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The Ever-Changing Role of the East Side Gallery: The Relationship Between Memorialization and Urban Redevelopment

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Mimi Caroline Thomas entitled "The Ever-Changing Role of the East Side Gallery: The Relationship Between Memorialization and Urban Redevelopment." I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Geography.

Ronald V. Kalafsky, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

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The Ever-Changing Role of the East Side Gallery: The Relationship Between Memorialization and
Urban Redevelopment

A Thesis Presented for the
Master of Science
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Mimi Caroline Thomas
May 2018

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late high school German teacher, Kathy Dickel, who is the reason for my passion of the German language and culture. Koennen wir es schaffen? Ja, wir schaffen es! Additionally, this thesis is dedicated to my parents for their continual love, support, and encouragement.

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ABSTRACT

As 2018 marks 28 years since the fall of the Berlin Wall, which is the same amount of time that it stood, Berlin is entering a new phase in the city's history and identity that is captured by economic growth. As a result, there is a strong presence of the tourist economy seeking to experience the Berlin Wall and an abundance of urban redevelopment projects to attract further investment and capital to Germany's capital city in today's globalized world. This paper will take the case study of the East Side Gallery, a popular Berlin Wall attraction that has been under the threat of partial destruction by urban redevelopment projects, to discuss and analyze the Berlin Wall's modern role in the urban realm, as well as the relationship between memorialization and urban redevelopment from the tourists' perspective to further establish a relationship between memorialization and urban redevelopment that not only maintains the integrity of the memorialization of the Berlin Wall at the East Side Gallery, but allows urban redevelopment projects to flourish.

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SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 symbolized and enacted the end of the Cold War, a new chapter in German history, and “the beginning of a new era of open geographical spaces and mobility” (Leuenberger 62, 2011). As Berlin became the capital of reunited Germany, remnants of the twelve-meter-high concrete structure disappeared; “wall-peckers” (Sinn 1990, 3) flocked to chisel off a piece of history as the city tore down what remained of the concrete structure, erasing its physical presence from the urban landscape.

In 1991, a section of the inner Berlin Wall (*Hintermauer*), located in the neighborhood of Friedrichshain was preserved to create the East Side Gallery. Spanning 1.2 kilometers along the Spree riverfront, artists from all over the world were invited to express their thoughts and feelings of the wall’s 27-year erection through art. These pieces of art captured the artists’ hopes and dreams for a wall-less world, a united Germany, and a progressive future. In addition to the formal pieces of art, visitors and other artists alike have made their marks over time on concrete structure, often expressing frustration and change for current political and socioeconomic circumstances around the world, or to simply say that they were there. The East Side Gallery over time became a “lieu de mémoire” or “place of memory” (Nora 1989) where “memories converge, condense, conflict, and define relationships between the past, present, and future” (Davis 1989,3). Today, it is the longest open-air art gallery in the world, a protected memorial for freedom and peace, and the longest remaining section of the Berlin Wall. Visitors to the East Side Gallery interact with this “place of memory” (Nora 1989) by experiencing the starkness of the concrete structure itself and the Berlin Wall as the symbol of

the Cold War. Additionally, visitors connect to the messages and future outlooks that the artists rendered in 1991 and the messages other visitors have left on the concrete structure.

Since its creation in 1991, the gallery has experienced on-and-off financial and moral support from the city and state governments of Berlin (note: Berlin is a city-state) in terms of infrastructure up-keeping and cultural investment. The East Side Gallery became an example of how memorials that require political influence and significant funding “face endless bureaucratic barriers, economic instability, corruption, and political opposition” (Sion 2005: 49)

Throughout the 1990s, the city and state government of Berlin awarded money to the East Side Gallery for the cleaning of the paintings, as the images were damaged through graffiti and direct exposure to weather conditions. However, as the East Side Gallery had to be cleaned several times over a short time period, the financial support for these projects from the city and state government of Berlin dwindled, ultimately leaving the East Side Gallery no choice but to raise outside funds in order to fund timely and much needed cleaning projects.

Urban development around the East Side Gallery began to pick up greatly in the early 2000s. A concert hall, known today as the Mercedes-Benz Arena, was built behind the East Side Gallery, prompting the city of Berlin to make plans to extract a 45-meter section of the gallery for emergency safety measures, as well as an entrance path for visitors coming to the concert hall by boat, as the Spree River is just behind the East Side Gallery. A few years later, the city of Berlin, following patterns from other western cities by investing in riverfront amenities (Blomey 2004, 30), planned to make the river way, once the “no-man’s land” barrier between the Berlin Wall, located between the East Side Gallery and the Spree River, into a promenade and park, taking advantage of the entrance way that would be created from the extracted 45 meters of

the East Side Gallery. This implementation of the space behind the East Side Gallery as a public Riverwalk and park acted as a catalyst to development projects around the East Side Gallery.

In 2013, the East Side Gallery was under the threat of partial demolition, as the city of Berlin and developers planned to tear out a section of the East Side Gallery to further the development of riverfront condominiums along the Spree River.

