Indeterminate Spaces:
An Investigation into Temporary Uses in Berlin and the Implications for Urban Design and the High Street in the UK

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Abstract

A debate is emerging within the context of the current economic climate regarding the exploitation of temporary use to revitalise high streets in the UK. While current strategies adopted by many Local Authorities seek to utilise temporary use as an economic tool, existing research suggests that this may undervalue the full potential of this mode of occupation.

The current debate is confused between the strong tendencies of temporary use towards ‘network sociality’ emphasised by the work of McRobbie (2006) and the emerging evidence demonstrating a move towards a ‘narrative sociality’ (Groth & Corijn, 2005; Studio Urban Catalyst, 2003).

Due to the elongated period of temporary use in Berlin, Germany, case study analysis is undertaken of a property in former East Berlin to investigate the extent to which temporary use is able to demonstrate long-term commitments to space and place. The research reveals that temporary use is particularly capable of contributing to the social sustainability of the wider neighbourhood whilst demonstrating strong tendencies towards self-sufficient enterprise.

Contemporary Urban Design models however continue to be driven by a desire to create long-term spatial visions. The focus of sustainability within Urban Design on long-term and permanent interventions has a large part to play in this also. The result is that these emerging patterns of sustainable forms of working and socialising that are both temporary and informal continue to materialise outside the realms of Urban Design. The investigation reveals that Urban Designers in the UK must look beyond traditional models and measures to find new proactive and interdisciplinary approaches. Only then will it be possible to genuinely engage with temporary uses and discover the potential that informal urbanism offers the urban environment.
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1 Introduction

At a time when demand for property in urban centres and High Streets in Britain has stagnated due to the current recession, filling these spaces with temporary uses has become a popular approach to revitalising the street scene. The purpose of this paper is to determine whether the inherent understanding of temporary use as a tool for economic regeneration falls short of realising its full potential for the urban environment.

The paper investigates vacant and abandoned places and defines these as ‘indeterminate territories’, “any area, space or building where the city’s normal forces of control have not shaped how we perceive, use and occupy them” (Sheridan, pg. 98). The focus will be largely placed on the informal urbanism represented by temporary uses that Groth & Corijn (2005) describe as “new, transitional reappropriations that are assumed by civil or ‘informal’ actors coming from outside the official, institutionalised domain of urban planning and urban politics”.

The paper is largely based on current research from Studio Urban Catalyst¹ and Groth & Corijn², which reveals that temporary uses may form deliberate and positive long-term relationships with the occupied space and surrounding place and contribute to the “social and cultural complexity that constitutes contemporary urbanity” (Groth & Corijn, pg. 503). Work by McRobbie³ is presented to counter these findings, and forms the dominant assumption of the research; that temporary uses privilege network sociality therefore a tension exists between this mode of informal urbanism and ‘narrative sociality’. The core question of the paper is therefore to what extent can temporary use demonstrate a long-term commitment to place and space?

To investigate the Urban Design implications, analysis has been undertaken of a former train storage and repair facility in Berlin, Germany, known as Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk (National Railroad repair factory) or RAW-site. The property has been occupied legally and illegally by temporary uses since it was abandoned by Deutsche Bahn (German Railways) in 1993. Information has been largely sought from three main actors involved with the temporary uses on the RAW-site and from work commissioned by the German Senate Department of Urban Development: Urban Pioneers: Temporary Use and Urban Development in Berlin (Jovis, 2007).

The scope of the study extends from examining the relationship between temporary uses on the RAW-site and the space they occupy to the attitudes demonstrated towards the street and wider neighbourhood.

There are limitations inherent in this case study, notably the variation in the economic context of Berlin and London, however the current recession has bridged the gap between the differences in economic conditions and therefore many lessons can be learnt for the experience in Britain. Therefore although Berlin is not examined on a strict comparative basis with London, it is provided as a city with a considerable timeline in which to examine the evolution and wider impacts of temporary uses.

The paper begins by briefly setting the context for the emergence of indeterminate spaces within the current economic climate. The dilemma highlighted at this point is that Urban Design strategies appear focused on short term problems such as the reduction of activity in urban centers, whilst failing to acknowledge the medium and long term implications of falling retail demand and excessive supply of space. Next, an overview of how temporary uses have been incorporated into urban planning literature in Britain is provided, highlighting the focus on economic regeneration. At this point, the debate relating to the economic, social, cultural and political potential of temporary use is introduced.

Following an outline of the methods adopted for the study, an historical analysis of Berlin and indeterminate spaces and the German Planning System is given to appreciate the evolution and wider impacts of temporary uses in that city. The case study analysis is then provided and discusses the relationship between temporary uses and the space followed by the relationship between temporary uses and the place. The first section examines the environmental commitment to the land, followed by the economic and social structures adopted by temporary uses on the site. The following section looks to the wider social, cultural and political context to determine the impact temporary uses have brought about within the community.

The conclusions reveal that temporary uses can indeed demonstrate a long-term commitment to both the property and wider neighbourhood, challenging McRobbie’s argument (2006) that a tendency towards network sociality conflicts with a narrative form of sociality. The case study in fact presents the possibility that temporary uses are driven towards both a ‘network’ and
A market in a former industrial property in Hackney Wick. Source: Stephen Gill, 2005

This study however will employ the interpretation given by Sheridan (2008) who defines vacant and abandoned properties as ‘indeterminate territories’; “any area, space or building where the city’s normal forces of control have not shaped how we perceive, use and occupy them” (pg. 98). The term indeterminacy is useful in understanding the uncertainty surrounding the ownership, usage and future development of these spaces.

This paper will examine the informal urbanism that emerges from indeterminate territories. Groth & Corijn (2005) describe this type of occupation as “new, transitional reappropriations that are assumed by civil or ‘informal’ actors coming from outside the official, institutionalised domain of urban planning and urban politics” (pg. 506).

These civil or ‘informal’ actors may range from start-up businesses or entrepreneurs to migrants, system refugees, dropouts and part time activists (Studio Urban Catalyst, 2003). Some will deliberately choose to use such locations outside the established structures of society for reasons of enrichment, whilst others are forced to because they do not fit into the official social, cultural or economic structures of society. These actors may choose to negotiate with the property owner and operate under a temporary or informal lease. Others attempt to conceal themselves and operate illegally on the property, in many circumstances to maintain their ‘underground’ and alternate image (Jovis, 2007).

It is difficult to establish when a use becomes temporary however it should be understood as a relative rather than absolute term. The concept of yield is useful to appreciate the place of temporary use within the context of the property market. Generally, developers assume a high yield for investments when the future income is uncertain and therefore the risk is high. This implies that the demand for the proposed use is uncertain so developers will typically want a return on equity as soon as possible. Temporary uses therefore will be permitted or sought by a property owner when the risk of obtaining a profitable tenant is so high that no development seems commercially viable for the short term. However as discussed below, the economic context may not dictate the lifespan of temporary uses.

The following section will discuss the emergence of indeterminate spaces within the current economic climate in the UK and explain the debate surrounding strategies for temporary use.

1.1 Aims of the study

The purpose of this paper is to determine whether the inherent understanding of temporary use as a tool for economic regeneration falls short of realising its full potential for the urban environment. To investigate this, the research aims adopted for the study are to:

1) Establish the commitments and relationships sought between temporary uses, the property they occupy and the surrounding communities;

2) Examine the implications for Urban Design; and

3) Conclude with recommendations to protect and transform temporary use into long-term Urban Design strategies.

1.2 Definitions

The nature and characteristics of vacant and abandoned properties has attracted the attention of a variety of urban spatial design theorists. Through his research into ‘lost space’, Trancik (1986) observed the indefinable, immeasurable and incoherent nature of vacant and abandoned properties. Ignasi de Sola-Morales later coined the term ‘Terrain Vague’ (cited in Davidson, 1995) to describe the absence of limits, sense of liberty and freedom of opportunity he witnessed within empty spaces.

Others observed the redundant character of these spaces. Nielsen (2002) uses the term ‘superfluous landscapes’ to describe the transition these places experience between the end of one use and the beginning of another. The obsolete nature of these spaces was also recognised by Groth & Corijn (2005) particularly within those properties abandoned because of “rampant deindustrialisation processes” (pg. 503). Research from Urban Planning consultancy Studio Urban Catalyst (2003) identifies that these locations range from post-industrial landscapes to vacant infrastructure, former housing settlements, disused public service facilities, ‘infill’ properties and empty retail units, offices or apartments.

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The following section will discuss the emergence of indeterminate spaces within the current economic climate in the UK and explain the debate surrounding strategies for temporary use.
Empty boarded up shops in Bristol, Britain. Source: Matt Cardy/Getty Images.

An empty Woolworths store on Castle Street, Shrewsbury. Source: Andrew Fox/Guardian

Credit Crunch Clearance, a bargain shop on Pride Hill, Shrewsbury. Source: Andrew Fox/Guardian

A number of empty stores culminate in a lack of activity on a London high street. Source: David Crump/Daily Mail
1.3 Economic recession and the High Street in the UK

The current economic recession is pushing property markets around the world into decline. As a result, most cities are experiencing a significant increase in property vacancy rates.

In Britain, a significant, albeit perhaps temporary, impact on the level of activity along many High Streets has occurred due to the considerable fall in demand for property and the abandonment by businesses that once occupied significant floor spaces. This has led The Homes and Communities Agency to announce measures including expediting planning procedures for temporary use, permitting new short-term leases and introducing £3 million of funding to enable easier conversion of vacant premises “into something innovative for the community” (Blears, 2009).

