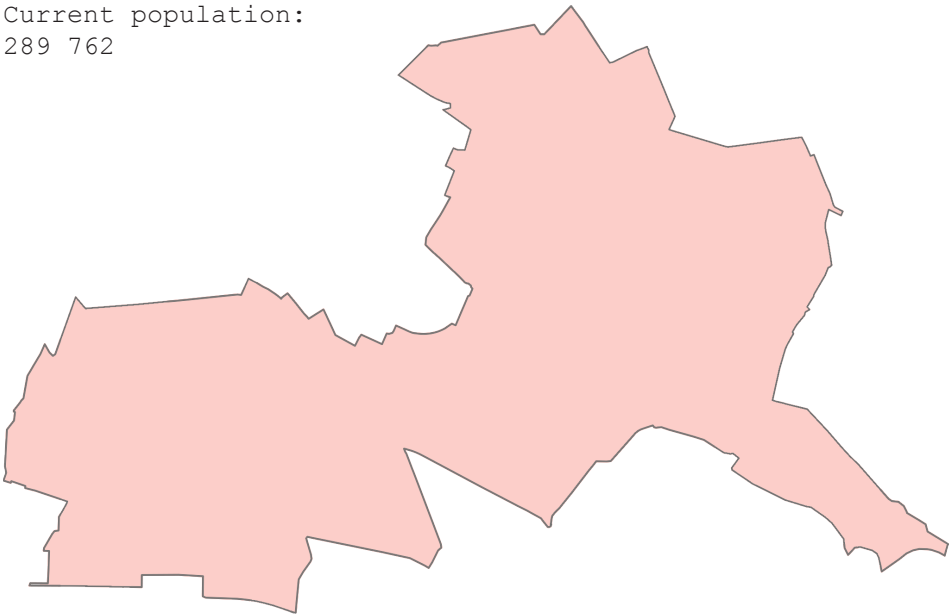


Total Turkish origin density (darker = denser)



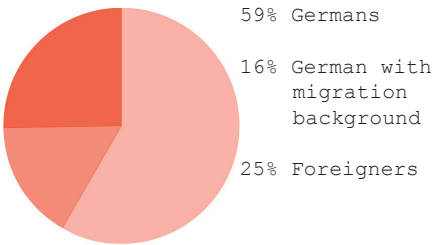
Friedrichschain-Kreuzberg district (02) .

Current population:
289 762

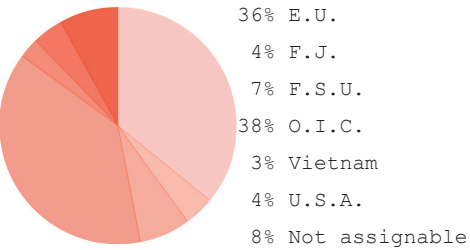


76

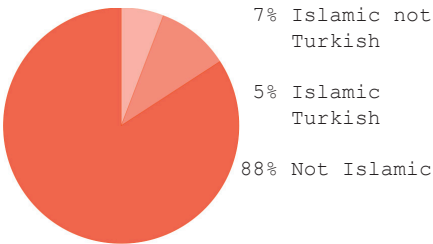
Population



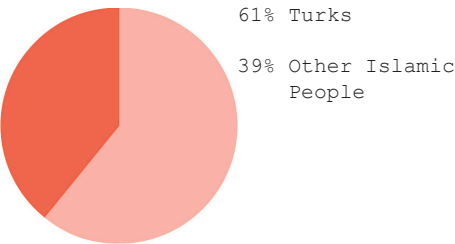
Foreigner origin population



Islamic Population



Turkish Islamic and not



2.2 - THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION.

After the Second World War, western Germany experienced a remarkable economic development, favoured on the one hand by the aid of the Marshall Plan, and on the other by the influx of immigrants from the less developed areas of Europe and the Mediterranean.

Following the war catastrophe, the German industrial recovery was faced with the problem of labour shortages both in the agricultural sector and, more decisively, in the industrial, mining and construction sectors. To obviate this deficiency, liable to block and frustrate all the efforts made in the material and structural reconstruction of West Germany and its society, the German governments in agreement with the DGB¹ (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund - Confederation of German trade unions) open the doors of their country and their industries to foreign immigrants.

As a matter of fact, during the 1950s, it started the recruitment of foreign workers, the so-called Gastarbeiter - considered

1. The DGB is an umbrella organization (sometimes known as a national trade union centre) for eight German trade unions, founded in Munich on 12th October 1949.

An umbrella organization is a large association of institutions, which coordinates the activities of its member organizations and works to protect their shared interests. Therefore, umbrella organization provides resources and identity to the smaller organizations. The umbrella organization is often responsible for the groups under its care, to some degree. The umbrella organization is usually established when it is found difficult for an institution to carry out activities alone, when a sense of community and support makes institutions derive utility from multi-lateral and shared activities, when public awareness exists, and when legality for the engaged actions is required. [definitions.uslegal.com]

guest and non-migrant workers - who they were hired for a fixed term (for one year), unless they had the contract extended by the company where they worked. They came from the main European countries such as: Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Greece. Since 1961 there was also a flow of labour from Turkey.

The determining factors that prompted Turkish workers to migrate were essentially Germany's large labour demand and considerable population pressure, combined with rising unemployment in Turkey.

The arrival of Turkish labour - initially specialized, later unqualified and poorly educated - is mainly directed towards the flourishing industrial regions of the Rhenish and southern parts of Germany, where it causes major upheavals. The majority of Turkish immigrants, in fact, came from an economic-social agricultural extraction and were not familiar with the world and the dynamics of factory work: an aspect that has led to considerable social problems, aggravated by insufficient knowledge of

the language and systems and ways of life of German society. The adaptation to new lifestyles and new social rules, in fact, is the first problem faced by newcomers. An unknown factor that made the integration and survival of foreign workers difficult. "Immigrants", in effect, "must not adapt to universally accepted norms and customs: rather, they are given a place in the social order of non-equality. Their relationships are not with the whole of the society that hosts them, but with specific social groups within it."² For this reason, "the division of the working class in the production process is reproduced in the social sphere."³

On this basis, between 1961 and 1973, the Turkish employment agencies, associated with the BFA⁴ (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit - Federal Employment Agency) sent more than 790,000 workers to Europe, of which 80.2% were in West Germany (the peak was reached in 1971 with 84.3%).

In conjunction with the 1966 recession, which ended the first phase of Turkish

2. S. Castle and G. Kosack, *Immigrazione e struttura di classe in Europa Occidentale*, Franco Angeli, Milano, 1976, p. 16.

3. *Ibidem*, p. 17.

4. The Bundesagentur für Arbeit is a German federal agency in the area of responsibility of the Federal Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs and has its headquarters in Nuremberg.

emigration, this trend changed in favour of a greater flow of female labour. In these years, both for the high rate of layoffs and unemployment of Turkish workers, and for the consequent increase in waiting times to get a job in Germany, and, finally, for the great wave of returns and repatriations to Turkey, the government and Turkish workers favoured the emigration of women, whose rate increased from 8% to 24.4%.

This recruitment ceased from 1973, when the crises blocked and slowed the influx of Turkish migrants. These factors favoured illegal immigration and the related racket. A development that produced serious consequences. In fact the illegal immigrants did not enjoy any right, not even the formal ones guaranteed to their fellow immigrants legally, and unknowingly encouraged the exploitation of all immigrant labour causing a widespread bad mood among German workers. As a matter of fact, working conditions of the Gastarbeiter were problematic: these workers were recruited, divided and

placed in residential units according to nationality; no one spoke German because knowledge of the language was not required. This condition of "isolation" did not allow the Gastarbeiter to cultivate relationships and establish contacts neither with German colleagues nor with other workers. Moreover, social segregation joined labour segregation: immigrants, regardless of their education or specialization, were relegated exclusively to the sectors and to the lower levels of the working scale, in uncomfortable, strenuous and unhealthy occupations: in other words, in all those sectors left uncovered by the hierarchical advancement of German workers. This form of ghettoisation manifested itself through the difficult relationship between Turkish workers and German society: in fact, the Turkish worker, who did not have a long tradition behind him as an immigrant and knew nothing about the host country, starting with the language and cultural and religious customs and traditions.

Another reason of immigrants' segregation was linked to housing. Due to the low income of many immigrant families, they could afford housing in few neighbourhoods. But even if their income was enough to rent better quality apartments in the best neighbourhoods, people competing for relatively scarce housing were often subject to German families. As a result, immigrants and their families - despite the largest number of family members - lived in media in smaller apartments than Germans and paid higher rents on average.⁵ This was especially true for new housing, for long-time immigrants, including higher paid ones.⁶ Even if there are no data available, it must still be assumed that the social situation and the discrimination of the real estate market were decisive factors in segregation.

The apartments in the suburbs have been closed to the foreign population for a long time and this translates into a percentage of non-German nationals over 30% of the

⁵. See Commissioner 2005.

⁶. See Tuchscheer 1993.

population in the inner-city areas (eastern Kreuzberg, northern Neukölln, Marriage, Tiergarten-Moabit, northern Schöneberg and eastern Charlottenburg).

In some cases, over a quarter of the population was of Turkish or Arab origin (over a quarter in the Mariannenplatz district and parts of Moabit), up to a quarter around Moritzplatz and Wiener Strasse in Kreuzberg, the neighbourhoods around Reinickendorfer Strasse, Humboldthain and Soldiner Straße in Wedding, as well as the areas around the town hall of Neukölln and Thomasstraße in Nordneukölln).

West German society progressively evolved towards a multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-religious structure. An evolution that began to pose its first problems starting from the 70s and 80s, when the number of immigrants increases dramatically, the principle of "rotation" for migrants is subverted and many of them decided to settle permanently in Germany together with their families.

The permanence or temporary nature of the Gastarbeiter stay changed considerably the perspectives and the approaches, as well as the problems, that the host society must adopt to deal with foreigners.

As regards, more specifically, the immigration of Turks to Germany had not been foreseen by both countries. Hence the lack of planning for a permanent immigration, because Germany has never considered itself a destination for immigration.

The legal bases for immigration and the state of residence have changed several times. The law on foreigners of 1965 was replaced in 1991 by a law that mainly introduced a legal recourse to naturalization. With the Citizenship Act, which came into force in 2000, the granting of German citizenship to children born in Germany was again settled by parents without a German passport with permanent residence status. The new residence law, in force since 2005, formally recognized the immigration situation in Germany and offers state integration courses

to newcomers.

Moreover, only in the last 10-15 years it has begun to reflect on the problem of the integration of immigrants. According to OSI (Open Society Institute), at present, the Greens and the SPD are the only parties that find a positive meaning in the concept of migration, against the Merkel government, which still marries what we might call an ancient cultural heritage.⁷

The Berlin Integration Plan, affirms: "the memory is not only a reminder of the cultural traditions of the regions of origin of immigrants, but also includes the collective memory of immigration in Germany. The history of immigration is part of German and Berlin history and as such must be reasonably reflected and presented. [...] The Senate will intensify the issue of memory policy in the immigration society in the next legislative period and will support initiatives in this area."⁸

7. Open Society Institute, Muslims in Berlin, Open Society Foundation, London, 2010.

8. Das Berliner Integrationskonzept von 2007, p. 11.

2.3 - MUSLIMS BELONGING IN BERLIN-KREUZBERG.

The inhabitants of Kreuzberg in Berlin perceive their neighbourhood as a place in which the people living there have very diverse sets of values.

For many Muslim, Kreuzberg offers not only safety, but also refuge from other parts of the city, where they often feel alienated and excluded. The attribute that gives their district this safe character is its highly diverse nature. This creates a more welcoming feeling of multiculturalism and belonging than monocultural environments elsewhere.

In Kreuzberg, unlike in other districts of Berlin, Muslim organizations have a strong presence within various political bodies. Local-government funding is distributed to Muslim groups, and the district authorities and religious associations cooperate on local projects. This is particularly encouraging given the widely-perceived stigmatization and marginalization of many religious Muslim associations in Germany.

At the city level, there are numerous

measures of success, and the emergence of a progressive new approach to social inclusion. The new version of the *Integrationskonzept* (Integration Policy) is named *Vielfalt fördern - Zusammenhalt stärken* (Supporting Diversity - Strengthening Cohesion). In this new approach, the whole of society must adapt to the new demographic and social needs of an immigrant country. This challenges the traditional concept of integration in which minorities have had to adapt to the perceived majority culture. An important part of this new policy is the opening of a new administrative body (*Interkulturelle Öffnung der Verwaltung*) to shepherd the changing of important social institutions in response to a changing society. Its employment policies aim to ensure a diverse workforce and support for government institutions, meeting the needs of its non-ethnic German population. It is also true that Muslim inhabitants of Kreuzberg are not immune from discrimination. In fact, they report difficulties in finding

housing outside the district, gaining meaningful employment and apprenticeships, and, occasionally, obtaining culturally sensitive health care.

Recent studies by the German Allensbach Institute and surveys suggest deterioration in public attitudes towards Islam and Muslims in Germany. Studies of the representation of Muslims and Islam in the German media also show a high prevalence of stories linking Islam and Muslims to terrorism, violence and other social problems.⁹ The *Zentrum für Türkeistudien* (Centre for Turkish Studies) evaluated the articles of the national weekly *Der Spiegel* and the biggest local daily *WAZ*, as well as records of the Bundestag between 2000 and 2004. Additionally, Kai Hafez and Carola Richter analysed the outputs of different talkshows, reports and documentaries on the major public TV channels ARD and ZDF between July 2005 and December 2006. They found that in only 11 out of 133 instances was there discussion about the everyday lives and social issues concerning

9. K. Hafez and C. Richter, "Das Islambild von ARD und ZDF" in *Wochenschau für politische Erziehung, Sozial- und Gemeinschaftskunde*, Jg. 58, H. 6, 2007, pp. 239-240.

Muslims. In 40 per cent of instances, the broadcast items were concerned with issues of terrorism, extremism and international conflicts. There has also been a significant change in the political discourse over the last few years. Whereas discrimination against Muslims based on their religious affiliation was one of the major topics between 2000 and 2001, the main debates of 2003 and 2004 concerned security, strongly linking Islam with terrorism, with far less focus on issues of tolerance and anti-discrimination.¹⁰

The research also suggests that the heightened media coverage of Islam revealed Germans the religious aspects of cultural heritage, and an increased religious commitment among some Turkish respondents.

The perception of Islam and Muslims and its effects on the Muslim community within Berlin will probably not differ considerably from that of Germany as a whole, even if it differs according to a specific neighbourhood or district. Many participants of the 2010

10. D. Halm, Pauschale Islamfeindlichkeit? Zur Wahrnehmung des Islam und zur soziokulturellen Teilhabe der Muslime in Deutschland.

S. Jäger & D. Halm, Mediale Barrieren. Rassismus als Integrationshindernis.

In:

DISS/Unrast, 2006.

Available at
www.ztf-online.de

OSI survey in Kreuzberg claimed to feel accepted in their district, whereas there were other areas of the city they would avoid.¹¹

The attitudes towards Muslims in Berlin may also be affected by the greater degree of secularism and neutrality towards religion found there compared to other parts of former West Germany. This is perhaps illustrated by the 2008 case of a young Muslim student who was successful in his legal claim for the right to pray within a school building. The court required the school to provide the boy with the opportunity to pray once a day in a small room. It rejected the school's claim that this violated the school's neutrality and the negative religious freedom of the other students. The media reaction suggested at best a misunderstanding of the implications of the case. On the Die Zeit online forum, this decision was called a first step towards the "Islamisation of the Berlin school."¹²

Der Spiegel, perhaps not realising the

11. Open Society Institute, Muslims in Berlin, Open Society Foundation, London, 2010.

12. J. Lau, Gericht: Berliner Schulen müssen Gebetsräume für Muslime einrichten (Court: Berlin schools have to set up prayer rooms for Muslims), 2008.

timing of prayers over the course of the whole day, suggested that the student was seeking the right to pray "five times a day in the school."¹³ The *Berliner Zeitung* quoted the director of another school in Kreuzberg with a high proportion of Muslim students: the director shared "the horror of other school directors" in the face of the court decision. Özcan Mutlu, the educational-political spokesperson of that faction of Bündnis 90/die Grünen (the Green Party) with a Turkish background, called it a "poison for integration, which does not overcome disjunctures but creates new ones."¹⁴ Even the teachers' union GEW and the Berlin Senate for Education spoke against the court decision. This case could, however, illustrate scepticism towards public religious expression in the city, rather than a general hostility towards Islam.

Outside the media and public discourse, the everyday contact between Muslims and non-Muslims in the city seems to be quite

13. "Muslimischer Junge darf in der Schule beten" in Spiegel-online, 11th March 2008.

Available at www.spiegel.de

14. ts-Urteil wird von Schulleitern kritisiert" in Berliner Zeitung, 13th March 2008.

Available at www.berlinonline.de

good and does not appear to give rise to significant conflicts. The 2010 OSI survey suggests that Muslims tend to feel safer and more comfortable in inner city districts such as Kreuzberg, Neukölln and Wedding, where a high percentage of the inhabitants are immigrants and where the non-immigrant population is perceived to be tolerant. Fear of encountering far-right extremism and violence in general and islamophobic attitudes in particular is much higher in other parts of the city, in particular the eastern ones.¹⁵

Identity and belonging are important elements of integration. While an individual may be integrated into labour markets and social networks, they may not identify with the area, city or country in which they live. Therefore, it is important to explore how Muslims in Berlin-Kreuzberg feel about their neighbourhood and city. This includes their sense of belonging and the positive and negative aspects of their neighbourhood and city.

¹⁵. Open Society Institute, Muslims in Berlin, Open Society Foundation, London, 2010.

It is necessary to note the places and which interactions take place with people from the same or different ethnic and religious groups and to evidence the national identification of Muslims in Kreuzberg, whether they perceive themselves as Germans and/or are perceived as such by others.

For instance, beside the general positive effects of valuing the chances and skills of multilingual and multicultural competencies, the OSI research indicates that a monocultural atmosphere and the strong demand of adaptation may have negative consequences.¹⁶

All the respondents seem to be quite settled in Kreuzberg and enjoy living there. This shows the strong identification of Muslims with their district, which corresponds with the concept of *Kiezdenken* (loosely translated as identification with one's district) in Berlin: the strong connection to a district.¹⁷

Young people with an immigration background, who were born and raised in Germany, mainly

16. Open Society Institute, Muslims in Berlin, Open Society Foundation, London, 2010.

17. Ibidem.

felt at home there, considering their linguistical and cultural identification. Older Muslim emphasised the importance of living with neighbours with a similar history of labour migration and who shared and understood the experience of being outsiders in both their 'host' society and in Turkish society.¹⁸

However, it is wrong to interpret that as the desire to live in an ethnically or religiously homogeneous area.

