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GAMIFICATION & PARTICIPATION
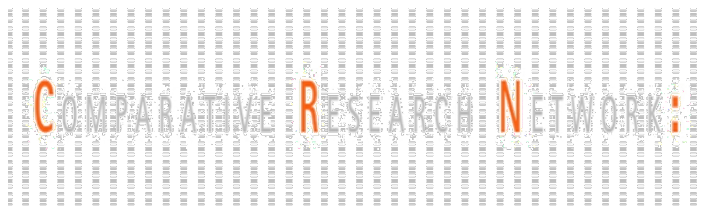
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Gamification + Participation

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From storytelling to scenario building: local experience of citizen participation in European cities

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INTRODUCTION

The present booklet is the outcome of the first phase of the EURBANITIES project aiming at the realization of a game-based pedagogical tool for empowering civil participation in local urban development on neighbourhood level. The project is built upon 4 main phases: 1) construction of a set of local experience representing different situations of public participation in European cities, 2) constitution of scenarios of participation based on the local cases; 3) development of an online game tool based on the scenarios and 4) development and testing of a pedagogical curriculum permitting the use of the game tool in trainings for local activists, trainers, experts in local development and in general, for all citizens willing to act in a proactive way for their urban environment.

The present booklet contains the description of 20 cases from 9 European countries representing Northern, Western, Southern, and Central and Eastern Europe [1]. The evaluations were elaborated between December 2015 and September 2016 and were presented at two transnational project meetings in poster format in March and July 2016 (www.eurbanities.eu).

The experiences represent a large variety of urban situations, from the very small city (Rónakeresztes in Hungary for instance) through middle sized regional centres (Brighton, Sassari, Krakow), to large-scale European capitals and urban regions (Budapest, Berlin, Bucharest or Ile de France (Colombes)). They all reveal some specific social conflict between local stakeholders, civil society and local inhabitants, whose resolution unfolds in the course of the development project.

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[1] Belgium (1), Finland (2), France(1), Germany(1), Hungary (6), Italy (2), Poland (3), Romania (1), Ukraine (3) and the United Kingdom (1)

THE TYPOLOGY OF THE EXPERIENCES OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Based on the initial state of affairs and on the evolution of the analysed processes, a typology of the cases of local experience have been identified and tested by the project partners. The 20 cases were classified by forms of participation, referring to the general direction of stakeholders' interactions and the kind value of this interaction. The general direction of stakeholders' interaction describes the role played by the different stakeholders in the project.

A **bottom-up state of affairs** concerns actions initiated by actors *without political power*, such as NGOs or citizens. Projects initiated by an intermediate NGO can also be considered as bottom up, even if they are not rooted in the given community. Exceptions are the cases when the NGO is acting through an assignment on behalf of the local government or any other local authorities. A **top-down state of affairs** describes all projects initiated by the local governments or other stakeholders *with political power*. The top down character does not directly qualify the local embeddedness of the project: in several cases the local government is an important element of the local community. However, political power enables the initiators to implement the project even if the other stakeholders or/and citizens are against it.

Furthermore, stakeholders' interaction can also range from reactive to proactive according to their position in the given situation. A **reactive state of affairs** describes the initial nature of the participative action that responds to an exclusionary policy decision or step of another actor (e.g. local government). In these cases, the developmental goal also includes putting pressure on the actor with exclusionary decisions to perform inclusive decision-making and engage in a dialogue with other actors. In the case of a proactive interaction, the stakeholders mobilize themselves upon an existing social problem through cooperative initiatives. A **proactive state of affairs** concerns a situation, when the participatory or developmental process was triggered as a response to an existing urban or social problem of the above types. Proactive initiatives can be regarded as forms of innovation.

top down

reactive   **proactive**

1) Rediscovery of Teleki Square, Budapest (Hungary),
2) Cyclonia estate revitalization (Poland),
3) Malakowski Square, Kracow (Poland),
4) An Unrealised Project, Lviv, (Ukraine),
5) The Revitalization of Pidzamche Backyards, Lviv (Ukraine)
6) New England House, Brighton (UK),
7) Community House, Rónakeresztes (Hungary),
8) Roma Empowerment, Nádas (Hungary),
9) Tale of Two Centres, Sassary (Italy)

1) Hunyadi square, Budapest, (Hungary)
2) Molinay, Seraing (Belgium)
3) Tempelhof, Berlin (Germany)
4) Civil Protest for the Poor, Budapest (Hungary)
5) Hala Matache, Bucharest (Romania)
6) Meri-Rastila Suburb Development, Helsinki (Finland)

1) Social Housing Reconstruction Camp (Hungary),
2) Let's Give a Hand, Sassari (Italy),
3) Skateboard planning, Tampere (Finland),
4) CanBDone, Cracow (Poland),
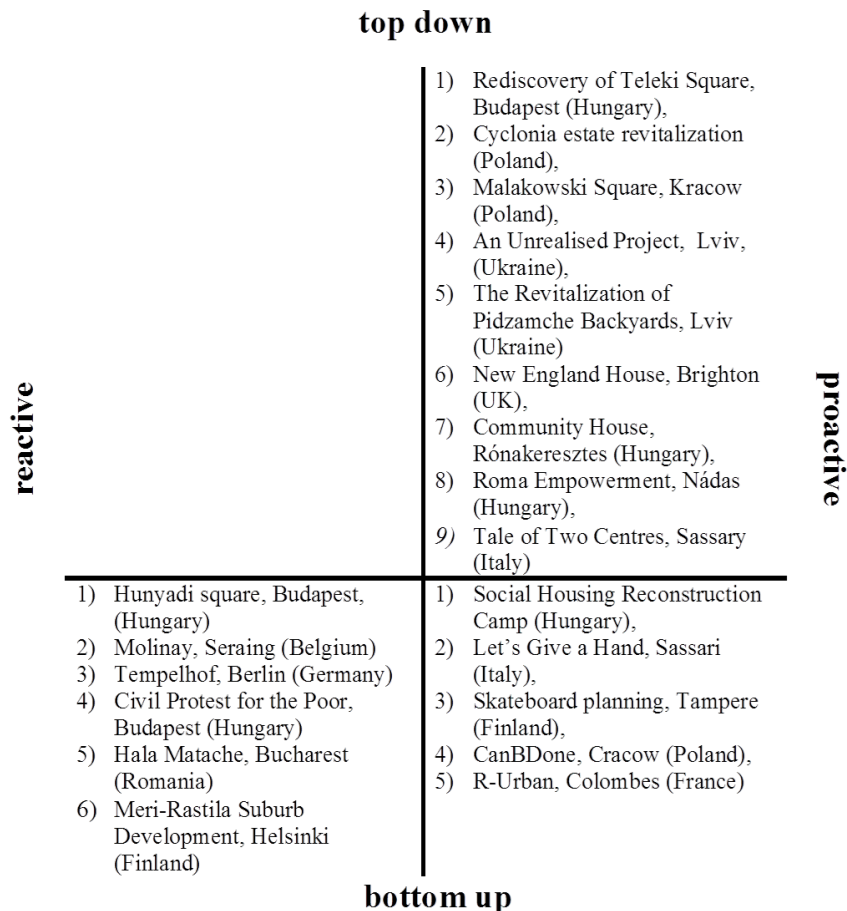5) R-Urban, Colombes (France)

bottom up

Figure 1. Classification of Eurbanities experiences according to the forms of participation

The distribution of the cases of experiences shows a relative balance among three states of affaires (Bottom Up Proactive, Bottom Up Reactive and Top Down Proactive), with a slight over-representation of the top-down proactive type. Here, 7 from the 9 experiences are from Central and Eastern Europe. This might reflect the different socio-political background of these post-socialist environments, where NGOs have less financial resources to launch independent participative processes and therefore the civil sector is more dependent on the local authorities' initiatives and assignments, then in other European countries.

The fourth quarter of the matrix **(top-down reactive**) could not be filled as such cases only exist when a public authority intervenes as a reaction to an external event, e.g.: a natural disaster, a strong political conflict or a social conflict caused by political circumstances - for instance the refugee crisis. These cases mainly happen at a higher territorial (administrative) level, such as the national, regional or even international levels. However, these situations can be the base of local projects (on neighbourhood level) initiated by NGOs (for instance, education or integration programs for refugees living in a neighbourhood).

INTERPRETATIONS: EXPERIENCE AS A PROCESS

Experience

Experience has been defined as a long term, non-linear process that can last over an extended period of time (years) and is affected by several external and internal factors, changes and events. In this vein, the experience narratives describe processes in diverse contexts and present the way the positions, objectives and strategies of different stakeholders transform as they attempt to achieve their goals.

The narratives apply the methodology of *storytelling*. They focus on the logical construction of the experiences, the successive follow-up of actions and their consequences and are destined to lead to the elaboration of different *types and scenarios of participation*.

In order to ensure a general pattern for comparability of different routes and outcomes designed by the experiences, a single structure (grid) was developed for the story-telling. This was based on a methodology retrieved from theories of (local) development that define **development as a process of social change** which ultimately concerns the **transformation of institutions**. This is not a linear process, since participants of the development project can make mistakes, false starts as they meet and overcome obstacles. According to this approach a minimum of four factors should be satisfied in order to achieve development:

1. **deliberation**: the will to solve initial problems, to solve gridlocks;

2. **reflexive spontaneity**: in other words knowing oneself, the partners in conflict, what needs to be done;

3. **realization of mutual vulnerability** and dependence,

4. **dialogue** among cooperating actors whose relations are determined by more or less equally distributed rights in making decisions.

Ultimately, it is in a dialogue that parties must define and redefine their positions, underst and the issues at stake. This **constant re-elaboration of intent can produce a common understanding and alignment of interests** (Sabel, 1995).

Based on this approach, neighbourhood level development of EURBANITIES is considered as a **long-term, non-linear process**, during which actors – stakeholders in the story – interact with each other in different ways and to various degrees. As the story of development and of the interaction unfolds, the process can be organized into **phases** separated by **turning points**. A turning point can be **an event** such as a sudden change in the general political or economic context, or the breakdown of negotiations between stakeholders **that transforms the positions of stakeholders in a way that affects the entire development process and its outcome**. The position and points of view of stakeholders (civil, public, private) are redefined at each turning point.

Turning Points

Turning Points are crucial elements of the stories and the scenarios as they introduce a change in the flow of events. They lead to a cut of the logical sequence of stakeholders' actions and reactions and often a more or less radical change of their position and mutual relationship. Turning points might be crucial with regards to the final outcome of the processes, they can turn a positive process into a negative one and vice versa.

The local experiences include a large variety of turning points, such as different events, decisions, changing attitudes, arrival of new stakeholders etc. Overall, turning points can be classified according two main types of transformations:

Internal transformations: These changes are related to the reactions of the stakeholders included in the story: reactions of local stakeholders to a social issue or to the behaviour of other stakeholders in the course of the story. Each story begins as a reaction to a pending social issue or challenge of either one of the two major types of stakeholders (the NGOs or the local authority/local government). In this sense, the coming about of the initiative can be regarded as the first turning point in the flow of events, in the sequence of the narrative.