This has resulted in a number of Local Authorities engaging in temporary contracts with property owners and leasing these spaces to community-oriented uses. The London Borough of Camden is one Council that has successfully committed to fill vacant premises with ‘pop up’ shops such as art galleries or other types of enterprises to ensure the high street remains an attractive and visitor-friendly place during the current recession.

Whilst this may result in reactivating these places in the short-term, the current economic environment also allows Urban Designers and other stakeholders to consider whether High Streets and town centres should be dominated by commercial activity once the recession has passed (Wilner, 2009).

Ted Cantle, chair of not-for-profit partnership the Institute of Community Cohesion, and Tony Manwaring, chief of think-tank Tomorrow’s Company (both cited in Wilner, 2009, p.21), believe that opening up vacant buildings on a temporary basis would simply propagate what they consider to be the typical neo-liberal response and “failed economic model” (Wilner, pg. 21). They argue that entrepreneurial talent should be used on a long-term basis to re-plan High Streets, build local sustainability and create new partnerships between people, businesses and communities.

Simon Quin (cited in Wilner, 2009, p.21), chief executive of the Association of Town Centre Management, argues that such uses must be financially self-sufficient rather than reliant on government funding or grants due to the competitiveness of the retail environment.
2 Background

2.1 Temporary Use in Britain and Economic Regeneration

As explained above, the existence of temporary uses is strongly linked to the economic context of an urban area. In places experiencing lower economic pressure, temporary uses will have a far better chance to evolve. It is within this context that the potential for temporary uses to catalyse urban development was first recognised in Britain.

From the late 1980s, proposals emerged from the British American Arts Association (BAAA, 1989) and by the cultural consultancy Comedia (Bianchini et al., 1988) identifying the potential of artists to rehabilitate ‘unproductive’ urban space. Culturally led urban development soon appeared within urban planning literature (Montgomery, 1990); early experiments in the UK include the Sheffield Cultural Industries Quarter (late 1980s), the Temple Bar in Dublin (around 1990) and the Manchester Northern Quarter (dating from 1993).

This emphasis on culture was driven by the debate surrounding the relationship between culture, creativity and the city and the way in which cities like London, New York and Paris were fostering transformations in the world of work, including the growth of the creative service sector (Sassen, 1991; Scott, 2000).

More recent work by Florida (2002) makes the explicit assertion that cultural inputs translate into social and economic outputs and his work has had a significant impact on urban decision-makers and further justified the push towards culturally led urban development and other city revitalisation programmes. Florida (2002) argues that for the first time in history, economic growth is not derived from materials but is now generated by people, predominantly the creative class. Creativity, he claims, has become the principle driving force in the growth and development of cities, regions and nations. Montgomery (2008) argues that almost universally, urban decision-makers therefore assumed that combining culture with revitalisation schemes could “provide the catalyst for physical and environmental renewal, attract spending and capital investment to an area, generate new economic activity and jobs and change or enhance an area’s image” (pg. 143).

The integration of cultural and arts policy and regeneration therefore typically introduced economic development priorities, urban planners and private investors into a field consisting of autonomous artists and subsequently uncertainties, conflict and ambiguities relating to the precise motives of development schemes arose (Mommaas, 2004). He questions the motives behind these significant new forms of city transformation; “Are we dealing here with genuine interest in cultural advancement, with a proper cultural or arts strategy, aimed at the stimulation and development of ‘autonomous’ artistic values?” (pg. 508).

This question highlights the tension between urban renewal and displacement that typically underpins regeneration schemes. As Bassett (1993) explains, the process of cultural regeneration is often concerned with themes of community self-development and self-expression, while economic regeneration is driven by growth and property development and finds expression in prestige projects and place-marketing (p. 1785).

Lange (2006) argues that this was also evident in Berlin where the creative industries and the ‘New Economy’ emerged quite strongly in empty and abandoned properties. He claims that attempts in the past decade to exploit creative work within the capitalisation process has impacted significantly on the amount of space free from economic prerogatives. A renewed debate, which demonstrates strong correlations with Bassett (1993), has emerged regarding the economic potential of indeterminate spaces for the purposes of self-development and self-expression and is explored below.

2.2 An Alternate Form of Economic Regeneration

This has particularly strong implications for Berlin, and London alike, due to the increasing role that emerging entrepreneurs and small businesses hold in the respective urban economies. Berlin in particular is a city experiencing enormous growth in ‘micro-entrepreneurs’ and ‘culturepreneurs’ (see Lange, 2006), a particular breed of entrepreneur experimenting with new social, entrepreneurial and socio-spatial practices. Between 2000 and 2005, the number of start-up and self-employed businesses grew by 19% (Lange et al., 2008). Since then, the current economic climate has left even fewer permanent employment opportunities for the younger generation and therefore increases the desire towards self-employment.

Due to their limited financial base, entrepreneurs...
informal and formal economies. She argues that whilst informal contexts are more conducive to the emergence of innovative practices, formal contexts are necessary to ensure the goods and services emerging from that environment experience a longer life within the urban economy. However is this the general ambition of temporary uses, or do they wish to maintain an informal nature?

Lange (2006) sought to answer this question by investigating the extent to which creative communities wish to be ‘formalised’ and become a permanent part of the urban economy in Berlin. His research suggests that many of these transient communities deliberately avoid commercialisation and branding as ‘cultural industries’ through employing ‘hiding strategies’ in order to survive in a particular location. Many of the characteristics highlighted above are consistent with the sustainability agenda such as the reuse of existing infrastructure, buildings and properties and self-reliant economies formed by temporary use clusters. There however appears to be a tendency to avoid formalisation. This suggests a tension exists between temporary use and sustainable urban design or ‘narrative sociality’ that has yet to be fully explored. The next section will explore the debate relating to the contribution of temporary use to the wider community.

2.3 A ‘network’ or ‘narrative’ form of sociality?

As highlighted above, the separation from economic prerogatives enables indeterminate spaces to generate innovation and significant contributions to the cultural and social capital of cities. Whilst this may prove to be a selling point from a consumption economy perspective or as a catalyst for small business and entrepreneurial activity, what potential exists for vacant properties to contribute in the wider social and cultural development of the surrounding community? The existing debate regarding the spatial and location preferences of temporary uses and how this impacts on the surrounding community is explored below.

Research by Studio Urban Catalyst (2003) indicates that the spatial and locational choices of temporary uses differ significantly. Some temporary uses will prefer locations that are central, easily accessible and in particular, be more concerned with the internal structure of the property than the surrounding context. For example, sites such as Berlin-Ostbahnhof became
occupied by a variety of nightclubs due to the availability of public transport and centrality of the location. More importantly however, these temporary uses displayed little interest in interacting with the surrounding residential and commercial activities and thus, demonstrating a tendency towards ‘network sociality’.

Some uses however will deliberately choose a location to interact with and strengthen the local neighbourhood. Examples of this type of temporary use include Kabelwerke (Cable Works) in Vienna and RAW-Tempel in Berlin who intentionally sought locations that were “well integrated into the urban fabric of the local community” (Studio Urban Catalyst, pg 13). The exact nature of the impact these temporary uses had on the surrounding communities was not explicitly explained however this suggests that despite their informal and transient nature, temporary uses are able to positively influence the surrounding neighbourhood.

A study of ‘culturepreneurs’ in the new creative milieus of Berlin undertaken by Lange (2006) indicates that spatial and locational aspects play a crucial role in the establishment of new start up creative business practices. In fact Lange argues that these factors have been widely ignored and vital questions such as which urban locations they need and whether they will create their own locations and landscapes in the absence of suitable existing ones require examination.

Groth and Corijn (2005) argue that when temporary uses choose to interact with the community, this results in the development of stronger social and cultural identities that are likely to impact on the formation of a locality’s character. Research conducted in Helsinki demonstrated that occupation of Makasiini by a diverse and continually changing user group created a “veritable ‘non-institutionalised’ social and cultural institution in the heart of the city” (pg. 509). This is likely to raise tensions within the identity of place in which removal of temporary uses may imply removal of the locality’s character (Groth & Corijn, 2005).

This may be particularly troublesome when the space becomes a generator of “local grassroots power and identity” (Groth & Corijn, pg. 398), as was the case with Makasiini. However when Bromley (2000) suggests that temporary uses may also represent symbols of “poverty and underdevelopment” (pg. 12) we begin to understand the issues this raises for local planning politics, whereby the Local Authority may be pressured to intervene to protect such local identity once established.

Lloyd (2006) suggests that this no longer constitutes the wider social view of indeterminate spaces as he claims that ‘grit’ has become the new glamour. Such locations, he argues, are not only becoming increasingly accepted but also sought after as destinations and as places of residence. Sampson (2009) agrees, claiming that the popularity of these places increases despite or perhaps even because of, the presence of immigration and certain elements of disorder. To an extent therefore, the idea that indeterminate spaces are representative of “poverty and underdevelopment” (Bromley, pg.12), ‘out of place’ (Douglas, 1966) and deny society a ‘clean’ (Yatmo, 2008) predictable and ‘purified community’ (Sennett, 1970) is perhaps outdated and requires further examination by urban professionals. This however is outside the scope of the study.

The contribution to the wider social and cultural context found by Studio Urban Catalyst (2003) and Groth & Corijn (2005) was not discovered by McRobbie (2006). Her research in fact found that the creative milieu in East London demonstrated a tendency towards ‘network sociality’ and therefore evidence of a “special attachment to the spaces of neighbourhood or community” (McRobbie, 2006, pg. 13) was rarely found.

Wittel (2001) explains that ‘network sociality’ is ‘based on individualisation, and deeply embedded in technology; it is informational, ephemeral but intense and is characterised by an assimilation of work and play” (pg. 71). Therefore McRobbie (2006) argues that living space is typically defined in terms of affordability and therefore relatively little time is spent within the domestic or leisure realms. Such is this temporality of place of residence that it becomes “not a place of living, but a shadowy backdrop for contacts, parties, events and ‘possibilities’” (pg. 19).