This action of the developers greatly upset the advocates of the gallery, including the famous American entertainer, David Hasselhoff. Well-known for his New Year's Eve concert on the Berlin Wall in 1988, in which he sang his song that became the anthem of the fall of the wall in 1989, "Looking for Freedom", Hasselhoff served as a "memorial entrepreneur" who lobbied on behalf of memorialization by saving it from demolition through protests (Jordan 2006, 2). Ultimately, further demolition to the East Side Gallery was halted, marking successful protest by Hasselhoff and the East Side Gallery advocates.

A couple of weeks after the protest, in the early morning hours, construction crews tore out that section that was seemingly saved through the protests. The head of the East Side Gallery Artists' Group, Kani Alavi, said that "all [the developers] see is their money, they have no understanding for the historic relevance and art of this place."¹

This article will examine the ever-changing role of the East Side Gallery in the memorialization of the Berlin Wall, as "[the Berlin Wall's] memory has become an urban icon (Schlör 2006). Additionally, this article explores the relationship between urban redevelopment and memorialization in Berlin to further understand how historical/memorial landscapes and

¹ "Developer Removes Segment of Berlin Wall at East Side Gallery," *Deutsche Welle*, (Bonn Germany), March 27, 2013.

urban landscapes interact in one place. To date, there has been little study on the relationship that exists between memorialization and urban redevelopment. Through the examinations of roles and relationships between the actors of urban redevelopment in Berlin and the East Side Gallery, a perspective of the current and future state of the East Side Gallery will be established. Last, a relationship pattern for a sustainable cultural and economic landscape between urban redevelopment and memorialization will be established.

First, the framework and literature of the geographies of memory and urban redevelopment as they relate to the East Side Gallery will be established, as well as the literature of the online qualitative methodologies used. Second, the methodology used during field work of the East Side Gallery will be explained. Lastly, a summarization of key findings will be put into further discussion on the current and future roles of the East Side Gallery, as well as the interaction between the acts of memorialization and urban-redevelopment.

SECTION 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Memory, Memorialization, and Coming to Terms with the Past

Traditionally, memory is used as a psychological term that involves the storage and retrieval of past experiences within the human mind. Maurice Halbwachs, a French sociologist, sparked the modern interest in the study of memory outside of Psychology in the early twentieth century, expanding on the thoughts and works of previous sociologists and philosophers. He describes memory as re-reading a book; in the second reading (1992, 46):

The book seems to lack pages, developments, or details that were there when we first read it; at the same time, additions seem to have been made because our interest is now attracted to and our reflections focused on a number of aspects of the action and the characters, which we well know, we were incapable of noticing then.

What we remember, or what we chosen to be remembered, is dependent on the current social environment, as the past itself isn't preserved, but is continuously reconstructed in the present (Halbwachs 1992, 40). Furthermore, collective memories, or societal memories, reconstruct images of the past that align with the dominant and popular memories of individuals within society. This creates, or attempts to create, a common narrative within the collective society about past events, and "offers a fixed point which would bind it to the ever-expanding past in the passing of time" (Assman and Czaplicka 1995, 127).

In recent years, memory has become a focal point within the studies of the social sciences disciplines (Hoelscher and Alderman: 2005). Within Geography, memory has been used to explore and understand the spatiality of the social environment, as they include historical meanings, social relations, and power relations, which in turn create and give meanings to space over time (Till 2011: 291). One of the ways to explore and understand the

spatiality of the social environments around us is through memorials or memorialization of the past. Memorials and memorialization of the past divide up the passage of time and localizes our thought in the present (Halbwachs 1992, 175). In other words, it allows past events to make an impact on the present, long after the living memory dies. While physical memorials themselves are the traditional, and often *de-facto*, ways of memorialization, the acts of memorialization, such as ceremonies, festivals, and renaming streets/neighborhoods/places (Hoelscher and Alderman 2005) are important acts in localizing thought to the present (Halbwachs 1992: 175).

Physical memorials are often thought-provoking mediums for sequential and contradictory interpretations of the past, which then creates an outside ritual and rhetorical environment that binds thought to the present by allowing people to reflect, act, and interact with their own understandings of the past events.

Since the rise of the “nation state” in the eighteenth century, memory has been highly politicized in order to create collective memorials, narratives, and celebration to symbolize national unity and legitimacy. Additionally, it is linked to further disputes in terms of who has the rights and credentials to dictate and represent what is remembered in a society. Karen Till (2012, 7) notes that groups and individuals within nation states “often struggle with one another for authority to represent their version of the past in the built environment, media, and in legal arenas,” as groups attempt to change the narrative and identity of a particular time(s) remembered through the deployment of the material and symbolic qualities of particular places and landscapes.