Following this initial turning point, four types of internal turning points have

been identified.

a.)The stakeholders' subsequent reaction to each other's positions in the unfolding story triggers further turning points that can transform the general situation and lead the story into a different scenario. In the case of positive turning points, the stakeholders' reactions to initiatives, proposals or actions are embraced by the other side (1st scenario), which can lead to the institutionalization of partnership between the stakeholders and eventually to concrete local changes.

b.)Negative turning points are those moments in the sequence of the narratives when the reaction to an initiative by the other side is direct rejection or resistance. These turning points can trigger protest actions that can lead the story either into a positive scenario, to further negotiations or to the breakdown of negotiations and the initiative (narrative) itself.

c.)The lack of reaction (neglect) can also be regarded as a negative turning point in the flow of events, as it can lead to the breakdown of negotiations and eventually of the narrative itself without any local changes.

d.)In the course of negotiations and actions, stakeholders can reconsider their original points of view, redefine their goals in order to bring about some common understanding and shared vision in the goals of the development initiative. This type of internal turning point can lead the story into a positive scenario, or to further negotiations.

2. **External changes:** These transformations denote events external to the jurisdiction of stakeholders within the community that local actors cannot influence but that can have an impact on the evolution of the development story.

a.) External changes can be, for instance, the appearance of a new (external) stakeholder or a facilitator who can help local actors redefine their goals and points of view or can introduce new ideas that both sides of stakeholders can identify with. In this positive scenario, the external actor can change the storyline for the better by helping local stakeholders reframe their narratives about cooperation and dialogue.

b.) Turning points can also be triggered by external events, such as the transformation of the political context as a result of municipal or regional/national elections; a sudden change in the financial capacities of either of the participants; a general economic and/or political crisis, a transformation of the physical environment or the social composition of the area, the appearance of new funding tenders.

Scenario Building

The above presented typology has been elaborated according to the initial state of affairs and the turning points as they appeared in the experiences. From the relative common starting points, the stories may follow very different paths, determined by the different turning points that cut the story into phases. Identifying these paths has been a first step in the building of the **scenarios of participation**.

Scenario building can be regarded as a practice of **simplification**: the main objective is to draw **general development paths** based on the stories. As typologies in general, instead of highlighting the small differences between the experiences, scenario building also intends to **create large categories** and thus to hide the small details. This exercise has been an important step towards the creation of the game tool, in which the processes are by definition presented in a simplified way.

Scenarios for storytelling were developed through the assessment of the initial state of affairs, the turning points of the stories, tools of participation used by stakeholders and the outcome of the participation experience. The initial state of affairs among stakeholders changes as the story of the experience unfolds through turning points and the transformation – or stagnation – of the interaction among participating actors.

The **scenarios are not isolated** from each other: at certain points, there are possibilities for passing from one scenario to the other. Depending on the evolution of the initial state of affairs, the position of the stakeholders and the tools used by them, one scenario may turn into the other at certain points of the story. For instance, a bottom-up reactive scenario may turn into a bottom-up pro-active one in case of a positive collaboration between the stakeholders and the strengthening of the local community. Or, a bottom-up state of affairs might change into a top-down situation in case the local authority takes over the initiation as a result of financial, political or other reasons.

Type 1: Experiences with a bottom-up proactive initial state of affairs

The departing situation of bottom-up proactive experiences is an initiative launched by an NGO or a group of citizens, local stakeholders to resolve a local

problem persisting since a certain time.

At the first turning point the municipality responds to the initiative either by embracing, ignoring or rejecting the NGOs proposal.

1st scenario: If the initiative is embraced, the NGO becomes a partner of the municipality in the implementation of the development project. NGOs tools will change according to its role: as its initiative is embraced and it works as a collaborator, it will rely on cooperative work and the media. In the course of the evolving partnership of the local government and the NGO, a local community is shaped (or reshaped) as developmental decisions become embedded within the fabric of the local society. *Experiences: Social Housing Reconstruction Camp (HU); Skateboard planning, Tampere (FI)*

2nd scenario: If the initiative is ignored, NGO stakeholders remain in a pending position and might continue to push for the realization of the proposal. In order to attract the authorities' attention, the NGOs may rely on demonstrations and petitions. When facing the ignorance of the local government, the NGOs must reconsider and recalibrate their initiatives to draw more attention to the subject in question. *Experiences: Let's Give a Hand, Sassari (IT), CanBDone, Krakow (Poland)*

3rd scenario: If the initiative is rejected in a straightforward manner, the NGO can turn into an open opponent of municipal policies. If the initiative is rejected by the local government, the NGO can rely on mobilizing international networks and organizations. When faced with the rejection of the local government, NGOs must also reconsider and recalibrate their initiatives to trigger more positive responses about the subject in question. *Experience: R-Urban, Colombes (FR)*

The outcomes of this first type of participative process will vary according to the scenarios: in case of a positive development, a partnership may develop between the municipality and the NGO, the latter can even institutionalize and change the scale of its activities. As a result, important solutions are found for the initial problem.

In the case of a negative development, the NGO remains in an isolated position, it becomes an enemy of the local authority. Instead of the research of common solutions, the tools used by the civil society might be stronger: protest and demonstrations against the municipal policies.

Type 2: Experiences with a bottom-up reactive state of affairs

In this second type of participative experience, local NGOs, citizens or other

stakeholders with no political power launch an action in order to resolve a political or social conflict, often caused by an imminent political decision on behalf of the municipality or other stakeholders with political power.

1st scenario: In the most positive scenario, the NGO can eliminate the resources of the immediate social conflict and positively influence local policies. Constructive tools of action can be used in this case: participatory planning, networking, social media, flash mobs, trainings and workshops. *Experience: Molinay, Seraing (BE);*

2nd scenario: In a most negative scenario, the reaction of the municipality to the civil society's initiative is rather negative, but, although the associations cannot reduce the imminent danger of the conflict, the local community finds itself reinforced as a result of its action. The local community is thus able, in a second phase, to turn to more radical tools and actions in order to achieve the dissolution of the conflict. *Experience: Hunyadi, Bp (HU); Meri-Rastila suburb development, Helsinki (Finland); Tempelhof, Berlin (Germany); Civil-Protest for the Poor, Budapest (Hungary)*

3rd scenario. In the most negative scenario, the conflict cannot be eliminated and/or it may even aggravate and the new and stronger conflict may generate new tools to trigger partnership. These can be demonstrations, meetings, petitions, media, and expertise. In this case the outcome can either be a change in the scale of intervention or the transformation of tools by the local authorities. If a solution to the conflict cannot be generated, new problems may appear, which does not negate the evolution of a good community through constant negotiations. *Experience: Hala Matache, Bucharest (Romania)*

In the case of **a positive scenario**, in a second phase of the process, the NGO can begin to work on the strengthening of the local community capable to initiate solutions to local problems. In this case, the process **may turn into a bottom-up proactive one.**

Type 3. Experiences with a top-down proactive state of affairs

Top-down proactive experiences are based on a community building initiative launched by the local government. The realization of these projects is often assigned to local NGOs that is why sometimes it is difficult to differentiate this type of action from the bottom-up proactive ones.

1st scenario: The local authority's initiative is adopted by the community, in

which case the citizens' involvement in the implementation of the project is rather strong. The tools used in the course of such collaboration can range from meetings, FB posters and network building. The outcome of this scenario is the empowerment of the local community through dialogue between the authorities and the society, which demonstrates an additional achievement of the initiative compared to the original goals. *Experience: Rediscovery of Teleki Square, Budapest (Hungary); Malakowski Square, Krakow (Poland); Cyclonia estate revitalization (Poland), New England House, Brighton (United Kingdom)*

2nd scenario: If local authorities' initiatives meet the resistance of the local community, the latter can turn to tools of protest, such as demonstrations, flash mobs or petitions. As a result of such reactions, the local government can decide to adapt its initial plans to the needs of the community. In this case a positive scenario will take place. *Experience: Community House, Rónakeresztes (Hungary); Roma empowerment, Nádas (Hungary); Tale of Two Centres, Sassary (Italy); The Revitalization of Pidzamche Backyards, Lviv (Ukraine)*

3rd scenario. If the initiative of the municipality is rejected by the local community and the authority does not show any willingness to adapt the plan to the requirements of the local community, the scenario can **turn into a traditional top-down process** as the local government abandons the dialogue with the society. The outcome in this case is the failure of community building. *Experience: An Unrealised Project, Lviv (Ukraine)*

Based on the narratives of the experiences three main types of scenarios, or participatory processes could be identified:
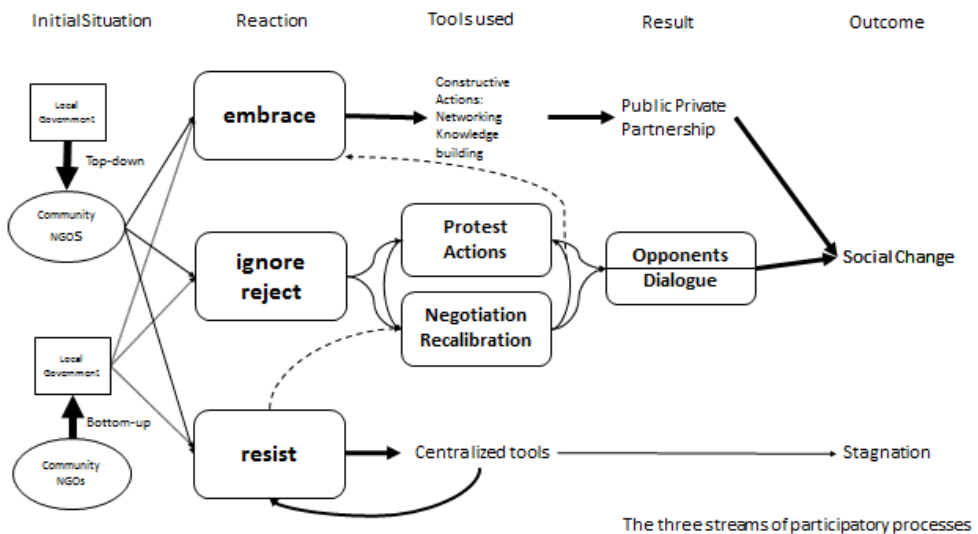
Figure 2: The three streams of participatory processes

Tools

Tools are types of actions and mechanisms deployed by local actors in their reaction to each other's initiatives, proposals, actions and/or to the new situation triggered by internal and external events. Tools can vary according to the actor who uses them and the scenarios in which they are used. Some tools can be used by both types of actors and in several scenarios, others are specific to the actor and the situation.

I. In the first scenario: EMBRACE, where the result is COOPERATION, PARTNERSHIP, constructive tools can be deployed by both the NGO and the LG.

Constructive tools:

Local Government (LG): online platform for input from the community, public hearing, participatory planning, survey, workshops, leaflets, billboards, instawalks, popups, social media, participatory research, trainings,

NGO: participatory research and planning, workshops, networking, knowledge

building, social media, surveys, trainings

II.   In the second scenario: NEGOTIATION, where the result can be either OPPOSITION or DIALOGUE, recalibration tools can be deployed.

Recalibration tools:

LG: large-scale surveys, social media, facilitated meetings, case studies from other LGs, public hearings, leverage: cooperation incentives to get more support (?), local media, community events

NGO: crowdfunding, putting pressure on politicians by flashmobs, demonstrations, social and local media, leaflets, involving external expertise, demonstrations, petitions

III. In the third scenario: RESIST or REJECT, where the result can be STAGNATION or DIALOGUE, protest tools can be deployed.

Protest tools:

LG: media exposure, centralized decision-making without participation

NGO: crowdfunding, politicizing the issue through media exposure, flashmobs, demonstrations, petitions, legal challenging of centralized decision, involving external experts, international organisations and platforms

CONCLUSIONS FOR EURBANITIES

The above analysis contains several important conclusions for EURBANITIES project. The scenarios, turning points and tools identified will be used for the definition of the main elements of the game. The general conclusions of the experiences, regarding the main challenges for realizing successful participative processes will be integrated into the pedagogical curriculum and the trainings to be provided by the end of the project.