Without observing any particular contribution from these transient communities to the surrounding neighbourhood, McRobbie asks; “Can the cultural and the creative re-kindles community so as to allow for the longer-term commitment to place and space and thus to the re-imagining of ‘narrative sociality’?” (pg. 20). This question implies that a tension exists between temporary uses and a narrative form of sociality and challenges the claims of wider social and cultural impacts presented above.

The argument towards network sociality is
supported by Sampson (2009) who claims that indeterminate spaces are often “socially and spatially patterned – highly organised even” (pg. 7). Franck and Stevens (2007) also recognise that ‘messy’ environments are often the result of a strong social order not evident to outsiders.

The current debate surrounding temporary uses argues that this mode of informal urbanism demonstrates tendencies towards both ‘network sociality’ and ‘narrative sociality’. Although research indicates that temporary uses may develop self-reliant economic structures (Lange, 2006), strong social and cultural inclusion (Groth & Corijn, 2005), bottom-up development patterns and re-use existing resources (Studio Urban Catalyst, 2003), McRobbie (2005) suggests that transient communities will privilege ‘network sociality’ and not long-term, sustainable relationships with the surrounding neighbourhood.

The existing debate therefore leaves questions regarding the potential for tension to exist between temporary uses, the surrounding neighbourhood and the sustainability agenda unanswered. Furthermore, in the absence of a genuine contribution from the perspective of Urban Design, the implications of indeterminate spaces and temporary use for the street and surrounding community remain unclear.

3 Scope and methodology of the study

3.1 Research question

The primary aim of this research is therefore to establish the commitments and relationships sought between temporary uses, the property they occupy and the surrounding communities. Once this is understood, the implications for Urban Design may be examined and therefore more effective strategies to protect and transform temporary use into long-term Urban Design strategies may emerge.

Therefore the core question of the paper is to what extent can temporary use demonstrate a long-term commitment to place and space? The paper will then discuss the theoretical and practical implications of temporary use for Urban Design.

3.2 Methods

To determine this, the study will analyse a site awaiting redevelopment in Berlin, Germany, known as the RAW-site which is currently occupied by temporary uses. This property has been chosen because of the range of temporary use typologies on site and the different motivations these uses demonstrate towards the property itself and the neighbourhood. The size of the site enables examination at both the scale of a single temporary use and at the level of the wider cluster. As mentioned previously, Studio Urban Catalyst (2003) found that the temporary uses within the organisation RAW-Tempel were well integrated with the local community however did not explicitly explain how this relationship developed. The paper will therefore examine how this integration occurred and to what extent this remains the case today.

There are certainly limitations inherent in this case study, notably the variation in the economic context of Berlin and London, however the current recession has bridged the gap between the differences in economic conditions and therefore many lessons can be learnt for the experience in Britain. Variations in the social, cultural and political context may however affect the ability to extrapolate results however the informal and transient nature of the urbanism under examination implies that it develops independently of social, cultural and political norms. Therefore although Berlin is not examined on a strict comparative basis with London, it is
The findings are primarily based on the information obtained from three semi-structured interviews undertaken in May 2009 and secondary sources. The interviews were undertaken with three ‘representatives’ involved in the initial appropriation of the RAW-site and an actor prominent in the public debate. This include Mikado Schütt, Head of the RAW-Tempel organisation which established on the RAW-site in 1998 to provide an organisational and legal framework for the temporary uses occupying the site; Frauke Hehl, Founder of RAW-Tempel project partners Workstation Ideenwerkstatt Berlin e.V (Workstation) and Ideenaufruf who initiated and conducted a community forum for the RAW-site; and Michael Rostalski, a member of Workstation currently completing his PhD on local-political participatory processes in relation to the RAW-site. The secondary source analysis includes examination of relevant academic research, existing media coverage and documentation issued by the Local Authority and actors directly involved in the site.

Due to the qualitative nature of the investigation, interviews with key actors were considered necessary to garner an appreciation of the different commitments and relationships temporary uses have established with the site and the surrounding community. All three interviewees have partaken in quite separate and distinct roles in relation to the RAW-site and as such, each have dealt with different temporary uses and segments of the community. The commitments and relationships highlighted by interviewees could be confirmed and challenged by one another, presenting a more objective overall picture.

These findings are supplemented by spatial and social space analysis undertaken through observation of the site. This consisted of five site inspections that were undertaken to investigate the use of public space within the site and the relationship between the site and the street. Other site visits were taken to observe demonstrations and other public events to garner an appreciation of the wider social and cultural impact of the temporary uses. Observation was considered the appropriate method to obtain this information due to its effectiveness for examining public behaviour from an objective perspective. This allowed the assumptions of the author and information gathered from the interviews to be both challenged and confirmed.

3.3 Ethical implications of the study

This research has been undertaken in accordance with the seven principles identified by the Nolan Committee on Standards in Public Life; selflessness, integrity, objectivity, accountability, openness, honesty and leadership. Further, the research has been carried out in conformity with current legislation.
Figure 1: Location of the Berlin Wall. This barrier severed Kreuzberg from neighbouring areas Mitte and Friedrichshain for almost three decades. The proximity of the RAW-site is indicated also.

Wagendorf and farm animals with the Reichstag in the background. Source: Dougal Sheridan, 1994-1996

Indeterminate space resulting from the removal of the Berlin wall. Source: Benjamin Zagami, 2008
by introducing incentives to lure people back to the city. The most effective measure taken was exempting those males living in West Berlin from compulsory military service. The type of men attracted were of a very specific demographic – typically discontented students and predominantly Turkish immigrants and without rights of citizenship. The poor condition of housing and cheap rent in Kreuzberg created the ideal environment for the generation of a variety of cooperative enterprises, ranging from residential communes to alternative businesses. As such, Kreuzberg emerged as the symbol of West Berlin political activism from which many alternative movements and youth subcultures developed.

The fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 was the catalyst for the political re-unification of Germany and the Kritische Rekonstruktion (Critical Reconstruction) of Berlin. For East Berlin the transformation from centralised control over land, planning and resources resulted in large expanses of property left in indeterminate ownership. Many properties owned by Jewish people who had either fled Germany or had been killed during the war now lay abandoned. The ownership of land that had passed from the Nazi regime to the Soviet occupation authorities and again to the East German government was also unclear. Furthermore, former East German housing policy and the absence of renovation associated with private ownership had left the existing 19th century housing stock in a state of decay.

When the Berlin wall was removed, there were 25,000 empty dwellings in East Berlin, more than twice the number that had been vacant in West Berlin in the 1980s (Sheridan, 2008). This grand demolition also opened prominently located sites within the central city. Images of temporary uses occupying land in close proximity to the Reichstag (German Parliament) and other Berlin institutions have characterised the city since reunification.

The phase of ‘Critical Reconstruction’ assumed significant population growth for Berlin and subsequently a development boom followed. This however concentrated primarily on the Berlin-Mitte area and ignored much of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. Industry within the city experienced a delayed collapse resulting in considerable economic decline and high unemployment during the 1990s. The conditions of the urban form in former East Berlin prior to the removal of the wall therefore remained largely unchanged. This created an environment...
‘Culturepreneurs’ are continually searching for new hidden spaces in Berlin. East Side Beach in Friedrichshain opened in 2002 and hosts an outdoor bar in the Ostbahnhof area. Source: Jovis, 2007

Bars and clubs along the canal in Kreuzberg. Many temporary uses that began during the 1990s still exist today. Source: Jovis, 2007

Figure 2: Site context map
Property owners had already become aware of the benefits gained from accepting non-profitable tenants on a short-term lease because these uses often bought the property into the public light and was therefore used as a marketing strategy. The official introduction of the term Zwischennutzung (interim use) as a land use term into the German Planning system had very little impact on the role of temporary use. In most circumstances, once it became possible for property owners to pursue commercial redevelopment of their site, temporary uses would continue to be forced to relocate or disband. Mr Rostalski (interview), a member of the ‘Workstation’ organisation who has been closely aligned with temporary uses for the past decade, claims that at this stage, urban decision-makers in Berlin had not even contemplated the potential of temporary uses beyond opportunities for financial benefit.

In 2004, the Senate Department of Urban Development recognised the importance of temporary use and commissioned a study focusing on the ‘informal’ actors leading the process of informal urbanism; Land Pioneers of Berlin (Raumpioniere, 2004). This led to an investigation into the implications of temporary uses for urban development strategies, published as Urban Pioneers: Temporary Use and Urban Development in Berlin (Jovis, 2007). The findings reveal that a high concentration of temporary uses (32) exist around the banks of the river Spree in former East Berlin, the area designated for one of the few grand urban development projects devised for Berlin towards the late 1990s, ‘Media Spree’. This has sparked an ongoing tension between local and international interests. The Media Spree project continues to be promoted heavily by the Government today and seeks to redevelop the waterfront into a location for media-related industries and services. Planning permission has already been provided for a number of developments in the area, however only a limited number have been built due to lack of financial backing. Those that have eventuated include new headquarters for both Universal Studios and MTV and 02 World, a new major concert arena (see Figure 2 opposite).