In the case of Berlin, the city itself is a “geographic locus of German memory” (Costabile-Heming 2011: 232) and is the capital of arguably the most influential country in Western

Europe in the present day. Because of Berlin's turbulent 20th century past, in which it was the capital of four political regimes, the city has struggled greatly in terms of how to remember and come to terms with the past (*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*), as there are debates and disagreements among groups, such as political, historical, financial, and artistic groups, within German society on how to negotiate the Nazi and communist oppression pasts in the same setting, while moving forward in the future. This strategy, in part to balance the national memory(ies) and dialogue(s) of the past, are being negotiated and created by the city and national governments from the different perspectives of the former East and West Germany, ideally to create one common and unified viewpoint narrative of both the Holocaust and communist pasts. However, the common and unified narrative has taken the perspective of Berlin prior to the outbreak of World War One, before the time of communist oppression and Nazi occupation. These perspectives include architecture and ambiance of the Weimar Republic era of Berlin (Tölle 2010), which was a time when Berlin was known as a modern, cosmopolitan city. Additionally, these perspectives include the demolition of communist places for the re-construction of the imperialist places, such as the Hohenzollern Palace, which was torn down by the former German Democratic Government to build the parliament hall (*Palast der Republik*) in the early 1970s. The parliament hall of the German Democratic Republic was demolished in 2008, and the "new" Hohenzollern Palace is currently under construction. Street names in the former East Berlin were also renamed to their names prior to the formation of the German Democratic Republic. In this new era of Berlin, we see the building of a contemporary city embodied by the "new Berlins" of the past and the "historic Berlins" imagined today (Till 2005, 5).

The Berlin Wall in modern day is associated with the idea of freedom in geographic space and mobility, (Leuenberger 2011) and has become a symbol and a monument of unity between the former East and West German citizens, as it used to be a symbol of divide between the German people and the world. The no-man's land, in which the East Side Gallery is a part of, is especially sacred. In the following years after the fall of the wall, the no-man's land was simply an open, unused, plot of land that was a "haunted space, crisscrossed by a maze of footpaths going nowhere," in which the Berliners lovingly named it "their prairie of history" (Huysen 2003, 56).

Upon its completion in 1991, the East Side Gallery incorporated the haunted "prairie of history" (Huysen 2003, 56) and a stretch of remaining concrete structure within the "no-man's" land to become a *Mahnmal*, a memorial that is built in public space to show and advise its audience, especially future generations, on the dangers of walls, and how it should not be repeated (Sion 2015, 47). As the audience of the East Side Gallery today possess a wide range of understanding and viewpoints of the Berlin Wall, thus binding the Berlin Wall in various ways, we now see a struggle for authority to represent different, and often conflicting, versions of the past in the built environment through the proposed partial-demolition of the East Side Gallery for the sake of luxury condominium development. While some see the East Side Gallery as an open geographical space and potential for further urban redevelopment, others see the East Side Gallery as "prairie of history" (Huysen 2003, 56) that unifies their society and serves as a reminder of how walls aren't as strong as the German people. These various viewpoints of the East Side Gallery represent its role in the negotiating process among the political, historical,

financial and artistic spectrums in order to create a common narrative and viewpoint of the Berlin Wall and the communist oppression past.

Urban Redevelopment, Gentrification, and Heritage Preservation

Since the turn of the millennium and the rise of the technological age, Western cities have been greatly influenced by globalization, which has reshaped the urban economy, especially in the property market (Blomey 2003, 29). Place-marketing, a traditional practice by cities that helps create city identity, has become more focal, as cities are attempting to make themselves known in a competitive global market. One way Western cities are putting themselves out as fierce competitors urban model is through reconstruction, implemented through private investment and public funds for the development of downtown and city centers as the central point of activity, commerce, investment, and tourism, as cities are the central point for material and social culture. As a result, the city centers have experienced major urban redevelopment and gentrification.

The difference between urban redevelopment and gentrification is by the intensions of the outcomes of the projects. Urban redevelopment refers to the general act of rejuvenating buildings, parks, roads, and other forms of infrastructure. Gentrification, however, is the specific act of rejuvenating the urban landscape to fit the preferences of the middle/higher class without evaluating the social consequences. While the competitive urban land market is often the blame of gentrification in cities, it is also argued that gentrification is also being pushed by state and city actions at various times and places, thus not pointing the cause completely at the competitive urban land market (Wu 2015: 632). This additional lens of gentrification has led experts to argue that gentrification is now a state-facilitated growth

model, rather than sequenced acts of middle/higher class residents to change the city to suit their tastes and preferences (Blomey 2004, 31). This supports David Harvey's (83, 1989) view of urban processes under capitalist markets, in which he states that "capital represents itself in the form of a physical landscape created in its own image, created to enhance the progressive accumulation of capital". Furthermore, it is argued that gentrification, as a state-facilitated growth model, is becoming a global urban strategy as "the neo-liberal state becomes a consumer, rather than a regulator, or the market" (Blomey 2004, 427). Therefore, the state, as a consumer of the market and a perpetuator of gentrification, can undermine aspects of place-marketing and the built environment, such as historic preservation, if deemed that the historical preservation aspects do not add to the capital or idealized place-marketing strategy of the city.