Participative processes are never ending stories. Unlikely development projects that have a clear frame based on a planning procedure, a governance and a financial structure, participative processes are long lasting stories, that may contain several projects themselves or aim at the realization of projects. In any

case, participation only exists if it is continuous and sustainable. Even in the case of a negative turning of a story (for instance the rejection of an initiative by the local municipality), there still remains a possibility of the reinforcing of the community or of the launching of new participative methods. Thus, although for the sake of simplicity and scenario building, the experiences are presented here with a clear beginning and a more or less clear ending, in reality, these stories should have (or should have had) further turning points and phases.

There are only some specific cases when the stories end suddenly, with no possible way of follow-up. These cases might be considered as real negative ones, where participation probably was not based on the effective need of the local community. In these cases, any external or internal problem (lack of financial resources, political tensions etc.) may blow up the whole process of participation.

As mentioned before, the above described types of participative processes and the scenarios of participation are the results of an exercise of simplification. They allow us to draw some logical tendencies that are present in every process, they allow us to identify the main dangers, challenges participative processes have to tackle, and the main tools the stakeholders can use in their practices. Nevertheless, you must not forget that **each story is different, unique and unreproducible.** Each story is the fruit of many efforts, reflection and work on behalf of people who are active on the ground and who are the real experts of their own cases. Any time we want to draw generalities of participative processes, we have to keep in mind that it is not possible to speak about participation without a permanent feedback from the ground. The following 20 experiences should also be read through this optic: as individual stories, reflecting very different local situations, stakeholders with different backgrounds and results that give them various perspectives.

From storytelling to Eurbanities– co- creation of a curriculum through scenario building, gaming and training

Krisztina Keresztely

Introduction

EURBANITIES is a pedagogical method developed in the frame of a three year-long transnational project financed by the ERASMUS Plus program between 2015 and 2018. The main objective of the project has been the realization of a game-based pedagogical curriculum for empowering civil participation in neighbourhood level development.

The Eurbanities game-based learning method is the result of a co-creation process involving 7 partners, working together in the frame of participatory workshops and remote co-working periods in between the meetings. The process was divided into 4 main phases:

1) construction of a set of local experiences representing different situations of citizen participation in European urban neighbourhoods. 20 local experiences were analysed based on a storytelling approach. In order to ensure a general pattern for comparability of different routes and outcomes designed by the experiences, a single structure (grid) was developed for the story-telling. The stories of citizen participation are based on the description of a sequence of actions (phases) cut by turning points transforming the positions of stakeholders in a way that affects the entire development process and its outcome.

2) Based on the stories, different scenarios of participation were identified through the assessment of the initial state of affairs, the turning points within

the stories, the tools of participation used by stakeholders and the overall outcome of the experience. The complex outline of these scenarios became the base of the storyboard of the game.

3) The storyboard, the characters of the game and the main dialogues were identified in the frame of a co-design process during several partner meetings. Based on these, Eurbanities game is the result of a one and a half year-long design process.

4) The construction of the Eurbanities curriculum took place parallel to the game development. The curriculum was developed following the main steps of the game. The curriculum was tested at two trainings and was improved constantly during the last year of the project.

The above described process resulted in the preparation of three pedagogical tools:

1.   Our Neighbourhood's Heroes: a handbook containing 20 stories of existing experiences in local participation.

2.   Eurbania game: an online serious game to be used as an educational tool but also individually as a storyline for neighbourhood participation.

3.   Eurbanities Training Handbook: the description of the learning method based on the use of the two previous materials.

Eurbanities a learning method based on participation

Eurbanities method is generally targeting all citizens willing to intervene for a positive social change in their neighbourhood by providing them general knowledge and practical support for planning and implementing their actions. More specifically, three modules of the learning method have been worked out targeting three different target groups:

A: Capacity building for active citizenship, targeting experienced citizens, activists and educators in non-formal education;

B: Teaching civic education, targeting mainly youth educators and teachers in formal education;

C: Empowering citizens in local situations: targeting all individuals with few or any knowledge background related to the specific aspects of civil participation.

Participatory aspects are in the core of Eurbanities method on several levels. The most evidently, the objective of the method is to empower citizens engaged or willing to be engaged in participatory processes designed for the improvement of their neighbourhoods. Eurbania game, the main learning tool of the method itself is based on a story of how local citizens organize their movement ending up in a participatory planning process bringing together all local stakeholders. The game itself has been co-constructed by the partners based on a series of existing stories of local participation.

Participation is not only the essence of the method's learning outcomes but is also the core element of its learning tools.

Gamification or game-based learning is a process that itself generates participation. Gaming does not only let educators to transfer information to the learners in a funny and playful way. Gaming in itself teaches participation through the following elements:

- Interactivity: certain board games or video games are based on the interaction of players who have to find common solutions or compromises in order to achieve a goal.

- Strategy making: Games teach us how to take risks, how to deal with the consequences of our decisions and how to sum up and reorient our actions.

- Evaluating/Monitoring: Gaming is a permanent repetition, offering the possibility of experiencing different scenarios, different solutions for the same challenge. Repetition permits the consolidation of the mastery.

The training itself is also constituted by different participatory elements such as:

- Group discussions aiming at the identification of common aspects and concepts such as citizenship, participation, urban neighbourhood etc.

- Role plays, based on concrete experiences of participatory processes, played within groups of learners.

- Participatory methods permitting a common reflection on the main learning

outcomes.

The main pedagogical elements

Eurbanities is a blended learning method, using the video game as the main story line of the Eurbanities training curriculum.

As identified by Wikipedia, "Blended learning is an education program (formal or non-formal) that combines online digital media with traditional classroom methods. It requires the physical presence of both teacher and student, with some elements of student control over time, place, path, or pace." The use of blended learning method in teaching can vary from the use of digital tools in a classical face-to-face teaching environment through the variation between online and offline teaching till the more classical online courses. Depending on these variants, blended learning might be a way to support individual learning (permitting to the students to use the digital tools in the frame of online courses) but it might also be used as a form of participatory learning when, in the frame of a class, the digital tool is shared between the students (learners) and the teacher.

Eurbanities learning method intends to follow this latter variant, nevertheless, the game tool can also be used individually, as a source of learning through entertainment.

Within the curriculum three modules are designed, according to three main target groups as already mentioned above:

A: Capacity building for active citizenship: this module is targeting experienced citizens, activists and educators providing non-formal education for individual citizens and NGOs; the main aim of this module is to teach the general processes of how citizen participation may lead to social change in urban neighbourhoods.

B: Youth educators and teachers in formal education: this module is designed for civic education in the frame of classical teaching environment. It concentrates on the transfer of concrete conceptual and practical knowledge related to local democracy, local development and participatory processes.

C: Empowering citizens in local situations: this third module is targeting community leaders and trainers who want to provide know-how to any individual with few or any knowledge background related to the specific aspects of civil participation. This module will therefore concentrate more on concrete practical

advices related to the organization and delivery of local movements.

The modules vary according to the main expectations related to the learning outcomes as described above. Four main components are identified and used in different ways or with different intensity in the three modules.

Introduction to the concept of participation for social change in neighbourhoods

In the beginning of the training a participatory discussion is moderated on the concepts linked to citizen participation and on the main scenarios of participation as identified in the Eurbanities handbook. According to the target groups the intensity and the length of these discussions may be different: they can obtain a larger role in the case of Module B and C, and less importance in the case of Module A, when the learners are in general aware of the concepts and processes.

Role play

Once the main concepts clarified, the learners will be led to discover the concrete challenges of citizen participation in neighbourhoods. The aim of this part is to help learners to identify themselves with one specific case, either by using their own experiences or by using the experiences described and analysed in the handbook. In order to do this, a role play is organized, when the participants are divided in groups, each group forming an NGO preparing a strategy for the defence of the cause selected from the book. In the first part of the role play the participants will present their strategies in front of a commission simulating the main stakeholders in the city (the mayor, the NGO sector, the private sector and the media) and, independently of their results, they will fail because of the intervention of an outsider, an investor who will offer a better opportunity to the mayor. This artificially generated failure provokes a shock for the participants who are then invited to take part in a training aiming at empowering their skills of self- organisation and strategy making. Through this shock, the training intends to simulate the often fragile situation of local NGOs face to other, more powerful stakeholders in cities.

Following this, the participants will go through a blended training based on the Eurbania game, and at the end they will have the opportunity to renegotiate their strategies with the stakeholders and the other NGO groups.

This role play part will be dedicated mainly to the trainings in the frame of module A and B, where the learning outcome focuses on mainly a general knowledge, whereas in the case of Module C the role play can simply be abandoned, as here the participants have already a strong identification with the specific challenges of their neighbourhood, and do not need to place themselves in any other specific situations

Blended learning with Eurbania game

The core of the curriculum is constituted by the blended learning part. Playing the game section by section, the participants go through the journey of citizen participation in neighbourhoods and widen their knowledge on the different elements of this process. Each section of the game played together by the group is followed by a mini role game, permitting to the participants to improve their strategies – either the strategies developed in the role game part, or their existing strategies brought from their lived experience. The sections cover the main activities of participatory processes as revealed by the experiences analysed in the beginning of the Eurbanities project as follows:

- Understanding and analysing the challenges and the tools of participation
- Revisiting the needs and strategies of the civil society to achieve social change in the neighbourhood
- Using different methods to find supporters, to convince people of the NGO's objectives such as working out a campaign based on appealing arguments, writing petition and collecting signatures, organizing a demonstration…
- Negotiating the strategy with other stakeholders
- Community planning based on a compromise between the stakeholders

Group reflection and self-reflection on the learning outcomes of the game

The closing element of the training is a session permitting the participants to get back to their own reality and to identify the ways and opportunities of exploiting

the learning outcomes in their own professional and personal background.

Between the four elements, the third (blended learning) and fourth (reflection on the exploitation of the learning outcomes) are compulsory parts of the Eurbanities training, whereas the first (introduction to the concepts) and second (role play) are optional, according to the needs of the learners. In the case of some of the elements of the training, Eurbanities curriculum also proposes variants and extra activities such as:

- An urban excursion, visiting one neighbourhood where a participatory process has already led to social change.

- Organising some urban activities by using the gained experiences on local participation in order to activate the participants to act immediately.

- Market of ideas: instead of a moderated negotiation a more fun and dizzy negotiation process is organised leading the participants to find compromise.

The time consuming of the variants is of course different, the trainings can be of different length, between 2 to 5 days.

Analysis of Eurbanities

Strength

The method is constructed on the base of solid, commonly validated facts linked to participation and co-design. The training is based on existing experiences analysed according to a grid and method identified by the partners. The training has been tested several times in various publics before the creation of the final curriculum.

Weakness

As most of the serious games, Eurbania game can rather be used as a storyline supporting the curriculum whereas its use as an independent game is more limited: the financial and organisational limits of the project did not permit the creation of a game with a large number of variants.

Opportunities

Eurbanities project is based on three pillars such as: a) Research; b) Storytelling,

gaming and other participatory processes; and c) Non-formal education.

The project outcomes can therefore be used for a wide range of purposes, and in a wide range of public, permitting also the combination of methods and objectives (for instance those of traditional research with storytelling) leading to real innovative results.

Threads

The target group of the training has been consciously identified to be as wide as possible as the topic itself concerns practically all citizens. This is the reason why the curriculum offers different modules and variants to be used according to the needs of the specific learning groups. The identification of the target group is therefore a task of the trainers before each training. Some misuse of the training elements might occur in case if trainers cannot identify the adequate elements of the curriculum for a given learner group.

