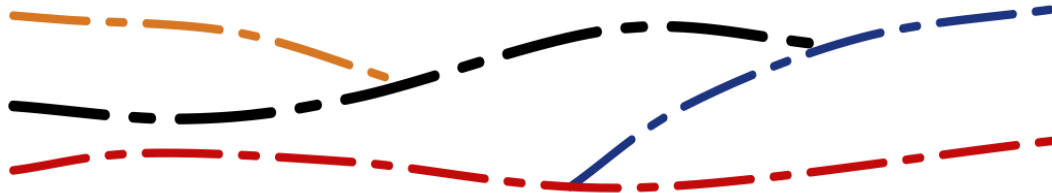


EUBORDERSCAPES



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Place-Making and the Bordering of Urban Space: Interpreting the Emergence of New Neighbourhoods in Berlin and Budapest

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to theorize border-making processes in urban contexts as exemplary of the ways in which borders within human societies are formed. In fact, the question as to whether socially meaningful borders are created through state-society and systemic relations or whether they ultimately emerge locally out of social relations is not as trivial as it might seem. Far from being solely a product of state territoriality and international relations, borders are also social institutions that are constantly created, maintained and re-created as a means of negotiating the complexities of everyday life. Urban contexts reveal much about the rationales and mechanisms behind bordering processes. As is argued in this paper, urban borders are a nexus between everyday practises of differentiating social space, the instrumentality of place-making, for example, as a project of urban development, and the ontological need for a sense of rootedness in place. Three vignette-like case studies of urban change in Budapest and Berlin will be developed that illustrate this nexus in terms of appropriating and socially institutionalizing place ideas.

Introduction: seeing cities through borders

In *Eloge des frontières*, Debray (2010) reminds us that the French capital is made up of multitudinous spaces that through their boundedness maintain a specific local character and through their connectedness create the distinctive urban patchwork known as Paris. While Debray's brief polemic advocates a new appreciation of borders as generators of identity and creative difference, it also reminds us that borders are everyday phenomena, necessary for the organization of social life. Traditionally, the field of border studies has been dominated by scholars of political geography and a focus on states as the ultimate reference point for understanding the functions and significance of borders. This focus on state borders undoubtedly, and for good reason, remains a vital area of study. Nevertheless we contend that a decentred view on political and social borders, one that moves away from the tutelary position of the state, may offer new and significant theoretical perspectives. The 'bordering' concept now in wide academic use suggests that the making of borders is a highly political practice and reflexive process, both as a formal and a socio-cultural exercise of power and authority, but also as a very basic social practise in terms of the construction of sense of identity and place (Scott, 2012).

Urban contexts are by their very nature social environments that are created by bordering processes. Borders make the concentrations of people, activities, information, wealth and power that constitute cities possible. Borders also link different dimensions of collective and individual identities in ways that render cities more legible. The making of urban borders therefore involves a broad field of social practices, including micro-level border politics that engender differentiation and fragmentation. The bordering of urban spaces is similarly at the heart of the restructuring of cities and city-regions. In the contemporary era, the transition toward what Soja (2005: 40) has called the post-metropolis is also marked by a dramatic 'reconfiguration of the boundaries and borders that define and confine urban life.' For example, as places that concentrate transnational and migrant populations, cities are traversed and restructured by borders of social inclusion and exclusion.

Given the obvious importance of urban bordering processes it is in a way curious that they have suffered relative neglect, at least in the border studies literature. One exception is the work of Breitung (2012) and Zhu, Breitung and Li (2012) who in their investigations of Chinese cities have stressed the importance of subjectivity and neighbourhood attachment in understanding urban transformation processes; as these authors argue, the cellular composition of Chinese cities is directly perceptible as myriad physical barriers, such as walls and major arterial streets, but these are reinforced by neighbourhood administrative structures and citizen commitments to locale. More recently, Iossifova (2015) has studied Shanghai's development in terms of 'borderlands urbanism' and the spaces of accommodation and change between new gentrified and often gated urban exclaves. Another intriguing perspective is provided by Spierings (2012) who frames urban redevelopment as an instrumental use of physical and perceptual borders in order to 'open up' inner city spaces for consumption and investment purposes.