Rostalski (interview) argues that the report was commissioned simply to promote Berlin’s alternative and creative culture to investors rather than supporting ‘on the ground’ sub cultural initiatives. Porter et al. (2009) agree and argue that the Government of Berlin opted to value new development by its “economic

4.1 Temporary uses and the German Planning System

The initial investigations into temporary use that catapulted informal urbanism into the realms of the German Planning System were undertaken by Studio Urban Catalyst in 2001. This research was based on the idea that temporary uses formed an alternate strategy for the urban development of Berlin, with limited examination at the level of Urban Design. The analysis highlighted the economic benefits of temporary uses for property owners in relation to re-activating vacant and abandoned buildings and properties. Shortly following the subsequent publication Urban Catalysts (Studio Urban Catalyst) in 2003, temporary uses became a widely used economic tool in Germany.
Figure 3: Current temporary uses occupying the RAW-site

Figure 4: The buildings occupied by the RAW-Tempel organisation
potency and real estate value, rather than the contribution of established residents of the area” (pg. 101) resulting in a transformation of many existing subcultures from social movements to brands.

5 Case Study investigation: Berlin

The RAW-site is located in Friedrichshain, eastern Berlin, at 99 Revaler Strasse and remains occupied by the remnants of Germany’s largest and oldest train storage and repair facility constructed in 1867 (known in German as Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk or the RAW-site). This particular area of Friedrichshain is wedged between the socioeconomically problematic, high-density residential neighbourhood of Boxhagener Kiez to the north, and the train lines and new development associated with the Media Spree project along the northern side of the River Spree to the south. The location away from the river itself has ensured that it has received less interest for commercial redevelopment.

The property comprises approximately ten hectares and is bordered by Revaler Strasse to the north, Modersohn Strasse to the east, the railway line and Warschauer Strasse S-Bahn railway station to the south and Warschauer Strasse to the west. The temporary uses on the site currently occupy approximately six hectares.

In the 1920s the facility employed around 1200 workers and had become a densely built small village containing administration buildings, homes for the workers, a kindergarten, hospital, gas station and cultural institutions. During World War II, the site was used as a labor camp for prisoners of war who were forced to repair war-damaged trains. After the war, the GDR (German Democratic Republic) Government renamed the site in honor of the Bavarian railway worker Franz Stenzer who was murdered by the Nazi Party in 1933 as a member of the German Communist Party. The facility functioned until reunification and was closed in 1993.

The ‘Critical Reconstruction’ that followed the fall of the Berlin wall generally avoided former East Berlin and certainly Friedrichshain and therefore the RAW-site lay abandoned as various informal uses infiltrated and squatted the site. Temporary activities such as bars and clubs operated on the site illegally without any contract with the owner, and were frequently forced to close by police. By 1998 a large number of uses occupied the site. This group involved two types of temporary uses, most of which came from the local neighbourhood. Some wished simply to ‘open’ up the property as a free space for artists to occupy, after which they would move on to another site. Others such as Mikado Schütt always intended for this to be their life project (interview). Mr Rostalski claims that these uses were particularly “fruitful” because they “created events and were looking for direct interventions on the site” (interview). Investigation of these ‘direct interventions’ will form an important element of the primary research conducted for the paper.

Those intending on remaining at the site long-term formed the organisation RAW-Tempel in response to the lack of action by the Local Authority, District Assembly of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, to provide an organisational and legal framework for the diverse projects occupying the site. The organisation occupied approximately 6,000 square meters of the entire 10-hectare property. The intention was for this association to manage any internal conflict between the temporary uses and act as a public interface. It did not however seek to influence the work of these temporary uses. The Cultural Office of Friedrichshain subsequently became the intermediate tenant of the site by signing a temporary lease agreement with the property owner, EIM (a daughter company of Deutsche Bahn) for the use of the four buildings along Revaler Strasse for a three-year period. The occupation of the site by the temporary uses therefore became legal, and were charged a minimal rent to do so. The situation changed in 2000 when the ownership was transferred to Vivico Real Estate GmbH (Vivico), a property investment company whose purchase was motivated by the recent designation of the Upper Spree area as a major development focus.

Today approximately 65 temporary uses operate under the RAW-Tempel ‘umbrella’ and currently they occupy four buildings along Revaler Strasse (see Figure 4 opposite). There are thirteen other temporary uses, operating under a legal contract with the property owner. These include Five-0, Cassiopeia, Skatehalle, Der Kegel (The Cone), Theater Mayakovsky, Talgo, Flugtrapez (Flight trapezoid), Barracke 99, Mikz, Berufsschule (a part-time vocational school) Astra, Suicide Circus, West Coast Customs (see Figure 3 opposite). Unlike these temporary uses, RAW-Tempel operates in a similar fashion to most squats and many of the 65 temporary tenants unofficially reside on the property against the wishes of the property owner. The remaining buildings on site are
The old ‘Material and Equipment store’ facility for the railway workers is now home to a children’s circus. Source: Benjamin Zagami, 2009

An old bunker that is reused for rock climbing activities. Source: Benjamin Zagami, 2009

A community cafe also serves a reception function for the RAW-site. Source: Benjamin Zagami, 2009

The innovative landscape interventions undertaken by the temporary uses. Source: Benjamin Zagami, 2009
generally derelict and structurally unsound and therefore currently unoccupied.

This represents an appropriate point at which to move onto the primary research conducted for this paper. Following is the analysis and discussion involved in determining the extent to which the temporary uses on the RAW-site demonstrate a long-term commitment to the space and place. Initially the study will examine the commitment demonstrated by the temporary uses to the property (space), then the relationship between the temporary uses and the surrounding neighbourhood (place) will be considered.

5.1 Temporary uses and the Space

The commitment of temporary uses to the RAW-site can be examined through the conditions inherited by pioneering activities on the site post 1993 which were retained or enhanced through interventions devised to achieve a more environmentally friendly project.

5.1.1 Built form

Mr Rostalski (interview) claims that the pioneering temporary uses of the RAW-site, who established the RAW-Tempel organisation, were committed to the preservation of existing buildings on the site and therefore contributed greatly to the overall sustainability of the project. Although this core group identified themselves as temporary uses, they only did so to allow negotiations to open with the property owner, Vivico Real Estate, to occupy the four buildings along Revaler Strasse. The intention of this core group was to remain on the site long-term. In support of the research conducted by Studio Urban Catalyst (2003), Mr Rostalski believes “it is clear that the pioneering temporary uses were only interested in an approach of minimal intervention” (interview) when reappropriating buildings and spaces to their own needs. It could however be argued that major alterations were not possible due to the financial constraints of these uses and the conservation status of the buildings which prohibited any external modifications. The method of appropriation and extent of internal alterations to the four buildings vary and in some cases were quite significant, a discussion of this follows.

The two-storey ‘Official House’ remains largely intact. This former headquarters now accommodates studios and workshops on both the ground and first floors, with the RAW-Tempel administrative and committee offices and a gallery space also on the first floor. The existing use of the building meant that the room sizes of approximately 40 square meters were appropriate for these new uses therefore extensive internal modifications were not required.

Previously, the single storey Ambulatorium served as a hospital and medical dispensary for the railway workers and was therefore fitted with small suites. Due to its proximity to ‘Gate 1’, the main entrance off Revaler Strasse, this building was considered by RAW-Tempel the most appropriate location for public meetings, events and performances. Internal walls were removed to provide space for a stage and bar. The western section of the building however was sectioned off to create a community café, strategically placed at the base of the stairs from ‘Gate 1’ to function as a reception for the site.

The two-storey ‘Administrative building’ was a former office building for the railway workers village, and therefore was in a similar situation to the ‘Official House’ in terms of its suitability for studios, workshops and offices. The building also has a basement in which ceramic and timber workshop spaces are situated.

The eastern-most buildings occupied by RAW-Tempel are known as the ‘Material & Equipment stores.’ The western-most building is occupied by metal and timber workshops and the building at the base of ‘Gate 2’ is home to the African Cultural Centre. The larger building was the beneficiary of €400,000 of European Union structural funding (URBAN II) in 2003. As the building of greatest public use at the time, this building required significant internal refurbishment and upgrade. This work involved rebuilding sections of the hallways, creating a new stairway to the first floor, replacement of the central roof beam, refitting windows and external resurfacing. A large utility upgrade was also required to enable public access therefore new toilets were installed on both floors including a disabled toilet on the ground floor, central heating, electricity, roof insulation and fire and security alarm systems. The basement was renovated to create a storage facility, whilst the ground floor is now occupied by two event/performance areas, the ‘Theatre Lounge’ and Stenzerhalle, a café, workshops, offices and studios. The upper floor is largely occupied by Zirkus Zack, a children’s circus, and Vösch, an acrobatics training facility.

Since the initial pioneering uses, Rostalski
Aerial photograph of the RAW-site in 2000. From the initial stages of occupation, temporary uses sought to enhance the existing landscape character of the site. Source: Google Earth, 2000

Aerial photograph of the RAW-site in 2002. The impact of the landscape clearance is evident. Source: Google Earth, 2002

Aerial photograph of the RAW-site in 2005. Attempts by temporary uses to renew the landscape proved successful. Source: Google Earth, 2005
It could be argued that the intention of clearing the garden by the owner was to re-establish ownership of the property as the temporary users appeared to claim the garden as their own. This demonstration of greater commitment to the site was harshly responded to by the owner and only emphasised the point that they had the right, within planning regulations and conservation protection, to demolish or build as they like. Schütt (interview) claims however that this action was only detrimental to the ongoing desire of temporary uses to enhance the property.

However in 2002, in an effort to renew this landscape, some temporary users initiated urban gardening activities on the RAW-site with the consent of the owner. Due to the severe contamination of the site, car tyres were used as planted boxes for a range of ecologically high-quality foods. The group of uses were interested in developing the activity to an extent that would enable a self-sufficient community on the RAW-site however the short-term lease issued by the owner prevented this initiative from expanding to such a level.