Transferable elements

Eurbanities method has a wide transferability. First the combination of social research with storytelling and gaming can be used in any projects aiming at bringing research closer to citizens. Further the use of real existing stories/experiences gives scientific credibility to both the game and the training curriculum. This method could therefore be useful in the construction of any training curricula dealing with diverse challenges of our societies, such as migration, land use, climate change etc.

Eurbanities method is based on co-creation: all the elements of the method and the three main materials have been worked out and discussed with the participation of all partners. Eurbanities project has thus permitted to develop a co-design methodology where individual – remote work is altered by participatory discussions and evaluation. This method can be used for the elaboration of any other similar methodologies.

Eurbanities training curriculum can be used for a wide range of public and can be easily transferred into other curricula and in different teaching environment: it can be used in schools, universities, VET education or simply as a gaming/empowering activity

Recommendations to improve urban participatory processes with game elements

Martin Barthel

Based on the above made findings, the Strategic Partnership "EUrbanities" has identified several recommendations concerning participatory urban processes to be considered by educators, trainers, activists and any individuals working with local citizen groups and other stakeholders engaged in local level development projects including public participation

1.   The process is never straight – urban participatory process does not follow lineal logics. Like in storytelling, the process is connected to turning points, which determine the success of the process. If the turning points and their implications on the participatory process are well understood, a positive outcome for all the community can be expected.

2.   Have more than one viewpoint – Embrace and consider all actors in the participatory process. A comprehensive and holistic vision taking into consideration the changing interests and needs of the actors is a key condition for building sustainable processes. Sustainable but as well positive interventions help to build a community and enable active citizenship.

3.   Understand the process and embrace surprises – As mentioned earlier, participatory process is not straight forward. Turning points can help actors to reconsider their strategies or let new actors intervene. Understanding the process means to steer and moderate it, and to be able to even change the initial plan according to the reaction of the stakeholders. Surprises will help to negotiate between the actors and result in creative and innovative solutions.

4.   Differentiate between an ending and outcomes – If the participatory process is well designed, it will hardly end at a certain point. The ending is always a temporary snapshot which might be used to tell the story of the process. In this context, the outcomes are indicators on the gain (or the loss) of the community. They are not stagnant, and they may always turn into a new phase or a new process. We can only speak about an ending in the case of the complete failure of the process, when no social change takes place – neither in terms of the project's objectives none in terms of community building.

5.   Be aware of the correlation between outcomes and endings the analysis of the experiences showed three kind of outcomes:

Success – social change

Failure – lack of social change

Compromise – a certain degree of social change

Success leads to an ending consisting out of achievement, capacity building, visible change and establishment of participatory procedures. Failure will lead to the breakdown of negotiations, polarisation and exclusion. Compromise will lead to the recalibration of the process, in order to achieve another outcome. The processes are flexible, and each outcome can lead to another ending.

6.   Choose the participatory tools according to the situation – Since outcomes and processes are fuzzy and flexible, be aware of the methods you will use. Analyse together with the actors what is needed in order to support the participatory process and choose your tools accordingly.

7.   Involve the community – The core of participatory process is the involvement of active citizens. In order to understand the need of a community, involve them in the assessment of the situation. The involvement will ensure participation and ownership, which is crucial for the success of the process.

8.   Direct your message – When you communicate on the process think about to whom you want to target your message and focus your message on your subject. In this way people can easily understand the concern but as well the implications.

Empowering Migrant Participation

Hannah Heyenn

With almost 2 Million people the Polish form the biggest EU Migrant group in Germany – temporary work migrants not included. As neighbouring country with considerably lower incomes migration flow from Poland has been almost continuously positive for the last 20 years and is growing since workers from Poland are able to take up employment in all member states from May 2011.

But the history of bilateral migration agreements between Poland and Germany extends back beyond the last century. Because of this vivid and long past the polish community in Germany is comprised of migrants with various arrival times as well as diverse experiences and participation levels in the receiving society.

Smart Organisation - Polska Rada Społeczna

Formed by migrants, who took refuge in Germany during the early 1980s, this polish migrant organisation is still working to strengthen the bridge between migrants and the receiving society today. During the founding years of the Polnischer Sozialrat e.V. / Polska Rada Społeczna (English: Polish social council) discrimination and racism against Poles was wide spread. Back then the activists aimed to disprove stereotypes and fight racism and thereby gave migrants a political home, which empowered them to speak up for their rights within the host society.

Over the years the Polska Rada has become established as a community corner

stone. Still the idea of empowerment is at the center of its mission statement. Here social workers and lawyers with Polish migration background are experts on participation and empowerment through their own biographies, which sets them apart from other counselling organisations. The Polska rada counsels Polish migrants in matters of

Social Security

Labour Rights

Conflicts at work

Conflicts at home

Over 5000 consultations of Polish social workers per year take place in native language. The idea behind native language counselling is to lower the barriers for participation in a country, where migration counselling by state funded entities is by default offered in the host country's language. Additionally, native language increases trust by those seeking help and supports community building. At the same time the Polska rada offers German language courses on a regular basis to enable participation outside the community and prevent ghettoization.

Workshop „How to design projects that make our dreams come true"

This workshop was part of the larger Polish Competence Centre, a series of 36 workshops per year, running for two years (2015-2016). The Polish Competence Centre was funded by Polish State Department. The new government rejected funding for 2017. The smart programme covered a wide array of topics and target groups and aimed to contribute to the participation of the Polish community as a whole. All workshops were free of charge.

The workshop „How to design projects that make our dreams come true" is predestined to illustrate the scope of the programme, as this workshop is encouraging participation in civil society quite directly. Applying formal and informal forms of learning, it imparts competences for participation in the receiving society. At the same time, it helps to build a social network in the receiving society in general and specific to the planned projects. Former

contributes to participation opportunities, since the bigger the social network of a person, the higher the probability to take part in activities.

After an extensive round of introductions which includes project ideas, experience and expectations, the facilitator informs on, where to get funding for social and cultural projects in Germany as well as what makes a good project. During a group phase the participants design a sample project and match it with the appropriate sources of funding.

The learning objectives are that the participants know how to design a successful cultural or social project and where to get funding for it. The reaching of the objectives is proven through the group work. In addition to the learning objectives, this seminar has the aim to not only to encourage participation, but also to increase the number of civil society projects run by Polish migrants.

Phases before and after the workshop are just as important to reach this sustainable effect on participation as is the formal content.

Before the workshop

Through inquiring the interests and integration into organisations of participants, the facilitator can choose content and incorporate special interests into the workshop design.

After the workshop

At the end of the workshop there is an informal exchange over coffee which lasts for over an hour. During this time the planning of the projects often continues informally and collaboration are formed.

In this manner participation is enabled through informal tools such as giving space for meeting collaboration partners during group work and mingling phases. Several alumni of this workshop have successfully carried out civil society projects such as exhibitions, talks and alternative city tours.

Since "How to design projects that make our dreams come true" is contributing

to the development and execution of civil society projects by migrant community, it actively supports participation of this group. With its integrated social network approach, the workshop makes a pretty strong impact for a four hour event. unique structures, visually confirms that the people speak an unconnected Euro-pean language, and they retain a distinctive culture in a limited and bounded ter-ritory. Further exploration reveals a changing, multiply bounded territory based on aspects of tradition, livelihood, political affiliation and more, with bounded enclaves within the overall territory (Woodsworth 2008). Borders are evident, inpart, because distinctive signs on all major thoroughfares proclaim that you are now in 'Iskadi' or Basque Country. Also, there is a 'provincial' boundary drawn by Spain around the Basque Autonomous Territory. Yet, this authorized borderappears of less consequence than the borders perceived and constructed aroundthe Basque Country by Basques themselves. For the Basques, borders evolve through the process of belonging, and the state of belongingness outlines their territory as well as their 'common togetherness' and 'changing landscape of iden- tities' in a singular region (Bray 2004). The state of belongingness has multiple connectivities to places, environments, groups, ideologies and beliefs. Belongin-gness, for the Basques, may also be transitional, ambiguous and marginal, de- pending on who and where they are. These dimensions of multiple, transitional, ambiguous and marginal belongingness construct 'living boundaries' that enable the Basques to identify at once as a political, social, ethnic, and popular culture, and also embrace EU goals of cross-frontier cooperation and European integra-tion (Bray 2004). The challenge is to develop an approach to examine and explain the multiple and mobile borders associated with belongingness in the Basque Country, and in other geographical contexts.

In order to understand how belonging engages with borders and territory, we must go beyond examinations of state-based belonging (Migdal 2004) to access the theory of relations of part to whole, and of part to part within the whole.

Urban Borders, Urban Neighbourhoods and a Cognitive Approach

James W. Scott

Introduction

The study of borders within society has progressed from a largely descripti-ve, state-centric endeavour to a highly differentiated and multidisciplinary re-search field (Diener and Hagen 2012; Lamont 2002). Among other disciplines, social geography, anthropology, ethnography, sociology, political science and the humanities have explored the centrality of borders in conditioning social reality. Perhaps most significantly, contemporary border studies have provided detailed analyses of socio-political borders as a nexus of power, identity, cultu- re and historical memory (Popescu 2012; Andersen, Klatt and Sandberg. 2012; Brambilla et. al. 2015). This has been coupled with a concern for the impacts of social and political borders on specific groups and individuals (Haselsberger 2014; Newman 2006).

While there now exists broad consensus that borders are socially produced pheno-mena, we have tended to forget that borders are most fundamentally about crea-ting social space in order to interpret the world. Without borders, relational thin-king about the world would be hardly possible. Boundedness is hence an essential element of space-society relationships; borders are central to cognitive functions that stabilise ways of knowing the world. For the purpose of this discussion, the term border (rather than boundary) will be used in a non-linear but socio-spatial understanding. Moreover, once we have dropped the reductive requirement of linearity, we can more clearly understand borders as the creation of social, fun-ctional and environmental distinctions that resonate emotionally. In terms of theoretical debate, linking borders to cognition can widen our understandings of space-society relations, for example by gleaning insights from a number of see-mingly eclectic sources, such as architecture, neuroscience and cultural and poli-tical psychology. Capturing the cognitive complexity of border-making processes

is not the intention of this brief essay. However, in relating border-making to

the creation of urban place distinctions, we can link cognitive processes to social communication and the materiality of urban space. Precedents for this line of investigation have been established by architects such as Harry Francis Mallgrave (2015) who suggest that built environments are not simply architectural products or aesthetic artefacts but are part of affective social relationships and embodied cognition. In other words, border-making and place-making are closely linked, they create knowledges of place that serve to distinguish places from each other, thus producing a sense of orientation and belonging.

To paraphrase Maturana (1980), bordering is about *creating categories of distinction* and relationality between spaces thus producing, reinforcing and/or transforming place ideas. Moreover, the idea that borders are products of complex cognition is not a trivial or strictly academic question; as will be discussed below, it is closely related to issues of place identity and a sense of belonging. Border-making is therefore a cognitive process that is ontological, political, as well as emotional. Understanding bordering as a cognitive process puts emphasis on the social significance of place and can be linked, for example, to cultural and political psychologies of identity (see Hopkins and Dixon 2006). The centrality of the built environment, and thus of place, to feelings of well-being is, moreo- ver, captured by the concept of *ontological security* in the form of habits, routines and environments that stabilise a sense of self and group identity (Kent 2015; Jabareen, Eizenberg and Zilberman 2017).