In this specific reading, urban borders are very much about creating a sense of place and we address this debate on urban borders by focusing on place-making as a process that is conditioned by perceptions and attributions, often externally imposed on urban spaces, as

well as concrete appropriations of space. Indeed it is the embedding, or process of *social institutionalization*, of place ideas, that we equate with bordering. This perspective is in part inspired by de Certeau's (1980) conceptualizations of everyday social practices which, in terms of bordering as place-making, help understand how social space is maintained and controlled but also transformed through material and discursive means. These practices reflect patterns of 'living' and the ontological need for rootedness in place but also the instrumentality of place-making; bordering as place-making can promote a sense of local community as well as 'value capture' in terms of more economically targeted and strategic uses of space. Often, these processes are interconnected and reflected in spatial imaginaries that not only bound urban spaces but also functionally and symbolically link these spaces to wider social and economic contexts (Jessop, 2012). Considering borders as social institutions that are constantly created and re-created enables us to conceptualize and analyze urban place-making while avoiding the trap of reductive dichotomization – urban places are simultaneously of a bounded and closed as well as connected, open and relational nature.

Focusing on the emergence of new ideas of neighbourhood, we will therefore revisit the city as a multiplicity of bordered places and interrogate place-making processes in terms of an ontological sense of place and instrumental, i.e., political, economic and cultural appropriations of space. Theoretical discussion will link perspectives on bordering, as an everyday process of bounding space and creating socio-spatial distinctions, with an elaboration of different critical and pragmatic perspectives on place-making inspired by de Certeau, Relph, Smith and other scholars. This theoretical link will then be exemplified by three vignette-like case studies of neighbourhood change within inner-city area of Berlin and Budapest.

Borders, cities and place: revisiting the debate

The study of borders has enjoyed something of a renaissance since the new Millennium, reanimating debates about their social, political, economic and environmental significance (Newman, 2011). More importantly, however, this rekindled interest in border studies has opened up possibilities for investigating in greater depth the rationales behind everyday border-making by understanding borders as institutions, processes and symbols. Going beyond exclusively state-centred and territorial paradigms, the present state of debate emphasizes that borders are not given, they emerge through socio-political and cultural border-making or *bordering* that takes place within society (Scott, 2012). Physical borders, for example, do not emerge exclusively as a product of wars, agreement or high politics but are also made and maintained by cultural, economic, political and social activities. Bordering encompasses formal as well as everyday forms of border construction and is accomplished with the help of ideology, discursive and performative practises, and different forms of agency. Furthermore, everyday 'bordering and ordering' practices create and recreate social-cultural boundaries that are spatial in nature at the same time that they can also open up new spaces that reflect intersections, encounters and new affinities which emerge as a part of social life.

Processes of bordering thus bring diverse types of borders within a single frame of analysis and draw attention to borders as a means to negotiate and manage the complexities of

everyday life. On this view, borders are largely about creating places and thus a sense of order within a more abstract space that appears incoherent and unintelligible. Cities, in fact all human settlements, are much more than materializations of economic relations; they are spaces that make social relations and the social communication of ideas possible. It is a commonplace that cities are crisscrossed by a vast number of social borders. This is directly evident in 'divided cities', such as Jerusalem, Nicosia and Belfast, where de-facto, if not always de jure, borders separate and regulate interaction between various ethnic and religious communities (Calame and Charlesworth, 2011). What has perhaps been neglected is that cities can be more generally understood as products of bordering processes; they are composed of a mosaic of interlinked yet differentiated spaces that give a particular city its social, economic, cultural and political character. The erosion of well-established boundaries, such as between 'slums' and 'desirable neighbourhoods' or inner-city areas and suburbs, goes together with the emergence of new urban spaces, transition zones, cleavages and enclosures. As a result, border-making is central to the emergence of a sense of place as it impacts directly on the self-image, external perception, qualities and functions of urban spaces. A major insight of alternative planning movements in the 1960s was that a deeper understanding of perception and social communication of urban images was required in order to craft a more contextually sensitive approach to urban planning and redevelopment. As Lynch (1960) and others demonstrated, those who live in cities continuously make borders between their own neighbourhoods, everyday actions spaces and other parts of the city. These mental borders are loaded with places images, material points of reference within the urban landscape and value judgements. This planning literature also clearly indicates that the image of the city is ultimately based on many shared as well as contested notions and social embeddings of place. A sense of place is socially institutionalized when, to paraphrase Relph (1976), it elicits, almost instinctively, recognition and specific associations.

Bordering is thus on the one hand about cognition and the cognitive processes involved in creating a sense of socio-spatial difference. However, the bordering approach that we develop here does not in any way negate the structuring effects of economic processes, demographic change or globalization. Cognition always works in an apprehension of material reality and presupposes adaptation to changing environmental conditions. Comprehending bordering processes in this way addresses a long-standing debate in social geography regarding tensions between the local constitution and external determination of social spaces. Within this debate, territorial versus relational arguments are often raised, revealing, among others, different understandings of space, place, and the role of 'boundedness' and networks in defining urban spaces (Jonas, 2012). Influential strands in social geography have in fact tended to discount the significance of place above and beyond nodal functions within global capitalism and the relational flows it generates (Massey, 1993). The classic work, for example, of major urban theorists such as Harvey (1989) and Castells (1997) has tended to dichotomize the global and the local: globalization represents dynamic economic forces of change while locality is the space of bounded cultural formations and potential resistance to mobile capital. As Smith (2005) has suggested, over-privileging the global, and thus the external determination of place, can result in a misreading of locale and its significance: rather than merely representing globalized spaces of flows, cities, as places, also manifest political, economic and social interests that often may conflict with received rhetoric of global competitiveness and resilience. Similarly,

ignoring affect and attachment to place weakens prospects for socially responsive planning and urban regeneration strategies (Jones and Evans, 2012).