During the summer of 2007, the temporary uses of the site undertook a more significant landscape intervention on the site. Upon purchase of the property, the new owner R.E.D Development GmbH erected a fence down the main east-west route within the property to prevent the temporary uses from continuing attempts at occupying buildings further south of those along Revaler Strasse. The temporary uses transformed this into a ‘green’ wall by establishing new urban gardening initiatives along its entire length, incorporating a variety of informal planter boxes such as disused telephone booths and created street furniture such as stone benches and wooden chairs. Schütt (interview) claims that this ‘green’ wall became popular with the surrounding community who would make use of this unique public space, particularly during the weekends. The owner however had this demolished in January 2009 to accommodate new profitable temporary uses in the buildings to the south.

The recycling of rainwater is another example of how temporary uses chose to utilise the natural resources of the RAW-site. Much of the city of Berlin is covered by hard surfacing, with very little relief in the form of permeable surfaces. This creates enormous problems when heavy rainfall occurs as the city’s streets and surfaces become storage pools, causing havoc for pedestrians, cyclists and vehicles. In an effort to encourage

5.1.2 Landscape

The landscape setting inherited by the pioneering temporary uses had undergone significant transformation since being abandoned by Deutsche Bahn in 1993 (see aerial photographs opposite). In particular, a garden that had been established for railway workers in the northwest corner of the property adjacent to both Warschauer Strasse and Revaler Strasse had developed into a wild landscape. The temporary uses at the time had enhanced the garden through their own informal furniture such as wooden benches and seating and re-grew the peach and apple trees that had been planted for the railway workers.

A survey conducted by the Local Authority of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg in 2001 and tests undertaken by students from the Technical University of Berlin confirmed that species of rare plants, insects, foxes, bats and birds typically found in forest environments existed on the property, particularly within this garden. The property was used as a case study for the research of Dr Anja Steglich (2006) *Zeiten als Ressource der Landschaft* (Time as a Resource for the Landscape) who was investigating the effect of the transitional period between the use of brownfield locations in cities. The Local Authority therefore determined that the garden required legal protection however before this was attained, the owner cleared the site of most of its vegetation late in 2001 (see 2002 aerial photograph).
These photos demonstrate the pedestrian priority afforded to users of the RAW-site and the range of outdoor activities that occur as a consequence.

Source: Mikado Schütt, 2004

Source: Mikado Schütt, 2003

The extent of vegetation on the RAW-site when the fence was erected in 2007.
Source: Mikado Schütt, 2007
the use of permeable surfaces, the city charges property owners for the removal of water through the drainage system.

The RAW-site is no different and is almost completely covered in concrete surfacing. In an effort to reduce the pooling and cost of removal for the owner, RAW-Tempel took the initiative to split up the concrete to provide access for the water to the soil underneath. The combined roof surfaces on site also provide access to large amounts of recyclable water. In 2005, RAW-Tempel initiated a grey water recycling system by locating a water storage container near the Gate 2 entrance which is used for the gardens along Revaler Strasse and within the frontage of the property.

5.2 Temporary uses and network sociality

5.2.1 Economic structures

As the research of Studio Urban Catalyst (2003) and Sampson (2009) demonstrated, despite the informal and transient nature of temporary uses, they often form strong economic and social structures. The following section will explore the extent to which this has occurred on the RAW-site and whether this demonstrates a greater commitment to the space and perhaps place.

The formation of the RAW-Tempel organisation in 1998 formally recognised the clustering of temporary uses on the RAW-site. In its initial stages, the organisation operated loosely based on the concept of a shared economy. In 2002, the owner Vivico gave notice to RAW-Tempel on the basis that they had not established a sound long-term business plan. The condition for a further lease was ‘professionalisation’ and a long-term business plan.

A financial model emerged from this process that established an economic structure for the organisation based on cross-subsidisation. Projects with less focus towards financial profit or were of high financial risk were eligible for subsidies. Such temporary uses include the short-term use of studio, workshop and event spaces. Subsidies were made available by the revenue of more established activities such as the bar/concert area in the Ambulatorium and the Theatre Lounge and Stenzerhalle in the Material & Equipment stores. Schütt claims that temporary uses at the time “were keen to create this form of financial self-sufficiency” (interview), supporting the findings of Studio Urban Catalyst (2003) that temporary uses demonstrate a tendency towards establishing self-containing enterprise. In 2004, the emergence of the Five-O...
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organisation under which the Skatehalle, nightclub Cassiopeia, the Climbing Cone and outdoor garden and café operate, provided evidence of the rise of entrepreneurialism in Berlin, and the distinct possibilities offered by indeterminate spaces for innovative and playful intervention as posited by Groth & Corijn (2005). This umbrella organisation for a variety of temporary uses also utilised the concept of cross-subsidisation to strong effect and exemplified the new forms of professionalisation emerging at the time (see Lange et al., 2008).

Lange (2008) however asked whether this necessarily meant that temporary uses aspired to ‘formalise’. In relation to Five-O, the organisation accepted sponsorship from Red Bull and Adidas resulting in the temporary uses adopting a more ‘commercial’ character than those under the RAW-Tempel umbrella. The strongest public use however, the Skatehalle, largely retained its informal and alternate nature and attractiveness as a sub cultural activity. This was enabled through additional revenue earnings from the associated nightclub and the gastronomy offering based within the outdoor garden that lowered expectations for the Skatehalle to be profitable.

The success of the organisation was acknowledged by the owner who recently issued Five-O a ten year contract from 7th June 20097. Whilst the owner rewarded the organisation for its commercial success, Five-O has remained committed to the RAW-site and particularly RAW-Tempel. Rostalski (interview) claims that Mr Freitag, the operator of the Skatehalle, is well aware that Five-O profits from the branding that RAW-Tempel has created for the site. In return, Five-O have continually sought to strengthen both economic and social relations with the RAW-Tempel temporary uses and most recently have offered financial support to ensure they remain on the property. If evicted, both the Skatehalle and climbing cone activities have indicated they would relocate with RAW-Tempel.

In 2008 both RAW-Tempel and Five-O attracted approximately 350,000 visitors to the RAW-site, confirming the continued connection between the temporary uses and surrounding district, from which visitors largely reside (Rostalski, interview). The self-sufficient economic models presented by RAW-Tempel and Five-O have however since suffered from the introduction of profitable temporary uses. Schütt (interview) describes these new uses as “businesses” rather than entrepreneurial activities. In early 2009, the live music venue ‘Astra’ with a capacity of 1500 people opened up at the western end of the property, as did ‘Suicide Circus’, an art exhibition hall and theatre and a motorcycle store, West Coast Customs, towards the eastern end of the property. All three tenants seek to work in isolation rather than in collaboration with the established activities despite benefitting from the brand and image created by RAW-Tempel. Schütt (interview) argues that there is now a distinct separation between existing and new temporary uses on the RAW-site8.

However both RAW-Tempel and Five-O suggest that temporary uses are able to establish economic structures that enables a long-term commitment to the space of occupation. The clustering of more ‘formalised’ uses alongside the informal activities within RAW-Tempel and Five-O supports Sassen’s (1991) argument that a necessary connection exists between informal and formal economies. Although Lange (2006) describes the generally destructive impact the capitalisation process has had on cultural and creative precincts in Berlin, the RAW-site has fortunately not yet felt the full effects of commercial redevelopment. Rather, the softer incorporation of formal economies has enabled the ongoing success and longer lifespan of the temporary uses within RAW-Tempel and Five-O.

5.2.2 Social networks

The self governing structure adopted by RAW-Tempel combined with a large degree of behavioural freedom may certainly lead to assumptions, as highlighted previously, that the place operates contrary to the predictable and ‘purified community’ (Sennett, 1970). However as Franck and Stevens (2007) argue, behaviour within indeterminate spaces may in fact be driven by a strong social order and it is argued that this does form the basis for the self-governing social structure of RAW-Tempel.

Freedom of behaviour is one underlying premise of temporary uses operating within the RAW-Tempel organisation that Schütt (interview) argues contributes to achieving self-responsibility and enables self-governance to operate effectively. Temporary users are aware that their freedom to act is conditioned by the necessity that they do not hinder another user’s freedom or that of the collective project. This form of inhabitation allows for the most autonomy of its uses and at the same time an effective spatial coexistence of all uses.
Figure 5: A growing catchment area - the red circle illustrates the approximate catchment area of the RAW-site today. This is grown significantly beyond the residential streets to the immediate north.
One particular activity that exemplifies this concept is the state funded program for long-term unemployed people established by Frauke Hehl, the founder of the organisation Workstation Ideenwerkstatt Berlin. Hehl received funding from the State Government on the condition that she would use it for re-training purposes for certain groups of unemployed people including people who have committed minor offences, people physically unable to work, student traineeships and people with drug and alcohol problems. This has expanded to those people not integrated into stable social networks or employment structures such as migrants.

The approach she adopted however was not the typical mode of re-training. She provided these people with a workspace for 6-12 months and requested they not define the work they were interested in producing but to simply create something then define it. Hehl felt this process would contribute to the development of self-responsibility and self-empowerment. A number of people from this program established activities on the RAW-site including a theatre project for children and a community pottery workshop (Hehl, interview). The project run by Hehl begins to highlight the strong degree of social inclusiveness and wider community benefits offered by the RAW-site.

Self-governance also relies on the management of contradicting motivations. This became evident when many short-term temporary uses became more concerned with their own project or activity and contributed less to the community. As a result, tension formed with the established temporary uses and RAW-Tempel adopted additional measures to formalise collective and self-responsible everyday practices. The Executive Committee modified the contracts issued to uses by introducing a mandatory number of hours to be spent on the collective project each week. In hindsight, Schütt (interview) believes this may have been too significant a request for some of the uses as they found it difficult to undertake their own project and deal with issues relating to the owner. This example however illustrates the limitations of some temporary uses on providing wider benefits.