Within this context, the concept of *enaction*, in which perceptions of the world are constituted through embodied action in the world (Varela, Thompson and Rosch 1991), provides a valuable link between internal interpretations of the environment, cultural influences, and the social creation of meaning (Popova 2014). Rosch's (2017) elaborations on enaction as a form of mutual participatory sense-making support the idea that borders (for example, within society and cities) emerge in the interaction between imagined and experienced space. Furthermore, they provide evidence as to how the making of borders is not only a result of social relations but also more specifically a product of complex social cognition and the social communication of distinctive place ideas. I suggest that the enaction approach can be adapted by relating mutual participatory sense-making to the active creation of place identities through physical transformations and cultural appropriations of the urban landscape.

Generally, I suggest that borders are meaning-makers par excellence. Specifically,

the emergence of borders will be related to the collective and intersubjective creation of place narratives as reflected in representations of urban change. In the vignettes that will be developed below, urban borders will be identified not as discrete socio-spatial divisions, but as narratives that express specific *place relationalities* vis à vis wider urban contexts. Borders are hence created when relational and distinctive attributes of neighbourhoods in flux become actionable knowledges of urban place – both individual and shared. In terms of my concrete methodological appropriation of enaction, this article takes its cues primarily from humanistic geography. Developing an approach elaborated by Scott and Sohn (2018), examples of urban border-making will be gleaned from Berlin and Warsaw. The focus is not on cognitive mappings of urban borders as such. Rather, border-making will be revealed as socially communicated narratives of place distinction – stories and knowledges of place that reflect embodied experience of place specificity and relationality with regard to wider urban contexts.

What I therefore suggest is that borders are being narrated around specific distinctive characteristics of place, of 'thereness', that exhibit both continuity and change, connecting place heritage to the present context of 'post-Millennial' phy-sical and socio-cultural transformation. By way of conclusion, I argue that the utility of interpreting urban spaces and places in this fashion lies in understan- ding why borders within society are created and how they become evident in thelabelling and categorisation of places. This perspective also helps us understand the significance of place and why cities and their neighbourhoods are conti- nuously appropriated and re-appropriated in social, cultural and political terms. As borders tell stories, border-making itself involves narratives of change and continuity that can reveal much about how places function - or fail to function -as communities.

Borders Studies and the 'Why' Question

Finnish geographer Jussi Laine (2016: 467) writes that:

> *"... Borders are products of a social and political negotiation of space: they frame social and political action; help condition how societies and individuals shape their strategies and identities; and are re- and deconstructed through various institutional and discursive practices at different levels and by different actors".*

As Laine's statement suggests, contemporary border studies champion a holistic and interdisciplinary view of how borders within human societies are constantly made and remade. Having transcended the limits of traditional state-centred, geopolitical and ethnographic understanding of borders, the research field now

posits the making of borders as a process embedded in everyday life. The evolution of border studies as a research field indicates, moreover, that questions of power, social relations and spatial scale dominate contemporary debate (Agnew 2008). Contemporary border studies recognise the fluid and changing nature of borders, their increasing sophistication, and the complexity of border-making processes by different agents (Amilhat Szary and Giraut 2015; Casaglia and Laine 2017). Consequently, one major interdisciplinary paradigm in thEresearch field is that of *bordering*, or the more fundamental process of creating socio-spatial distinctions at various scales by multiple actors (Van Houtum and Van Naerssen 2002; Pötzsch 2015). To study processes of bordering is to investigate the every- day construction of borders, among others through ideology, cultural mediation, discourses, political institutions, attitudes and agency. This paradigm brings di- verse forms of social, cultural and economic life into a unified frame of analysis and furthermore indicates that borders are not only semi-permanent, formal in- stitutions but are also non-finalisable processes.

Despite this already very rich theoretical and conceptual background, I suggest that border studies can be advanced by linking the making of borders more explicitly to psychological processes. Moreover, I will attempt to demonstrate that the cognitive nature of bordering is manifested in framings of urban places and neighbourhoods: place ideas create categories of distinction and relationality that shape shared knowledges of (urban) space. Per Gustafson (2001:13) has observed that: "A meaningful place must appear as an identifiable, distinguishable territorial unit. Distinction is a basic feature of human (and social) cognition [...] and is a matter of categorisation, ascription of similarities and differences, and the drawing of boundaries." These ideas merit further development and my ambition is underscored by the observation that while border studies have focused on the ways in which borders are constructed, on the 'how' of borders, little attention has been paid to basic 'why' questions above and beyond more obvious power and security related rationales. In terms of the symbolic communication of borders and their significance, the concept of *borderscapes* perhaps comes closest to capturing the link between cognitive processes and the construction of socio-cultural borders. Among others, Brambilla (2015) and Nyman (2018) argue that borderscapes are contexts where cultural appropriations and social contestations become visible via a broad repertoire of communicative means and strategies. As Brambilla (2015) herself states in an interview, borderscapes consist of spatial practices in the sense of Michel de Certeau, and thus allow for the abandonment of essentialised ideas of political borders and an understanding of

contemporary borders "as continually performed and (re)composed by sets of ontingent performances revealing their dynamic character".[1] And yet, the borderscape is both a reflection and re-appropriation of an existing border context and thus gains social significance as a political project of contestation (Grundy-Warr and Rajaram 2007).

Arguably, the cognitive nature of border-making has been neglected in the interest of political commitments and theoretical and ethical questions that problematise the wider impacts of borders. Along similar lines, Jeff Malpas (2012: 228) has criticised what he sees as a neglect of ontological questions relating to space and place in favour a focus on spatial politics that involve the "theorisationof spatial rhetoric and of spatial imagining." In his development of the con- cept of place, Cresswell (2004) has voiced similar concerns, drawing attentionto unproductive antagonisms between Place as something essential to existence ('Being in the World') and Place as a product of negotiating spatial relationships ('Social Construct') when in fact both understandings mutually contribute to place construction.

If borderscapes contribute to a more complex understanding of how borders are constituted within society, the *why* of borders is basically about the creation of meaning. In one fundamental way, the why question I pursue here can be answered outright: we create borders, individually and as a society, as a means to create a sense of everyday reality through attributing meaning to specific spaces and relating these spaces to each other. Bordering thus also proceeds through cognitive processes though which individual self-identifications with certain territories, cultures and political systems takes place. Consequently, place, both as a concept and as concrete areas within cities, represents a fundamental link between the psychic and the physical, between practice and representation. In particular, I will argue here that urban bordering can be situated as an everyday practice central to organising social life. Moreover, to paraphrase Relph (2008), this is a pragmatic notion of border that reflects human necessities. It is bounding within space that makes a sense of place possible (Tuan 1977). At the same time, creating a sense of boundedness in no way suggests exclusionary closure. As Jeff Malpas (2012: 238) writes: "The boundary is that which, inasmuch as it establishes the possibility of openness and emergence, also establishes a certain oriented locatedness."

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1   Source: https://societyandspace.org/2015/03/05/iborder-borderscapes-bordering-chiara-

brambilla-and-holger-potzsch/

Borders, Enaction and Meaning-Making

The discussion of complex cognition is rich and defies easy characterisation, but in very general terms we speak here of mental processes that create new information out of existing knowledge in order to effect action and ground decision-making (Sternberg and Ben-Zeev 2001; Knauf et. al. 2010). However, while cognition involves functional information processing internal to the human brain, it is also influenced by interactions between the environment and the human body. The architect Harry Francis Mallgrave (2015: 22) writes that "Our brains, bodies and environments (natural and cultural) are no longer seen as entities to be independently investigated, but as highly dynamic and interacting systems connected with each other biologically, ecologically and socially." As such, understanding cognition as "embodied action" (Varela, Thompson and Rosch 1993: xx) is a highly salient starting point for understanding the significance of socially constructed borders in everyday life. Through embodied cognition we code or traduce environmental stimuli into action potentials; we act out and simulate how to interact with material objects. Moreover, our environments are selectively created depending on our abilities to interact with the world.

In a foreword to a book on autopoiesis, co-authored with Francisco Varela, Humberto Maturana (1980: xxii) writes: "The fundamental cognitive operation that an observer performs is the operation of distinction. By means of this operation the observer specifies a unity as an entity distinct from a background and a background as the domain in which an entity is distinguished." Implicit in this statement is the propensity of the observer to establish a border that separates an entity from its background. Moreover, the operation of distinction - and thusthe establishment of borders - is more than a functional process, *it is also emotionaland relational*. Hence, the production of actionable information is influenced by emotional states. Emotions work to integrate cognitive activity and are a source of meaning rather than an antithesis of rational thought. However, emotions are not wholly internal but are *relational* as the observer is an active participant in a "sentient and responsive world" (Robinson 2015: 45). Feelings, as patterns of relationships, only have meaning in relation to persons and things lying outside the self (Bateson 1973). Burkitt echoes this (2002: 151-152): "…our emotions are an active response to a relational context: to other bodies with which we are related and that respond to our actions in particular ways."

Cognition, emotion and relationality are central elements of enaction. As

deve- loped by Varela, Thompson and Rosch (1993), enaction is concept that perhapsbest characterises the link between cognitive processes and border-making. To quote Rosch (2017: xxvii): "the lived body, lived mind and lived environment areall (…) part of the same process, the process by which one enacts the world." This notion captures the idea of bordering as embodied social interaction and a mutual participatory sense-making.

Linking Enaction to Humanistic Geography: Place Ideas as Border-Making Processes

Enaction forms part of a methodological strategy that can bridge gaps between rationality and affect, socially mediated and physically experienced realities as well as the cognitive and the socially constructed. Cognitive agents create new knowledge of the world "by making sense of (their) interactions with the world around it and, in the process, enlarging (their) repertoire of effective actions" (Vernon et al. 2015: 13). Cognitive and humanistic geography have traditional-ly studied subjective interpretations of the physical world, such as landscapes, and connections between society, mind and the environment (Ley 1981). In Yi- Fu Tuan's (1977) geographies of space and place, cognition reveals itself in the knowing of space. As Tuan (1979: 388) writes, "The study of space, from the humanistic perspective, is thus the study of a people's spatial feelings and ideas in the stream of experience."

Tuan's perspective resonates with psychoanalyst Didier Anzieu's (1985) insight that space is created by linking the psychic to the physical, through interaction with the material environment, by moving in space, through appropriations of space and by attributing to space specific meaning. Moreover, the reciprocal pro-cess of experiencing space and endowing it with meaning is not structurally pre-determined but inherently guided by feelings and affect. This squares, moreover, with Heideggerian ideas of *being in the world* (Dasein) and philosophical positions that privilege ontological questions of space and boundedness (Malpas 2012). Humanistic geography and enaction also share a concern with the intersubjective making of meaning and thus with social, cultural and environmental contexts of interaction where individual subjectivities create shared understandings of the world. And indeed, Tuan's (1991) narrative-descriptive approach to studying the creation of place can be closely linked to participatory sense-making (de Jaegher 2018), narrativity (Popova 2014) and other elements of the intersubjective turn in cognitive science. The symbolic communication of borders and place ideas has been echoed in the work of humanistic and urban geographers such as Deborah

Martin (2003), who have related the establishment of neighbourhood boundaries to cognition and interaction with the physical environment.

In this discussion, I argue that borders need to be investigated more explicitly as part of the intersubjective creation of meaning as expressed, for example, in the form of signs, codes and ways of communicating information about the environment. A major insight of alternative planning movements in the 1960s is that a deeper understanding of perception and social communication of urban images is required in order to craft a more contextually sensitive approach to urban planning and redevelopment. As Kevin Lynch (1960), Christopher Alexander (1977) and others demonstrated, those who live in cities actively and continuously make borders between their own neighbourhoods, everyday action spaces and other parts of the city. These mental borders are loaded with places images, material points of reference within the urban landscape, feelings and value judgements. Ted Relph (1976) has argued that a sense of place elicits, almost instinctively, recognition and specific associations. Moreover, Relph (2008: 321) suggests that a pragmatic perspective allows for the development of a notion of place that is bounded, yet open and dynamic and that "(…) combines an appreciation for a locality's uniqueness with a grasp of its relationship to regional and global contexts.