A further debate in question here relates to the significance of emotive and subjective aspects of place in the face of 'higher' market logics that operate within space. In their analyses of urban change major scholars such as Harvey (1996), Massey (1993) and others appear to ultimately relegate the formation of place to a subordinate, derivative function of capital accumulation. Relph (2008) has argued that such politically targeted analytical criteria do not connect with the ontology of place and that they hamper the development of pragmatic notions of place that reflect human necessities. Along similar lines, Malpas (2012) has criticized what he sees as human geography's neglect of the ideational connections between space and place. Malpas (2012: 228) is particularly critical of sweeping aside ontological questions in favour of political commitments that include the 'theorization of spatial rhetoric and of spatial imagining as this forms the core of spatial politics'. In his development of the concept of place, Cresswell (2004) has voiced similar concerns, drawing attention to 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 mutually contribute to place construction.

Jones and Evans (2012) have indicated that planning practise must pay greater attention to place-making and the affective relationships between townscapes, communities and a sense of neighbourhood that it involves. Attachment to local is a major resource for the articulation of local interests Furthermore, as a process of bounding space, place-making entails the incorporation of and adaptation to increasingly networked realms of social life. Hence, even the most paradigmatic of networked and relational regions, Silicon Valley (SV), is territorially embedded and bounded. SV is a distinct regional space within the San Francisco Bay Area and has produced highly distinctive cultural traditions, social milieus and concomitant place-based local governance practises (Saxenian, 1994) that clearly separate it from surrounding areas. There is a strong identification with SV where the sense of place, of region, is closely tied to a sense of technological possibility and creativity. Long's (2010) 'Weird City' of Austin similarly enjoys a sense of alternative space; its cultural openness is coupled with a high degree of local engagement with the urban fabric and contrasts markedly with the cultural conservatism of Central Texas. At the same time, the notion of 'networked' or 'creative' regions is often used as an empirical and/or political simplification of place. Jonas (2012: 267).

Urban place-making between bordering, belonging and appropriations of space

The above discussion suggests that pragmatic but critical understandings of borders are needed that situate urban bordering as an everyday practice central to organizing social life. In the sense of Heidegger's idea of Being in the World (Dasein) borders come into existence through appropriations of space – by marking, experiencing, using and moving within space. It is bounding within space that makes a sense of place possible (Tuan, 1977, 2012). On this view, (urban) places are a product of human intellect and social uses of space in which formal and informal practices of organizing everyday life mutually reinforce each other. Urban places 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).

Our attempt to link bordering with place-making is based on an interpretation of constructivism in which urban places and their boundedness are therefore products of socially mediated ideas, images, functions and practises. As Gustafson (2001: 13) states: '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.' Similarly, bordering as a communicative process allows for the shaping of urban places through the transformation of space-perception, the creation and legitimisation of the idea of a specific place and the construction of concrete objects and institutions coherent with this cognitive image. Relph has suggested (2008: 321) 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.' 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). Furthermore, studies of pilgrimage and pilgrimage sites also emphasize the symbolic importance of place as enhancing a sense of cultural rootedness (Eade and Katic, 2014).

The ontological significance of borders and place is thus 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. Urban borders are, broadly speaking, geographical but often with fuzzy contours; they most clearly emerge in the social communication of distinctions and differentiations based on relative location, group affiliations, lifestyles, and, perhaps most importantly, perceived differences between the 'in' and 'out' of place. Place borders are therefore not simply physical features of the townscape, they express and communicate appropriations of urban space; they mark place-making practises that contribute to the organization of everyday life. 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).