Historically, governments were responsible for the up keeping of built cultural heritage, especially as cities are centers of culture and material meanings throughout time and space. The city's history is a common resource used in urban redevelopment and gentrification projects as a strategy to attract tourists, investors, and people of higher socio-economic status in order to build a strong sense of identity to make the city competitive in the global market. In this day and age of globalization, tourism especially "is a key factor in influencing change in attitudes to the urban environment on the official level," as its presence is an indication, or lack thereof, socio-economic status and success (Lincoln 1993, 218). The policy over in the last fifty years has shifted from preserving the heritage buildings through legal protection towards preserving through urban development (Janssen, et al, 2014). However, heritage preservation largely depends on the viewpoint and motives of the actors involved in the urban

redevelopment projects, as memorials and monuments often times “parallel urban developments” (Carrier 2005, 157). A problem of gentrification arises when the development, located around established historical sites, does not include the further preservation of the historical sites, and doesn’t look at further impacts beyond residential uses. This results in a “tension between the appropriation and use of space for individual and social purposes and the domination of space through private property and the state” (Lefebvre 1974, 471).

The city of Berlin is a palimpsest that is constantly being written and re-written through development projects and planning with the help of an ever-growing economy. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, Berlin faced an investment boom. Between 1990-1992, rents in both office space and living space doubled, and even quadrupled in some places (Jordan 2006, 59). Although still one of the poorest Western European capitals, it was “the most energized site for new urban construction anywhere in the Western world” at the turn of the century (Huysen 2003, 51), as urban redevelopment projects are springing up all over the city. However, the city now faces a dilemma of being caught between the pressures of place-marketing, the competitive land market, the state-facilitated growth model (Blomey 2004), as well as its persistent haunting of its past (Till 2011, Huysen 2003).

The East Side Gallery is a prime example of the current state of urban redevelopment, gentrification, and historical preservation in Berlin. After the fall of the wall, the re-construction of the former wall zone in places such as Potsdamer Platz and city center, took place quickly, leaving these places unrecognizable in comparison to just a few years prior (Light 2000: 163). Additionally, the pieces or traces of the Berlin Wall that were kept for the purpose of memorialization have a spatial pattern. Duncan Light (2000: 166) notes that “all but one of the

remaining wall segments are located several kilometers from the city center, so that tourists need to make a purposeful visit to see them”.

The East Side Gallery is one of those wall segments located several kilometers from the city center, however, because of the East Side Gallery’s location along the Spree riverfront, the land that it occupies is highly desirable, as Western cities are investing highly in riverfront property to promote and maximize their place-marketing. Additionally, the Berlin Wall is a highly sought-after tourist attraction, as visitors want to be able to interact and experience the starkness, emotion(s), and stories of the Berlin Wall, thus making the East Side Gallery, the longest stretch of the Berlin wall still erect in the city, a prominent tourist destination.

However, the problem arises as the advocates of the East Side Gallery wish to keep the Gallery as public social space for the remembrance of the Berlin Wall, while developers and investors that play a role in the urban redevelopment process around the East Side Gallery are arguably gentrifying the East Side Gallery by not considering the social consequences through the removal of sections of the East Side Gallery, and building on the “no-man’s land” in order to dominate the space through the creation of urban redevelopment projects.

Qualitative Research in the 21st Century and the Rise of Consumer Generated Social Media

Qualitative research methods are used by Geographers to understand how humans create and interact with meanings in space. While the traditional methods of qualitative research such as interviews, focus groups, and participant observation are proven to be reliable; the way Geographers and social scientists conduct these specific types of methods and receive data are changing because of the modern internet age. The internet is now a medium where many social interactions take place, and where people “leave traces of their identity,

their actions, and their social relations” (Weiser, et al 2008, 116). Weiser, et al (2008, 17) discusses the further impact of the internet on scientific research, especially in the social sciences, by stating that “[the internet] provides a picture of the overall contours of human knowledge- albeit one that is very large, very unruly, and constantly changing” through the ability of instant information. This ability of instant information therefore dwindles the space-time compression (Harvey1990). The internet as a data source doesn’t replace the traditional qualitative methods of data gathering, rather, it adds a modern take to the traditional methods with its own advantages and disadvantages that allow researchers to keep up with the growing human knowledge.

Although the internet is a fascinating medium, and arguably revolutionary in qualitative methods, it does meet criticism. When compared to the traditional qualitative methods, there is one dynamic that is missing: the face-to-face interaction between the researcher and participant(s). This face-to-face interaction allows the researcher to pick up body language, tones of voice, and group dynamics in a focus group setting, which are all essential of the analysis of qualitative data from the traditional perspective. However, Desai (2013, 102) notes that several studies (Adriaenssens and Cadman 1999, Beasley and Chapin 1998, Coates and Froggat 1998) address that researchers should consider the benefits of the internet medium, as one would do when considering which traditional qualitative methodologies to use in studies, rather than compare it to face-to-face methods. Some of the benefits of using the internet as a medium, according to Pincott and Brathwaite (2000), include a quicker establishment of an intimate relationship between the researcher and respondent, well-thought out responses (as

they are through text, rather than spoken word), the suspension of social hierarchies, and a more truthful opinion or viewpoint.