As a matter of fact, Kreuzberg is a very mixed neighbourhood, where people do not share the same values and, despite that, people get well together. The ethnic and cultural diversity of the area, is neither seen as a problem, nor a challenge to peaceful cohabitation by Kreuzberg inhabitants.

The attraction of living in cultural diverse areas such as Kreuzberg mainly stems from a general fear of being rejected, or to draw adverse attention for being different, rather than a rejection of German culture or values.

¹⁸. Open Society Institute, Muslims in Berlin, Open Society Foundation, London, 2010.

Alongside the strong sense of belonging to Kreuzberg, Muslims also indicated a strong attachment to the city of Berlin. In comparison to feelings of belonging to Berlin, fewer of them claimed to have a strong or fairly strong sense of belonging to Germany.¹⁹

The majority of Muslims feel that they are not seen as German by others, nor do they perceive themselves as such. It is also true, that they often do not want to be called Germans, because it makes them feel as negating and forgetting their origins and culture.²⁰

^{19.} Open Society Institute, Muslims in Berlin, Open Society Foundation, London, 2010.

^{20.} Ibidem.

2.4 - OBSERVATIONS.

The Muslim belonging to Berlin-Kreuzberg leads to a major discourse about social identity and place attachment.

According to the ELC (European Landscape Convention) - issued in 2000 in Florence by the member states of the Council of Europe - the landscape has a procedural and "relational" nature: it in fact draws its meaning not only from the elements - natural and human - that they compose it, but also from the relationships between these and, above all, from the way in which the populations perceive these dynamics, attributing meanings and values to the landscape.²¹

The Convention, therefore, "rightly considers the landscape as a phenomenon neither purely objective (like the territory or the environment), nor purely subjective (the infamous landscape as a state of mind), but rather constituted in the interaction between the two sides."²²

As anticipated by D'Angelo's words, the emphasis placed by the ELC on the perceptive

21. ELC, Art. 1, letter A.

22. P. D'Angelo, *Estetica e Paesaggio*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2009, p. 3.

dimension inherent in the concept of landscape has the first consequence of making it clear how this is distinguished from other "geographical objects", the territory primarily: if this, in fact, is the seat of natural and anthropic dynamics, the landscape is the perception of these dynamics by the populations that inhabit it and its existence is not given except through the eyes of these.

For this reason - and we are at the second consequence - for the ELC there is a close link between the landscape and the subjects (individual and collective) that relate to it, finding the background of their existence. But the relationship between people and landscape is not limited to this: it is not only the object of the perception of men and the background of their actions, but a living reality that from these actions is incessantly modified, thus assuming always different characteristics and always new meanings.

In this sense, therefore, the landscape can

be considered an expression of the local culture, as its construction is guided by the economic mechanisms and socio-cultural values that govern the action of a certain society and by the universe of signs and symbols which it gives meaning. At the same time, precisely because it is a mirror of the interrelations between a population and the territory in which it is located, it becomes an element of cultural identity for those who live there and who find themselves part of it.

This "double dimension" of the landscape - product and background of social action - suggests Turri's metaphor of landscape as *theatre*²³, in which individuals and populations are actors who recite their stories, but also spectators who they look at the effects of their actions, mirroring themselves in it.

Our attention will first be turned to the concept of identity which, as Levi-Strauss already observed, "is situated at the confluence point of not just two but more

23. E. Turri, *Il Paesaggio come teatro: dal territorio vissuto al territorio rappresentato*, Marsilio, Venezia, 1998.

roads together. It affects practically all disciplines".²⁴

The main points of interdisciplinary convergence that can be identified regarding the concept of identity are the following:

- At the same time, identity recalls the idea of equality and that of difference. The concept of identity is constructed in the dialectic between equality and otherness. It responds to the need to identify oneself, *to feel similar to* and to the opposite need to affirm one's uniqueness, *to distinguish oneself from*. Di Carlo states that at the base of the formation of identity in the individual there is the phenomenon of *primary identification*, followed by that of *introjective identification*: in the first phase the child identifies himself with the mother, in the second he also internalizes parts of the world and of the people he comes into contact with, but at the same time separates them, reworks them and then "relives them

²⁴. C. Levi-Strauss, *L'identità*, Sellerio Editore, Palermo, 1986, p. 11.

25. A. Di Carlo, *I luoghi dell'identità. Dinamiche culturali nell'esperienza di emigrazione*, Franco Angeli, Milano, 1986, p. 21.

26. J. P. Codol, quoted in T. Mancini, *Sé e identità. Modelli, metodi e problemi in psicologia sociale*, Carocci, Roma, 2001, p. 19.

27. F. Remotti, *Contro l'identità*, Laterza, Roma, 2001, p. 63.

in personal and original terms, thus becoming a differentiated individual."²⁵

According to Codol, identity is based "above all on the awareness of being a unique object different from all other objects present in the physical and social world."²⁶

From its genesis, therefore, the construction of identity implies difference, calls into question the otherness: for the anthropologist Remotti, the whole identity process is configured as a continuous series of operations of "assimilation with" and "separation" from "something that is considered" other than itself. On the contrary, according to this author, "otherness is present not only at the margins, beyond borders, but in the very core of identity", for which "identity [...] is also made of otherness."²⁷

- Identity is not an entity given forever, fixed and immutable, but a reality in progress, which is continually evolving.

Remotti again describes identity as a *mask* and the process of identifying construction as *a matter of decisions*: "it consists of a negotiation, a selection of elements and connections between them that everyone chooses between infinite other ones and connections alternatives."²⁸

Even the sociologist Bauman, a keen scholar of the problems of identity in the age of globalization, stated that identity is "something that must be invented rather than discovered", a sort of *puzzle* that every individual is committed to composing; however, while the puzzle shows the final image that will result from the set of different pieces, for the identity there are no certainties, since we do not know the *final image* and there is no definitive result to aim for. About identity, says Bauman, "experiment with what you have"²⁹ and there is no possibility of even knowing if you have the right pieces or if there are any missing pieces, or how

28. F. Remotti, *Contro l'identità*, Laterza, Roma, 2001, p. 63.

29. Z. Bauman, *Intervista sull'identità*, Editori Laterza, Roma, 2003, p. 56.

to go about get those that you consider potentially useful. It therefore follows that *belonging* and *identity* are not carved in the rock, they are not guaranteed by a lifetime guarantee", but "they are to a large extent negotiable and revocable", being the result of decisions.³⁰

- The process of identifying construction does not take place within the individual in conditions of isolation, but rather has a social nature, or is defined in the interaction with other members of society and in the cultural context in which everyone lives.³¹

According to Sciolla, identity is configured as a sort of "narration", a dialectical path through which the subject tries to give coherence and continuity to his own existence, finding and reconstructing his own balance in time and through changes or trauma he is called to face. The author emphasizes how personal identity performs two functions, *locative* and *integrative*:

30. Z. Bauman, Intervista sull'identità, Editori Laterza, Roma, 2003, p. 56.

31. L. Sciolla, Sociologia dei processi culturali, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2002, p. 142.

the first “places the subject in a system of relationships tracing *boundaries*, in this way distinguishing between self and others, between *us* and *them*”; the second one “allows not only a discontinuity with the other, but also a continuity with ourselves”, thus giving consistency to our existential path.³² Sciolla then illustrates how these same functions are valid not only for individual identity, but also for that of social groups that give themselves their own *collective identity*.

Social identity, in other words, is for Sciolla a question of *will* and awareness, unlike cultural identity, which refers to a construct that is at least partly innate.

Gambino states that the landscape is, at the same time, “a place of interdisciplinary convergence” and a “place of forking paths”.³³

Farinelli has called “the wit of the landscape”, that is his being – as the author himself states – “a word [...] that serves to intentionally designate the thing and at the same time the image of the thing.”³⁴

32. L. Sciolla, *Sociologia dei processi culturali*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2002, p. 144-145.

33. R. Gambino, “Introduzione” in P. Castelnuovi, *Il senso del paesaggio*, IRES, Istituto di ricerche economico-sociali del Piemonte, Torino, 2000, pp. 3-19.

34. F. Farinelli, “L’arguzia del paesaggio” in Casabella No 575-576, 1991, pp. 10-12.

With this term, therefore, we can refer both to the material dimension of the landscape - to the set of physical elements that compose it - and to its dimension of mental image - the result of the encounter between those same elements and the subject that perceives them and interprets them according to their own ideas, values and sensitivity.

For Raffestin, which refers to this second dimension, "the landscape is an intersection between the physiology of the eye, subjectivity and social mediators"³⁵: as the author himself explains, this means that the physiological act of looking at something - a landscape, in this case - is not neutral, since at the very moment when the eye captures the object in its materiality, certain meanings and interpretations are attributed to it; these in turn - although certainly dependent on the experiences, personal values and sensitivity of the perceiving subject - are to some extent influenced by the "social mediators", or by the "cultural schemes" in force in the

³⁵. C. Raffestin, *Dalla nostalgia del territorio al desiderio di paesaggio: elementi per una teoria del paesaggio*, Alinea, Firenze, 2005, p. 48.

society to which the subject belongs, from which he can never totally disregard it.³⁶

Finally, Vallega illustrates that one can look at the landscape through a rationalist - objectivist perspective, or through a non-rationalist - subjectivist perspective.³⁷

Another fundamental dichotomy that concerns him refers to the different way in which common sense intends on the one hand and the disciplines that deal with it, geography in the first place, on the other.

According to Turri, if the territory is the "space organized by man", the landscape is the "subjective projection of the territory."³⁸

"The territory" - explains Turri - "is the result of the physical operation of man, of the actions that transform it, humanise it [...]; the landscape is the representation, the visual projection, or the corresponding mental and sentimental projection of the acted territory [...]."³⁹

Landscape that is, as a tangible expression of the interactions between a population

36. C. Raffestin, *Dalla nostalgia del territorio al desiderio di paesaggio: elementi per una teoria del paesaggio*, Alinea, Firenze, 2005, p. 48.

37. A. Vallega, *Indicatori per il paesaggio*, Franco Angeli, Milano, 2008, p. 23.

38. E. Turri quoted in A. Vallega, *Indicatori per il paesaggio*, Franco Angeli, Milano, 2003, p. 23.

39. Ibidem.

and its own living environment, the result of very specific territorial dynamics - natural and human - and as such a reality in continuous change, everywhere endowed with cultural depth.

Zube reminds us how the relationship between man and landscape can be declined according to three main types, depending on the role played by the former in relation to the latter. Man can indeed be considered:

- as an *ecological agent* who, like all the others, acts on the surrounding environment and modifies it, usually in a negative way. It is an approach that is limited to seeing man as a mere generator of impacts on the landscape, without considering the socio-cultural and emotional elements that could intervene in the relationship, or considering the benefits that the anthropic action could bring to the landscape itself;
- as a *passive observer* who, looking at a certain landscape, draws some information, which then influences his

opinions and perceptions with respect to that landscape;

- as a *dynamic subject* that “lives” the landscape, explores it and makes it involved, modifying it and making itself modified by it, in a reciprocal relationship.⁴⁰

The deepening of knowledge related to the perceptions and expectations of citizens towards the surrounding landscape can constitute the initial act of a process aimed at effectively involving the population in the land construction processes.

In research conducted by the research group “Social sciences in landscape research” coordinated by M. Hunziker at the WSL Federal Research Institute in Switzerland: these scholars start from the assumption that a relationship exists between man and the landscape mutual influence, by virtue of which the former has expectations of the latter, but is in turn conditioned by it.⁴¹ Deepening the nature of such expectations is considered the first step to understand

40. E. H. Zube, “Perceived land use patterns and landscape values” in *Landscape ecology*, No 1, vol 1, 1987, pp. 37-45.

41. M. Hunziker intervention in B. Castiglioni, *Di chi è il paesaggio? La partecipazione degli attori nella individuazione, valutazione e pianificazione*, CLEUP Editrice, Padova, 2009, pp. 64-78.

which lines of landscape modification management will meet the favour of the people and fulfil their aspirations.

The work of the English NGO *Cheshire Landscape Foundation*, directed by J. Gittins, is guided by the belief that the landscape should not be considered only as a system of physical and anthropic elements to manage evolution, but also as an important *container* of stories, memories and experiences that link a population to their place of life. For this reason, the activities carried out by the Foundation aim to increase public participation in territorial and landscape planning practices, considering this a fundamental step to bring out the “lived” dimension of each landscape and to prevent these processes from leading to the distortion of the references local identities.⁴²

The evolution of the idea of landscape is interpreted in the light of the economic and cultural changes that affect society: this highlights not only that there is a

42. J. Gittins intervention in B. Castiglioni, *Di chi è il paesaggio? La partecipazione degli attori nella individuazione, valutazione e pianificazione*, CLEUP Editrice, Padova, 2009, pp. 64-78.

profound connection between it and the landscape, but also that these images, being extremely rooted in the symbolic universe of the populations, cannot fail to influence the social representations of contemporary landscapes.

The latter, therefore, while deriving part of their meaning from the individual perception of each one, are configured as collective constructions, whose meaning derives largely from the socio-cultural context that each individual shares with the other members of the society to which he belongs.

Considering the landscape as a social construction means, therefore, looking at it as a fundamental vehicle of cultural identity for the entire population complex that inhabits a certain territory and that finds in the landscape its own way of organizing the living environment and giving a sense to it.

According to Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, the relationship between place and identity can

be explained in two ways, called "place identification" and "place identity". The first refers to the identification by an individual with a certain place, due to which a resident of London, to take the example of these two authors, could refer to himself defining himself as "Londoner"; in this sense, place identification is a particular form of social identity, in the sense that through it an individual expresses his belonging to a social group defined on the basis of location.⁴³

The place identity theory was instead proposed by Proshansky et al. at the end of the 1970s.

Bonnes and Secchiaroli⁴⁴ recall how, according to these scholars, "the subjective sense of the self is not expressed solely by relations with others, but also by the relationships with the various physical settings within which daily life is specified and structured. In support of such a statement, they underline the impact that they can have on the identity of the

⁴³. C. L. Twigger-Ross and D. L. Uzzell, "Place and identity process" in *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, No 16, 1996, pp. 205-220.

⁴⁴. M. Bonnes and G. Secchiaroli, *Psicologia ambientale: introduzione alla psicologia sociale dell'ambiente*, NIS, Roma, 2002, p. 235.

self, phenomena such as the degradation of the environment of one's own neighbourhood, the frequent change of residence, the technological transformations of the surrounding landscape."⁴⁵

Twigger-Ross and Uzzell also underline that according to this perspective the identity of place is not considered a form of social identity, but a construct in its own right that "describes the process of socialization of the person with the physical world."⁴⁶

These authors, taking in part the distances from this approach, affirm instead: "We would, however, suggest that rather than there is a separate part of identity concerned with place, all aspects of identity will, to greater or less extent, have place-related implications. [...] We explore the extent to an attachment with a place to function to support and develop aspects of identity."⁴⁷

It follows that the link between identity and place passes through the sense of attachment to the place itself.

Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, as far as identity

⁴⁵. H. M. Proshansky, A. K. Fabian and R. Kaminoff, "Place-identity: Physical world socialization of the self" in *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 3, No 1, 1983, pp. 57-83.

⁴⁶. C. L. Twigger-Ross and D. L. Uzzell, "Place and identity process" in *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, No 16, 1996, pp. 205-220.

⁴⁷. Ibidem.

is concerned, refer mainly to the Breakwell identity process model, according to which human identity is to be understood as a sort of "organism" that develops "through the accommodation, assimilation and evaluation of the social world";⁴⁸ the evaluation and selection of information coming from the outside world follow four fundamental principles:

1. Distinctiveness, or "the desire to maintain personal distinctiveness or uniqueness";
2. Continuity, understood as "continuity over time and situation between past and present self-concepts";
3. Self-esteem, or "a positive evaluation of oneself or the group with which one identifies";
4. Self-efficacy, considered "an individual belief in their capability to meet situational demands."⁴⁹

"There is evidence for the establishment and use of place in the maintenance of the continuity of self in place of creating,

48. C. L. Twigger-Ross and D. L. Uzzell, "Place and identity process" in *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, No 16, N 1996, pp. 205-220.

49. Ibidem.

symbolize and establish new selves. There was also evidence for place referent continuity: the landscape is used as a memorial to the person's past. For the two widows, For the memory of their marriage. In this way, it could have been said that the place was a focus for memories that they wished to preserve."⁵⁰

For others, the existence of a familiar building confirmed his/her existence as a young person.

As a conscious preservation of continuity among the respondents, there was evidence of conscious discontinuity. In these cases, a new environment was chosen to mark a new stage in life."⁵¹

The landscape in which we live is not just a collection of known elements that have always been a reference point for orienting ourselves in "our own space"; it allows the orientation also in the time of one's existence because its elements become repositories of memories and experiences, as well as new references for new stages of

50. G. D. Rowles, "Place and personal identity in old age: Observations from Appalachia" in *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 3, No 4, 1983, pp. 299-313.

51. S. E. Hormuth, *The Ecology of Self*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 217-218.

life.

Knez, taking up precisely the studies of Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, effectively summarizes the results of these researches by recalling the ways in which the principles of the Breakwell identity process can be related to the place.

There are therefore four extremely complex processes, which account for how complex the dynamics through which an individual can come to perceive a place as significant for their own existence and for their sense of identity:

1. the *place-related distinctiveness*, which is conceptually equivalent to the place identification of which we have already mentioned above;
2. the *place-referent continuity*, according to which a place represents a point of reference coherent with the individual's past; to take the author's example, it can be traced back to statements such as: "I live in a town because it reminds me of the environment of my childhood."

Closely related to this is the place-congruent continuity, according to which a place is perceived as compatible with one's ideas or beliefs, e.g. "I am living in a town because of that type of congruence with my present self, my opinions of how I want to live."

3. The *place-related self-esteem*, e.g. "Living in a town makes me feel good and / or I am proud to live in a town";
4. The *place-related self-efficacy*, e.g. "Everything I need in my everyday life is in the town."⁵²

Another concept that is at the centre of the interests of environmental psychology is that of place attachment (attachment to the place). It is defined by Hidalgo and Hernández as "an affective bond or link between people and specific places."⁵³

In such a complex context, these authors feel the need to redefine the notion of place attachment in these terms: "a positive affective bond between an individual and a specific place, the main characteristic of

⁵². I. Knez, "Attachment and identity as related to a place and its perceived climate" in *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, No 25, 2005, pp. 207-218.

⁵³. M. C. Hidalgo and B. Hernández, "Place attachment: conceptual and empirical question" in *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, No 21, 2001, pp. 273-281.

which is the tendency to maintain closeness to such a place"⁵⁴, believing that the main characteristic of the sense of attachment is the desire to remain close to the object that arouses such a feeling.