Brambilla (2015) has argued that social borders are actually 'borderscapes'. Within borderscapes cultural appropriations and social contestations become visible via a broad repertory of communicative means and strategies which, for example, relate specific bordering situations to wider social contexts. Place borders emerge as narratives, as place ideas that develop through interactions in space that give meaning to and that are reflected in representations of specific areas. Furthermore, the bordering of places, such as neighbourhoods, occurs simultaneously from within and from outside. The interaction between different representations of place according to often competing ideological, ethno-

territorial and economic projects, generally heightens the contested nature of place ideas. This process can of course be strongly conditioned by strategic practises where urban space is used for specific cultural, political and/or economic purposes. However, rarely does bordering involve or require a hegemonic narrative of place. Furthermore, and pace Rhodes (2012), it is not solely about the external imposition of place identity, for example through stigmatizing specific neighbourhoods. On the contrary, bordering as well as place ideas are shaped by encounters between different groups and interests, between external attributions and internal appropriations. These produce interlinked but variegated place narratives that jointly contribute to their social recognizability.

The construction of place boundaries therefore involves the social institutionalization of place, that is, of the embedding of place ideas within society. Institutionalizing place borders and place ideas is a recursive and iterative process; it involves the everyday practise of creating, confirming and re-creating socio-spatial distinctions. This also entails the development of common understandings and associations that orient action and provide a sense of identification with a specific area. Such processes are products of human agency which regardless of its relative ability to effect change, is socially embedded power. As Pred (1984) has already documented, power pervades formal and informal institutions – it is asymmetrically distributed but never absolute. As such, the ontological nature of a sense of place is conditioned and often challenged by strategic and political appropriations of concrete urban spaces. Power is manifested in the ability to give place meaning and well as to contest specific place appropriations.

Inspired by de Certeau's (1980) now classic analytical vision, we interpret bordering as a way of maintaining, controlling but also transforming social space through material and discursive means. Our explorations of urban borders involve a potentially wide field of practises through which the communication of place ideas can take place. However our concrete focus is on urban borders as a product of co-existing practices of using, appropriating and representing urban spaces; these practices reflect patterns of 'living' and the ontological need for rootedness in place but also the instrumentality of place-making. We can, for example, distinguish between but also interrelate informal (identity-driven) and formal (political-instrumental) forms of bordering. In the first instance, more or less fuzzy spatializations of socio-cultural boundaries take place that affirm, perpetuate or reinforce a collective identity, a sense of belonging to a local community. Informally, the social institutionalization of a place idea can emerge through a set of values, shared images and networks of social and economic interaction that make a notion of place viable and that engender commitment to locale. These are in many cases tied to an emotional attachment to place (Bennett, 2014). In the second case, bordering is rooted in the formal control of space and thus in classification, administrative organization, economic rationalities and spatial prescriptions (Spierings, 2012). As noted by Trudeau (2006: 423) 'land-use zoning imposes a particular geographical imagination on a bounded segment of space.' When both forms of bounding urban spaces coalesce, collective action, e.g., resistance against a project of redevelopment, is a frequent result. Strategies designed to organize space and to impose a specific narrative and image of place are often confronted by tactics that re-interpret and re-appropriate place identities (Glassco, 2012).

Smith (2005) has suggested that notions of place (city, neighbourhood) are intimately tied to the politics of representation that different actors, and not simply actors representing political elites, engage in. Local actors keep re-constructing space along their social, economic, and political interests, which at the same time feeds back into the processes forming it, and to the symbolic use of space. Representations of various spaces and areas within a given urban context reflect shifting relationships between decision-makers, the majority population, the poor, and questions of ethnicity that surface in local practice, discourse, and 'policies'. Taking up arguments developed by de Certeau and Smith, our interpretation of bordering thus concedes considerable autonomy to everyday citizens, who are by no means merely passive subjects of power, regimentation and surveillance. While power relations embedded in society remain important, our focus on the agency of those who live in and use cities also recognises how power relations are interpreted, transformed, even subverted at the level of everyday life. Among others, bordering takes place in appropriations of urban space. Such appropriations are seldom hegemonic in nature but co-exist with and are often mutually conditioned by other competing appropriations. It is also important to emphasise that new borders cum place ideas are seldom totally 'new'; they differentiate out of pre-existing place identities at the same time that they transform them.

Bordering, as a concept, is an abstraction. As an ongoing process, it is perceptible as a reflection of change and becomes concrete in closely linked spatial practices in which attributions, appropriations and representations communicate place ideas and give place meaning. *Attributions* are the characteristics that are cognitively associated with place (functions, lifestyles, milieu, social image). Following de Certeau, *appropriations* are the everyday practices of using/experiencing urban places that allow for identification with place and transformations of place identities (for example, the naming of places, uses of public places, performative practices, coding of physical space). *Representations*, finally, are the socially communicated place ideas that generally include the first two bordering mechanisms. Representation is understood here in a broad and inclusive manner: in the sense of Lefebvre (2000) it entails ideology and knowledge as a political instrumentalization of urban space but it also reflects different constructions of social identities as well as place images (Howarth, 2002). Attributions, appropriations and representations contribute to social institutionalizations of place ideas. These in turn reflect context, different interpretations of space and, frequently, counter-narratives of place identity to those proposed by political elites or majority society.