The internet has evolved over time in terms of how people communicate and share ideas with each other, from Instant Messaging and Message Boards to social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, as well as consumer generated media websites such as Yelp and TripAdvisor. These social media and consumer generated media websites are not only platforms for users to share information with each other quickly, they are platforms for researchers to understand trends and patterns within societies, especially as the textual content replaces the dimension of speech in traditional qualitative methods (Desai 2002, 102). These websites contain a form of narrative from users that post on these websites, which is foundational to all qualitative research studies, whether in person or through the internet.

On social media platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter, researchers often use hashtags (#), which “function primarily as metadata tags facilitating the retrieval of content” (Scott 2015, 8) to follow certain topics or trends over a temporal sequence, which embodies a narrative style of having a beginning, middle, and end. By following a trend with a related set of hashtags over time, researchers are able to understand “the fully story” and how the narrative progresses over time. In the consumer generated media websites, a study by Pollach (2006), showed that users included “comments, evaluations, and personal stories” involving the products that they were reviewing. Additionally, studies conducted by Vázquez (2012) and Carter (2015) focused on the reviews of hotels and a plantation site in Louisiana, respectively, on the website, TripAdvisor, to specifically understand how users interact with fellow users and readers of their reviews through the narration of their experiences at these certain places. Like

the hashtags (#) in the social media websites, the reviews on consumer generated media website follow a temporal sequence, which allow the researcher to understand how the experiences of these products or places change over time.

SECTION 3: METHODS

In addition to the use of consumer generated social media, this research is based on a month of fieldwork at the East Side Gallery in May and June of 2017. These research methods are structured around the viewpoint and opinions of the tourists. The emphasis of tourist perspective comes from the fact that tourism plays a large role in the modern global economy, as cities “view [themselves] from the perspective of its visitors and respond by meeting the demand of its visitors in order to sustain a viable position in the world economic or social order,” (Canziani and Francioni 2013, 19). Furthermore, cities meet the tourist demand is through the creation of a city image, or series of images, that tourists might expect to find, based off historical context, and stereotypes that are created from their culture’s perception of the place they are visiting. Tourists’ demand and expectation, however, is not static; it changes over time.

The tourists’ mobility, and therefore the mobility of people, plays a large role in the success of the modern global economy, described in the introductory chapter of *Tourism Consumption and Representation* (2006:1). Furthermore, it is stated that tourism specifically brings forth of central issues surrounding the creation, consumption, and marketing of places, cultures, and identities.

The perspectives and actions of the tourists, who are consumers of these commodities, places, cultures, and identities, provide insight of the issues that surround the economies of tourism through their experiences at tourist attractions, such as memorials. The experiences, actions, and viewpoints of tourists at the East Side Gallery are critical in understanding what

issues, such as the current and future role of the East Side Gallery and the surrounding urban redevelopment, are present at and around the East Side Gallery.

During the time of fieldwork, participant observation of the East Side Gallery, as well as unstructured interviews with visitors at the East Side Gallery about their viewpoints of the East Side Gallery and its role within the city and as a memorial were conducted. Additionally, this analysis includes an enumerative content analysis (Carter 2015, 239), a count of the words, using of the comments, written in English, left by visitors of the East Side Gallery from 2008 until December 10, 2017, on the website, TripAdvisor. This analysis was conducted to better understand the visitors' perspective of the role of the East Gallery as a memorial over time, and to better understand the East Side Gallery's relationship with the urban redevelopment boom over time, as the first comment created about the East Side Gallery on TripAdvisor's website was created in 2008. A total number of 4,800 comments, written in English, were analyzed through the enumerative content analysis, and were coded by themes. Additionally, the transcripts of semi-structured interviews, as well as the field notes from the month-long field work in Berlin, were coded by themes. Supplementary resources include print and electronic media articles from Berlin, and data from the Office of Statistics for Berlin-Brandenburg (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg). Together, these pieces of data created an understanding of the East Side Gallery's ever-changing role since its creation in 1991, as well as its relationship with the fast-paced urban redevelopment in Berlin.

SECTION 4: FINDINGS

Findings from Berlin

Upon arrival of the East Side Gallery during the month-long period of fieldwork in May and June of 2017, the sight of ten cranes working simultaneously across the street greeted me. A new shopping center, that would be called the East Side Mall, was being constructed (set to open in 2018), as well the Meininger Hotel Berlin at East Side Gallery. Just passed the shopping center renderings, there is a bakery, named East Side Bakery, was set to open in the near future.

The use of the phrases “East Side” or “at East Side Gallery” indicates a toponymical pattern of place-marketing used by developers and store owners alike to associate their businesses and developments with the East Side Gallery, as they are in close proximity to the gallery itself, in order to attract tourists to stay in their hotels and patron their businesses. Additionally, this toponymical pattern indicates purposeful acts of naming to shape the urban landscape to reference memorialization within the urban landscape. The naming of buildings and local businesses adds another dimension to phenomenon of naming/renaming in the urban landscape that has been characterized mostly by street-naming (Rose-Redwood, et al 2018). Light and Young (2015, 437) note how place marketing and developing tourism and consumption, such as the area around the East Side Gallery, “are closely associated with attempts to change meanings associated with place”. It is then noted further by Light and Young (2015, 437), that “the symbolic capital of particular place names is converted (at least in part) to economic capital; that is, it becomes a resource to be sold”. The act of naming then

becomes another form of power and control to convert the East Side Gallery, in part, as “a resource to be sold” (Light and Young 2015, 437).