The place attachment has two dimensions, *physical* and *social*: the first relates the sense of attachment to the physical characteristics of the place; the second instead considers this feeling not so much as the expression of a link with a certain place, but with the people who live in that place.

The attachment to the place is linked to social factors, rather than to the characteristics of the place itself, although these two aspects are in fact co-present in this sentiment. According to Williams and Vaske, "place attachment is the environmental psychologist's equivalent of the geographer's *sense of place*."⁵⁵

According to Mautone "the territorial areas [...] are defined, as is known, by ethnic, linguistic, religious, social relations,

⁵⁴. M. C. Hidalgo and B. Hernandez, "Place attachment: conceptual and empirical question" in *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, No 21, 2001, pp. 273-281.

⁵⁵. D. R. Williams and J. J. Vaske quoted in G. Brown and C. Raymond, "The relationship between place attachment and landscape values: towards mapping place attachment" in *Applied Geography*, No 27, pp. 89-211.

etc. that express the identity of human groups; through the symbolic values of the signs impressed daily, space takes on the characteristics of 'places'⁵⁶ through whose strongly individualizing characters are defined landscapes that tell the story, herald future attitudes and place themselves as intermediaries between the 'places' themselves and society."⁵⁷

Looking at the landscape in these terms therefore implies returning to consider that "all the landscapes produced by man in the processes of appropriation or transformation of the environment are symbolic landscapes"; consequently, there is the need "to know the language that was used to understand what a culture has written in the landscape."⁵⁸

56. C. Caldo, Beni culturali e geografia, Patron Editore, Bologna, 1994, pp. 15-30.

57. M. Mautone, "Il paesaggio tra identità e territorialità" in Bollettino della Geografica Italiana, serie XII, vol. IV, 1999, pp. 331-338.

58. M. C. Zerbi, Il paesaggio tra ricerca e progetto, Giappichelli, Torino, 1994, pp. 18-19.

3 - THE WORSHIP PLACES QUESTION

The chapter will focus on the Muslim Worship Places around Berlin and especially those in Kreuzberg.

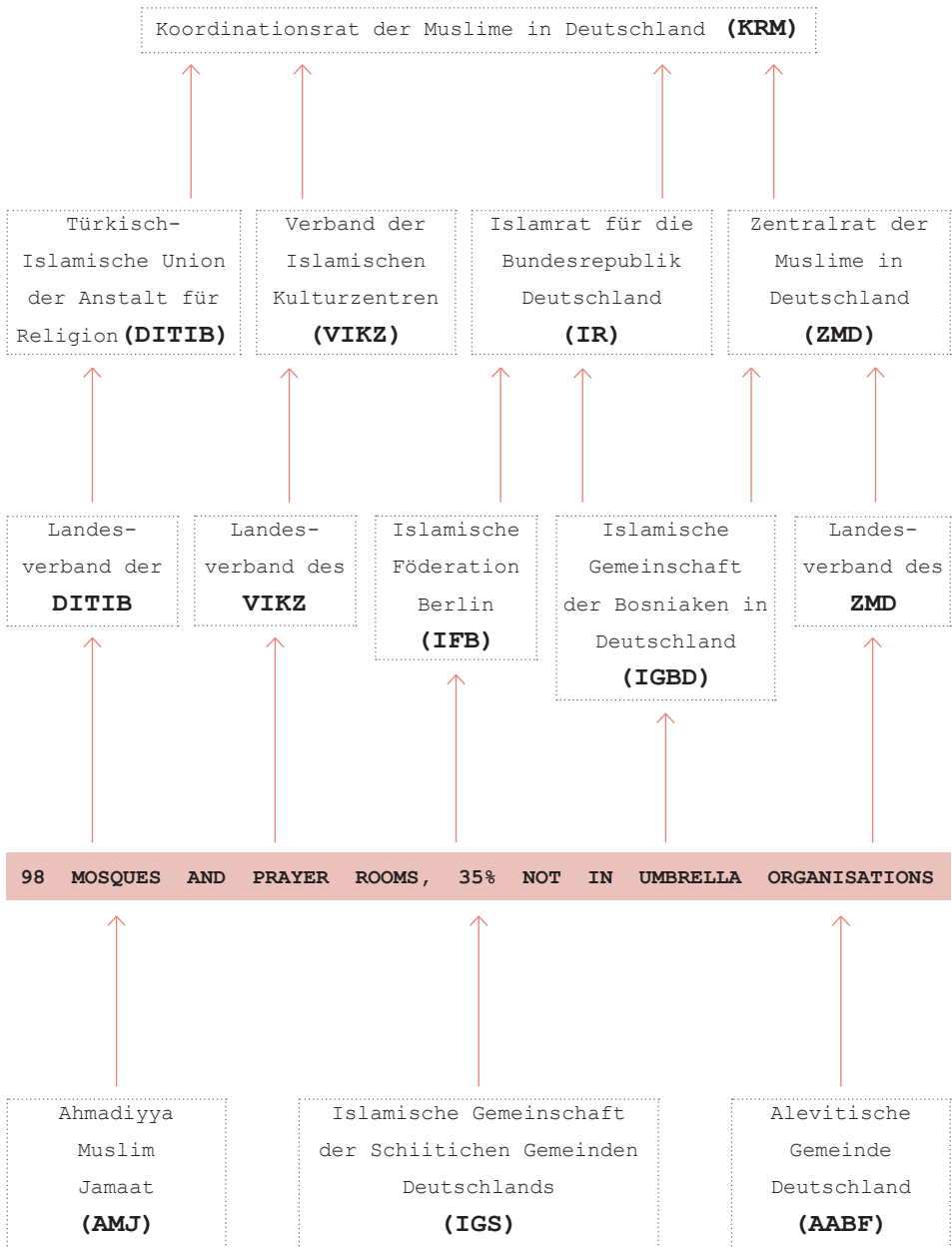
First, the various Islamic Organisations of Berlin will be presented and then, thanks to the fieldwork, it will be shown the complete Berlin Mosque mapping.

After this major overview, the work will focus on Kreuzberg district and in this part will be offered a personal reportage on some of the district Mosques.

From here, it will be possible to start an argument about which are the actual uses and needs of Kreuzberg population.

Last, the carried out analysis will lead to a design scenario, which will constitute the strategy of Kreuzberg identity empowerment.

3.1 - ISLAMIC ORGANISATIONS IN BERLIN.



**Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat Germany KdöR (AMJ) and Ahmadiyya
Anjuman Isha'at-e-Islam Lahore (AAIIL)**



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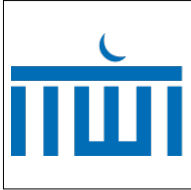
Founded in 1889, Ahmadiyya is represented in Berlin with its two main directions: the group named after the birthplace of its founder, Qadian, today in Pakistan, that is organized in the Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat (AMJ), and the Lahore group organized in the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-e-Islam Lahore (AAIIL). The Wilmersdorf mosque, and thus the first mosque building still in existence in Berlin, was begun in 1924 and put into operation around 1927 by the Lahore-Ahmadis. The AMJ had its community center since 1990, initially in Reinickendorf, and in 2008 an operative mosque in Pankow-Heinersdorf. Many parishioners are originally from Pakistan, where they are subjected to persecution and discrimination because of their affiliation to the reform movement.

Alevitische Gemeinde Deutschlands (AABF)

With the Almanya Alevi Birlikleri Federasyonu the elite of the Alevite communities in Germany was founded in 1994. Berlin member of this umbrella organization is the Alevitische Gemeinde zu Berlin, founded in 1990 as the cultural center of Anatolian Alevis (Anadolu Alevileri Kültür Merkezi, AAKM). It was recognized in 2002 by the Berlin Senate as a religious community under Art. 7 para. 3 GG and thus received the opportunity to teach Alevi religious education in Berlin schools.



Islamic Federation Berlin (IFB)



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The Islamic Federation Berlin was founded in 1980 as an umbrella association for mosque, youth and women's associations. The IFB is a member of the Islamic Council for the Federal Republic of Germany and is characterized by a comprehensive infrastructure. In addition, the Islam Vakfi association pays for financial and real estate management as well as educational institutions. Since its inception, it has struggled to offer Islamic religious education at public schools, which it achieved with the decision of the Higher Administrative Court of Berlin on 4 November 1998. Between the mosques of the IFB and the association IGMG (see below) there are partial cooperations. One IFB mosque is also a member of the IGMG, another one is also a member of ZMD (see below). Since 2010, the IFB has opened for other communities and now unites 17 mosque communities.

Islamic Community of Bosniaks in Germany (IGBD)

The Islamic Cultural Center of the Bosniaks, which has been based in Kreuzberg since 1989, is a member of the Islamic Community of Bosniaks in Germany (IGBD) founded in 1994, with headquarters in Wiesbaden. The umbrella organization unites the approximately 50 Bosnian municipalities in the Federal territory. He is an observing member of the Islamic Council and of the Central Council of Muslims in Germany. In Berlin, the association has two member municipalities.



Islamic Community Milli Görüs (IGMG)



The first predecessor of the Islamic Community Milli Görüs was created in 1976 under the name Avrupa Milli Görüs Teskilati (Association New World View in Europe - AMGT) in Berlin. The nationwide association was founded in 1995 under the name Islamic Community Milli Görüs / Islamic Community New World View. While the IGMG has been listed in the past in the reports of the protection of the federal and state governments, a change towards constitutional orientation is now being made. As a result, the organization is no longer mentioned in the reports of the state protection of some federal states.

Islamic community of the Shiite communities of Germany (IGS)

In 2009, the Islamic Community of the Shiite communities of Germany was founded. Twenty-four Berlin Shiite associations are members of the nationwide umbrella organization, which has its office in Berlin. These operate a total of 15 prayer rooms in the capital.



Islamic Council for the Federal Republic of Germany (IR)



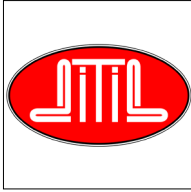
In 1986, several Islamic umbrella organizations joined forces to form the Islamic Council for the Federal Republic of Germany. The IGMG is still the strongest member of the association and the Islamic Federation of Berlin is a member of the Islamic Council. Since its founding, but until now unsuccessfully, the Islamic Council has endeavored to gain recognition as a public corporation (KdöR). Since 2015, Burhan Kesici, headquartered in Berlin, has been sitting in front of the nationwide association.

Turkish Federation Berlin (ADÜTF/TF)

The Turkish Federation Berlin belongs to the Federation of Turkish Democratic Idealist Associations founded in 1978 in Europe, whose headquarters are in Frankfurt am Main. The association does not see itself primarily as a religious community. However, since he regards the cultivation of Turkish language and cultural heritage as one of his tasks, it also includes the Islamic religion. He runs cultural centres with adjoining prayer rooms. While the organization, also known as the "Gray Wolfe," is viewed by critics as an overseas organization of the Turkish Party of the Nationalist Movement (MHP) as well as extremist, its representatives understand themselves as a "patriotic and pan-türkian counter-movement to the alleged claim to dominance of Western cultural powers."



Turkish-Islamic Union of the Institute for Religion (DITIB)



DITIB is the short name of the largest Turkish-Islamic organization in Germany and stands for the Turkish club name Dryanet Isleri Tark slam Birligi. The Berlin umbrella organization was founded in 1982, the federal association based in Köln in 1984. The association maintains close quarters to the Prisdium for Religious Affairs of Turkey. The Hocas (also known as Imams: names for teachers and prayer worshipers) of the 14 DITIB communities in Berlin are sent from Ankara and, employees of the Turkish religious, they are connected to the Turkish general consulates. The Turkish Embassy Counselor for Religious Affairs is chairman of the DITIB at federal level.

Association of Islamic Cultural Centers (VIKZ)

The Association of Islamic Cultural Centers was founded in 1973 in Cologne and established in 1976 in Berlin. The hierarchically structured organization can be described as a mystical lay movement. The focus of activities is the provision of educational services. The VIKZ was a founding member of the two leading associations Islamrat for the Federal Republic of Germany and Central Council of Muslims in Germany. It left both after a few years. In May 2018, the association in Berlin has according to its own information seven member clubs.



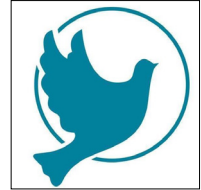
Central Council of Muslims in Germany (ZMD)



Since 1995, the Central Council of Muslims in Germany has been uniting Islamic associations of different nationalities and confessional characteristics under this name and has its headquarters in Cologne. At the federal level, the ZMD is largely subscribing to Sunni as well as Shiite clubs. In the early summer of 2015, a Berlin regional association of the Central Council of Muslims in Germany settled with ten Sunni member associations, seven of which have prayer rooms. Some of these communities are organized in the Islamic Föderation and thus in the Islamic Council as well as in the Central Council of Muslims.

Hizmet Movement

For a long time, the Hizmet movement in Berlin did not appear in Berlin as the operator of mosques. Rather, it focused on the establishment of educational institutions such as tuition clubs or the Spandau Wilhelmstadt Gymnasium and inter-religious initiatives such as the Forum Dialog. With the forum's involvement in the planning for a mosque space in the prayer and teaching house of three religions, The House of One, a new field was explored. By mid-2016, the movement's followers had been asked to join the community and the Friday sermon in mosques of other organizations. Since the coup attempt of 15th July 2016 in Turkey, they face hostility in communities of other organizations. Since then, the movement has supplemented its five cultural associations in Berlin with prayer rooms.

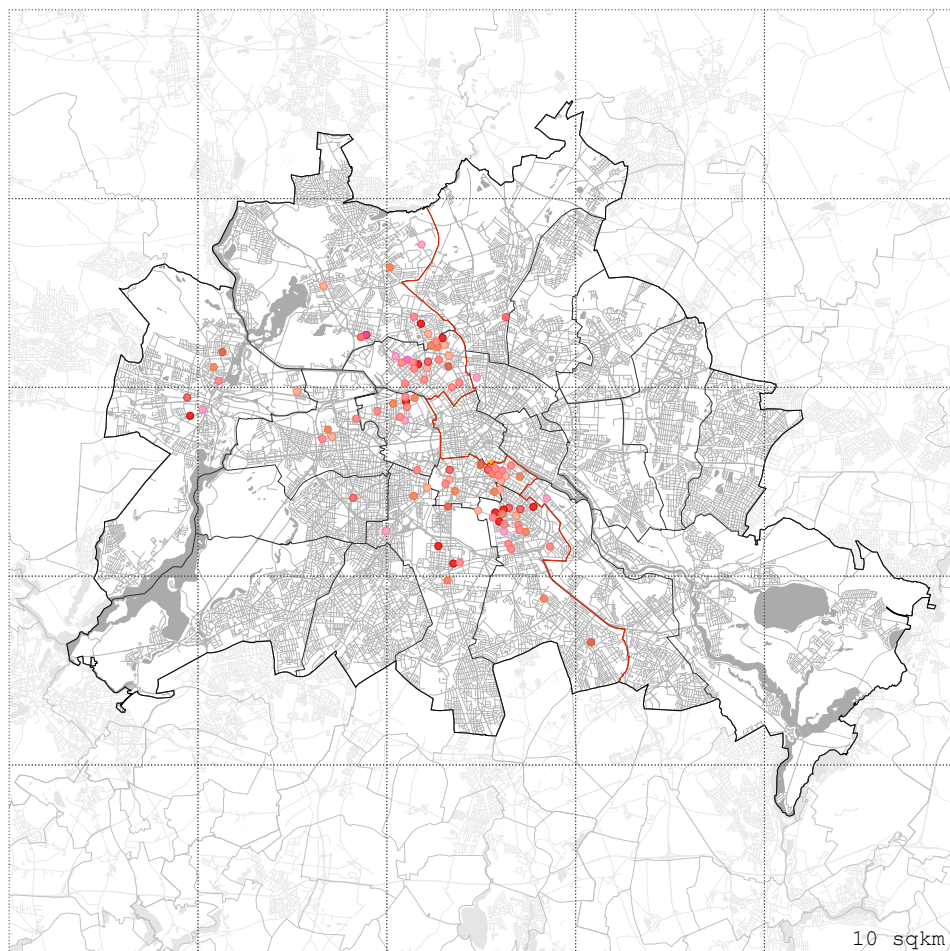


Initiative Berlin Muslims (IBMUS)



The Initiative Berlin Muslims, founded in 1994, is a loose association of eight Islamic associations, including four mosques. The collaboration consists of individual joint initiatives such as the Berlin Islam Week. The aim of her work is to promote the dialogue of Muslims in Berlin with all parts of society and to create a forum for meeting within the community. However, the commitment of IBMUS for some years seems to be limited to individual concrete non-core activities.

3.2 - MOSQUES AROUND BERLIN.