Urban (re-)bordering as a transformation of place identities: Examples from Berlin and Budapest

Employing the triad of spatial practices discussed above, this section will present three vignette-like case studies of urban bordering through place-making and concretely, the social institutionalization of ideas of neighbourhood. The cases developed here, 'Kreuzkölln' in Berlin and 'Nyócker' and Magdolna in Budapest, are inner-city neighbourhoods facing rapid change as a result of urban policies, socio-cultural transformations, immigration and gentrification. In both cases, stigmatization - as 'ghettos' in popular imaginations - has been partly countered by a cultural re-imaging and attempts to develop positive representations of multiculturalism. In all three cases the bordering of place, even if fuzzy, emerges as recursive and iterative processes of referencing, attributing, appropriating and socially

communicating place ideas representing the new neighbourhoods. As will be elaborated below, these new neighbourhoods are coherent as place ideas despite the very different interests of residents, users, visitors, property owners, developers, local governments and different neighbourhood communities.

Berlin-Kreuzkölln. The Emergence of New Place Identity

The place idea of 'Kreuzkölln', referring to a neighbourhood located in the central Berlin district of Neukölln and adjacent to the Kreuzberg area, has existed since the early years of the new millennium. Kreuzberg is emblematic for multicultural and cosmopolitan openness, urban creativity, progressiveness and alternative culture. Neukölln, on the other hand, has struggled with its image: the northern tip of Neukölln has for decades been identified with urban decay and popularly associated with crime, social dereliction and – according to Sarrazin's (2010) populist and xenophobic diatribe – with a threatening cultural foreignness due to large migrant populations. The place name Kreuzkölln suggests a form of synthesis of the two and has attracted attention as a 'new' neighbourhood that combines cosmopolitan openness with a vibrant street culture, a large international community and a revitalized townscape within central Berlin.

The re-bordering dynamics that have created Kreuzkölln as a concrete space and place idea are partly familiar ones: high rents in Kreuzberg and other areas of central Berlin have generated increased interest in the northern areas of Neukölln while previous urban development and social integration programmes operating in the area have paved the way for a flourishing community life. It is, in one sense, a typical story of gentrification driven by economic rationales and 'rent gaps'. However, Kreuzkölln, as place, is a more complex story and it has become firmly established as a place idea that suggests more than a 'liminal' space between Kreuzberg and Neukölln. It is, on the one hand, a product of active appropriations by the club, café, gallery and music scene as well as by local residents who have incorporated the notion of Kreuzkölln as part of their everyday geographies. On the other hand the idea of Kreuzkölln as a specific place is propagated by social media, commercial websites and the press. It has become socially institutionalized as a result of the everyday use of Kreuzkölln, for example in the naming of concrete establishments (cafés, restaurants), in referring to it as a location for travel, accommodations, events and as a space for creative industries (Scholz, 2010). Kreuzkölln is also institutionalized by geographical representations provided by maps, blogs, videos, visitor information, commercial travel platforms and the social media which contribute to the creation both of an urban imaginary and a concrete place referenced, for example, in the airbnb and visitberlin websites.¹ In addition, Kreuzkölln is closely associated with social imaginaries of 'hipsters' and 'creative classes' and thus has the trappings of an 'expatriate oasis' (Holm, 2013) that has become a reference point for international lifestyle groups (Herrmann, 2015). As the Guardian reports in a March 2011 article (Dyckhoff, 2011), Kreuzkölln is the 'epicentre of cool'. Furthermore, Kreuzkölln embodies the place-making narrative of a new self-defining and self-creating place – a place where according to Berlinamateurs.com, which is targeted at international audiences, you can 'invent' your own neighbourhood (Arteaga, 2012). Kreuzkölln is, finally, more than a stylized cultural space or a gentrification frontier; an indication of Kreuzkölln's social institutionalization is thus its significance as an identifier of lived space that has become second-nature to many residents. This is evident,

for example, in the frequent use and referencing of Kreuzkölln within the wider context of 'Turkish Berlin'. As Hinze (2013) has documented, the everyday and cultural-filmic appropriations of Kreuzkölln by German Turks, serve as a routinization of place but also as the demarcation and dramatization of Turkish-German identity. In the 2010 film 'When we leave' (Die Fremde), directed by Aladag, Kreuzkölln serves as a backdrop for a 'milieu tragedy' that explores everyday cultural encounter and identity contestations in Berlin.