Although Schütt (interview) believes the current mix of temporary uses within RAW-Tempel is well balanced between self and community-oriented activities, she claims the social networks of the RAW-site are weakening. As new, more profitable, temporary uses are introduced to the site, there is less focus on developing complementary or collaborative partnerships. As mentioned previously, a strong social and economic disconnection has formed between the new and existing temporary uses.

Schütt (interview) remarks that a decade of conflict with the various owners has taken its toll and the internal economic and social structures have suffered severely because many uses are becoming frustrated with the time and effort the conflict takes away from their projects. The RAW Art Gallery in Building 1 for example has now insisted on dealing with the owner separately because they want to establish their own contractual conditions. Many other uses are now focusing solely on their own use or project before they are forced to leave.

These findings are generally consistent with the arguments highlighted within the review of existing literature. The temporary uses of the RAW-site provide a catalyst for entrepreneurial activity that has resulted in a range of cultural consumption offerings. Further, the temporary uses within the RAW-Tempel and Five-O organisations demonstrate financial self-sufficiency and a strong social order. However as emphasised in the previous chapter, how do these temporary uses contribute in a wider social and cultural sense to the surrounding community?

### 5.3 Temporary uses and the Place

#### 5.3.1 Temporary use and ‘narrative sociality’

The demographics of the Friedrichshain district have changed significantly over the course of the RAW-site occupation due to the highly transient nature of the surrounding community. Research conducted by Rostalski (forthcoming) indicates that this is primarily due to the high student and single household demographic of the neighbourhood. Increasingly however, more visitors are traveling to the RAW-site from all over Berlin. Rostalski (interview) explains that the surrounding community is “no longer limited to the residential streets to the north of the site” (interview), but now extends to Frankfurter Allee in the north, a block or two to the west of Warschauer Strasse, over to Ostkreuz and Gürtel Strasse in the west and beyond the river Spree to Schlesisches Tor in the south (see Figure 5). The following discussion will explore how the relationship between the RAW-site, temporary
The existence of derelict buildings offers a spectacle to visitors rather than causing a disconnection with the community. Source: Benjamin Zagami, 2009

The wall surrounding the former train workshop remains intact and in some sections causes a significant visual and physical barrier to the site. Source: Benjamin Zagami, 2009

Physical changes to the external spaces of the RAW-site have been limited to improving access such as this discrete pedestrian entryway. Source: Benjamin Zagami, 2009

In other places, the focus of activity near the entrances creates a place to stop and interact. Source: Benjamin Zagami, 2009
uses and wider district has developed. From an Urban Design perspective, it is appropriate first to examine the physical appropriation of the RAW-site to understand how the property was reintegrated into the neighbourhood and whether this assisted in developing connections with the surrounding area. As discussed previously, temporary uses have modified the internal buildings spaces of the four buildings along Revaler Strasse to their needs and have also initiated a variety of landscape interventions. Further deliberate modifications by the temporary uses have however been limited to improving the vehicular and pedestrian access into the site. The changes that have occurred outside of the deliberate actions of temporary uses mainly involve the structural failure of existing buildings.

In relation to physically improving access to the site, in 2008 the operator of nightclub Cassiopeia felt it necessary that a pedestrian entryway was constructed to provide more direct access to the venue from Revaler Strasse. An entry point was also created early in 2009 for West Coast Customs, the tenant located towards the eastern end of the site. This user operates in a physically isolated section of the site, therefore it was necessary to construct a new entrance to access this part of the site and allow heavier vehicles access to the property.

Despite these improvements to access, a three-meter high wall remains along the entire Revaler Strasse frontage thus stalling the visual integration with the street. This is emphasised by the significant fall in land to the south, thereby limiting views to buildings and spaces within the site. The wall itself however has essentially become a 500-meter long advertisement. The alternate nature of much of the music-related advertising material appears to attract people passing by to stop and read. Rather than disconnecting the street and the site, the wall tends to increase the sense of curiosity of passers-by as noises from event halls, workshops and the Skatehalle permeate the boundary. In an attempt to blur the well-defined boundary formed by the wall, the two most ‘public’ buildings occupied by RAW-Tempel are located at the base of Gates 1 and 2. The forecourts of both buildings regularly host activities, events and demonstrations that draw attention from the street and become a focus of activity, thus contributing to the activation of the street scene.

Further examination of the RAW-site within an Urban Design context finds that the increasing number and variety of visitors continues to take place despite the ‘disorderly’ character of the property where remnants of previous uses lay within abandoned, decayed and collapsed buildings. The uses have undertaken minimal public realm works in this sense however this does not seem to deter visitors. A conversation with a mother attending a rally for the children’s circus, Circus Zack, which occupies part of the Material & Equipment store building, indicated that far more importance was placed on the activities available for the community than a ‘clean’ or ‘nice’ public realm. Although she agreed that an upgrade to the public realm would be appreciated, she did not believe it was necessary to increase the acceptance from the local community. Therefore despite such a strong presence of social disorder on the RAW-site, this does not necessarily cause a disconnection with the surrounding neighbourhood, further challenging the idea that indeterminate spaces conflict with the ideal, predictable and ‘purified community’ Sennett (1970) spoke about. Rather, as discussed below, it appears the property resounds powerfully with the local neighbourhood.

As Friedrichshain finds itself home to an increasing number of students and unemployed people, a strong and diverse range of needs emerge. Within this social and cultural context, results from a recent survey of the Friedrichshain neighbourhood commissioned by the Mayor (ASUM, 2009) indicate that the RAW-site is considered the second most important public/community space after Boxhagener Platz (a formal public park 400 meters to the north of the RAW-site). The results also indicate that 50% of the local community are on familiar terms with at least one of the temporary uses on the RAW-site and feel they serve a real purpose for the community. As Groth and Corijn (2005) suggest may occur, the strong social and cultural identities forming within the site have contributed to the development of the locality’s character.

This can be explained by the findings of Studio Urban Catalyst (2003), which outlined the various motivations of temporary uses to the surrounding area. As demonstrated by the popularity within the community, the RAW-site comprises many temporary uses that have made the deliberate choice to interact with and strengthen the local neighbourhood. In support of McRobbie’s (2006) research however, some have also chosen the site due to the affordability of space and do not feel as strong an attachment
The formal playground of Boxhagener Platz (above) contrasts strongly with the informal sand pit (upper right) and lack of typical play equipment (lower right) on the RAW-site. Despite this the community show a strong interest in the temporary uses on the property.

Source: Benjamin Zagami, 2009

Source: Mikado Schütt, 2005

Source: Benjamin Zagami, 2009
which has developed an extensive knowledge and expertise particular to the local area. These dynamics are fundamental to the functioning of the temporary use in a social sense.

Today the diversity of uses seek to match the ongoing transient nature of the surrounding community. Of the 65 temporary projects on the RAW-site, almost 90% offer services to the community. In addition to consumer-led activities, the RAW-site today provides a variety of social services as highlighted previously by the work of Frauke Hehl. Such services include integrative activities for the long-term unemployed, the African Cultural Centre, a centre for youth work, a Regional Job Centre and a theatre run by homeless people. These services cover a wide range of demographics and provide possibilities for the community to become involved with activities where payment of fees is not necessary.

In a neighbourhood occupied by a diverse population where potential for strong tension exists, the RAW-site acts as a community and cultural centre, providing space for the various community and cultural groups. As a social and cultural forum, the RAW-site clearly assists in stabilising the varied needs of the community. The strong affiliation between the wider community and the RAW-site extends even further to a deeper political commitment to the temporary uses.

5.3.2 Local political structures

Prior to 1990, State control of matters relating to urban development meant that residents of former East Germany typically held an uncritical attitude towards state intervention. Reunification of Germany in 1990 however initiated a shift in political ideology to the right which involved a significant rise in entrepreneurialism and a move away from state intervention.

As a part of this shift to the right, a more active community has emerged from the neighbourhood surrounding the RAW-site. Concurrently, organisations such as Workstation and Ideenaufruf (Call for Ideas), partners of RAW-Tempel, have begun promoting greater individual responsibility for local urban development issues. Workstation was founded on the RAW-site as a civil initiative to promote bottom-up urban development, conducted through the community forum Ideenaufruf. This ‘platform’ was established in 1999 when the immanent threat posed by the cancellation of

The connections between the RAW-site and surrounding community can therefore be explained by the ‘localness’ of the temporary uses. This is demonstrated in a variety of ways, one being the spectrum of collaborative activities that take place on the site between RAW uses and local organisations. Vuësch, an advanced acrobatic education facility, is one example of a temporary use that has developed close relationships with projects from the surrounding community. Approximately 200 people between the ages of 4-40 from all over Berlin use the facility each week, in part because of the creative collaborations that are organised with the children’s circus (Zirkus Zack) as well as a variety of theatre and dance projects from the community. The innovative nature of this collaboration also attracts significant international attention, and subsequently many of its uses come from outside Berlin. Schütt (interview) claims that the close relationship of both organisations with the surrounding community has contributed to creating a strong and active circus and acrobatic culture within the neighbourhood and directly influenced the cultural and social development of the surrounding district.

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The local expertise of many uses on the RAW-site also explains the ‘localness’ of temporary uses as it provides them the ability to adapt to meet the needs and wants of the community at a pace that traditional professional structures do not allow. Mr Freitag, an avid skater himself, was aware that school sport curriculums had traditionally provided few alternatives to football despite growing interest in activities such as skating. Although a skating facility existed in Köpenick, this was situated outdoor and open to the elements and located a significant distance from the centre of Berlin (approximately an hour from the central station Alexanderplatz). Today the Skatehalle-Berlin, the largest indoor skate facility in Europe, and the associated climbing cone, beer garden, outdoor cinema and nightclub ‘Cassiopeia’ represented by the organisation Five-0, are the most visited ‘attractions’ on the RAW-site.