Türkisch-Islamische Union der Anstalt für Religion
(DITIB)

1. Aksemsettin Camii

Bellermannstr. 90, 13357

2. Ditib Anadolu Camii

Katzlerstr. 15, 10829

3. Koca Sinan Camii

Pankower Allee 45, 13409

4. Kocatepe Camii

Grammestr. 17, 13629

5. Merkez Camii

Wiener Str. 12, 10999

6. Mescidi Aksa Camii

Soldiner Str. 72-74, 13359

7. Muradiye Camii

Kottbusser Damm. 75, 10967

8. Orhan Gazi Camii

Obentrautstr. 35 VH, 10963

9. Osman Gazi Camii

Nehringstr. 27, 14059

10. Sehitlik Camii

Columbiadamm 128, 10965

11. Tegel Selimye Camii

Brunowstr. 61, 13507

12. Türk Güres Kulübü

Reichenberger Str. 147, 10999

13. Yeni Camii

Richardstr. 112, 12043

14. Yunus Emre Camii

Reinickendorfer Str. 38/39, 13347



Verband der Islamischen Kulturzentren
(VIKZ)

1. Bayezid Camii

Lindower Str. 18, 13347

2. Hermannplatz Camii/

Hamidiye Camii

Sonnenallee 18/3. HH, 12047

3. Lübars Camii

Quickborner Str. 96, 13439

4. Mabet Camii

Alt-Moabit 112, 10559

5. Neukölln Camii

Hermannstr. 177, 12051

6. Spandau Büyük Camii

Seeburger Str. 90, 13581

7. Sülemaniye Camii

Müllerstr. 119, 13349

8. Valide-i-Sultan Camii

Hedwigstr. 15, 12159



Islamische Föderation Berlin
(IFB)

1. Aysofya Moschee

Stromstr. 35, 10551

2. Aziziye Camii Buckow

Moschee

Möwenweg 36-38, 12359

3. Berlin Vakif Camii

Boppstr. 4, 10967

4. Ensar Camii

Spandauer Damm 40-42, 14059

5. Fatih Camii

Falckensteinstr. 12a, 10997

6. Gazi Osman Pasa Camii

Schöneweider Str. 11, 12055

7. Haci Bayram Veli Camii

Koloniestr. 128, 13359

8. Hasan Basri Moschee

Nostizstr. 19, 10961

9. Interkulturelles Zentrum
für Dialog und Bildung (IZDB)

Drontheimer Str. 32a, 13359

10. Islamischer Kulturverein

Emir Sultan

Hauptstr. 150, 10827

11. Mariendorfer Moschee

Mariendorfer Damm 46, 12109

12. Medina Moschee-IGMG

Ortsverein Wittenau

Finsterwalder Str. 4, 13435

13. Mevlana Moschee

Skalitzer Str. 132, 10999

14. Neuköllner

Begegnungsstätte/Dar Al-Salam

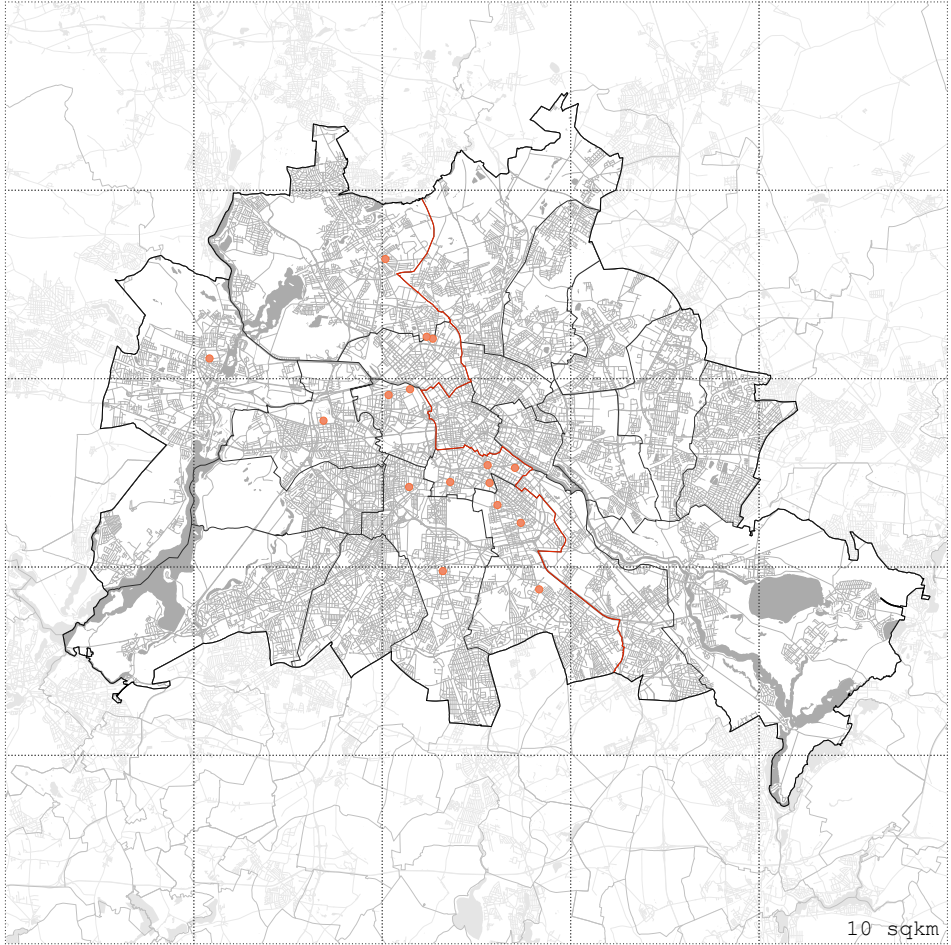
Flughafenstr. 43, 12053

15. Spandauer Moschee

Lynarstr. 17, 10585

16. Sultan Ahmed Moschee

Lehrter Str. 39, 10557



Islamische Gemeinschaft der Schiitischen Gemeinden Deutschlands
(IGS)

1. Al-Hassanein

Perleberger Str. 17, 10557

2. Al-Irschad/Marqaz Al-Qaem

Flughafenstr. 79/81, 12049

3. Al-Mustafa Moschee

Kienitzerstr. 98, 12043

4. Al-Torath

Harzer Str. 51/52, 12059

5. Imam Djafer Sadegh Moschee/

Imam Cafer Sadiq Camii

Koloniestr. 106, 13359

6. Islamische Gemeinde der
Iraner in Berlin-Brandenburg

Ordensmeisterstr. 5, 12099

7. Islamisches Zentrum Imam
Riza

Reuterstr. 93, 12053

8. Kulturzentrum der Afghanen
in Berlin

Friedrich-Wilhelm-Str. 79, 13409

9. Markaz Imam al-Mudjtabi

Maxstr. 17, 13347

10. Markaz Rasulallah

Seeburgerstr. 65, 13581

11. Sayyed Mousa Sadr Zentrum

Manteuffelstr. 4B, 12103



Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland
(ZMD)

1. Interkulturelles Zentrum
für Dialog und Bildung (IZDB)

Drontheimer Str. 32a, 13359

2. Islamisches Kultur-und
Erziehungszentrum

Finowstr. 27/HH, 12045

3. Islamisches Kulturzentrum
der Bosniaken

Adalbertstr. 94, 10999

4. Islamisches Multikulturelles
Zentrum (IMZ), Afrikanische
Moschee

Großbeerenstr. 91, 10963

5. Neuköllner

Begegnungsstätte/Dar Al-Salam

Flughafenstr. 43, 12053

6. Teiba Kulturzentrum

Brunsbütteler Damm 108, 13581

7. Xhamia Ikra Bashkimi

Reinickendorfer Str. 50A, 13347

8. Xhamia Isa Beu

Karl-Marx-Str. 58, 12053



Islamische Gemeinschaft der Bosniaken in Deutschland
(IGBD)

1. Dzemat Ikre Berlin/
Bosniakische Gemeinde Ikre
Berlin

Meteorstr. 30, 13405

2. Islamisches Kulturzentrum
der Bosniaken

Adalbertstr. 94, 10999

Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat **(AMJ)** ,
Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-e-Islam Lahore **(AAIIL)**

144

3. Khadija Moschee

Tiniusstr. 7, 13089

4. Moschee der Ahmadiyya
Muslim Jamaat

Meteorstr. 52, 13045

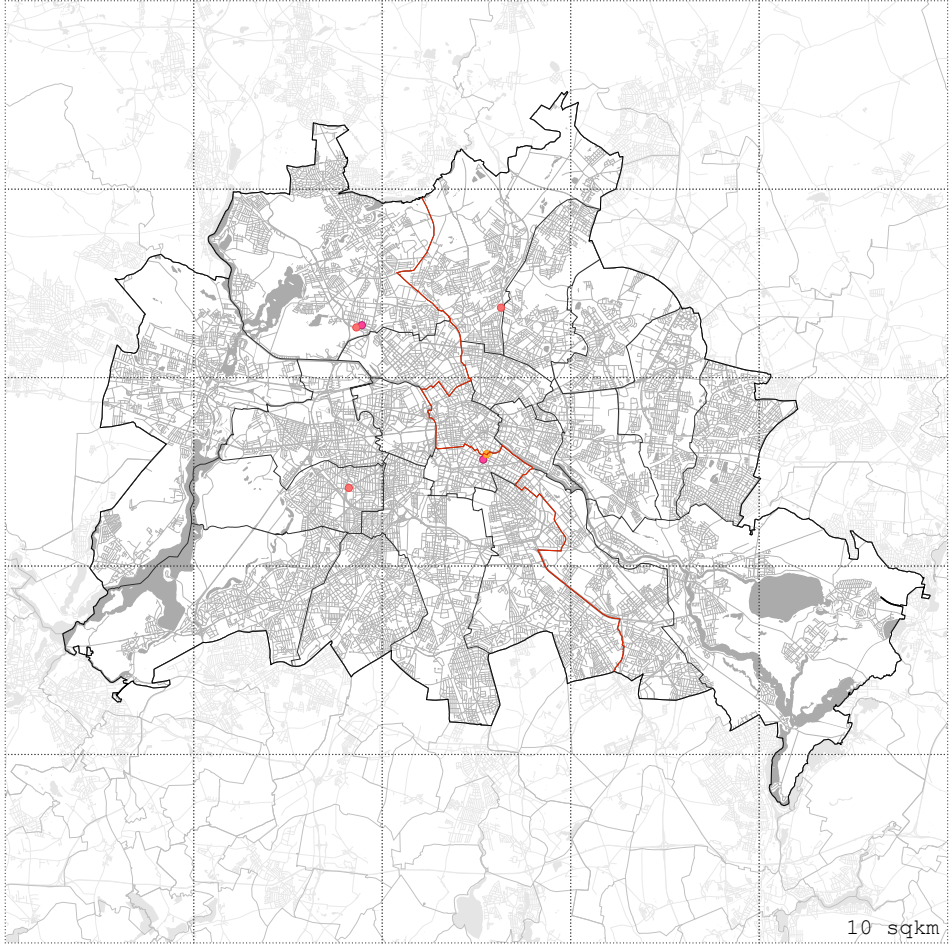
5. Berliner Moschee der
Lahore-Ahmadiyya-Bewegung

Brienner Str. 7, 10713

Alevitische Gemeinde Deutschland
(AABF)

6. Alevitische Gemeinde zu
Berlin

Waldemarstr. 20, 10999



Hizmet-Bewegung
(HIZMET)

1. Elite Bildung

Tempelhofer Damm 2, 12101

2. Institut für Islamische
Information/I-ISIN

Köpernick Str. 184, 12355

3. Kardelen Kultur

Streitstr. 14, 13587

4. Kubik

Badstr. 12, 13357

5. Kulturakademie M&B

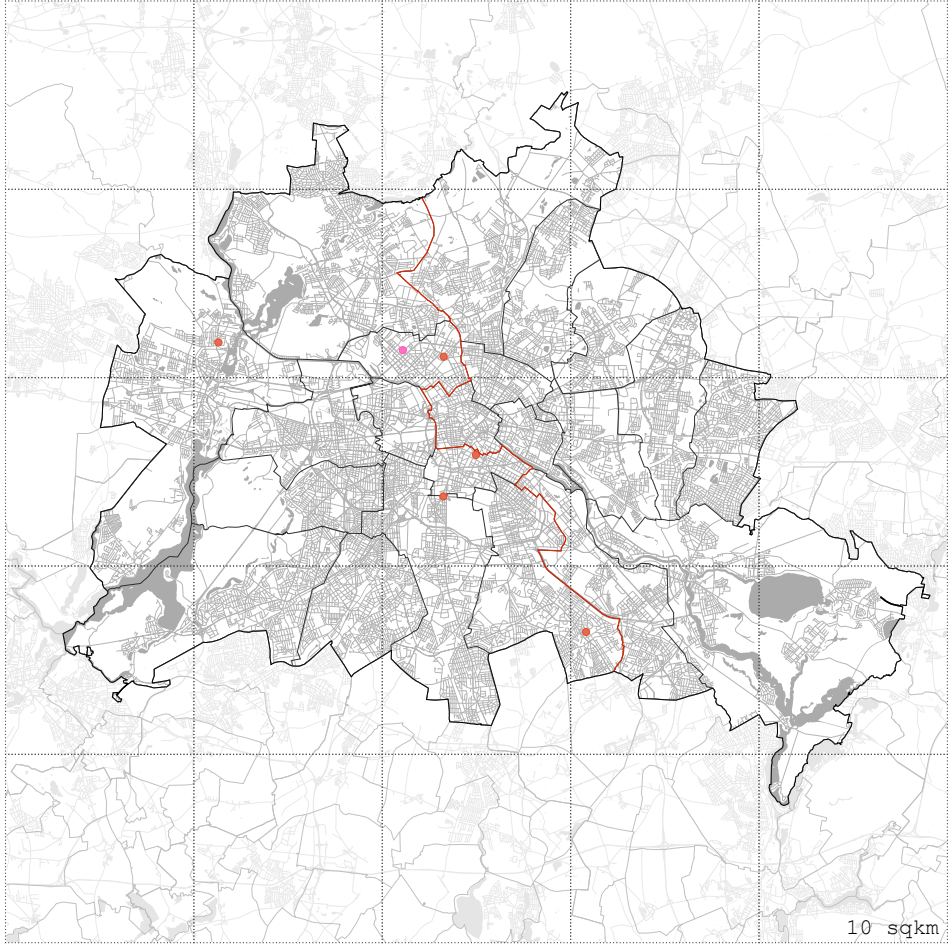
Oranienstr. 55, 10969

146

Islamische Gemeinschaft der Bosniaken in Deutschland
(IGMG)

6. Sultan Abdulhamid Moschee

Amsterdamer Str. 17a, 13347



No Organisations Mosques

1. Afikanische Islamische
Moschee

Leykestraße 4, 12053

2. Al-Nur Moschee

Haberstr. 3, 12057

3. Arresalah Moschee

Brunnenstr. 70/71, 13355

4. Ashabi Kehf Camii

Jasmunder Str. 3, 13355

5. AS-SAHABA Moschee

Torfstr. 14, 13353

6. Al-Salaam Moschee

Goslarer Platz 5, 10589

7. Az-Zaharaa Versammlung

Großbeerenstr. 64, 10963

8. Baital Mukarram Moschee

Fontanestr. 17, 12049

9. Bengalisch-islamisches
Kulturzentrum/Masjid Al-Ummah

Buttmannstr. 17, 13357

10. Bilal Moschee

Drontheimer Str. 16, 13359

11. Ertuğrul Gazi Camii

Oranienstr. 189, 10999

12. Eyüp Sultan Camii

Lindower Str. 24, 13347

13. Haus der Weisheit/Darul
Hikma

Rathenower Str. 16, 10559

14. Haus der Weisheit/Darul
Hikma

Waldstr. 57, 10551

15. Hoca Ahmet Yesevi Camii

Neuendorfer Str. 101, 13585

16. Ibn Rushd-Goethe Moschee

Alt-Moabit 23-25, 10559

17. Ibrahim Al-Khalil Moschee

Colditz Str. 27-29, 12099

18. Idra Minhaj-ul-Quran/
Pakistanisches Kulturzentrum

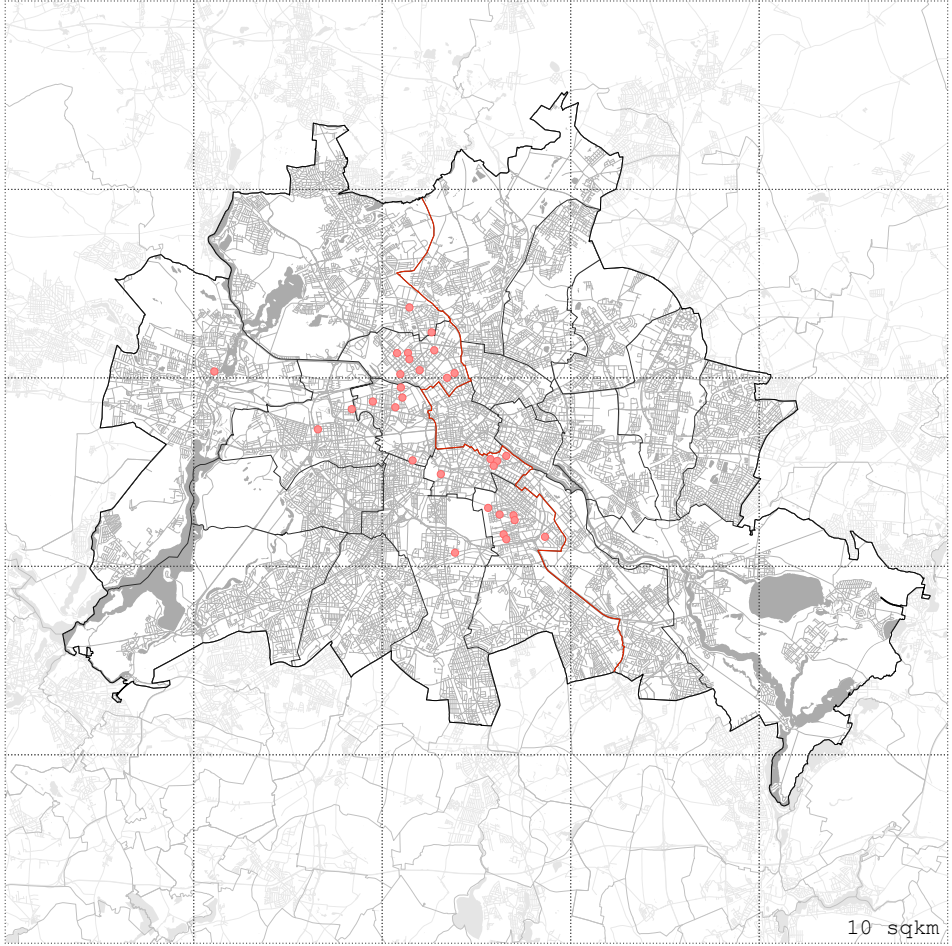
Müllerstr. 47A, 13349

19. Markaz Farhang Islami
Kulturzentrum der Afghanen
in Berlin

Utrechter Str. 33, 13347

20. MasjidAl-Falah/Indonesisches
Weisheits-& Kulturzentrum

Perleberger Str. 61, 10557



21. Medreseti Nuriye

Eisenbahnstr. 16, 10997

22. Mehmed Zahid Kotku Tekkesi

Turiner Str. 6, 13347

23. Merkez Furkan

Glasower Str. 41, 12051

24. Mimar Sinan Camii

Hermannstr. 120, 12051

25. Mizgefta Navenda Mezopotamya

Moschee

Karl-Marx-Str. 194, 12055

26. Omar Ibn Al-Khattab Moschee

Wiener Str. 1-6, 10999

27. Pak Mohammad Moschee

Residenzstr. 9, 13409

28. Seituna

Sophie-Charlotten-Str. 31-32, 14059

29. Semerkand Glaubens-und

Kulturzentrum

Kurfürstenstr. 37/HH, 10785

30. Tekke-i Kadiri Mescidi

Karl-Marx-Str. 179, 12043

31. Vahdet Kulturverein

Reichenberger Str. 147, 10999



3.3 - MAPPING KREUZBERG MOSQUES.