The genesis of Kreuzkölln is closely intertwined, albeit in rather ambivalent ways, with those of two partly coterminous areas, North-Neukölln and a former social development district, the so-called Reuter neighbourhood (Reuterkiez). Debates over multiculturalism, integration and social problems have greatly increased the public visibility of the northern area of Neukölln which also began in the early 2000s to be referred to as North-Neukölln in the media. One major and rather pervasive narrative of North-Neukölln that predates and partly co-exists with Kreuzkölln is that of a 'problem area'. This label, officially announced by the city government in 2007, has been very much tied to North-Neukölln's overall notoriety as a crystallization point of socio-cultural tensions and contestations of multiculturalism. In popular imaginations North-Neukölln has been perceived as a dangerous ghetto, a haven for lawless Arab clans and non-integrating minorities. (Stahl, 2014). This has been supported by a parallel society myth propagated by public figures and reports of 'hellish' multi-ethnic schools (Rogg, 2008). Politically, the problem area stigma has been both a local handicap as well as a reason for supporting the symbolic gentrification of the area through cultural activities (Holm, 2013). At the same time, the Reuterkiez social integration and community development initiative, representing several neighbourhood organisations, has openly resisted negative characterizations of North-Neukölln. Although enjoying less media visibility as the 'ghetto narratives', the Reuterkiez has worked to promote positive images of cultural diversity and community-building. In this way Reuterkiez has to some degree gradually contributed to the emergence of Kreuzkölln's sense of place and positive visibility out of more abstract and often negative geographical associations with North-Neukölln.

However, beyond cosmopolitan imaginaries the spectre of externally driven change, potential dislocation and the infiltration of new lifestyle communities (i.e., hipsters and bourgeois bohemians) also involve appropriations and representations of Kreuzkölln as a space of contestation and resistance (Avanti, 2009). Kreuzkölln has been represented in the media as a narrative of cultural and economic renewal (Eichelmann, 2007) as well as target of anti-gentrification activism (Holm, 2010). Kreuzkölln is thus also reinforced by contested appropriations and representations and in particular a tension between narratives of social struggle, social integration and resistance to gentrification. As Holm (2013:182) argues, here we find 'expat enclavism without regulation'. In addition, many long-time residents take umbrage to a place name that negates or downgrades Neukölln and that appropriates a Kreuzberg identity, or worse, that of gentrified neighbourhoods of Prenzlauer Berg, another area of central Berlin. Nevertheless, left-wing activists, such as Linksjudgend Kreuzkölln, have also appropriated this place idea, understanding their neighbourhood as a site of struggle against discrimination and racism.²

Magdolna and Nyócker: Re-Bordering, Re-imagining Budapest's VIIIth District

In comparison to Kreuzkölln, Budapest's VIIIth District, known as Józsefváros, provides a case of urban (re-)bordering that involves a much starker context of urban poverty, ethnic discrimination and aggressive urban renewal. The relative isolation and stigmatization of the neighbourhoods in question has been the result of a complex and long-term process, a cumulative product of political and social transformation (Czirfusz et.al., 2015). By the end of state socialism in 1989 many areas of the VIIIth District, especially in the eastern half had become neighbourhoods sharply distinct from those surrounding them, characterized by both spatial and social segregation and popular images of a dangerous place, a 'Roma ghetto', or the 'local Harlem' (Imre, 2008). Neglected by state socialist urban policies and battered by the polarizing effects of adaptation to the market economy, these neighbourhoods represent strong visual and perceptual boundaries, contrasting starkly with adjacent inner city areas of renovation and gentrification.

Within this context of stigmatization and political drives for urban renewal, two overlapping yet rather different place ideas have emerged since the early 2000s. The 'Magdolna' Quarter, named after the eponymous street that traverses the area, originates from urban regeneration initiatives and was officially designated by the local government as an administrative sub-area in 2012. On the other hand, the neighbourhood idea of 'Nyócker' (a slang abbreviation of Nyolcadik Kerület, meaning VIIIth District in Hungarian) is at once a socio-cultural and political statement, an open contestation of mainstream associations of Józsefváros with 'gypsy ghettos'. Whereby Magdolna clearly belongs in popular geographical perceptions to Nyócker, 'Nyócker' itself is a spatially more fuzzy place idea – it is clearly located in the eastern half of the district but is not referenced in terms of sharply defined borders. As such, these two neighbourhoods represent rather different development contexts. While Magdolna has experienced some environmental 'upgrading' of its public places and tenements, a limited degree of gentrification as well as a partial institutionalisation through a neighbourhood council, Nyócker encompasses wider stretches of Józsefváros in a very poor state and that have been clearly neglected by the local government.