The ontological significance of borders and place is expressed, among others, in rootedness, familiarity and through supporting a sense of being in the world. However, place-making does not necessarily involve 'linearity' and discrete spatial divisions. Borders in society exist insofar as they emerge from embodied cognition and socially transmitted knowledge about the world. By extension, urban places and their boundedness are products of socially mediated ideas and practices, such as appropriations, attributions and representations, that link bodies with the physical, the emotive with the built environment (Scott and Sohn 2018).

On this view, therefore, urban borders and places are a product of human intellect and social uses of space in which formal and informal practices of organising everyday life mutually reinforce each other. They also reflect a need for rootedness and a sense of place (Relph 1976) and in providing a sense of ontological security, establish conditions for social and political agency (Malpas 1999). A pragmatic approach also emphasises the importance of everyday life and practical concerns in shaping place. The practical significance of place as 'rootedness' is evident in the work of Pratt (1999) and Arreola (2012) and many others who have documented migrant place-making in new urban settings. The centrality of rootedness in everyday life is also very much apparent when people must cope with its absence, for example in the aftermath of natural disasters (Prewitt, Diaz

and Dayal 2008). Health studies have documented the importance of attachment to place in promoting a sense of well-being and providing psycho-social support in times of stress (Boon 2014

Borders and Cognitive Geographies of Urban Neighbourhoods

The (re)creation of urban borders will now be addressed with two brief cases as an example of mutual participatory sense-making. In the examples that will be elaborated below, borders emerge as elements of place narratives that give meaning to and that are reflected in representations of specific areas (see Egger 2012). This is, admittedly, an unorthodox way of conceptualising borders, but the point is that borders cannot exist in spaces bereft of meaning or social significance; borders bound meaning, and only in certain cases as discrete lines. In this treatment, borders take shape as ideas, as spatial knowledge that creates socio-spatial difference through attribution and representation (Scott and Sohn 2018). *Attribution* confirms that urban borders emerge in social practices of distinguishing and differentiating and in the creation of shared understandings of place. Attribution is associated here with cognitive processes of producing boundedness by associating specific qualities with place. *Representation* is expressed in the creation of place narratives, stories that construct a specific socio-spatial identity as well as express the relational character of place identity within a wider urban situation. Moreover, attributions and representations give evidence of the intersubjective nature of these transformations in which contestations of place consolidate the social embedding of place borders. In other words, while it is not in any way suggested that these narratives are 'monolithic', their significanceas border-making practice lies in the production of shared meanings of specific places that elicit recognition and mutual comprehension. Institutionalising place borders and place ideas is a recursive and iterative process; it involves the everyday practice of creating, confirming and re-creating socio-spatial distinctions. In some cases, this can involve the intersubjective invention of entirely new, and often informal place names, such as the Kreuzkölln Neighbourhood in Berlin (Scott and Sohn 2018).

The methodology employed here is experimental in nature. As indicated above, Yi-Fu Tuan's (1991) method is a point of departure, and it is relatively short journey from his narrative-descriptive approach to understanding how place is made to enactive cognition as expressed in co-constructed narrativity (Popova 2014). The sources used reflect processes of appropriation and representation in the narration of place ideas – specifically, these are perspectives on neighbourhood change, architectural design, urban development processes, cultural change as well as critical commentary of these transformation processes. This approach demonstrates how intersubjective place narratives are being constructed around

interactions with and experiences of urban transformation and their specific so-
cial and spatial manifestations.

The method involves content analysis and the curation of place ideas expressed
by residents, stakeholders, visitors and users of the locales more generally. Fol-
lowing Fotopolou and Couldry (2015), curation involves weaving various indi-
vidual narratives into a set of consistent themes. Through the curation process,
place ideas around which various narratives converge can be identified. In terms
of processes of change we find that in both cases the creation of new culturesof
diversity, new spaces of economic, cultural activity as well as concerns with
gentrification and its impacts are important elements. The narratives highlight
place characteristics as well as compare, or rather relate, these characteristics to
those of other areas in the two cities. The borders that are thus (re)created result
not from linear divisions real or imagined, but from the spatialisation of place
difference – in other words, in the narration of a specific 'there'. These place nar-
ratives are structured in symmetric fashion according to three interlinked subt-
hemes: 1) references to historical legacies and place traditions, 2) narratives of
change and contestation, 3) narratives of place uniqueness based on distinctive
qualities and relationality.

As it is experimental in nature, this discussion of bordering limits itself to a rather
small selection of online sources and insights from background research. The
sources that were used here represent international press sources, local on- line
platforms that specifically narrate neighbourhood stories as well as sources that
represent both 'expatriate' and long-term resident perspectives. Accordingly, I
have restricted my results to a few generalisations of place ideas that neverthe-
less provide a picture of how place uniqueness and relationality are communica-
ted. The potential for much more extensive and thematically complex research is,
course, virtually limitless.

Berlin: Wedding, a Narrative of Diversity and Tradition

Place narratives of contemporary Wedding include an emphasis of diversity and
a sense of authenticity. Wedding has acquired a place identity as an exceptional
area in that it represents both socio-economic and socio-ethnic continuity and
change. It offers alternative cultural spaces and lifestyles at affordable levels/
rents. Wedding is however still home to more traditional populations who have
not (yet) been displaced by gentrification. It is above all, the mix and the diversity
of Wedding that is at the root of narratives of place uniqueness within Berlin and
that distinguishes it from other inner-city areas. Wedding is part of the Mitte

Bezirk (District) of Berlin. It is a traditional wor- king-class area and former industrial centre that housed major firms such as AEG, Osram and Rotaprint before WWII. Today, Wedding remains a relatively poor area, with high unemployment and almost 36% of the population depen- dent on welfare payments. Foreigners make up 58 % of the population, inclu- ding German ethnic immigrants. Wedding is thus one of the most ethnically diverse localities of Berlin.

 The multicultural atmosphere is highly visible on the streets, in the types of shops and services flourishing in the area and bilingual shop signs. Similarly to the Warsaw case presented here, new place narratives of Wedding build on an awareness of its historical heritage Wedding's image as an up-and-coming working class area[2] references the area's historical development, and traditional left-wing activism. It is a place where local Berlin traditions have been maintained despite Berlin's overall rapid pace of change. At the same time, Wedding embodies gradual cultural shifts in terms of an increasingly diverse population. According to the bloggers Mick ter Reehorst and Natalia Smolentce:

> *"What was once a working-class neighbourhood called 'Red Wedding' is now a booming and culturally diverse area. Compared to other Berlin neighbourhoods, Wedding is relatively untouched by gentrification, making it one of the city's most authentic areas. The true spirit of Berlin is still alive here."[3]*

In the past, Wedding and other Berlin inner-city neighbourhoods have been subject to highly sensationalised debates regarding multiculturalism (which to some is an ugly word), ethnic diversity and their association with social derelic- tion. Officially, Wedding is home to the most deprived neighbourhoods and the highest concentration of socio-economic and public safety problems in Berlin (Bezirksamt Mitte 2016). Wedding's negative reputation as a centre of social ten- sions, criminality, youth unemployment and dereliction is thus a constant in the narration of transformation. As Klein (2015) suggests, invisible borders restrict mobility between Wedding and more prosperous neighbouring areas: many fear that Wedding is 'unsafe', yet others, such as one visitor, proclaims that "yes, it is dirtier here and at first glance perhaps more bleak in places. Still, if I want to experience Berlin and find authenticity, a simple everyday approach to life, then I have to go to Wedding" (ibid). Nevertheless, in contemporary place ideas of Wedding, its past stigmatisation as a 'problem area' is giving way to more positive narratives based on social integration, cultural diversity and community-building.

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2   Wedding in Berlin Finally Has Its Moment, NY Times, 9 August 2015, https://www.nyti-mes.com/2015/08/09/travel/wedding-berlin-beer-restaurants-bars.html

Meet my Hood: Wedding, Berlin, https://cafebabel.com/en/article/meet-my-hood-wed-
ding-berlin-5ae00be2f723b35a145e8079/

For example, a 'positive' distinguishing narrative is that Wedding is ugly but aut-
hentic – it has been largely spared the gentrification and upscaling that have
transformed many central neighbourhoods in Berlin.4 Such narratives of uni-
queness are not specific to 'foreign' observers, as more locally based observations
indicate. Now, positive imaginaries of Wedding's neighbourhoods in which the
mix of 'working class' and ethnic diversity is understood as an asset, are present
in traditional and social media. Wedding is therefore known as a place that, un-
like the showcase renewal of Berlin neighbourhoods such Prenzlauer Berg, has
escaped many of the socio-economic and cultural ravages of gentrification.5 In
a weblog of 2 November 2016, *Culturetrip* Sarah Coughlan, writes:

> *"In a city so overrun with Kreuzkölln hype and Mitte types, north Berlin's Wed-
> ding often gets overlooked. For travellers lucky enough to find themselves in this
> neck of the woods, we have a run-down of the best things to see and do with a
> focus on the area's rich history".[6]*

A number of blogs indicate that Wedding is being misread by Berliners and visi-
tors alike. In a piece published 13 February 2017, culturtrip.com announces that
stereotypes about Wedding abound that should not be believed:

> *"Despite Wedding being perceived as the hapless and unsuccessful younger brother
> of Berlin's boroughs, it has surprised those who live and venture there with its
> local gems, indisputable charm, and untouched reprieves. (…) it seems Wedding
> has been sorely misjudged – it's irrefutably a microcosm of all Berlin has to offer".[7]*

Other websites, blogs and media reports outright praise Wedding as a meccas for
students[8], Berlin's 'hippest district'[9] or 'hottest new neighbourhood.[10] For
example, a major UK newspaper has celebrated Wedding as "an up-and-coming

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3   http://www.petrazlatevska.com/nice-day-for-a-white-wedding-berlins-ugliest-but-most-
charming-suburb-2/
4   http://needleberlin.com/2013/08/31/gentrification-alert-wedding/
5   https://theculturetrip.com/europe/germany/articles/7-historical-things-to-do-and-
see-in-wedding/
6   https://theculturetrip.com/europe/germany/articles/berlin-neighborhoods-6-stereotypes-
about-wedding-you-shouldnt-believe/
7   https://www.morgenpost.de/schueler/article104973341/Der-Wedding-wird-zum-Kiez-
fuer-Studenten.html/
8   https://theculturetrip.com/europe/germany/articles/11-reasons-why-you-should-visit-

wedding-berlins-hippest-district/

9   https://www.businessinsider.com/berlins-hottest-new-neighborhood-2015-8?IR=T

Neighbourhood."[11] Expat, business-oriented narrations of Wedding are parti- cularly revealing: Sophie-Claire Hoeller takes us on a tour of the "hottest new neighbourhood" in which she extols Wedding's "shabby charm and special flairas multicultural but authentic neighbourhood".[12] At the same time, and with con-sideration of expat anxieties, Hoeller warns about the 'roughness' of the place; Wedding is, after all, not the wealthiest part of Berlin. Perhaps the most unique feature of Wedding that receives attention is its apparent ability to thrive as a highly diverse place. In the Arte Info website blogger Nathalie Daiber describesthe profile of a 'Multikulti-Wedding'in which:

> *"(..), Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, Atheists, Lower Saxonians, Swabians, and other refugees live here quite peacefully together. Might this be a model for all Germany's future? Decision-makers at least should have a closer look at the people here."* [13]

At the same time, there are tensions between Wedding and the 'outside world' (ICR 2018, p. 43). The spectre of gentrification and rapid neighbourhood chan-ge are constant subthemes in narratives of Wedding's transformation. Since 2015, and primarily due to rapidly increasing housing prices in the central city, students, artists and small entrepreneurs have discovered Wedding and in some parts (Schillerkiez neighbourhood is generally mentioned) the area has begunto resemble popular areas in gentrified neighbourhoods. According to Guth- mann Real Estate:

> *"Berlin Wedding is located close to the city centre and expected to be an upco-ming district in the next years. What was once a neighbourhood for the working class has become an industrial, modern district for service companies, science and research today."[14]*

In contrast to this upbeat story of progress, such change is seen to represent a threat to Wedding's identity and unique culture of diversity (ICR 2018). The internet hyping of Wedding that adds to perceived coolness is also reflected in new cultural and gastronomic attractions such as the new Silent Green 'Kultur-

10   https://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/destinations/article-5718815/Guide-Wedding-district-Berlin.html

11   Business Insider Blog, Berlin 24 August 2015, https://www.businessinsider.com/berlins-hottest-new-neighborhood-2015-8?IR=T

12   https://info.arte.tv/de/wedding-portraet-des-multikulti-berlins

13   https://guthmann.estate/en/market-report/berlin/wedding/

quartier'[15] that many find alienating.[16] In this way, Wedding is also narrated as the next potential target of large-scale gentrification, a process that would threaten Wedding as a model of diversity.[17]

Warsaw:
Wola as Postindustrial Urban Frontier and Memoryscape

The Warsaw District of Wola has gained visibility as a hub of business development, spectacular architecture, residential growth and as an area where elements of a new urban economy are emerging. It is also known for demolition of older buildings, speculation and gentrification. Wola's place identity is moreover very much rooted in history. The area is known and remembered as a traditional area of industry and working-class neighbourhoods and its history is indelibly marked by World War II, resistance against German occupation and the 1944 Warsaw uprising. Historical sites in Wola that document its industrial past and the ravages of war.[18] Wola's image as a new urban frontier thus co-exists with its historical significance - what Małgorzata Kuciewicz and Simone de Iacobis characterise as an urban 'memoryscape'.[19] Kuciewicz and de Iacobis argue that Wola is "one of the most heterogeneous (and vexed) spaces in Warsaw (...) a place where many temporalities co-exist". This multi-layered sense of place is reflected in diffe- rent narratives that identify and thus border Wola as a space of contrasts within Warsaw. Magdalena Ziółkowska, a resident of Wola and photographer, has captured the 'extraordinary character' of Wola in a series of photographs entitled 'A Wola full of contrasts': "(…) where you can find a full architectural cross-section - from the oldest tenements, through construction from the 60s and 70s, then blocks from 1997, to the modernity of Warsaw Spire and other office buildings."[20]

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14   https://www.silent-green.net

15   The issue of 'UFO' projects appropriating local public spaces was addressed in conversation with members of the Pankstrasse Neighbourhood Management team (Quartiersmanagement Pankstrasse) in March 2018.

16   https://checkpointcharlie.cfjlab.fr/2017/02/26/gentrification-a-berlin-autour-de-wedding/

17   See for example, websites dedicated to travel information about Warsaw. In the case of Wola it is industrial history and the sites of violence and resistance during WW II that are among the main attractions, https://warsawlocal.com/discover-warsaw-wola-district-edition/

18   Kuciewicz, K and de Iacobis, S. [3.2] Memoryscape in Wola, Footloose Warsaw. Towards a Walkable Urban Theory, 28th INURA Conference, June 2018, https://inura18.wordpress.com/trips/

19   Kamienice w ruinie, tuż obok szklane wieżowce. Tak zmienia się Warszawa (Tenements in ruins, right next to glass skyscrapers. This is how Warsaw is changing), http://metrowarszawa.gazeta.pl/metrowarszawa/56,141635,21371302,wola-pelna-kontrastow.html

During the period of state socialism, Wola was an area in which industrial and residential uses co-existed; much of the area remained underdeveloped after WWII ruins were demolished, After the collapse of state socialism in 1989, Wola's development was quite slow and as the new downtown in central Warsaw beganto take form and expand in the 1990s, Wola was bypassed, marking an urban borderland very different from the rapidly growing new employment centres in Central Warsaw. Wola's transformation to a new urban and urbanistic frontier was perhaps inevitable given the growing demand for housing and office space, but the completion of the East-West metro line in 2011 was a decisive event. Inthe eyes of developers at least, Wola has emerged from a certain functionalist facelessness to a place full of dynamism that gives Wola a reputation as the 'newbusiness heart of Warsaw.'[21] As one Polish real estate investment website claims:

> *"Bordering the western fringes of the city centre, historically-speaking it's been largely viewed as working class urban sprawl. Now touted as one of Warsaw's most dynamic areas, one doesn't need to look too far back to appreciate the scale of this achievement: even as little as ten years ago, Wola was perhaps better noted for its derelict factories, unused plots and bleak accommodation. Dishevelled and decrepit, it felt like a quietly forgotten no-man's land." [22]*

Wola's new image has been actively narrated by image-makers par excellence – the real estate developers who extol the quality, distinctiveness and aesthetic inventiveness of new office buildings, commercial and residential complexed that have replaced old industrial and empty spaces in the area. Examples of this are the Warsaw Spire, which has become famous as Poland's tallest building and one of its most flamboyant business hub landmarks.[23] It is also an area of Warsaw where a new, more sustainable and aesthetic quality of urban development is emerging with a rich mix of urban functions and activities. [24] The relational character of Wola's place image (identity) partly results from *bordering* it as a new form of more sustainable urbanism and urban growth in marked contradistinction to other dynamic areas of Warsaw, such as the much criticised Służewiec business district which is plagued by accessibility problems, monotonous architecture and a lack of amenities for a large working population. Służewiec is popularly referred to as

20   https://www.bazabiur.pl/reports/destination-wola-138.pdf

21   https://www.property-krakow.com/news/the-district-of-wola-from-an-urban-sprawl-to-an-area-of-dynamic-investment .

22   Warsaw Spire: The Long Road to Poland's Tallest Office Building, By Jan Cienski, January 26, 2018 https://urbanland.uli.org/economy-markets-trends/warsaw-spire-long-road-polands-tallest-office-building/

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'Mordor', as a poorly planned and exploitative business quarter almost as hellish as the dark Lord Souron's abode in the Lord of the Rings books.[25] The district provides more than 100,000 jobs and thus generates enormous amounts of traffic congestion. In the Spring of 2016, the US conglomerate Stanley Black and Decker announced it was leaving Służewiec for the District of Wola and the flashy new Proximo office building located near the Rondo Dazyńskigo metro station.[26] Other US firms have followed suit, preferring the accessibility and amenities of Wola over other areas of the city.[27] More than just an *anti-Mordor*, Wola has the veneer of a future smart city, and large-scale developments either competed or planned often emphasise sustainable transportation, a jobs-housing balance and environmentally sound working as well as with new cool places for urban elites.[28]

As land markets in Warsaw heat up, Wola is portrayed as more successful in integrating housing, work, business, and high-quality buildings, although not to everyone's delight. Gentrification and privatisation have exposed distinct faultlines.[29] Critical voices see the spectacular skyline emerging in Wola as a futher example of a 'New Metropolitan Mainstream epidemic' which is subordinating Warsaw's (and Poland's) economy to the dictates of international investment capital.[30] And indeed, Wola, having been bypassed by the first waves of central bu-

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25   See footnote 16

26   Stanley Black & Decker to move to Proximo office building in Warsaw, Office finder.pl, 7 April 2016, https://www.officefinder.pl/press-releases-stanley-black-decker-to-move-to-proximo-office-building-in-warsaw.html

27   US giants to open offices in Warsaw's Wola district, Poland-in, 06.06.2018 https://polandin.com/37530935/us-giants-to-open-offices-in-warsaws-wola-district. See also the Wall Street Journal article https://www.wsj.com/articles/warsaws-wola-district-lures-big-u-s-companies-1528204313

28   For example, Skanska's projects located in Wola, https://www.skanska.pl/en-us/about-skanska/media/press-releases/203598/Skanskas-buildings-will-become-even-more-sustainable; the Metropoint Apartments, which are touted as the first residential investment in Poland to be recognized with a high level of sustainability certification based on the Building Research Establishment Environmental Assessment Method (BREEAM), https://www.asbud.com/en/news/metropoint-apartments-first-residential-investment-poland-be-recognized-such-high-level-breeam; the Warsaw Hub complex www.warsawhub.com; as well as the 'best' apartment development, the Dzielnica 19 complex which will produce 1700 new apartments. https://www.19dzielnica.pl/en/19-dzielnica-development/

29   https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/dec/18/stole-city-soul-warsaw-reprivatisation-chaos

30   See City Portrait Warsaw: From Post-Communist to Corporate. How Neo-liberal Forces are Shaping the Warsaw Urban Space, http://www.euroreg.uw.edu.pl/dane/web_euroreg_researches_files/1567/_nmm_warsaw_city_portrait_web.pdf

siness district expansion, in now experiencing a rapid process of direct gentrification through an influx of middle-class workers. As such, reprivatisation, property restitution and evictions also impact on Wola's place identity. Piotr Ciszewski of the Warsaw Tenants Association writes that Wola was once a famous and politically active workers' district ('Red Wola') where social housing experiments were realised in the early 20th Century. Today, residents of buildings scheduled for reprivatisation have partly successfully resisted gentrification trends.[31]

Conclusions

This essay has interpreted urban borders not as discrete divisions with cities but in terms of specific narratives of place. The assumption is that borders, in their most basic form, involve the creation of distinctions that make the conceptualisation of a 'here' vis a vis a 'there' possible. Place borders are not simply physical features of the townscape, they result out of embodied interaction with the urban environment. They also express and communicate appropriations of urban space, marking place-making practices that contribute to everyday socio-spatial knowledge. Place borders make a sense of place possible and, as historically contingent social institutions, are part of the "becoming of individual consciousness and thereby inseparable from biography formation and the becoming of place" (Pred 1984: 292).

These two very condensed stories of urban place symbolise, in their own individual ways, the shifting socio-cultural geographies of Berlin and Warsaw and the differentiation of inner-city spaces, expressing, for example, spaces of cultural possibility and lifestyle alternatives as well as political contestation. The bordering stories are of course wholly different ones: in the case of Wedding we find a unique culture of diversity co-existing with traditional Berlin lifestyles; Wola, on the other hand, is a story of rapid and dramatic post-industrial development that contrasts with the historical memory of working-class Warsaw and the struggle against German occupation. The sources of place narratives are also quite distinct, reflecting very different processes and velocities of urban change. In the case of Wedding, a socially oriented 'bottom-up' view from the neighbourhoods themselves prevailed while Wola was predominantly narrated as physical-structural change by stakeholders in and observers of the urban and economic modernisation of the area. In both cases, gentrification is a constant subtext.