ZMD

1. Islamisches Kulturzentrum der Bosniaken

Adalbertstr. 94, 10999

2. Islamisches Multikulturelles Zentrum (IMZ), Afrikanische Moschee

Großbeerenstr. 91, 10963

DITIB

3. Orhan Gazi Camii

Obentrautstr. 35 VH, 10963

4. Türk Güres Kulübü

Reichenberger Str. 147, 10999

5. Merkez Camii

Wiener Str. 12, 10999

NO ORGANISATION

6. Az-Zaharaa Versammlung

Großbeerenstr. 64, 10963

7. Ertuğrul Gazi Camii

Oranienstr. 189, 10999

8. Omar Ibn Al-Khattab Moschee

Wiener Str. 1-6, 10999

9. Vahdet Kulturverein

Reichenberger Str. 147, 10999

10. Medreseti Nuriye

Eisenbahnstr. 16, 10997

IFB

11. Hasan Basri Moschee

Nostizstr. 19, 10961

12. Berlin Vakif Camii

Boppstr. 4, 10967

13. Mevlana Moschee

Skalitzer Str. 132, 10999

14. Fatih Camii

Falckensteinstr. 12a, 10997

HIZMET

15. Kulturakademie M&B

Oranienstr. 55, 10969

AABF

16. Alevitische Gemeinde zu Berlin

Waldemarstr. 20, 10999



Itinerary of some Kreuzberg Mosques.

It wasn't easy to locate the Mosques in Berlin. Most of the Muslim worship places are hidden or not immediately visible from the street prospect, but above all not indicated in the various online map services.

It was necessary to walk the streets of the neighbourhood carefully, to interview people on the street looking for information on the nearest Camii and to go into the courtyards of some buildings to find the most sheltered.

It is not always possible to visit the Mosques, since there is a feeling of distrust on the part of Muslims towards those who are not and of course I didn't go unnoticed with a camera hanging from my neck.

Unfortunately, over the years there have been several attacks on their places of prayer, ranging from the launch of blunt objects against windows and doors, to blaspheming their religious dogmas, up to the setting of arson.

Moreover, even where I have been allowed to explain my interest in their place of worship, I have not always been granted access, since religion does not always allow women into the altar room.

Therefore, I will report, with photos and words, what my experience and impressions have been in seven Mosques of Kreuzberg where I have been able to access into and which have been highlighted at page 152.

When I arrived to this address, I had the impression to have been mocked by the person who sent me there. There wasn't any sign of a Mosque, but only the entrance door of a residential building. At least, it seemed so.

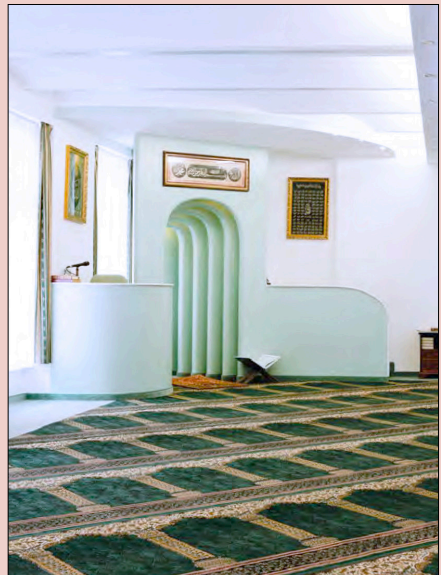
I checked the names on the intercom and nothing appeared, but, while I was looking for a visible sign of a Mosque, someone opened the entrance door and I was able to go inside the court. There it was: in the inside corner of the courtyard a small entrance, but very recognisable.

I was surprised when I realised that all the building was property of the Congregation!

This Mosque seemed to be a forward-thinking one, cause inside there were both men and women (with or without the Hijab) praying in the same room, even though men were in the first lines and women were behind them.

Mosque n°1

Islamisches Kulturzentrum
der Bosniaken



Mosque n°3

Orhan Gazi Camii



This little Muslim Prayer Room is the first one I ever seen in my entire life and the reason why I decided to deal with this thesis research theme.

I was intrigued by this plastic door with the red moon slice on it and I decided to knock the door and ask for a visit.

When inside, I was astonished by the view, even though compared to other prayer rooms this is not the fanciest.

I asked why the entrance door was so basic, while the inside was so details cared and they told me that they underwent through different attacks and they were exhausted of changing doors and windows.

They explained to me that, even though the Camii existed since 1982, they were not welcomed in the neighbourhood and couldn't buy the place either, because the owner was hampered by the neighbours.

On 10th February 2020 they finally reached an agreement for 500 000 Euro to buy the location.

The Merkez Camii was founded in 1982, as the Orhan Gazi, but instead of a former shop, this Camii is situated in a former automobile repair shop, so it's more easily approachable, since it lays on the ground floor, and it's bigger too.

The main entrance for this Mosque was already open when I get there and inside there were other signs, leading to the various prayer rooms or ablution rooms.

This Mosque wasn't one of the more hospitable I visited, because it was very fundamentalist and women were not allowed to stay with men in the same rooms.

Women were allowed to pray only during official events and on Fridays in definite spaces, far from men's ones. When I arrived there, I was stopped by a man, who asked my intentions and suggested me to return on a Friday wearing the veil, otherwise I could have caused the worshippers aggressiveness and it would have been dangerous for me.

Mosque n°5

Merkez Camii



Mosque n°7

Ertuğrul Gazi Camii



Ertuğrul Gazi has been the most authentic surprise for me.

As many other prayer rooms, it's almost undetectable from the street. Once arrived in the courtyard, there's a big external elevator, which can take you directly to the Camii, but there is also a dark passage that through crumbling wood stairs leads you to the prayer room.

Inside, the Camii is small but comfortable and the access is granted anytime during the day, with no surveillance.

There wasn't anybody in the Mosque for praying when I went there.

Next to the elevator, there's a store, whose owner I asked for information about the Camii, but unfortunately couldn't help me, because he spoke neither English nor German.



This is one of the two actual Mosques that I visited. The structure arises on the former Bolle Store, which burned in 1987.

The realisation of the Mosque costed more than 10 million Euro and lasted less than five years.

There is a proper reception at the entrance and the receptionist was available in telling the story of the Mosque and in showing me around the various prayer or ablution rooms.

This is one of the most liberal Worship Place of Berlin, since it is possible for everyone to visit the Mosque and to assist to a religious function, which is led in Arabic, but is live translated in German. Men and women pray in the same rooms, even though different positions and women are allowed to pray without the Hijab.

I was toured all over the place and I discovered the beauty of the ablution rooms.

One particular thing of this Mosque is the presence of Lebanese grocery stores in the third floor of the structure.

Mosque n°8

Omar Ibn Al-Khattab Moschee



Mosque n°13

Mevlana Moschee



This is one of the most ancient Mosques of Berlin, since it was founded during the Seventies, in the same period of the Gastarbeiter phenomenon.

In 2000, the organisation bought the place and started the demolition of the building, they were occupying, in favour of the realisation of a brand new Mosque.

The constructions were stopped many times, because the design was too much Oriental for the site, until they decided to keep it more neutral on the outside, with only the portal which follows the typical oriental decoration rules, and more Islamic styled on the internal facade.

Even though the Mosque is fully institutionalised and offers functions both in Turkic and in German, it's also rigid in rules, as men and women presence in the prayer rooms or the mandatory wearing of the veil.

The thing that caught more my attention, were the separate entrances for men and women.

Fatih Camii has been the most friendly prayer room I visited.

Its entrance is not on the street, but it's visible from there, because it is in a French-inspired courtyard.

It's a medium Worship Place, with a main prayer room and other rooms, in which it's possible to participate to the function thanks to the interphone.

I visited this Mosque on a Friday, which is the sacred day for Islam and I was allowed to observe the Middyday Prayer.

Since I gathered the attention, the Imam himself asked me about my intention after the function and then sent me his son to talk with me. His son, which is a school teacher in Berlin, was able to talk in English and German too and so he shared with me a lot of stories about racism, but also about integration, and made me understand a lot about Muslim culture.

After our conversation, he invited me to have lunch with all the Congregation and it was very touching for me to eat with them.

Mosque n°14

Fatih Camii



3.4 - USES AND NEEDS.

Prayer rooms usually represent the centre of the life of the Islamic community: as in many European cities, they are not only places of prayer and spiritual support in Berlin, but also places of social gathering, educational institutions and points of contact for people who help to look for questions about life.

Municipalities in Berlin mainly provide a prayer room and Muslims use only a small part of their space for activities of different types. Some of these structures also provide their premises for other non-consensual associations or communities. This is particularly true for Shiite prayer rooms.

Islamic prayer rooms in Berlin are equipped with pulpit (minbar), preaching chair (kursi) and prayer niche (mihrab) and offer a great variety of forms and uses: some rooms are used exclusively for prayer, others are used as a place to teach the Koran or as cultural and educational centres, which offer many other offerings besides common

prayer. In the Shiite communities, on the other hand, only such spaces are considered mosques, which are dedicated (for example through a foundation) to the religious purpose of use. Others, also, for prayers, Koranic schools and mosques where preaching and Friday prayers are held are called Ġami (Arabic) and Cami (Turkish) respectively. All registered communities also offer prayers and/or solemn religious festivals. Particularly important here are the two main religious holidays, the *Zuckerfest* at the end of the fasting month of Ramadan and the *Opferfest* until the end of the great pilgrimage, the *Hadsch*.¹

There are 98 mosques and prayer rooms in Berlin. Their distribution in the urban area has remained substantially unchanged. Most Islamic prayer rooms are still located in the western districts of Kreuzberg, Neukölln, Wedding and Tiergarten.²

As some prayer rooms host more than one congregation, the number of Friday prayers is the same. Ten other venues for Friday

1. Erlanger Zentrum für Islam und Recht in Europa, Islamisches Gemeindeleben in Berlin, Riem Spielhaus, Berlin, 2018.

2. Ibidem.

prayers are run by Sufi communities, Shiite or Alevi associations and used for other aspects of Islamic practice. The Alevi community holds the prayers of the community in Cemevi on Thursday.

Three communities that have been housed in local converts have completed the construction of the mosque since 2006 and with the three existing mosque buildings - the Berlin mosque used since 1927 (hence the historic name of the Ahmadiyya mosque) in Wilmersdorf, the newly built Şehitlik mosque in Neukölln between 1999 and 2005 and the Yeni Camii, commissioned in 2004 in Spandau - the total number of buildings erected by and for an Islamic community in Berlin has risen to six.³

The relationship between the Islamic communities that plan the construction of a mosque and their future neighbourhood in Berlin has not always been so devoid of conflict. The Khadija mosque in Pankow-Heinersdorf, which was opened in the autumn of 2008, in the presence of the

³. Erlanger Zentrum für Islam und Recht in Europa, Islamisches Gemeindeleben in Berlin, Riem Spielhaus, Berlin, 2018.

then president of the Bundestag Wolfgang Thierse, is a striking example of a strong protest for the construction of a mosque, counter-demonstrations and an arson attack on the building land.⁴

The additions of mosques in the city do not change the fact that the vast majority of prayer halls continue to be located in the so-called courtyard mosques, i.e. in former converted commercial premises, warehouses or residential buildings. Here, the Islamic communities have established themselves, according to their needs, for the carrying out of weekly prayer and the religious education of children, adolescents and adults. This requires premises that offer enough space to accommodate hundreds of worshippers in the common prayer area, wash in the bathrooms and host a kitchen and seminar rooms. Unlike new mosques, where orientation can be taken into consideration from the beginning, it is often the case that the converted prayer rooms in Berlin should be made "suitable". For example, a

4. Erlanger Zentrum für Islam und Recht in Europa, Islamisches Gemeindeleben in Berlin, Riem Spielhaus, Berlin, 2018.

pulpit and a prayer niche are now found in a former free church of Neukölln. Instead of benches, there is a carpet on which plastic chairs are placed during lessons and paper tablecloths are placed to sneak. The seminar rooms built in the gallery with plasterboard walls are used for language and religion lessons.

Examples of previous use of commercial premises that meet these requirements are in Berlin, for example, a stone-masonry company, a coal trading company, a dance school or a fitness centre. Municipalities do not seem to have reservations about the reuse of previously used spaces, such as garages, pubs, wineries or supermarkets. More important than the previous use are criteria such as the transport connection, the availability of parking lots and the orientation of the buildings in order to ensure that the faithful can line up in Mecca.

The trend towards consolidation of the municipalities through the purchase of

real estate has clearly increased, although decreased, as noted. The reason for this does not lie in the lack of interest of Islamic communities, but in the sharp rise in property prices in Berlin. 36 per cent of the prayer halls are owned by a community or its association.⁵

Based on the experience with non-extended lease contracts and sharply increased rental prices, many other mosque associations express a great interest in buying real estate or premises in which their prayer room is located, in order to safeguard the long-term community work. However, due to price trends on the Berlin real estate market, the acquisition of property is only a realistic option for some municipalities. Many mosques declared that they would have to find new premises in the coming years due to an increase in the rent or the expiry of their lease. However, observing the developments of recent years shows that the search for space for Islamic communities will be rather difficult.⁶

5. E. Akcan, *Open Architecture. Migration, Citizenship and the urban renewal of Berlin-Kreuzberg* by IBA 1984/87, Birkhäuser, Basel, 2018.

4. Ibidem.

The search for suitable rooms or the construction of the mosque currently encounter problems or have occurred in the past on such. The reasons for this were, on request, not only an increase in rental and real estate prices, but also a growing reserve among tenants.⁷

The Muslim society is not perceived as it would be desirable, as represented by the events, on the contrary, it's ostracised.

At the fire attack at the Kreuzberg Mevlana mosque on the night of 12 August 2014, Fazlı Altın, the then president of the Islamic Federation of Berlin (IFB) and at the same time the parish council of the stricken mosque, was not allowed to enter in the structure even after the fire was extinguished. He needed to be accompanied by a foreign consul to their construction and this was irritating for the mosque owners. Most of the politicians who visited the burned mosque in the following days were not, as hoped, on their own initiative, but only at the request and invitation of the

7. E. Akcan, *Open Architecture. Migration, Citizenship and the urban renewal of Berlin-Kreuzberg* by IBA 1984/87, Birkhäuser, Basel, 2018.

community.⁸

Investigators found fire accelerators at the crime scene, which led to the classification of the fire as intentional arson.

Although even buildings recognizable as mosques receive the media attention, attacks on smaller mosques often go unnoticed, partly due to the moderation described at the outset of the attack and the attack report.⁹

The lack of readiness in community relations and the separate registration of Islamophobic crimes introduced only in 2017 have contributed to the fact that for a long time there are no reliable results on the exact number of attacks on mosques.

Despite the difficult data, the OSI study shows that the number of attacks has increased dramatically since 2001. While there were still about 22 attacks per year nationally between 2001 and 2011, in 2012 they were already 35 and in 2013 36. In 2015, the number of reported attacks doubled to 75, of which the authorities assessed the

8. Open Society Institute, Muslims in Berlin, Open Society Foundation, London, 2010.

9. Ibidem.

two thirds as a politically motivated crime (However, only in 16 of the 75 cases was it possible to identify suspects, which means that the vast majority of the cases went unpunished). 28 crimes were reported in the first half of 2017. The social scientist Ulrich Paffrath of the DITIB Academy, who studied the attacked mosques and Muslims, has a high number of unidentified attacks on Muslim institutions and documents a total of 85 for the years 2014 and 2015 and for 2016 a total of 115 cases of attacks on the mosque that did not appear as such in police statistics.

Police authorities nationally counted 950 anti-Islamic crimes at the national level in early 2018, including "attacks on Muslims and more political light and structures such as mosques".¹⁰

The location of mosques is a symbolic expression of the position of Islam in a society or a city. Their social and cultural recognition, can only unleash the productive energies found in the integration work of

10. Open Society Institute, Muslims in Berlin, Open Society Foundation, London, 2010.

mosque associations from which our cities depend so desperately.

In the last decade, the number of church members has dropped dramatically, with the Protestant church losing nearly 20% of its members and the number of Catholic members of the Church has also decreased. A special extreme becomes visible in a parish in Kreuzberg: today it has only less than 5% of the number of members it had in 1890.

The decline in the number of members in Christian communities is in stark contrast to a sharp increase in the number of mosque unions: according to OSI, between 1991 and 2003, it increased by 34%. Timing is predictable, in which Muslims make up the second-largest group of faiths in Berlin.¹¹

The desire for visible mosque spaces regularly leads to conflicts Church buildings occupy privileged places in the city. Some are in the centre of a square, an optical vanishing point from many directions. The mosque communities, on the other hand, must create their own spaces and with this

11. Open Society Institute, Muslims in Berlin, Open Society Foundation, London, 2010.

desire usually start a conflict with the inhabitants of the city centre where the mosque will be built.

To find an organization, prayer rooms and meetings were set up in courtyards or in commercial areas, where they did not conflict with this "special use" with use planning of the urban territory. These mosques have remained largely invisible to the majority of the population, therefore the conflicts over their existence have not been almost turned on. Model building projects bring several social groups to the table. Instead of converting garages, warehouses or empty spaces, the growing presence of Islam is increasingly attempting to build a "representative" mosque or a Friday mosque. Representative mosques are new buildings that are clearly recognizable by their architectural style and oriental minarets. However, they usually go beyond the acceptance of the local, non-Muslim population that lives near the site. There is no example of building a new mosque that would not have

been accompanied by confusing differences in intensity.

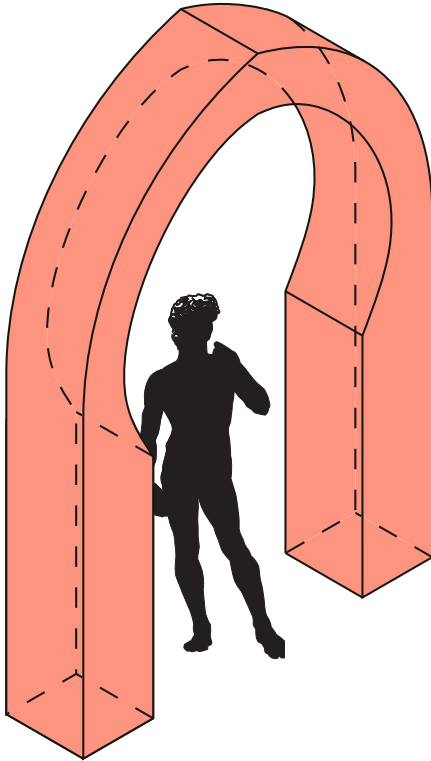
Conflicts in mosque construction can lead to the recognition of the new social normality. Conflicts offer the opportunity for learning processes. Therefore, city policy must be able to initiate moderation and communication processes that help prevent fundamentalism.¹²

¹². E. Akcan, Open Architecture. Migration, Citizenship and the urban renewal of Berlin-Kreuzberg by IBA 1984/87, Birkhäuser, Basel, 2018.

3.5 - ORHAN GAZI CAMII - STRENGTHENING REALISATION: DESIGN SCENARIO.