Further argued by Berg (2011, 13), “neoliberalization is caught up in specific forms of naming that symbolically and materially solidify current (and historical) processes of capitalist accumulation by dispossession”. While the phrases “East Side” or “at East Side Gallery” can seem like a harmless place-marketing technique on the surface, the naming of these buildings and businesses in the context of the drastic urban redevelopment around the East Side Gallery, is taking away the power and presence of the East Side Gallery as a memorial site, and is distributing the power of the landscape to the ever-growing urban redevelopment around the gallery through acts of dispossessing sections of the East Side Gallery for the benefit of luxury condominiums.

I listened in on an English-narrated tour of the East Side Gallery one afternoon in early June. The narratives and perspectives of tour guides are especially powerful, as “they reaffirm or resist social relations” (Hoskins 2010: 261). The tour guide described the sense of place around the East Side Gallery, and how it has changed rapidly in the last decade. Specifically, the tour guide explained how the neighborhood around the East Side Gallery, Friedrichshain, was traditionally a working-class neighborhood, before and after the fall of the wall in 1989. Over the last ten years, the multi-million Euro projects that include housing and buildings used by large corporations have pushed long-time and traditional working-class residents out of this neighborhood, and is now home to large companies, such as Universal Studios and MTV (rightfully nicknamed “*Medien Spree*”, or “Media-Spree”). In this case, the tour guide narrative affirmed the social relations and acts of gentrification, rather than urban-redevelopment,

among the construction around the East Side Gallery and the surrounding neighborhood of Friedrichshain.

In conjunction with the tour guide narrative of the changing sense of place around East Side Gallery, as well as the observation of place-marketing strategies, or the acts of naming, it is clear that the area around the East Side Gallery is experiencing gentrification, rather than urban redevelopment. This is a result of the state-facilitated growth model, or “urban growth model” indicated by Blomey (2004, 31), which further justifies the presence of the mass construction around the East Side Gallery for its prime location along the river front, and its proximity to the East Side Gallery, where tourists are large consumers of this particular area.

It was notable to me that a great number of tourist attractions were present around the East Side Gallery. There are booths where visitors can buy currywurst (a popular Berlin dish of a hotdog style sausage with curry ketchup and curry seasoning) and ice cream. Additionally, street vendors line along the wall selling pieces of artwork and craft items. One street vendor in particular stood out to me, as he was dressed as an East German border guard uniform and gave a “visa” that replicated the visa West Berlin citizens were required to have in order to enter East Berlin and East Germany. With the visa replica, he gave out stamps of the different sectors (i.e. British, American, French, and the former Soviet Union), and explained the mobility of East Berlin/East German and West Berlin depending on one’s citizenship, i.e. the United States, West Germany, vs. the former Soviet Union and the former East Germany. This explanation of mobility brought many tourists to his booth, as it narrated a past sense of place that used to be reality, depending on one’s citizenship.

Musicians lined along the East Side Gallery. Every day during my fieldwork period, musicians played at certain sections of the East Side Gallery. They played at the spots where tourists would notice them the most and would be likely to give them some loose change along the way: the beginning of the East Side Gallery right off the suburban rail/underground station stop at Warsaw Street (*Warschauer Straße*), halfway through the gallery, where the entrance of the river-walk/park (the former death-strip) is, at the infamous “Brother Kiss” painting of Erich Honecker and Leonid Brezhnev, and towards the end of the kilometer stretch near suburban rail stop East train station (*Ostbahnhof*), next to the famous works of the French artist, Thierry Noir.

The implementation of vendors selling wall-related, or East German related merchandise, and a new museum about the Berlin Wall inside a popular river-side restaurant shows how the city of Berlin has thought about themselves “from the perspective of its visitors ... by meeting the demand of its visitors in order to sustain a viable position in the world economic or social order,” (Canziani and Francioni 2013, 19). The East Side Gallery, as a place of culture and memorialization is “characterized by the need to maintain and diversify demand for entertainment and leisure products” (Britton 1991, 454). Visitors of the East Side Gallery expect to not only be able to see the Berlin Wall and pieces of art, but *experience* the emotions portrayed through the art, the Berlin Wall itself, and the phenomenon of living in a dividing society, as a large piece of the city identity of Berlin is shaped around its history with the wall. The importance of experiencing the East Side Gallery was indicated in particular by one visitor that I interviewed, visiting Berlin for the weekend. During my interview with the visitor, she indicated that the reason for visiting the East Side Gallery was the fact that the East

Side Gallery and the Berlin Wall were in her history books growing up, thus it was important to experience the Berlin Wall because she was in town.

In addition to the musicians that lined the wall of the East Side Gallery, thimble riggers, who played the game of three shells and a pea (*Hütchenspiel*), followed similar patterns of mobility as the musicians. They would set up their small pieces of velvet carpet at these strategic points at the East Side Gallery to lure tourists into playing this game. However, these tourists that were lured into playing this game were often victims of thimblorig, which is “a swindling trick in which a small ball or pea is quickly shifted from one to another of three small cups to fool the spectator guessing its location”²². In the first couple weeks of June, I noticed that the Berlin police were actively trying to catch these gamblers committing acts of thimblorig, as the Berlin police set up information stations at both nearby train stations, and the occasional officer would be walking along the East Side Gallery.