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31   Cisewski, P. [2.4] Property restitution (Wola), Footloose Warsaw. Towards a Walkable Urban Theory 28th INURA Conference, June 2018, https://inura18.wordpress.com/trips/

The theoretical ambitions of this contribution have been to associate cogniti- on and enaction with a human geography perspective on everyday processes of place-making, assuming that this might enhance our knowledge of why, and notonly how, borders are created and re-created within society. The approach is thusinformed by a consideration of border-making as essential to human flourishingand thus with an ontological as well pragmatic concern with the attribution of meaning to the built environment. Moreover, as Wedding and Wola indicate, continuities of place identity are not incompatible with processes of change, indeed they often complement each other. Above and beyond these ambitions, awider significance of the approach used here could lie in identifying factors that promote positive identifications with place and that strengthen or potentially threaten multicultural conviviality. Moreover, bordering place is not of necessity a retrograde process of exclusion, identitary thinking nor a deeply conservative impulse. Rather, it expresses a need to create and sustain liveable places that pro-vide a sense of anchoring.

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Exploring diversity in Berlin – Wedding – Finding from the Voicitys Project

Rimante Rusaite, Martin Barthel

Introduction

Wedding is a sub-district of Berlin, just north of the city Centre. The area had in 2016 a little more than 84.000 inhabitants. Historically Wedding was characterized from the industrial revolution until the 1960s as poor working class area. It was the birth place of the German communist movement and was referred to between the wars as "Red Wedding". Thus housing was rather low standard and the buildings had narrow, steep yards, in order to accommodate as many residents as possible.

While relatively little damaged during the Second World War, the housing did not improve until the 1960s, when he social democratic city government decided to demolish many houses and replace them by more modern social block buildings. In 1961 Wedding was surrounded by two sides from the Berlin Wall and the industry, with them the workers, left the city. The low standard houses where soon to be rented to the so called "guest worker" from Turkey and Yugoslavia, which started to dominate the area. Attracted by the low rents and huge number of social dwellings, the neighbourhood soon became further associated with poverty and migration. After the fall of the wall the area became a central part of Berlin again. Since 1999 newspapers and the local opinion painted on the one hand the picture of a non-rulable area, where gangs and clans took over control, while on the other hand a cultural revival was predicted by the saying "Der Wedding kommt", a promise which was not fulfilled until the last 5 years.

The last years brought for all of Berlin a rise in rent prices, a moving pressure of gentrification and a continues influx of migrants – from all over Germany and

The World.

Recognizable groups of Africans, Asians and all kind of Europeans moved in the area, opens cafes, shops and small businesses while at the same time more and. Ore students, artists and "creative business" established themselves, creating a kaleidoscope of diversity. However, with them more and more old businesses closed, and long-term residents had to move. This process and the fear of negative social change is reflected in many stories but at the same time the residents are happy on what they achieved, nevertheless of the wild and negative image the district has in the media but as well in the perception of a lot of Berliners.

The stories paint a relatively positive picture of diversity in Berlin and even more specifically in Wedding. The people see Wedding as a Symphony of diversities, seeing beside cultural diversity, especially social, but as well age, religion and culinary aspects – making diversity.

A lot of the stories contributed to the idea that diversity makes a cohesive society and that Wedding could be a role model for this case. However, they mentioned little fractions of the positive picture, by referring that racists incidents might happen elsewhere but connected to the neighbourhood they had not been seen. Almost all of the tellers are concerned about the social changes, which might threaten the district. The term Gentrification was once or twice used but appeared more often in the context of the fear of losing green spaces, higher rent and less public places to encounter especially social diversity.

The storytellers are a huge, diverse group of people from all over the world. A good amount has double nationalities and most of them moved to the district in the last 5 years. It is noteworthy that the German tellers always feel bad about the situation of the migrants and are more sceptical if Germans are ready to live in diversity. A further noteworthy point is that a huge part of the German stories had been told by tellers who's second language is German. They especially emphasized the role of language for integration.

Definitions of Diversity

There are various concepts and in this sense a feeling of "diversity of diversities" in Berlin-Wedding. The people believe that diversity is good for the district, as it

makes living together easier. The people add often the sentence "…at least here." A Turkish storyteller said, that in Neukölln (another Berlin district) the Turkish are less willing to contribute. A few people feared to the fact that they have "here" never experienced racisms. However, there is no general definition what makes diversity. A lot of the residents referred to diversity as diversity of cultures or "Multi-Kulti", some include the social cohesion of different groups, other refer to religion, gender, sexuality. Some voices think about the co-existence of newcomer and "Urgesteine" (people living here for all of their life).

There are contradicting voices on how and if it works, people say that Wedding is inclusive, while other miss real places to encounter diversity.

Other concepts refer to the variety of culinary experiences, the impression of not being in a "typical" German neighbourhood and underline how important it is to preserve the diversity as it is.

A further observation was that especially speakers of German as a second language referred to the role of language for diversity. They tended to easier connect successful integration to diversity and underlined that diversity has to ultimately become a part of the "German culture".

Ideas of community

The various definition lead to various stories about how positive the diversity feels and how the diversity is building the atmosphere of the neighbourhood and constitutes its community. A lot of the reflections refer to the streets, shops but also how people engage in society and how this contributes to a personal feeling of belonging and the place.

The well-being is connected with the awareness, that the state is maybe just temporary and under threat from the more general social changes. People understand that things are in motion but don't know yet, if this is positive or bad. The people are aware of social initiatives but do not feel yet ready to actively contribute on developing the community. As well a lot cultures live openly next to each other and have place of Encounters (like the university, public area, kindergartens, sport clubs, schools etc.) but would wish a closer community.

The stories are rather positive, recognizing an improvement in the local being

together.

Challenges to the community

The positive a, almost enthusiastic love to the live in the district is contradicted by deep concerns. Various problems seem to be imported from the "outside" world. The main thread is the eve of gentrification, alas people like the positive implications. Ideally, they would like to keep the new cultural places, bars, shops, wholesale stores, while they would like to keep out the raising rents, tourists and the build-up of the last free spaces.

The residents complain further about the lack of places for social encounters. As traditionally the district was rather poor, many new middle-class families take social space and segregate it, in a way that homeless, elderly or social weak people lose their visibility in public spaces and the social interaction between the neighbours decrease. Other welcome this segregation, as they complain about dirt on the streets. Interestingly crime, racism or drug use, which dominate the statistic, they are not really seen as a thread to the community and the diversity in Wedding at large. However, people understand that the world outside Wedding did changed, and a certain amount of storytellers are worried about the rise of populism and racism. They are aware that Wedding, might be just shortly be spared from the impact of right-wing politicians.

Conn eyed to the missing places of encounter, especially foreign tellers said, they are missing support to navigate the hurdles the German administration is creating. They have problems to Weill all paper works, navigate in the German language or getting all relevant information they might need to live a more integrated life. Interestingly the idea of integration into the major society as the main goal is wide spread among migrants. They are more in line with conservative German Politicians in this point, as many Germans.

Still all tellers love to live in the district and are rather optimistic, despite the threads of negative social change around them.

Conclusions

The stories created six main findings/recommendations.

1.   Experience and live diversity don't talk about it – the recommendation relates to the stories on education and how the fact that children go to the same kindergartens and schools, the parents find themselves in a new intercultural setting. But to let the kids embrace the intercultural atmosphere of Wedding, the parents, teacher but as well the place itself can teach them by setting an example. This should be strengthening and multicultural and -lingual learning groups should be more supported.

2.   Wedding should stay like it is – it is worth to be preserved. People like the life in Wedding, the diversity, the atmosphere. However, they feel social changes, which concern most. A lot of the tellers would like to have support and knowledge on how to preserve the district. There should be more counselling and information for people, who might loose their apartments. Refugees need support and as well patience from the authorities to get help with paper work – all of this should help to keep the neighbourhood balanced and not tipped into an unstoppable gentrification process.

3.   Living in Wedding helps to personal growth – the daily encounters with diverse people let one become more tolerant and relaxed. There should be more visibility but as well acknowledgement on what make the neighbourhood special. Policies and programs should not just focus on the problems, which are connected to diversity but should more help to highlight the positive outcomes of diversity. One suggestion was to send people from Saxonia and East Germany to live a month in Wedding, as this might help them to become more tolerant themselves.

4.   More spaces to encounter diversity are needed, and those existing are worth to be preserved. The people realise that places to encounter diversity are usually limited to semi-public places like parks, shops and restaurants. Other places for private encounters are rare. A Muslim teller said, he would like Muslims to open their houses and invite Christians over, in order to reduce stereotypes and limit fear. Other people said that kindergartens and schools should facilitate more encounters. They mentioned that the kids play with each other, despite language or nationality, but that the parents hardly mix. If places like community centres or gardens exist, they are currently under the threat of raising rents. For some tellers it was important that the city/national government would launch policies to protect and secure them, as these places are important for the local diversity.

5. Language is the key to become connected to society and community – as this allows you to navigate the spaces of encounter. Many tellers underlined the role of language for living together and accept diversity. They wish that there would be more support on the one hand to let people learn German but as well to provide more structures for the growing number of bilingual people. This is connected to education but even more to create a wider awareness and acceptance for people talking in a second language.

6. The community is concerned by negative social change, gentrification, raising rents and the disappearance of established places. The people are expecting intervention, policies and strategies from the politics. The people in Wedding are not concerned about diversity, problems of integration or conflict between the cultures, they are rather concerned about social segregation, the disappearance of long present places and the changing image of the district. People are afraid if they still can afford to live in Wedding, and if - they are afraid that the quarter might lose its diverse character and might be turned into another white, middleclass, sterile neighbourhood, where the bars mostly serve tourists.

The findings are in-line with the Senates social development strategy – which is implementing beside the Quartiersmanagement (Senate program "Soziale Stadt - https://www.quartiersmanagement-berlin.de/english/program-social-city.html). The aim of the program is to help disadvantaged neighbourhoods by promoting social cohesion through involving residents in decision-making processes affecting their local neighbourhood.

It is achieved through creating 'Neighbourhood Councils' which give residents a voice, providing a platform for discussion and consultation, as well as enabling residents to participate in deciding how funds should be used to support local regeneration projects.

The aim of sozialräumliche Orientierung (same program - https://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/soziale_stadt/sozialraumorientierung/) is to make all parts of Berlin attractive, socially balanced, culturally diverse and cosmopolitan. A Sozialraum is an area in which people live, act, and communicate. It can be a district, a neighbourhood or the living space of the people in the city. The purpose is to make the potential that exists in the districts visible, to use it for further development, to bundle forces and to coordinate the aims and measures in partnership with the local people. The diversity of lifestyles and social tasks requires new strategies for interdisciplinary work as well as the

stronger networking of the actors - those aspects are undertaken in this programme.

Milieuschutzverordnungen are issued with the aim of maintaining the composition of the resident population in an area for specific urban planning reasons and counteract or prevent economic segregation and aim to preserve a social mix. Therefore, the housing and social structure in an area should be preserved or protected. Social conservation regulations are not an instrument for individual tenant protection, they represent an urban planning instrument(https://www.berlin.de/ba-mitte/politik-und-verwaltung/aemter/stadtentwicklungsamt/stadtplanung/staedtebaufoerderung/erhaltungsgebiete/milieuschutzgebiete-492487.php)

The programs can help to activate local citizens, ensure places of encountering diversity and to preserve an established social and ownership structure in a district. Still they are rather urban planning tools and have less impact on the individual cases or rent – as those factors are more depended on demand, the rent market and, of course, on the reputation of a district. While the Quartiersmanagement helps to activate residents and create a more attractive neighbourhood, they as well attract people to move into the area and help to excel social change and gentrification.

A certain relevance in the area has the Federal Program "Demokratie Leben" (https://www.demokratie-leben.de/) which is target on creating workshops and trainings on encounter and dialogue. European frames are not mentioned, but as well the frames above are rather referred to by experienced activists and the knowledge of them is rather an anomaly.