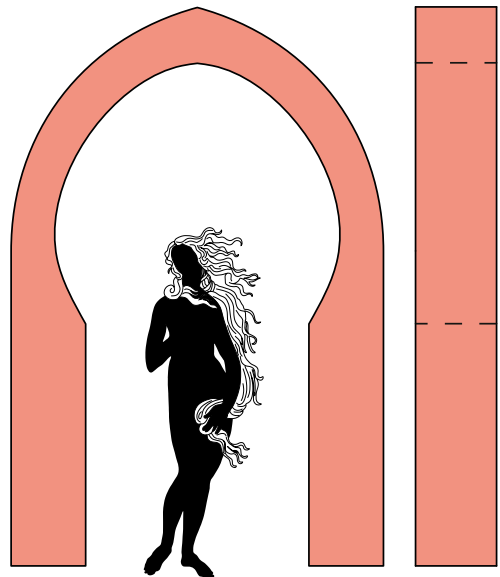
Architectural strategy concept

174

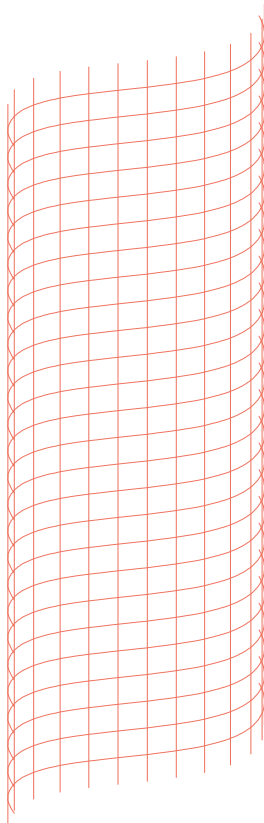
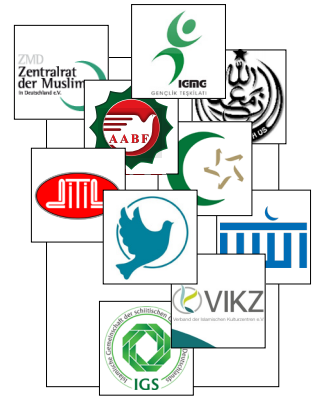


The proposal is a non-fixed portal, which can be easily removed in case the Camii would change location. The structure is designed to be materially light, but formally strong.

Making all the Camii more visible and recognisable is fundamental for their institutionalisation. It provides a knowable pattern sign, which is useful both for the worshippers, that can immediately find the prayer rooms, and for the rest of the community, that must learn to embrace the multiculturalism of Berlin.



The way to make this sign communicative is to let the various religious organisation personalise it with their own colour or symbolism. This means that the material should also be easy to handle.



The structure is conceived as a metal frame which forms the shape of the portal, to which a net, also metallic, is attached.

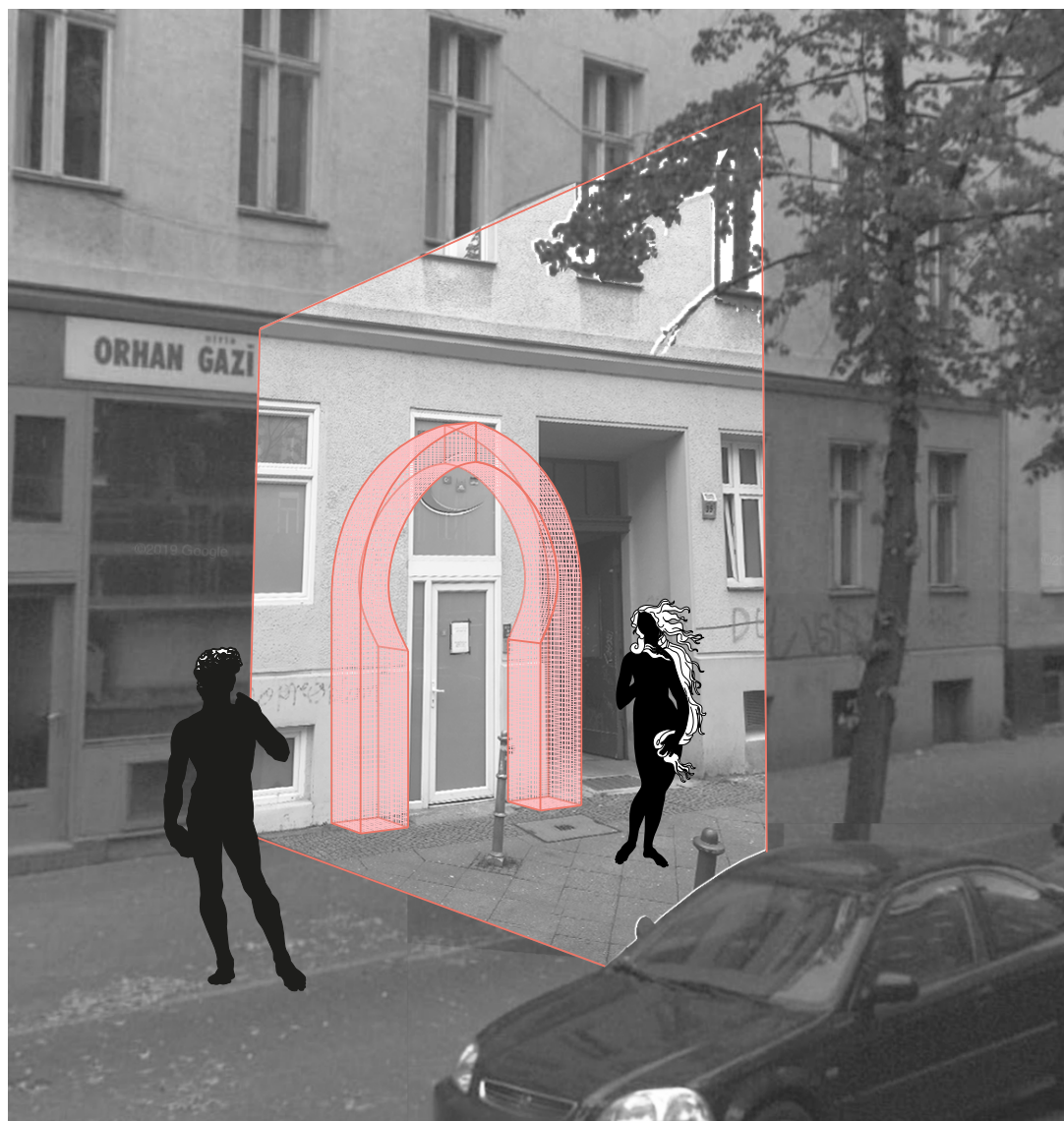
The portal can be left as pure as it is, or it might be covered with posters or mosque events flyers.

It can also be enhanced by a system of lights, which can also serve as a clear sign that indicate if the prayer room is open or not.

In the next pages it will be presented a design scenario, placed at the main entrance of the first Camii I ever visited: The Orhan Gazi Camii Kulturverein, based in Obentrautstrasse 35, 10963 - Kreuzberg.

Design Scenario

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CONCLUSIONS

The presented design scenario is the source of multiple food for thought.

The first idea explains why the architectural strengthening strategy does not choose to build prayer rooms for the copious Turkish community of Kreuzberg from scratch, which gives it its specifically multi-ethnic identity, but instead proposes a light architectural element to be affixed to their entrances.

The reason lies in the theories of Aldo Rossi, already addressed in the first chapter.

When Aldo Rossi speaks of permanences, he implies that buildings die several times over time when they lose the life that pervades them. It is true, however, that after death they undergo a rebirth and this only happens thanks to what remains: the form, the permanence. It follows that, although we speak of death, we do not speak of an end, because what is both alive and dead at the same time cannot be killed. A capitalist city that consumistically

destroys existing forms to build new ones instead perpetually kills itself.

Therefore, so that the city does not die, it is necessary to feed its life, stratifying from time to time new identities on its permanences.

The prayer rooms have adapted to the shape of the buildings that host them, but they have also changed the way of living that space, giving new life to the structure. Thus, walking through the streets of Kreuzberg, you can perceive all that the neighbourhood has experienced: from the splendour of the Weimar republic, to the harassment of war, destruction, reconstruction, demographic booms and dips, house fights, immigration and naturalization, and today the wonderful mix of all this.

In this scenario, architecture stands as a participant of both the collective memory that emerges from the past and the collective will that celebrates the present and inspires the future.

The second idea justifies the choice of

the material of the architectural element, the net, and this has a double significance value.

The first value, linked to the structure of the material, as a tribute to Superstudio. In numerous ambiguously ironic drawings, storyboards, collages and films, the architects covered the city, landscape, ocean, the earth's surface as a whole, and even the outdoor space with grid platforms. The Continuous Monument (1969) which extended the white grid globally was not meant to create interiors or therefore exteriors, but infinite possibilities. In the imaginary world of Superstudio, which could be interpreted as an endorsement of utopian thought, the architects offered infrastructure resources on a grid so that humans could fit into them with any lifestyle and any individual choice.

In fact, it is fundamental for the prayer rooms that they can maintain their uniqueness with respect to the others, since none is the same and each has a precise identity,

although the values and the purposes that they have in common are the same. It is therefore important that they can customize the architectural element at will.

The second value draws inspiration from Edoardo Tresoldi, a very young Italian artist who in recent years has gained the favour of critics for his architectural creations (both restoration and non-restoration) in electro-welded net. Just as the artist reproduces architectural artefacts by dematerialising them, yet allowing a full perception of the same, so the architectural element of the project reproduces the archetype of the portal of a canonical Mosque, dematerialising it, so as not to impose its oriental architectural language on the context of occidental nature.

The third starting point concerns the reason why the architectural element of the project is a non-fixed element.

The issue is related to flexibility. If architecture is at the service of the

collective will, it is also of its needs, which can change over time, and the way a place is lived is as important as its collective memory.

Quoting a concept which has been taught me by the architect Vittorio Jacomussi, it is important that the design respects the Genius Vivendi of a place as well as its Genius Loci.

As discussed in the previous chapters, it is necessary to remember that most of the existing prayer rooms do not own the property in which they are located. It follows that these can be brought to transfer their location over time and therefore require easily removable and repositionable elements.

The fourth and final food for thought is linked to the choice of the shape of the architectural artefact, which, as already mentioned, reproduces the portal of a classic Mosque.

The reason lies in the desire to represent, through architectural language, the

identity of the worship place. This should not be interpreted as a classification act, aimed at ghettoisation, but as an existence statement. As already happened and occurs during the construction of the Mosques in Berlin, this could initially provoke a crisis of conflict, but would lead to the recognition of a new social normality, because the crisis is synonymous with growth. The word *crisis* owes its etymology to the Greek *krísis* which is literally translated as "choice, decision" because what may seem like a moment of discouragement is actually the beginning of improvement.

It is necessary to clarify that identity and flexibility are not two concepts that disagree with each other, since identity is not an entity given forever, fixed and immutable, but an ongoing reality, which is constantly evolving. The anthropologist Francesco Remotti (2001) describes identity as a "mask" and the process of identifying the building as "a matter of decisions": it consists of a negotiation, a selection of

elements and connections between elements that each one chooses among infinite other alternative elements and connections.

This thesis develops his research work in Berlin in a historical period of the city characterized by a strong desire for urban development. For years, the capital has pursued its intent to improve, assisting the work of precious architects with the active participation of citizens in the design of its plans, especially through meetings, summits and forums.

The latest publication by the senate department for urban and environmental development, concerns strategies for 2030 and one of the central themes dealt with is setting new national and international standards, focusing on the legendary mix that characterizes the city.

It is important to approach the territory in such a way as to emphasize the identity of this mix and therefore the *Genius Vivendi*. The scholar Ervin H. Zube (1987) reminds us how the relationship between man and

landscape can be declined according to three main types, depending on the role played by the former in relation to the latter. Man can really be considered:

- as an ecological agent which, like all others, acts on the surrounding environment and modifies it, usually in a negative way. It is an approach that limits itself to seeing man as a simple generator of impacts on the landscape, without considering the socio-cultural and emotional elements that could intervene in the relationship, or considering the benefits that anthropic action could bring to the landscape itself;
- as a passive observer who, looking at a particular landscape, derives some information, which therefore influences his opinions and perceptions with respect to that landscape;
- as a dynamic subject that "lives" the landscape, explores it and involves it, modifying it and letting it change, in a mutual relationship.

Being the artefact through which man
interfaces with the landscape, architecture
must entice the latter to embody the position
of dynamic subject and the architect must
be a careful guide.

APPENDIX – STATISTICS

In the following pages will be shown the original statistical data from the *Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg*, updated to June 30th, 2019.

Stichtag	Berlin	Mitte	Friedrichs- hain- Kreuz- berg	Pankow	Charlotten- burg- Wilmers- dorf	Spandau	Steglitz- Zehlendor- f	Tempel- hof- Schöne- berg	Neukölln	Treptow- Köpenick	Marzahn- Hellens- dorf	Lichten- berg	Reinicken- dorf
Deutsche													
31.12.2007	2 883 854	230 469	200 487	327 985	251 304	193 641	256 184	274 225	234 564	227 142	237 231	231 894	218 728
31.12.2008	2 892 792	232 969	201 834	330 695	251 310	193 677	256 678	274 664	236 186	228 715	235 608	232 497	217 959
31.12.2009	2 909 485	236 032	203 487	333 234	251 864	194 213	257 901	275 686	238 898	230 309	235 860	234 416	217 585
31.12.2010	2 929 756	238 573	205 644	336 938	252 672	195 674	259 633	276 806	241 889	231 546	237 046	235 471	217 864
31.12.2011	2 948 902	241 590	207 928	339 311	253 609	196 731	260 633	277 627	245 136	232 960	238 834	236 561	217 982
31.12.2012	2 965 676	244 113	209 007	341 744	254 748	197 563	261 301	278 193	247 423	234 118	240 360	238 277	218 829
31.12.2013	2 978 695	246 898	209 873	344 476	254 788	198 107	262 124	279 111	248 564	234 886	241 028	239 745	219 095
31.12.2014	2 988 824	249 437	210 327	346 895	254 874	198 260	262 294	279 723	249 199	236 585	241 123	240 455	219 652
31.12.2015	2 989 081	250 026	210 027	348 356	254 598	197 423	261 585	279 672	248 687	237 311	240 963	241 459	218 974
31.12.2016	2 993 881	250 476	209 391	349 723	255 008	196 798	262 923	280 094	247 626	239 543	240 340	242 566	219 393
31.12.2017	3 000 648	251 890	209 525	350 578	256 101	196 237	263 934	280 342	246 942	242 587	240 427	243 375	218 710
31.12.2018	2 999 676	252 387	210 230	350 790	256 083	195 576	263 280	279 882	246 076	244 524	240 417	242 822	217 609
30.06.2019	2 995 868	252 706	210 379	350 599	255 759	195 033	262 602	279 710	245 448	244 927	239 791	242 129	216 785
Ausländer													
31.12.2007	470 004	92 552	59 950	26 573	58 760	22 286	30 786	51 726	68 233	7 837	8 962	18 917	23 422
31.12.2008	470 051	90 334	60 417	26 238	59 453	22 262	31 382	52 203	69 331	7 367	9 029	18 562	23 473
31.12.2009	460 187	91 050	56 480	21 477	60 392	21 231	31 817	52 411	68 752	7 444	8 305	17 210	23 618
31.12.2010	457 806	88 077	55 446	23 079	59 668	22 420	32 067	52 439	65 315	7 828	9 179	18 068	24 220
31.12.2011	478 212	91 562	57 433	25 710	61 302	23 914	33 059	51 734	68 109	8 527	10 398	19 719	26 745
31.12.2012	503 945	95 861	60 464	29 193	64 541	25 742	34 445	50 235	70 933	9 726	11 519	22 228	29 058
31.12.2013	538 729	101 204	63 644	33 056	68 082	28 761	36 076	52 711	73 589	11 065	13 198	25 113	32 230
31.12.2014	573 342	107 069	65 364	37 472	71 480	32 159	36 974	56 044	76 517	12 855	15 050	28 010	34 348
31.12.2015	621 075	113 210	68 366	41 620	75 870	37 207	38 180	61 489	79 375	16 022	18 410	33 683	37 643
31.12.2016	676 741	120 931	71 932	47 683	81 241	43 144	41 163	66 014	79 896	19 981	21 675	40 555	42 526
31.12.2017	711 282	126 075	74 449	51 711	82 730	45 906	43 142	68 397	82 445	22 412	26 257	42 871	44 887
31.12.2018	748 472	131 070	78 890	56 249	85 244	47 504	44 797	71 547	84 710	25 251	28 322	47 671	47 217
30.06.2019	758 550	131 466	79 383	57 166	86 573	48 944	46 095	71 934	84 243	26 226	28 757	49 323	48 440
insgesamt													
31.12.2007	3 353 858	323 021	260 437	354 558	310 064	215 927	286 970	325 951	302 797	234 979	246 193	250 811	242 150
31.12.2008	3 362 843	323 303	262 251	356 933	310 763	215 939	288 060	326 867	305 517	236 082	244 637	251 059	241 432
31.12.2009	3 369 672	327 082	259 967	354 711	312 256	215 444	289 718	328 097	307 650	237 753	244 165	251 626	241 203
31.12.2010	3 387 562	326 650	261 090	360 017	312 340	218 094	291 700	329 245	307 204	239 374	246 225	253 539	242 084
31.12.2011	3 427 114	333 152	265 361	365 021	314 911	220 645	293 692	329 361	313 245	241 487	249 232	256 280	244 727
31.12.2012	3 469 621	339 974	269 471	370 937	319 289	223 305	295 746	328 428	318 356	243 844	251 879	260 505	247 887
31.12.2013	3 517 424	348 102	273 517	377 532	322 870	226 868	298 200	331 822	322 153	245 951	254 226	264 858	251 325
31.12.2014	3 562 166	356 506	275 691	384 367	326 354	230 419	299 268	335 767	325 716	249 440	256 173	268 465	254 000
31.12.2015	3 610 156	363 236	278 393	389 976	330 468	234 630	299 765	341 161	328 062	253 333	259 373	275 142	256 617
31.12.2016	3 670 622	371 407	281 323	397 406	336 249	239 942	304 086	346 108	327 522	259 524	262 015	283 121	261 919
31.12.2017	3 711 930	377 965	289 974	402 289	338 831	242 143	307 076	348 739	329 387	264 999	266 684	286 246	263 597
31.12.2018	3 748 148	383 457	289 120	407 039	341 327	243 080	308 077	351 429	330 786	269 775	268 739	290 493	264 826
30.06.2019	3 754 418	384 172	289 762	407 765	342 332	243 977	308 697	351 644	329 691	271 153	268 548	291 452	265 225