Other ‘culturepreneurs’ (see Lange, 2006) on the RAW-site such as Circus Zack also exhibit a strong organisational structure that has been able to react swiftly to the demands of the community and allow participants to suggest changes to the organisational offering. The responsive nature of the activity is also a result of the established and transparent dialogue with the community
The community demonstrating their support for the children’s circus, Zirkus Zack, which has been recently targeted by the property owner for allegedly breaching safety regulations.

The leaflet distributed for the demonstration (left) reads “We want, where we live.”
the temporary leases by Vivico stirred up activists and a circle of local supporters demanding to be included in the planning process. The forum involved RAW-Tempel, other temporary uses from the RAW-site and members of the neighbouring community.

Unlike many of the squatting activities occurring at the time in Berlin, the temporary uses of the RAW-site were motivated more so in an entrepreneurial sense than by a particular political ideology. Hehl (interview) claims that this lead to strong disapproval of the RAW uses by the existing squatters in the area who believed that negotiating with the property owner was against the spirit of the squatting movement. In hindsight she argues that although this was not rewarded by long-term leases, the commitment demonstrated by the temporary uses opened up genuine negotiations for the future and garnered initial political support.

The combination of these factors has created a local political structure that has found strong support from the community, Local Authority and State politicians. As Groth and Corijn (2005) claim, the RAW-site has subsequently become a significant generator of ‘local grassroots power and identity’ whilst simultaneously, as Bromley (2000) suggests, representing to the property owners and other ‘neo-liberal’ stakeholders, symbols of ‘poverty and underdevelopment’. This is certainly however not the view adopted by the District Mayor, Franz Schulz, who in May 2009 passed a resolution demanding that all uses are incorporated into any future development plans. The resolution placed a strong emphasis on a particular activity on the site, Circus Zack; “For the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, Circus Zack is an important use for children and young people and encourages people to move to the area. The valuable work of Circus Zack lies in its commitment to the children, young people and families in our district” (BVV Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, 2009). The Local Authority however remain silent on exactly how this may be done.

Politicians have so far been supportive of the RAW-site because of the informal and modest contributions to sustainability in terms of both network and narrative sociality. Rostalski (interview) believes the RAW-site presents an excellent example of a motivated and committed community that have developed a permanent platform for debating the urban political agenda in a manner where all interests are heard and help shape concepts for the future design and development of the property.

The history of political support and acknowledgement of the social sustainability of the collective project has however been unable to formally recognise and protect the social structures and capital that has been created by the relationship between the RAW-site and surrounding communities. Whilst the support from both the Local and State Governments assisted in generating a more transparent process of urban development that involves the uses of the RAW-site and surrounding residents in the urban, social and economic development of the neighbourhood, it has so far stopped short of intervention required, such as the purchase of the property for ongoing use by temporary uses.

An attempt at a planning and design concept was made by a team headed by Kees Christiaanse (Christiaanse, K. ASTOC Architects & Planners, 2002), based on a process-oriented development scenario while adopting a long-term, sustainable vision for the site. This included piecemeal conversions of the existing infrastructure while incorporating the potential of the temporary uses through a variety of ‘soft’ planning tools and providing for the continuous participation of civil actors. In land use terms, the plan designates the area currently occupied by RAW-Tempel to remain a ‘cultural use’ under any future development scenario. The difficulty with this definition is that these relatively loose conditions equally allowed for the complete redevelopment of the site that simply incorporates a new ‘cultural use’.

The next section of the paper will offer a discussion relating back to the core question of the study. This will be followed by conclusions regarding how Urban Design may offer new solutions for informal urbanism and overcome the practical issues highlighted by the design concept prepared by Kees Christiaanse’s team.
6 Discussion

The paper concludes by coming back to the question with which it started: **to what extent can temporary uses demonstrate a long-term commitment to place and space?**

The paper has argued that the current strategies promoting temporary use in London underestimate the complex contribution informal urbanism makes to ‘contemporary urbanity’ (Groth & Corijn, 2005). Although existing knowledge of temporary use recognises its short-term financial benefit, as illustrated by the current strategies in Britain to fill the empty high street shops, this narrative inherently understands temporary use as a provisional economic strategy. The case study analysis indicates that temporary uses have the capacity to establish long-term commitments to the place and space of occupation. The key findings that explain this commitment are as follows.

In regard to the commitment to space, it is clear that the indeterminate nature of the RAW-site allows the temporary uses a less mediated and more direct relationship with the existing building stock and landscape of the space. This results in temporary uses adopting a guardianship role over the property. The minimal interventionist approach entwined with this role ensures a strong contribution to environmental sustainability.

The study also found that the RAW-site has been well integrated in a social and cultural sense with the surrounding district. Interestingly, this was not achieved through traditional Urban Design measures which actually play a secondary role on the RAW-site, but rather as a consequence of the genuine engagement between temporary uses and the neighbourhood. At the same time, many temporary uses on the RAW-site function within ordered social and economic structures that are not evident to outsiders. These network structures demonstrate a strong desire towards creating self-sufficient enterprise and a more permanent standing in the urban environment.

Finally, the RAW-Tempel organisation has consistently sought to engage with the community, owner and Local Authority and has never opposed the redevelopment of the site but has simply asked to be included in the consultation process. As a result of this mediated behaviour and genuine commitment to the property and neighbourhood, RAW-Tempel have garnered significant political support from both State and Local levels of Government.

It is therefore clear that the temporary uses of RAW-Tempel challenge McRobbie’s (2006) claim that the organic growth evident within cultural and creative communities rarely establishes an attachment to neighbourhood or community. The temporary uses of the RAW-site are in fact driven by a strong desire to create a socially sustainable and inclusive community and thus creating a narrative form of sociality. At the same time, the findings also support McRobbie’s argument (2006) that such communities privilege network sociality, illustrated through the network of internal economic and social structures within which the temporary uses operate. The RAW-site manages to entwine both forms of sociality successfully, and as discussed above, incorporates many other virtues of sustainability resulting in what may be considered a model project for a self-reliant local sustainable village.

It is clear that in the context of both Berlin and London, to differing degrees, that temporary use serves a real purpose for the revitalisation of vacant property unable to attract commercial development. With a minimum of investment, temporary use can reintroduce properties back into the public realm and reactivate the street. However whilst current strategies demonstrate an appreciation of temporary use and acceptance of capitalistic economics, these practices will only provoke the potential of informal urbanism and fail to fully harness the genuine possibilities for community development demonstrated by temporary uses of the RAW-site.

The discussion concludes by arguing that temporary uses do hold the possibility for a long-term commitment to place and space and a significant contribution to sustainability. Temporary uses must therefore be re-imagined not only as an interim measure and catalyst for regeneration but once established and serving a real community purpose, as a permanent condition of urban life. The final section of the paper will discuss the implications this has for Urban Design followed by a reflection on what the author as a practicing Urban Designer has learnt from completing the study.
Elemental housing project - the basic shell structure provided for residents. Source: Tadeus Jalocha, 2005

The visual and spatial variation of each dwelling emerges. Source: Cristobal Palma, 2005

The process of appropriation begins, some inhabitants choose to extend their dwelling into the void. Source: Cristobal Palma, 2005

A close relationship between design and use will inevitably lead to strong character and identity. Source: Cristobal Palma, 2005
7 Conclusions

“The poor will always be the victims of good intentions. Why don’t we listen to them to find out what they want? What matters is to activate the social potential in an area and to help the residents to find solutions, not to solve the problems for them”

Hämer 2007

Urban Design plays a central role in the construction and function of the urban environment and therefore should be aware of both informal and formal methods and means through which urbanity is created. It is clear that the urbanism evolving within indeterminate territories is often not the result of traditional Urban Design measures and models. In fact, it has likely emerged from the absence of such regulations. As long as these traditional measures and models continue to focus on long-term visions and a desire for a narrative form of sociality, temporary and informal patterns of working and socialising which embody many virtues of sustainability will continue to materialise beyond the realms of Urban Design.

In response, Urban Design may look towards ‘process-oriented’ tools and models. Rather than creating a concept for the final stage of development for a site or a design for a district or neighbourhood, the concern of ‘process-oriented’ Urban Design is not the ultimate aesthetic appearance of the city but what opportunities exist to activate and use the city. Urban Pioneers (Jovis, 2007) suggest that “more vague target proposals for potential use agendas, undeveloped and built-up areas, and spatially interrelated networks and densities” (pg. 106) should be developed. The result, an “open-ended masterplan” whose aim is to “pre-determine as little as possible and as much as necessary” (pg 106). If greater prominence is given to ‘process-oriented’ models of Urban Design, what are the key theoretical and practical implications for the profession?

7.1 Beyond Participatory Design, Sustainability and an ultimate aesthetic appearance

Forming a ‘distinctive character’ and ‘sense of place’ have become regarded as central to ‘good’ Urban Design, advocated in the UK through an endless number of Government publications including Building for Life (CABE, 2008), By Design (CABE/DETR, 2000) and the Urban Design Compendium 2 (English Partnerships; Housing Corporation, 2007). This is precisely the type of guidance that envisages the task of Urban Design as establishing a defined idea of the visual and spatial form of a place and which leaves little room for appropriation by inhabitants upon realisation of the final vision.