One day, I witnessed a thimble rigger pulling out his velvet piece of carpet from one of the trash bins after a group of officers passed by.

The strategy of the thimble riggers at the East Side Gallery, especially at famous pieces of work and certain places along the stretch of the wall, is to scam tourists of their money, as tourists “[are] regarded as a means of wealth provision” (Shaw and Williams 2004, 159). In this case, thimble riggers are not only scamming tourists because of their perceived supply of money, but because they are consumers of the creation of place that is led by gentrification in

² Merriam-Webster, s.v. “thimblorig,” accessed January 27, 2018, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/thimblorig?utm_campaign=sd&utm_medium=serp&utm_source=jsonld

the “urban growth model” (Blomey 2004, 47) in Friedrichshain, as previously described by the English-speaking tour guide.

My fieldwork took place during the holiday of Pentecost Day, as well as the 500-year celebration of the Protestant Reformation, which drew in additional visitors to Berlin to take part of these celebrations. The anniversary of the Protestant Reformation, I learned, was celebrated under the theme of “paradise is everywhere”, under the sponsorship of Berliner Sparkasse (a large bank in Germany) and the Cultural Administration of the State of Berlin (*die Kulturverwaltung des Landes Berlin*). At the East Side Gallery, the theme of “paradise everywhere” was noted by a red information booth that contained some historical references about the Protestant Reformation, written in both English and German. A little section about the history of the East Side Gallery itself, and the significance of the Mercedes Benz Arena was written on this booth. Additionally, there was a little blurb about how the East Side Gallery was tied to overall theme of “paradise everywhere”. The section said that:

Paradisiacal sounds of today’s music can also be heard here: on a regular basis. International stars of popular music can also be heard here, and for those that find all of that too much: the bank of the Spree behind the wall offers a paradise of relaxation for free.

Placing the narrative here that fits within the theme of “paradise everywhere” helps the visitors not only understand the East Side Gallery, but the role of the at the East Side Gallery in context of the theme of the celebration of the Protestant Reformation and everyday life in Berlin, as “objects and places do not easily speak for themselves,” as “a way must be found to enable the visitor to grasp what is seen” (Brett 1993, 187). This booth was ultimately removed after the celebrations concluded. However, this booth offered a view of the additional roles and senses of

place that isn't obvious to visitors sometimes, as the East Side Gallery doesn't have markers that describe the intention/meaning of the art works/ memorial itself, or what it stands for today.

The original pieces of artwork on the East Side Gallery represents the feelings, thoughts, and wishes surrounding the fall of the wall in 1990, one year after its fall. However, the nature of style of the art on the gallery is street art, which is what Berlin is famous for, and is a marker of city identity; it is a part of Berlin's urban habitus (Dovey, et al 36, 2012). Over time, in the style of street art, visitors to the East Side Gallery have left their "mark" on the original pieces of art in ways such as "Jane Doe was here", as well as messages about current social and political situations around the world. During my fieldwork, I noticed a number of markings about the recent election of US President Donald Trump, Brexit, and the on-going strife between Israel and Palestine on the original pieces of artwork that promote the breaking of "walls" or "barriers" in societal relations, as well as peace in places of violence and turmoil.

The other side of the East Side Gallery, the side facing the Spree River, was left blank, and is known as "the people's wall", where visitors can see the voices of the people, and their freedom to mark the concrete structure, which "off[ers] alternative meanings in public space and for who belongs or whose ideas count within these spaces" (Halsey and Young 2016: 299).

I interpreted these markings on the "people's wall" as a response to the gentrification in the surrounding neighborhoods in Berlin, as developers and wealthy investors that play a role in urban redevelopment and gentrification are often called pigs because they seemingly only care about the profits, and not the consequences of their building projects, which ties into the description of the Friedrichshain neighborhood change through gentrification by the English-speaking tour-guide I overheard in June. Those who drew these pig-looking figures illustrate

how the ideas of those behind the urban redevelopment, or arguably gentrification, projects are the ones that count in the landscape, and offer alternative views of the urban redevelopment that is taking place, even though it is seen by those behind the urban redevelopment projects as a “global urban strategy” (Blomey 2004, 40). Because the ideas of those behind the urban redevelopment are the ones that “count” in the urban landscape, the power of the landscape is with the developers, government officials who support the projects, and the contractors, rather than the East Side Gallery, the citizens of Berlin, and the visitors.

Findings from TripAdvisor

TripAdvisor, an online platform of customer reviews that allows visitors to give reviews and feedback about restaurants, memorial sites, hotels, and other tourist attractions, is “a genre that continues to grow in popularity and influence” (Vázquez 2012, 106), as users can interact in real time about their experiences at these specific places. Additionally, TripAdvisor is a subset of the modern age of internet data mining used in both quantitative and qualitative research by Geographers to understand geospatial patterns. Studies that have examined the structure and features of these customer reviews, such as Pollach (2006), have found that most reviews were “compromised of comments, evaluations and personal stories involving the products reviewed” (Pollach 2006, 4).