Bezirk	Ins- gesamt	Euro- päische Union (EU)*	Darunter aus Herkunftsgebiet											ehe- maliges Jugo- slawien*	dar. Bosnien und Herze- gowina
			darunter												
			Frank- reich	Griechen- land	Italien	Öster- reich	Spanien	Verein- igtes König- reich	Polen	Bulgarien	Rumänien	Kroatien			
Deutsche mit Migrationshintergrund															
männlich															
01 Mitte	37 624	6 638	644	345	502	257	252	382	2 474	331	215	178	1 677	338	
02 Friedrh.-Kreuzb.	24 484	4 942	591	203	486	237	308	448	1 208	223	218	107	646	120	
03 Pankow	15 929	6 392	529	176	457	355	341	639	1 853	275	252	106	530	96	
04 Charlbg.-Wilmersd.	27 986	6 721	524	421	486	328	282	491	2 313	194	276	264	1 405	209	
05 Spandau	20 825	4 609	140	140	189	104	59	293	2 860	99	141	169	1 218	261	
06 Steglitz-Zehlend.	19 705	6 179	319	347	448	348	185	440	2 565	132	214	226	1 180	267	
07 Tempelh.-Schöneb.	29 837	7 343	392	287	493	274	200	411	3 613	163	241	364	1 623	205	
08 Neukölln	34 809	6 325	346	242	382	203	129	301	3 557	130	189	235	2 302	278	
09 Treptow-Köpenick	8 341	2 909	126	69	163	81	90	163	1 359	97	89	38	515	136	
10 Marzahn-Hellersd.	11 938	2 088	40	37	64	39	27	50	1 155	98	79	26	373	40	
11 Lichtenberg	13 549	2 684	111	55	108	69	70	79	1 172	183	122	40	796	117	
12 Reinickendorf	20 758	4 807	267	153	299	114	113	184	2 776	90	145	178	1 258	250	
Berlin	265 785	61 637	4 029	2 475	4 077	2 409	2 056	3 881	26 905	2 015	2 181	1 931	13 523	2 317	
weiblich															
01 Mitte	36 305	6 969	596	323	472	257	257	388	2 671	422	315	202	1 532	337	
02 Friedrh.-Kreuzb.	24 150	5 409	575	232	454	235	364	424	1 546	212	219	126	641	143	
03 Pankow	17 002	6 928	632	127	472	327	388	515	2 332	331	261	124	531	93	
04 Charlbg.-Wilmersd.	30 080	7 924	592	371	538	304	310	507	3 004	355	393	326	1 455	227	
05 Spandau	20 819	4 819	138	112	174	106	61	289	3 006	108	126	203	1 189	196	
06 Steglitz-Zehlend.	21 116	7 191	417	391	404	361	227	507	2 980	221	324	343	1 100	194	
07 Tempelh.-Schöneb.	30 780	8 079	460	317	555	217	235	382	4 058	230	286	356	1 761	283	
08 Neukölln	34 099	6 807	366	251	443	213	203	288	3 761	164	283	186	2 187	348	
09 Treptow-Köpenick	8 811	3 364	151	72	154	138	58	103	1 592	143	124	52	444	104	
10 Marzahn-Hellersd.	12 447	2 419	49	40	40	52	40	49	1 331	123	102	33	325	48	
11 Lichtenberg	13 904	2 988	100	33	72	85	51	76	1 498	176	114	45	806	151	
12 Reinickendorf	20 700	5 150	369	154	247	163	108	155	2 952	110	179	216	1 332	269	
Berlin	270 213	68 047	4 445	2 423	4 025	2 458	2 302	3 683	30 731	2 595	2 726	2 212	13 303	2 393	
insgesamt															
01 Mitte	73 929	13 607	1 240	668	974	514	509	770	5 145	753	530	380	3 209	675	
02 Friedrh.-Kreuzb.	48 634	10 351	1 166	435	940	472	672	872	2 754	435	437	233	1 287	263	
03 Pankow	32 931	13 320	1 161	303	929	682	729	1 154	4 185	606	513	230	1 061	189	
04 Charlbg.-Wilmersd.	58 066	14 645	1 116	792	1 024	632	592	998	5 317	549	669	590	2 860	436	
05 Spandau	41 644	9 428	278	252	363	210	120	582	5 866	207	267	372	2 407	457	
06 Steglitz-Zehlend.	40 821	13 370	736	738	852	709	412	947	5 545	353	538	569	2 280	461	
07 Tempelh.-Schöneb.	60 617	15 422	852	604	1 048	491	435	793	7 671	393	527	720	3 384	488	
08 Neukölln	68 908	13 132	712	493	825	416	332	589	7 318	294	472	421	4 489	626	
09 Treptow-Köpenick	17 152	6 273	277	141	317	219	148	266	2 951	240	213	90	959	240	
10 Marzahn-Hellersd.	24 385	4 507	89	77	104	91	67	99	2 486	221	181	59	698	88	
11 Lichtenberg	27 453	5 672	211	88	180	154	121	155	2 670	359	236	85	1 602	268	
12 Reinickendorf	41 458	9 957	636	307	546	277	221	339	5 728	200	324	394	2 590	519	
Berlin	535 998	129 684	8 474	4 898	8 102	4 867	4 358	7 564	57 636	4 610	4 907	4 143	26 826	4 710	

Darunter aus Herkunftsgebiet															Bezirk				
dar.	ehemalige Sowjetunion ³	darunter			Islamische Länder (OIC) ⁴ einschl. Syrien	darunter			darunter		Vietnam	Vereinigte Staaten/ USA	nicht eindeutig zuordenbar/ ohne Angabe ⁵						
Serbien		Russische Föderation	Ukraine	Kasachstan		Türkei	Iran	Arabische Länder ⁵ einschl. Syrien						Libanon		Syrien			
Deutsche mit Migrationshintergrund																			
männlich																			
553		2 889	1 268	487		381	16 743	8 160	471	5 835				2 580		520	616	593	5 610
214	1 479	605	200	247	10 257	6 036	344	2 942	1 137	270	562	544	3 951	02					
120	2 521	995	289	528	2 974	739	224	860	206	137	380	528	769	03					
435	3 805	1 239	904	374	8 786	3 020	1 355	3 028	840	331	372	762	3 532	04					
447	3 871	1 709	337	1 300	8 252	3 320	531	2 267	770	215	225	161	2 862	05					
326	1 878	669	380	246	5 395	1 969	793	1 713	397	252	163	933	2 068	06					
589	3 018	1 215	462	614	10 784	5 477	513	3 264	1 352	358	228	466	4 911	07					
942	1 470	600	193	378	16 095	8 524	255	6 028	3 302	452	276	343	6 796	08					
197	1 602	619	160	482	2 096	672	77	570	169	68	189	176	655	09					
163	6 793	3 056	428	2 459	3 821	273	32	437	50	85	808	47	437	10					
277	5 271	2 237	373	1 877	4 002	394	47	943	102	144	1 270	90	820	11					
434	1 966	836	243	524	8 411	4 258	321	2 363	810	176	310	171	3 197	12					
4 697	36 563	15 048	4 456	9 410	97 616	42 842	4 963	30 250	11 715	3 008	5 399	4 814	35 608	Berlin					
weiblich																			
434	3 656	1 441	663	524	14 973	7 669	439	4 830	2 215	376	632	606	5 650	01					
150	1 850	714	272	352	8 949	5 456	277	2 312	1 076	199	526	534	4 198	02					
110	3 142	1 229	380	605	2 518	636	209	599	94	65	530	578	831	03					
402	5 084	1 649	1 168	511	7 781	3 063	1 171	2 105	534	219	436	648	3 893	04					
424	4 296	2 075	350	1 298	7 536	3 238	400	1 832	606	158	166	150	2 963	05					
233	2 447	948	427	384	4 779	1 842	692	1 295	356	184	196	883	2 425	06					
575	3 600	1 477	548	702	9 935	5 294	481	2 768	1 199	284	237	529	5 155	07					
887	1 825	723	215	484	14 275	7 943	243	4 784	2 605	356	283	343	7 169	08					
132	1 971	757	218	473	1 771	604	50	391	106	36	215	166	689	09					
118	7 493	3 420	424	2 655	3 747	235	18	278	43	36	729	27	408	10					
249	5 770	2 487	422	1 846	3 532	362	64	552	74	71	1 272	120	790	11					
401	2 248	966	244	608	7 572	4 001	258	1 910	692	125	297	141	3 283	12					
4 115	43 382	17 886	5 331	10 442	87 368	40 343	4 302	23 656	9 600	2 109	5 519	4 725	37 454	Berlin					
insgesamt																			
987	6 545	2 709	1 150	905	31 716	15 829	910	10 665	4 795	896	1 248	1 199	11 260	01					
364	3 329	1 319	472	599	19 206	11 492	621	5 254	2 213	469	1 088	1 078	8 149	02					
230	5 663	2 224	669	1 133	5 492	1 375	433	1 459	300	202	910	1 106	1 600	03					
837	8 889	2 888	2 072	885	16 567	6 083	2 526	5 133	1 374	550	808	1 410	7 425	04					
871	8 167	3 784	687	2 598	15 788	6 558	931	4 099	1 376	373	391	311	5 825	05					
559	4 325	1 617	807	630	10 174	3 811	1 485	3 008	753	436	359	1 816	4 493	06					
1 164	6 618	2 692	1 010	1 316	20 719	10 771	994	6 032	2 551	642	465	995	10 066	07					
1 829	3 295	1 323	408	862	30 370	16 467	498	10 812	5 907	808	559	686	13 965	08					
329	3 573	1 376	378	955	3 867	1 276	127	961	275	104	404	342	1 344	09					
281	14 286	6 476	852	5 114	7 568	508	50	715	93	121	1 537	74	845	10					
526	11 041	4 724	795	3 723	7 534	756	111	1 495	176	215	2 542	210	1 610	11					
835	4 214	1 802	487	1 132	15 983	8 259	579	4 273	1 502	301	607	312	6 480	12					
8 812	79 945	32 934	9 787	19 852	184 984	83 185	9 265	53 906	21 315	5 117	10 918	9 539	73 062	Berlin					

Bezirk	Ins- gesamt	Euro- päische Union (EU)*	Darunter aus Herkunftsgebiet										ehe- maliges Jugo- slawien*	dar. Bosnien und Herze- gowina
			darunter											
			Frank- reich	Griechen- land	Italien	Öster- reich	Spanien	Verein- igtes König- reich	Polen	Bulgarien	Rumänien	Kroatien		
Ausländer														
männlich														
01 Mitte	70 245	27 105	2 062	1 496	3 139	1 038	1 648	1 752	4 204	3 726	2 177	986	4 650	978
02 Friedrh.-Kreuzb.	41 750	16 351	1 820	757	2 759	814	1 424	1 923	1 268	898	741	487	1 848	434
03 Pankow	29 594	12 492	1 173	514	1 974	750	931	1 374	1 421	631	673	303	1 198	245
04 Charlbg.-Wilmsersd.	44 596	18 331	1 467	1 121	2 469	870	907	1 237	3 482	1 060	1 234	946	3 337	543
05 Spandau	25 291	9 575	153	297	707	187	200	319	3 166	1 534	1 351	731	2 851	600
06 Steglitz-Zehlend.	23 057	8 110	418	641	931	466	329	506	1 789	471	596	625	1 960	385
07 Tempelh.-Schöneb.	37 497	13 963	929	980	1 854	565	646	855	2 679	1 251	1 035	1 109	3 479	627
08 Neukölln	44 330	15 037	1 059	853	1 975	537	789	1 227	2 452	1 725	1 555	758	4 354	757
09 Treptow-Köpenick	14 168	5 243	179	225	476	194	234	297	1 164	652	694	192	974	212
10 Marzahn-Hellersd.	15 208	4 872	52	153	203	64	88	71	1 364	588	1 255	101	921	145
11 Lichtenberg	26 609	7 795	227	278	571	181	294	278	2 039	1 158	1 125	299	2 341	505
12 Reinickendorf	25 458	8 888	437	548	928	214	236	228	2 274	1 575	958	568	2 701	577
Berlin	397 803	147 762	9 976	7 863	17 986	5 880	7 726	10 067	27 302	15 269	13 394	7 105	30 614	6 008
weiblich														
01 Mitte	61 221	23 155	2 057	1 331	2 220	932	1 480	1 094	3 948	3 553	1 507	955	4 225	965
02 Friedrh.-Kreuzb.	37 633	14 739	1 788	675	2 217	887	1 322	1 070	1 564	1 067	601	442	1 783	460
03 Pankow	27 572	11 929	1 185	474	1 634	767	973	771	1 776	695	540	255	1 075	231
04 Charlbg.-Wilmsersd.	41 977	16 896	1 560	902	1 611	876	904	859	3 814	1 056	1 140	877	3 069	537
05 Spandau	23 653	9 053	130	250	473	209	187	183	3 423	1 527	1 040	633	2 547	560
06 Steglitz-Zehlend.	23 038	8 327	516	529	709	515	360	362	2 253	479	436	630	1 985	463
07 Tempelh.-Schöneb.	34 437	12 911	916	882	1 228	530	569	451	3 200	1 172	799	1 107	3 487	681
08 Neukölln	39 913	14 501	1 075	684	1 455	608	723	844	3 060	1 797	1 220	770	4 360	733
09 Treptow-Köpenick	12 058	4 627	200	183	366	196	179	159	1 179	622	612	152	876	208
10 Marzahn-Hellersd.	13 549	4 270	58	149	108	47	83	38	1 376	559	866	67	747	130
11 Lichtenberg	22 714	5 926	211	198	442	137	258	139	1 479	906	805	211	1 961	484
12 Reinickendorf	22 982	8 461	353	446	581	232	188	140	2 705	1 486	705	553	2 531	569
Berlin	360 747	134 795	10 049	6 703	13 044	5 936	7 226	6 110	29 777	14 919	10 271	6 652	28 646	6 021
insgesamt														
01 Mitte	131 466	50 260	4 119	2 827	5 359	1 970	3 128	2 846	8 152	7 279	3 684	1 941	8 875	1 943
02 Friedrh.-Kreuzb.	79 383	31 090	3 608	1 432	4 976	1 701	2 746	2 993	2 832	1 965	1 342	929	3 631	894
03 Pankow	57 166	24 421	2 358	988	3 608	1 517	1 904	2 145	3 197	1 326	1 213	558	2 273	476
04 Charlbg.-Wilmsersd.	86 573	35 227	3 027	2 023	4 080	1 746	1 811	2 096	7 296	2 116	2 374	1 823	6 406	1 080
05 Spandau	48 944	18 628	283	547	1 180	396	387	502	6 589	3 061	2 391	1 364	5 398	1 160
06 Steglitz-Zehlend.	46 095	16 437	934	1 170	1 640	981	689	868	4 042	950	1 032	1 255	3 945	848
07 Tempelh.-Schöneb.	71 934	26 874	1 845	1 862	3 082	1 095	1 215	1 306	5 879	2 423	1 834	2 216	6 966	1 308
08 Neukölln	84 243	29 538	2 134	1 537	3 430	1 145	1 512	2 071	5 512	3 522	2 775	1 528	8 714	1 490
09 Treptow-Köpenick	26 226	9 870	379	408	842	390	413	456	2 343	1 274	1 306	344	1 850	420
10 Marzahn-Hellersd.	28 757	9 142	110	302	311	111	171	109	2 740	1 147	2 121	168	1 668	275
11 Lichtenberg	49 323	13 721	438	476	1 013	318	552	417	3 518	2 064	1 930	510	4 302	989
12 Reinickendorf	48 440	17 349	790	994	1 509	446	424	368	4 979	3 061	1 663	1 121	5 232	1 146
Berlin	758 550	282 557	20 025	14 566	31 030	11 816	14 952	16 177	57 079	30 188	23 665	13 757	59 260	12 029

Darunter aus Herkunftsgebiet														Bezirk
dar.	ehe- malige Sowjet- union ³	darunter			Islamische Länder (OIC) ⁴ einschl. Syrien	darunter				Vietnam	Vereinigte Staaten/ USA	nicht eindeutig zuordenbar/ ohne Angabe ⁵		
Serbien		Russi- sche Fodera- tion	Ukraine	Kasach- stan		Türkei	Iran	Arabische Länder ⁶ einschl. Syrien	darunter					
									Libanon	Syrien				
Ausländer														
männlich														
1 481	3 953	1 699	822	62	24 640	10 779	553	9 753	1 007	3 166	749	1 977	7	01
507	1 611	637	302	29	13 857	8 071	245	4 043	309	1 498	735	1 844	–	02
318	2 189	972	453	43	7 266	942	315	3 963	134	1 787	638	1 480	12	03
1 159	3 978	1 587	888	50	11 720	3 403	981	5 340	403	1 669	367	1 669	–	04
920	1 674	631	295	92	10 724	3 592	535	4 585	289	2 197	178	167	–	05
606	1 665	691	370	38	6 875	1 766	599	2 900	170	1 204	145	1 456	7	06
1 092	2 143	831	531	45	14 009	6 052	413	5 808	538	2 375	180	1 081	9	07
1 484	901	279	181	13	20 087	10 559	306	7 402	1 473	2 003	187	1 059	3	08
292	1 045	402	209	18	5 192	817	198	2 873	115	1 300	367	212	–	09
323	2 251	829	274	183	5 622	459	193	2 962	61	1 505	1 429	61	–	10
827	2 617	1 006	365	124	9 345	819	317	5 280	96	2 740	2 690	225	7	11
892	1 387	636	213	34	11 148	4 559	345	4 165	332	1 700	162	252	3	12
9 901	25 414	10 200	4 903	731	140 485	51 818	5 000	59 074	4 927	23 144	7 827	11 483	48	Berlin
weiblich														
1 389	5 322	2 452	1 097	107	18 859	10 052	383	6 137	692	1 926	939	1 696	10	01
524	2 446	1 028	536	52	10 907	7 430	166	2 544	262	885	1 069	1 599	–	02
308	3 362	1 567	722	82	4 420	642	206	2 145	44	962	830	1 435	9	03
1 192	5 771	2 432	1 485	71	8 409	3 089	803	3 232	217	1 033	451	1 575	3	04
917	2 329	919	478	91	8 594	3 285	375	3 347	195	1 662	325	103	3	05
613	2 583	1 111	591	51	4 959	1 679	470	1 830	127	810	184	1 422	–	06
1 178	3 179	1 242	840	78	10 963	5 654	290	3 844	370	1 672	254	823	–	07
1 712	1 545	506	381	22	15 591	9 663	143	4 870	1 071	1 284	250	889	3	08
314	1 634	677	352	53	3 131	535	130	1 731	61	845	503	201	–	09
312	3 104	1 224	564	227	3 530	223	127	1 709	15	930	1 855	37	–	10
723	3 596	1 525	647	147	6 005	436	223	3 423	50	1 830	3 522	176	–	11
866	1 861	834	345	47	8 546	4 086	226	2 913	215	1 204	232	167	–	12
10 048	36 732	15 517	8 038	1 028	103 914	46 774	3 542	37 725	3 319	15 043	10 414	10 123	28	Berlin
insgesamt														
2 870	9 275	4 151	1 919	169	43 499	20 831	936	15 890	1 699	5 092	1 688	3 673	17	01
1 031	4 057	1 665	838	81	24 764	15 501	411	6 587	571	2 383	1 804	3 443	–	02
626	5 551	2 539	1 175	125	11 686	1 584	521	6 108	178	2 749	1 468	2 915	21	03
2 351	9 749	4 019	2 373	121	20 129	6 492	1 784	8 572	620	2 702	818	3 244	3	04
1 837	4 003	1 550	773	183	19 318	6 877	910	7 932	484	3 859	503	270	3	05
1 219	4 248	1 802	961	89	11 834	3 445	1 069	4 730	297	2 014	329	2 878	7	06
2 270	5 322	2 073	1 371	123	24 972	11 706	703	9 652	908	4 047	434	1 904	9	07
3 196	2 446	785	562	35	35 678	20 222	449	12 272	2 544	3 287	437	1 948	6	08
606	2 679	1 079	561	71	8 323	1 352	328	4 604	176	2 145	870	413	–	09
635	5 355	2 053	838	410	9 152	682	320	4 671	76	2 435	3 284	98	–	10
1 550	6 213	2 531	1 012	271	15 350	1 255	540	8 703	146	4 570	6 212	401	7	11
1 758	3 248	1 470	558	81	19 694	8 645	571	7 078	547	2 904	394	419	3	12
19 949	62 146	25 717	12 941	1 759	244 399	98 592	8 542	96 799	8 246	38 187	18 241	21 606	76	Berlin