Temporary uses however will often not be definable as a coherent visual or spatial identity but rather by their involvement in the process of appropriation. Opportunities to participate in forming the visual and spatial identity of a place facilitates the identification process between temporary uses and the space. It is clear that the identity of the RAW-site emerged because the site itself was not defined by either aesthetic or permanent fixes but rather by its ‘raw’ and incomplete character. The identity and character of the space and place has continually developed because certain elements of the site have been left undefined or unfinished and open for future appropriation. The strong social and cultural inclusiveness demonstrated on the RAW-site has provided space for the co-existence of multiple and diverse activities and encounters. As a result, the RAW-site is defined by a diverse range of identities and characters.

Once all spaces are defined, as may occur through redevelopment and the traditional role of the Urban Designer, the ‘sense of possibility’ (Haussermann & Siebel, 1987) will disappear, as will the ability for temporary uses to participate in its creation. With this in mind, one such innovative housing project named Elemental, located in Iquique, Chile, is appropriate to bring to attention. This particular architectural project provides inhabitants with homes that comprise a basic shell structure with some internal and external elements left unfinished and undefined. This open scenario enables the process of appropriation to unfold in all its freedom and potential, whilst ignoring the desire to establish a final visual image of the development. The permanent structures of the buildings are interpreted differently by the various inhabitants, resulting in visually and spatially varied appropriations.

To achieve a similar practical result, ‘process-oriented’ Urban Design must look beyond the traditional predictive and prescriptive role by adopting ‘weak’ or ‘soft’ tools. As emphasised above, the ‘softer’ task of the Urban Designer dealing with indeterminate spaces will be to create a place that suggests and offers itself to be inhabited, enabling the process of participation and experience to define its function and
identity. The intention is not to deliver ultimate solutions that define a precise concept for the future spatial design of an area.

In this regard, a closer relationship between designer and user is required. Existing practices of participatory design envisage a design process whereby Urban Designers and inhabitants participate alongside each other. This relationship allows for the confrontation between Urban Designers and the underlying dynamics of the community, and the interaction between the inhabitants and the Urban Designers’ broad design knowledge. In its highest form, Ehn (1993) imagines Participatory Design as a process that exacts responsibility from designers through their participation in the use of the place. This fundamentally describes the course of appropriation that has taken place on the RAW-site, in which the process of design exacted great responsibility from the temporary uses who had to live with their design decisions. The lesson in regard to ‘soft’ skills for Urban Designers is that an understanding of the underlying dynamics of a place is at its greatest importance within indeterminate environments where few formal symbols of behaviour are evident.

It is clear therefore that Urban Designers must identify the claims for both informal and formal ownership of the space, particularly those less obvious claims that are modest in means and appearance. The challenge for Urban Designers is to transform these claims into a framework that creates a continuity with the existing dynamics while providing room for a multiplicity of desires and the needs of a diverse set of uses. The main task therefore is to ensure the space continues to function according to its own dynamics, which rely largely on an ‘openness’ of land use in order to encourage different temporary and self-managed agencies to emerge and implement their ideas on the site over time. As the definition of Groth & Corijn (2005) explains, temporary use must become understood as a process of appropriation by which excluded local actors gain access to the unused territory and resources of a city.

The ‘openness’ of land use is a particularly difficult concept to grasp in a practical sense however the RAW-site offers some insight into how this may function. The ‘umbrella’ organisation RAW-Tempel occupies four buildings on the property, within which a variety of temporary uses operate without planning permission or exemption. Although such a situation would currently not be permitted on the high streets of London, this is precisely where new proactive Urban Design strategies could consider the long-term provision of ‘open’ space for temporary use. Furthermore, the case study analysis suggests that there is no reason why temporary use cannot become permanent or evolve into more institutionalised forms which are able to exist in more demanding economic environments. The current strategies for temporary use explained at the beginning of the paper could be expanded to enable those activities that demonstrate a strong commitment to the neighbourhood a permanent place to operate.

Temporary uses will not compete but rather complement the traditional role of the high street. The intention is not to completely eliminate the dominance of commercial use, but to re-think the use of some of this space for informal and non-commercial use. If the permanent place on the high street is the vacant space in which the activity initiated, this will either require public purchase or strong political support in order to remain open to temporary use. Alternatively, Local Authorities could nominate certain properties located away from the most profitable areas of the high street and considered necessary for the continuing revitalisation of the neighbourhood, to accommodate temporary uses over a designated period.

The continual redefinition of these spaces will create an ephemeral high street character that may challenge the concept of an established sense of place. The RAW-site however demonstrated that the initial redefinition of the indeterminate space bought positive change to the area by reintroducing the property into the public sphere. Beyond this, the constant redefinition and renewal of the character of the space has itself become part of the established distinctiveness of the place.

Such strategies would serve to retain the informal processes of temporary use in a more inclusive and sustainable way. Adopting such an approach would direct Urban Design interventions towards more socially responsible solutions detached from economic prerogatives.

7.2 A proactive and interdisciplinary approach

A more proactive approach to temporary use and informal urbanism is slowly emerging in Berlin in a more general, theoretical sense. This community of support understands informal
commercial development. I became that it is of vital importance for Urban Designers to look beyond assumptions relating to the stereotypical temporary use, the level of professional ability and motivations towards the surrounding community. What I found as a result was that these spaces often functioned as social and political community forums through which interested people were actively shaping and revitalising their neighbourhood.

Subsequently, the study expanded my appreciation of informal modes of ownership over space. I learnt that despite occupying a space illegally, temporary uses may in fact feel a level of guardianship over an abandoned property and demonstrate a strong commitment to its natural and man-made resources. This genuine engagement with the property perhaps was the most important lesson of all, as it demonstrated not only how users can effectively participate in design, but also how responsibility is harvested when designers participate in use.

8 Reflection

Previous professional experience and education in Planning and Urban Design has provided me with a breadth of skills when dealing with formal and commercial processes of urban development. This study however has broadened my awareness of informal methods and means by which the urban environment is created.

In a broader sense, the study expanded my understanding of how the community may be involved with overarching goals and visions for urban development. The community forum initiated by Workstation, *Ideenaufruf*, was based on the notion that a genuine commitment from the community cannot be attained if a level of Government is granted the power to decide for example the sustainability goals for the city. To effectively involve the community, they must not only be given the power to make these decisions collaboratively but be provided spaces and other possibilities to realise urban development goals themselves.

In relation to temporary uses, a strong assumption of my work early on was that the economic context of a city determines whether they will be present or not. I was unclear how an influx of commercial, profitable uses could be prevented once conditions improved. The research undertaken in Berlin introduced me to a community of support that exists for a more democratic allocation of space, particularly in those areas which traditionally attracts urbanism as a practice that challenges the Planning and Political systems and the fixation on permanency and long-term goals.

This requires Urban Designers to argue for greater democratic and socialistic outcomes within spatial politics and economics. The revised understanding and appreciation of temporary use explored above is also necessary to justify this challenge, one that promotes temporary use not as spaces for artistic installations but as public forums for social, cultural and political activities.

This challenge must connect Urban Designers with other democratic and socialistic oriented professionals such as philosophers, psychologists, lawyers and business people because without extending to interdisciplinary change, the dominating development forces of the urban environment will not accept informal urbanism as a legitimate and permanent condition of urban life.
Notes

1. This study titled Urban Catalysts: Strategies for temporary uses – potential for development of urban residual areas in European metropolises (2003) investigates the potential of temporary uses as a motor of urban change. The results of the study outline the practical implications for planning and urban development.

2. This study titled Reclaiming Urbanty: Indeterminate Spaces, Informal Actors and Urban Agenda Setting (2005) investigates the phenomenon of ‘informal actors’ influencing the agenda of urban planning and urban politics by means of temporary reappropriation and animation of ‘indeterminate’ spaces in Helsinki, Berlin and Brussels. The focus of the research is on the economic, social, cultural and political contribution of informal urbanism on contemporary urbanity and therefore touches on Urban Design matters such as identity and character.

3. This study titled Creative London-Creative Berlin; Notes on Making a Living in the New Cultural Economy (2005) investigates whether the creativity and cultural practices emerging from the UK Government’s commitment to the creative sector results in entrepreneurial activity that maintains the field of culture as a space for openness, social engagement and democratisation. The study also looks at whether the ‘network sociality’ formed between micro-enterprises in the creative and media fields also enables these communities to play a socially valuable role with the wider neighbourhood.

4. During this particular post-war period West Berlin had become its own self-contained state with its own parliament.

5. The large scale demolition and construction of social housing tower blocks in the 1970s received strong neighbourhood resistance by these politically charged residents however this did not affect the proliferation of temporary and cooperative enterprise. During this time the ‘ punks’ replaced the ‘hippies’ and a more militant squatter movement emerged, who occupied many houses in Kreuzberg earmarked for demolition.

6. Between 1998 and 2002 RAW-Tempel paid only the utility costs associated with the buildings which came to monthly payments of DM 1,500 (German Marks) for 6,000 sqm (approximately €770). New contracts issued by the property owner Vivico, stipulated a price of €1 per/sqm for indoor floorspace and €0.30 per/sqm of outdoor space which totaled approximately €7800. This large increase in rent required greater consideration towards creating profitable activities within the organisation. The contracts with the current owner required the same costs for rent and utilities.

7. Although establishing a level of certainty and permanency for Five-0 GmbH, the contract fails to specify where the uses shall remain on the site. Therefore a development plan is open to relocating the activities somewhere else on the property.

8. In addition to this, the owner is currently seeking to break down the economic and social relations between RAW-Tempel and Five-O by insisting on separate contracts with each temporary use on the RAW-site. This creates issues for those non-profitable activities which now must deal with contractual conditions alone where previously they were assisted and subsidised by profitable activities.
9 List of references


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Interviews


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Photographs


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10 Bibliography


Personal communication