More pointedly than in the case of Kreuzkölln, these new place ideas are the subject of a complex politics of representation. Their emergence is in fact closely linked to the increasing visibility of ethnic and multicultural spaces in Budapest that were either 'invisible' or non-existent within the rather normed everyday spaces of state socialism. The official place-making strategies of the VIIIth District have, despite different ideological positions and understandings of integration, all strived for a 'normalization' of its image in order to create a more mainstream, 'socially acceptable' neighbourhood environment (Keresztély and Scott, 2012). As an example of the official view the local government presents the District as an inner city area rich in tradition, architectural treasures and cultural dynamism that is in a process of 're-building' itself (Jozsefváros, 2013). The District's website highlights a number of anchor projects which give evidence of a local government vigorously developing, rehabilitating, regenerating and providing its citizens with a liveable and attractive urban environment. These place-making projects target objectives such as public safety, infrastructure, the redesigning of public places and – quite symbolically – a Roma Music

Project that offers public concerts of 'classical Gypsy music' as part of Jozsefváros' 2015 'musical city' initiative.

In the case of the Magdolna neighbourhood's emergence, projects of urban renewal and social regeneration have provided a foundation for a narrative of transformation from an isolated Roma ghetto to an attractive multiethnic neighbourhood (RÉV 8, 2008). In this place-making vision, a lively and multicultural urban environment is emerging that despite its social problems and tensions is a source of strength, contributing to the cosmopolitan character of the capital city. This image is reinforced by major redevelopment and improvement projects bordering the Magdolna: the entertainment, retailing and housing complex of the Corvin Promenade, the elegant 'Palace Quarter' and the Obudai private university (Czirfusz et. al., 2015). It is perhaps fitting that the former manager of the organization responsible for Jozsefváros' regeneration, Rév 8, sees the gentrified, multiethnic Kreuzberg area of Berlin (a place where creative classes 'share' the neighbourhood with Turkish families and people from many different backgrounds) as a model for Magdolna's new place image (Karasz, 2014). And as Van Tuijl et. al. (2011) have observed, the Corvin Promenade has catalyzed Józsefváros in its transition from a 'ghetto to mixed-use knowledge quarter'. At the same time, the Magdolna Quarter itself is represented as the socially sensitive face of Jozsefváros' transformation, an example of comprehensive community regeneration that emulates European best practices.

Nevertheless and specifically in the case of Magdolna, one main condition for achieving these official place-making goals has been understood to be the eradication of the neighbourhood's image as a Roma ethnic ghetto (Czirfusz et.al., 2015). This was hinted at, albeit indirectly, by district mayor Kocsis (2012) who proclaimed that Józsefváros needs to become a 'university city, not a ghetto abandoned to criminals.' Positive understandings of Nyócker and Magdolna challenge such associations and in both of these cases bordering and place-making go hand in hand with a struggle for greater visibility and a sense of belonging. In both cases Roma activism has attempted to transcend received notions of 'ghetto' and recast these neighbourhoods as places where Roma culture and belonging can be expressed and experienced (György, 2012). Indeed, there has also been a conversion of sorts of the negative image of ghetto into a space of urban coolness, partly through the actions of local Roma youth but also by outsiders who have discovered Magdolna and other areas of the VIIIth District as culturally stimulating areas of Budapest (Imre, 2009).

In contrast to Magdolna the place idea of Nyócker has the character of a socio-cultural imaginary that reflects a much more open and spatially fuzzy neighbourhood, defined as a symbolic space between parks, square and other public areas (such as Kalvária Square, Mátyás Square and Baross Street). The idea of Nyócker has also become implanted in public consciousness as a place idea where multiethnicity and cultural alternatives flourish. Furthermore, the idea of Nyócker has also emerged in stark contrast to the showcase regeneration of adjacent inner city neighbourhoods and urban environments. The Grund (2015), a communal park and cultural centre, invites visitors to Nyócker in order to enjoy local flavour, music, sports events and cocktail bars with local DJs.

Imre (2008) has argued that the embedding of Nyócker as a place idea has been reinforced by a strategic reversal of the ghetto narrative that is enacted through 'play' - music, film,

social media and other means. Through these media Nyócker has become a site of a politics of visibility. One prominent example of this is the 2004 animated film 'Nyócker (in English: The District), an absurdist, satirical critique of cultural conservatism and stereotyped thinking about social difference, urban poverty and Roma communities. The film, which helped established Nyócker as a place idea, is also a celebration of subcultures in which the neighbourhood becomes a backdrop for an anti-narrative of assimilation to the national norm (Lepelletier-Kutasi, 2012). As Imre (2009:18) has documented, the emergence of the idea of Nyócker has also much to do with creating a sense of Roma pride and belonging and in her interpretation the film Nyócker is as an example of the remapping of Roma 'truth' as a 'transnational play of identity'. Hip-hop music permeates the film and the Nyócker neighbourhood more generally - hip-hop music culture has served to consolidate a sense of locale and identity that is at the same time internationally connected, modern and cool (Lepelletier-Kutasi, 2012).