Bezirk	Ins- gesamt	Darunter aus Herkunftsgebiet											ehe- males Jugo- slawien²	dar. Bosnien und Herze- gowina
		Euro- päische Union (EU)¹	darunter											
			Frank- reich	Griechen- land	Italien	Öster- reich	Spanien	Verein- igtes König- reich	Polen	Bulgarien	Rumänien	Kroatien		
insgesamt männlich														
01 Mitte	107 869	33 743	2 706	1 841	3 641	1 295	1 900	2 134	6 678	4 057	2 392	1 164	6 327	1 316
02 Friedrh.-Kreuzb.	66 234	21 293	2 411	960	3 245	1 051	1 732	2 371	2 476	1 121	959	594	2 494	554
03 Pankow	45 523	18 884	1 702	690	2 431	1 105	1 272	2 013	3 274	906	925	409	1 728	341
04 Charlbg.-Wilmsersd.	72 582	25 052	1 991	1 542	2 955	1 198	1 189	1 728	5 795	1 254	1 510	1 210	4 742	752
05 Spandau	46 116	14 184	293	437	896	291	259	612	6 026	1 633	1 492	900	4 069	861
06 Steglitz-Zehlend.	42 762	14 289	737	988	1 379	814	514	946	4 354	603	810	851	3 140	652
07 Tempelh.-Schöneb.	67 334	21 306	1 321	1 267	2 347	839	846	1 266	6 292	1 414	1 276	1 473	5 102	832
08 Neukölln	79 139	21 362	1 405	1 095	2 357	740	918	1 528	6 009	1 855	1 744	993	6 656	1 035
09 Treptow-Köpenick	22 509	8 152	305	294	639	275	324	460	2 523	749	783	230	1 489	348
10 Marzahn-Hellersd.	27 146	6 960	92	190	267	103	115	121	2 519	686	1 334	127	1 294	185
11 Lichtenberg	40 158	10 479	338	333	679	250	364	357	3 211	1 341	1 247	339	3 137	627
12 Reinickendorf	46 216	13 695	704	701	1 227	328	349	412	5 050	1 665	1 103	746	3 959	827
Berlin	663 588	209 399	14 005	10 338	22 063	8 289	9 782	13 948	54 207	17 284	15 575	9 036	44 137	8 325
insgesamt weiblich														
01 Mitte	97 526	30 124	2 653	1 654	2 692	1 189	1 737	1 482	6 619	3 975	1 822	1 157	5 757	1 302
02 Friedrh.-Kreuzb.	61 783	20 148	2 363	907	2 671	1 122	1 686	1 494	3 110	1 279	820	568	2 424	603
03 Pankow	44 574	18 857	1 817	601	2 106	1 094	1 361	1 286	4 108	1 026	801	379	1 606	324
04 Charlbg.-Wilmsersd.	72 057	24 820	2 152	1 273	2 149	1 180	1 214	1 366	6 818	1 411	1 533	1 203	4 524	764
05 Spandau	44 472	13 872	268	362	647	315	248	472	6 429	1 635	1 166	836	3 736	756
06 Steglitz-Zehlend.	44 154	15 518	933	920	1 113	876	587	869	5 233	700	760	973	3 085	657
07 Tempelh.-Schöneb.	65 217	20 990	1 376	1 199	1 783	747	804	833	7 258	1 402	1 085	1 463	5 248	964
08 Neukölln	74 012	21 308	1 441	935	1 898	821	926	1 132	6 821	1 961	1 503	956	6 547	1 081
09 Treptow-Köpenick	20 869	7 991	351	255	520	334	237	262	2 771	765	736	204	1 320	312
10 Marzahn-Hellersd.	25 996	6 689	107	189	148	99	123	87	2 707	682	968	100	1 072	178
11 Lichtenberg	36 618	8 914	311	231	514	222	309	215	2 977	1 082	919	256	2 767	635
12 Reinickendorf	43 682	13 611	722	600	828	395	296	295	5 657	1 596	884	769	3 863	838
Berlin	630 980	202 842	14 494	9 126	17 069	8 394	9 528	9 793	60 508	17 514	12 997	8 864	41 949	8 414
insgesamt														
01 Mitte	205 395	63 867	5 359	3 495	6 333	2 484	3 637	3 616	13 297	8 032	4 214	2 321	12 084	2 618
02 Friedrh.-Kreuzb.	128 017	41 441	4 774	1 867	5 916	2 173	3 418	3 865	5 586	2 400	1 779	1 162	4 918	1 157
03 Pankow	90 097	37 741	3 519	1 291	4 537	2 199	2 633	3 299	7 382	1 932	1 726	788	3 334	665
04 Charlbg.-Wilmsersd.	144 639	49 872	4 143	2 815	5 104	2 378	2 403	3 094	12 613	2 665	3 043	2 413	9 266	1 516
05 Spandau	90 588	28 056	561	799	1 543	606	507	1 084	12 455	3 268	2 658	1 736	7 805	1 617
06 Steglitz-Zehlend.	86 916	29 807	1 670	1 908	2 492	1 690	1 101	1 815	9 587	1 303	1 570	1 824	6 225	1 309
07 Tempelh.-Schöneb.	132 551	42 296	2 697	2 466	4 130	1 586	1 650	2 099	13 550	2 816	2 361	2 936	10 350	1 796
08 Neukölln	153 151	42 670	2 846	2 030	4 255	1 561	1 844	2 660	12 830	3 816	3 247	1 949	13 203	2 116
09 Treptow-Köpenick	43 378	16 143	656	549	1 159	609	561	722	5 294	1 514	1 519	434	2 809	660
10 Marzahn-Hellersd.	53 142	13 649	199	379	415	202	238	208	5 226	1 368	2 302	227	2 366	363
11 Lichtenberg	76 776	19 393	649	564	1 193	472	673	572	6 188	2 423	2 166	595	5 904	1 257
12 Reinickendorf	89 898	27 306	1 426	1 301	2 055	723	645	707	10 707	3 261	1 987	1 515	7 822	1 665
Berlin	1 294 548	412 241	28 499	19 464	39 132	16 683	19 310	23 741	114 715	34 798	28 572	17 900	86 086	16 739

Darunter aus Herkunftsgebiet															Bezirk
dar.	ehe- malige Sowjet- union ²	darunter			Islamische Länder (OIC) ⁴ einschl. Syrien	darunter				Vietnam	Vereinigte Staaten/ USA	nicht eindeutig zuordenbar/ ohne Angabe ⁶			
Serbien		Russi- sche Födera- tion	Ukraine	Kasach- stan		Türkei	Iran	Arabische Länder ⁵ einschl. Syrien	darunter						
									Libanon				Syrien		
insgesamt männlich															
2 034	6 842	2 967	1 309	443	41 383	18 939	1 024	15 588	3 587	3 686	1 365	2 570	5 617	01	
721	3 090	1 242	502	276	24 114	14 107	589	6 985	1 446	1 768	1 297	2 388	3 951	02	
438	4 710	1 967	742	571	10 240	1 681	539	4 823	340	1 924	1 018	2 008	781	03	
1 594	7 783	2 826	1 792	424	20 506	6 423	2 336	8 368	1 243	2 000	739	2 431	3 532	04	
1 367	5 545	2 340	632	1 392	18 976	6 912	1 066	6 852	1 059	2 412	403	328	2 862	05	
932	3 543	1 360	750	284	12 270	3 735	1 392	4 613	567	1 456	308	2 389	2 075	06	
1 681	5 161	2 046	993	659	24 793	11 529	926	9 072	1 890	2 733	408	1 547	4 920	07	
2 426	2 371	879	374	391	36 182	19 083	561	13 430	4 775	2 455	463	1 402	6 799	08	
489	2 647	1 021	369	500	7 288	1 489	275	3 443	284	1 368	556	388	655	09	
486	9 044	3 885	702	2 642	9 443	732	225	3 399	111	1 590	2 237	108	437	10	
1 104	7 888	3 243	738	2 001	13 347	1 213	364	6 223	198	2 884	3 960	315	827	11	
1 326	3 353	1 472	456	558	19 559	8 817	666	6 528	1 142	1 876	472	423	3 200	12	
14 598	61 977	25 248	9 359	10 141	238 101	94 660	9 963	89 324	16 642	26 152	13 226	16 297	35 656	Berlin	
weiblich															
1 823	8 978	3 893	1 760	631	33 832	17 721	822	10 967	2 907	2 302	1 571	2 302	5 660	01	
674	4 296	1 742	808	404	19 856	12 886	443	4 856	1 338	1 084	1 595	2 133	4 198	02	
418	6 504	2 796	1 102	687	6 938	1 278	415	2 744	138	1 027	1 360	2 013	840	03	
1 594	10 855	4 081	2 653	582	16 190	6 152	1 974	5 337	751	1 252	887	2 223	3 896	04	
1 341	6 625	2 994	828	1 389	16 130	6 523	775	5 179	801	1 820	491	253	2 966	05	
846	5 030	2 059	1 018	435	9 738	3 521	1 162	3 125	483	994	380	2 305	2 425	06	
1 753	6 779	2 719	1 388	780	20 898	10 948	771	6 612	1 569	1 956	491	1 352	5 155	07	
2 599	3 370	1 229	596	506	29 866	17 606	386	9 654	3 676	1 640	533	1 232	7 172	08	
446	3 605	1 434	570	526	4 902	1 139	180	2 122	167	881	718	367	689	09	
430	10 597	4 644	988	2 882	7 277	458	145	1 987	58	966	2 584	64	408	10	
972	9 366	4 012	1 069	1 993	9 537	798	287	3 975	124	1 901	4 794	296	790	11	
1 267	4 109	1 800	589	655	16 118	8 087	484	4 823	907	1 329	529	308	3 283	12	
14 163	80 114	33 403	13 369	11 470	191 282	87 117	7 844	61 381	12 919	17 152	15 933	14 848	37 482	Berlin	
insgesamt															
3 857	15 820	6 860	3 069	1 074	75 215	36 660	1 846	26 555	6 494	5 988	2 936	4 872	11 277	01	
1 395	7 386	2 984	1 310	680	43 970	26 993	1 032	11 841	2 784	2 852	2 892	4 521	8 149	02	
856	11 214	4 763	1 844	1 258	17 178	2 959	954	7 567	478	2 951	2 378	4 021	1 621	03	
3 188	18 638	6 907	4 445	1 006	36 696	12 575	4 310	13 705	1 994	3 252	1 626	4 654	7 428	04	
2 708	12 170	5 334	1 460	2 781	35 106	13 435	1 841	12 031	1 860	4 232	894	581	5 828	05	
1 778	8 573	3 419	1 768	719	22 008	7 256	2 554	7 738	1 050	2 450	688	4 694	4 500	06	
3 434	11 940	4 765	2 381	1 439	45 691	22 477	1 697	15 684	3 459	4 689	899	2 899	10 075	07	
5 025	5 741	2 108	970	897	66 048	36 689	947	23 084	8 451	4 095	996	2 634	13 971	08	
935	6 252	2 455	939	1 026	12 190	2 628	455	5 565	451	2 249	1 274	755	1 344	09	
916	19 641	8 529	1 690	5 524	16 720	1 190	370	5 386	169	2 556	4 821	172	845	10	
2 076	17 254	7 255	1 807	3 994	22 884	2 011	651	10 198	322	4 785	8 754	611	1 617	11	
2 593	7 462	3 272	1 045	1 213	35 677	16 904	1 150	11 351	2 049	3 205	1 001	731	6 483	12	
28 761	142 091	58 651	22 728	21 611	429 383	181 777	17 807	150 705	29 561	43 304	29 159	31 145	73 138	Berlin	

Land der Staatsangehörigkeit	ins- gesamt	Land der Staatsangehörigkeit	ins- gesamt	Land der Staatsangehörigkeit	ins- gesamt
Europa		Afrika			
Europäische Union (EU)		Nordafrika		Südliches Afrika	
Belgien	2 103	Ägypten	4 720	Angola	666
Bulgarien	30 188	Algerien	1 059	Lesotho	10
Dänemark	3 216	Libyen	3 282	Malawi	27
Estland	914	Marokko	1 776	Mosambik	389
Finnland	2 302	Tunesien	2 796	Namibia	72
Frankreich	20 025	Zusammen	13 633	Sambia	73
Griechenland	14 566	Westafrika		Simbabwe	150
Irland	3 505	Benin	334	Südafrika	813
Italien	31 030	Burkina Faso	199	Zusammen	2 200
Kroatien	13 757	Cabo Verde	24	Sonstiges Afrika ¹	33
Lettland	3 858	Côte d'Ivoire	213	Zusammen	33
Litauen	3 387	Gambia	598	Afrika zusammen	34 584
Luxemburg	822	Ghana	2 707	Amerika	
Malta	110	Guinea	1 181		
Niederlande	6 924	Guinea-Bissau	126	Nordamerika	
Österreich	11 816	Liberia	75	Kanada	4 005
Polen	57 079	Mali	168	Vereinigte Staaten / USA	21 606
Portugal	5 457	Mauretanien	43	Zusammen	25 611
Rumänien	23 665	Niger	61	Mittelamerika und Karibik	
Schweden	4 289	Nigeria	3 362	Barbados	22
Slowakei	1 556	Senegal	464	Costa Rica	228
Slowenien	1 549	Sierra Leone	292	Dominica	27
Spanien	14 952	Togo	292	Dominikanische Republik	488
Tschechische Republik	2 504	Zusammen	10 139	El Salvador	124
Ungarn	6 291	Zentralafrika		Guatemala	150
Vereinigtes Königreich	16 177	Äquatorialguinea	51	Haiti	43
Zypern	380	Gabun	43	Honduras	127
Ehemalige Tschechoslowakei ¹	135	Kamerun	2 674	Jamaika	150
Zusammen	282 557	Kongo, Demokratische Republik	298	Kuba	1 108
Nicht-EU-Länder		Kongo, Republik	184	Mexiko	2 571
Albanien	2 553	Sudan	285	Nicaragua	131
Bosnien und Herzegowina	12 029	Südsudan	12	Panama	64
Island	661	Tschad	104	St. Lucia	12
Kosovo	4 869	Ehemaliger Sudan ¹	167	Trinidad und Tobago	56
Liechtenstein	43	Zusammen	3 818	Zusammen	5 301
Mazedonien	6 565	Ostafrika		Südamerika	
Moldau, Republik	2 926	Äthiopien	525	Argentinien	1 675
Montenegro ²	523	Burundi	22	Bolivien	296
Norwegen	1 946	Dschibuti	25	Brasilien	6 939
Russische Föderation	25 717	Eritrea	1 424	Chile	1 971
Schweiz	6 171	Kenia	1 338	Ecuador	582
Serbien ³	19 949	Madagaskar	119	Kolumbien	2 508
Türkei	98 592	Mauritius	115	Paraguay	87
Ukraine	12 941	Ruanda	45	Peru	1 393
Weißrussland	2 118	Seychellen	12	Uruguay	202
Britische Überseegebiete in Europa	13	Somalia	752	Venezuela	954
Sonstiges Europa ⁴	12	Tansania	184	Zusammen	16 607
Ehemalige Sowjetunion ¹	1 116	Uganda	200	Sonstiges Amerika ⁴	55
Ehemaliges Jugoslawien ¹	19	Zusammen	4 761	Zusammen	55
Zusammen	198 763			Amerika zusammen	47 574
Europa zusammen	481 320				

Land der Staatsangehörigkeit	ins- gesamt	Land der Staatsangehörigkeit	ins- gesamt
Asien		Australien/Ozeanien/Antarktis	
Vorderasien		Australien	4 393
Armenien	1 534	Australien	Zusammen 4 393
Aserbaidshjan	2 006	Ozeanien/Antarktis	
Bahrain	116	Neuseeland	1 100
Georgien	1 914	Tonga	4
Irak	9 215	Zusammen	1 104
Iran	8 542	Sonstiges Australien/Ozeanien/Antarktis ^d	
Israel	5 400	Zusammen	9
Jemen	1 050	zusammen	5 506
Jordanien	1 437		
Katar	32	Sonstige Ausprägungen	
Kuwait	152	Staatenlos	1 439
Libanon	8 246	Ungeklärte Staatsangehörigkeit ^e	22 291
Oman	26	Ohne Angabe zur Staatsangehörigkeit	76
Palastinänische Gebiete ⁵	184	Zusammen	23 806
Saudi-Arabien	741		
Syrien	38 187	Insgesamt	758 550
Vereinigte Arabische Emirate	61		
Zusammen	78 843		
Ost- und Zentralasien			
Afghanistan	12 852		
China ⁶	12 514		
Japan	4 403		
Kasachstan	1 759		
Kirgisistan	448		
Korea, Demokr. Volksrepublik	149		
Korea, Republik	5 397		
Mongolei	1 233		
Tadschikistan	189		
Turkmenistan	772		
Usbekistan	547		
Zusammen	40 263		
Süd- und Südostasien			
Bangladesch	1 794		
Indien	10 675		
Indonesien	2 319		
Kambodscha	159		
Laos	86		
Malaysia	440		
Myanmar	46		
Nepal	800		
Pakistan	4 212		
Philippinen	1 333		
Singapur	333		
Sri Lanka	1 100		
Thailand	4 949		
Vietnam	18 241		
Zusammen	46 487		
Sonstiges Asien ^{4, 5}	167		
Zusammen	167		
Asien zusammen	165 780		

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