Hence, as an imaginary Nyócker feeds off different but mutually referencing narratives of subculture and alternative space within the 'mainstream' and touristic urban landscape of Budapest (Kolozsi, 2007). Following Howarth's (2002) characterisations of Brixton, Eszter György (2009) has portrayed Nyócker is a codeword for visible difference and as a space where different representations of multiculturalism and internal and external perceptions of the neighbourhood are often in stark contrast. The negative association of the area with immigrants, concentrations of Gypsy families, visible poverty, drugs, urban degradation and the devaluation of Hungarian culture heritage is widespread in the social media (see Popovics, 2013). Ironically perhaps, it is precisely the gritty reality of Nyócker along with social media representations of multicultural coolness and alternative lifestyles that attract many visitors to the neighbourhood, including off-the beaten track tourism (Travellina, 2014).³ Finally, negative interpretations of Nyócker are countered by more positive cultural appropriations of the area and the neighbourhood has also come to symbolize resistance to 'national norming' and the imposition of a uniform (conservative) Hungarian identity which clearly excludes many Roma (Imre, 2008). Similar to Magdolna, there has also been an attempt to nurture a centre of Roma culture, making more visible both to Roma and others the important role of Roma culture in Budapest and Hungary in general. With this place idea a space has also been created by activists, Roma youth and everyday visitors to the area that recasts the popular image of 'urban ghetto' into a positive notion of place.

Conclusions

While they differ considerably in terms of their socio-spatial contexts, our brief case studies offer fruitful insights into the practice of everyday bordering and the mechanisms through which urban space is constantly re-made by individuals and groups. Bordering as well as place-making involve recursive practices of creating, confirming and re-creating socio-spatial distinctions. Moreover, as a concept and analytical tool, bordering reveals important aspects of the place-making process as a communication and embedding of place ideas in collective consciousness. As a result of different appropriations and framings Kreuzkölln, Magdolna and Nyócker have emerged as distinct 'new' neighbourhoods out of existing urban contexts. They have been socially institutionalized, among other means, through everyday uses of space, social media and performative enactments of cultural distinctiveness.

The evolution of these new place ideas has, on the one hand, taken place by a process of re-coding and re-appropriating local spaces, for example to more global contexts via music (hip-hop, rap), lifestyle cultures ('hipsters') and social imaginaries of creative cosmopolitanism. New senses of neighbourhood have also been incorporated within existing everyday geographies and thus appropriated by residents as a common point of reference. At the same time, these three new place ideas have been very much influenced by overarching projects of renewal and regeneration that are pursued by a variety of actors with vested interests in positive place images. Development agendas as well as struggles against gentrification, displacement and stigmatization are thus also very much part of the place-making process. Representations of these neighbourhoods give evidence of a social institutionalization of place ideas that reflects multifarious dynamics of change as well as various competing notions of place. In these cases, urban borders emerge as part of everyday practices of differentiating social space, the instrumentality of place-making, for example, as a project of urban development and the ontological need for rootedness and belonging in place.

To conclude, borders are an attempt to suggest edges and limits and to construct a degree of order within an 'unordered' situation. At the same time such edges and limits often remain fuzzy and indeterminate and thus contentious. Borders, in other words, are co-constitutive of differentiation, filtering and control practices, but also of merging, hybridization and border-crossing inventiveness. These tension-laden qualities of borders are intrinsic to the social production of space and it is therefore crucial to bring them back to the heart of the concept of place and place-making.

Notes

1 References here to www.airbnb.com/rooms/273986 (accessed 5 November 2015), www.visitberlin.de/en/article/kreuzkoelln (accessed 30 October 2015), www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/picturegalleries/11667790/The-worlds-most-hipster-neighbourhoods.html?frame=3342840 (accessed 30 October 2015).

2 Reference is made there to the following website: Linksjugend ['solid] Linksjugend ['Solid]: <http://solid-berlin.org/archive/categohry/kreuzkoellnc>

3 Several Hungarian websites offer alternative walking tours of Budapest where the VIIIth District and Nyócker are popular destinations. Examples of these are: http://www.borsonline.hu/20140312_arculatot_valtott_a_hirhedt_nyocker, http://mult-kor.hu/20110414_rendhagyó_budapesti_setak_a_nyocker_hatso_udvaraiban (accessed 01 December 2015). For an English-language websites consult www.laltrabudapest.wordpress.com/laltra-budapest-the-other-budapest/ (accessed 01 December 2015).

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