These personal narratives within these customer reviews, like the tour-guide interviews, have the power to “reaffirm or resist social relations”, as they aid the creation of meaning within space, or turn spaces into places (Hoskins 2010: 261). Memorial sites in particular are rich in material for understanding of place creation, as the memorial itself creates a sense of place mentally by prompting visitors to reflect, and physically through its presence and design in the

landscape, while the visitors, in turn, contribute further to the sense of place by affirming, denying, or adding attributes.

The East Side Gallery has a large presence on TripAdvisor with over 11,000 reviews, almost 5,000 of them written in English, dating back ten years to 2008. I conducted an enumerative content analysis (Carter 2016), which is an analysis that counts the number of words in a qualitative data set (Grbich 2007). An enumerative content analysis is unique in the sense that it combines both qualitative and quantitative methods, i.e. mixed methods. The mix-method approach allows one to:

adhere to the beliefs of the post-positivist paradigm in conducting quantitative-oriented data collection and the constructivist in qualitative-oriented data... to put the two in conversation with each other ...to allow for deeper understandings (Mertens and Hesse-Biber 2013, 11-12)

The large frequency of words within the 4,800 comments written in English reveal themes in the place-making process that the visitors take part of as consumers, which is an indicator of the role of the East Side Gallery over time. Because of the large number of comments left by visitors at the East Side Gallery, the enumerative analysis served as a tool to understand and pinpoint themes that describe and characterize the creation of place by the East Side Gallery from the eyes of the visitors, and in return understand how the visitors responded or added to the sense of place. I chose to conduct an enumerative analysis with stem words, as this allowed the different forms of the word, depending on the syntax of the sentence, to be included in the word count. I additionally chose the numeric minimum of 10,000+ occurrences, as there was a significant numerical difference in the number of word repetitions around 10,000 occurrences. The results are as follows (see Figure 1.0): it is no surprise that the stem word 'wall' is the most common word used, as well as 'east', 'art', and

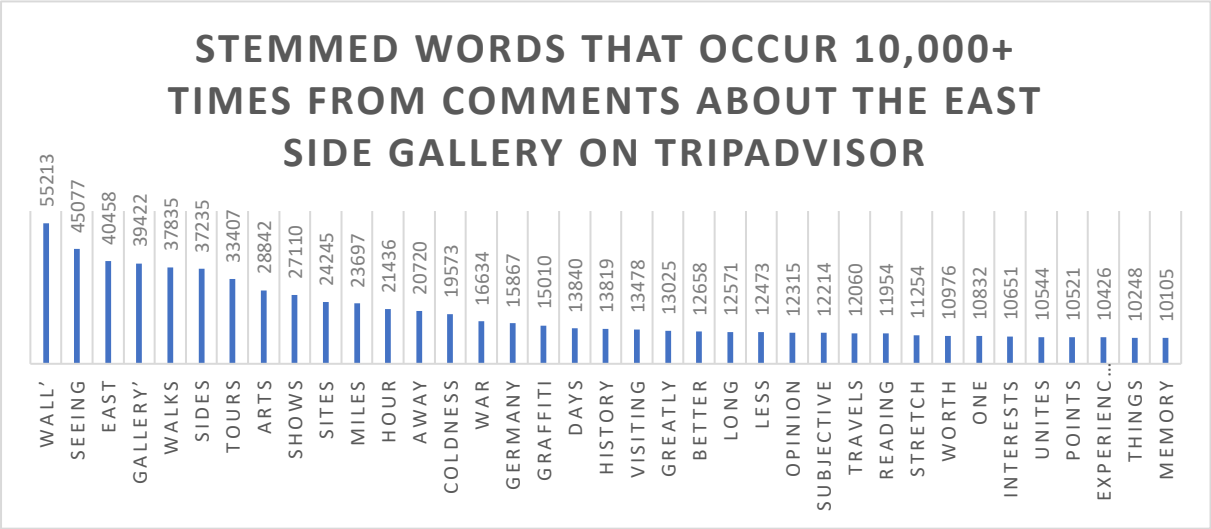


Figure 1.0: Results of the enumerative content analysis

'gallery'. 'Walks' tells us that tourists viewed the East Side Gallery on foot, 'miles' mentions the length of the East Side Gallery, and 'hour' represents the average time it took for the tourists to walk along the East Side Gallery. 'Away' represents the spatial relationship of how far away the East Side Gallery is from the other tourists' attractions that reside in the city center (*Mitte*), or its proximity to the train stations and popular neighborhoods. The words 'coldness' and 'war' represent the tourists' reflections about the East Side Gallery in terms of its relationship with the Cold War period, as the gallery reflects the thoughts and feelings of the victims of the Cold War and divided Berlin: the people. The East Side Gallery is provoking the visitors to think about their experiences with the time of the Cold War, directly or indirectly, from personal experience or through their knowledge accumulated in the classroom, stories, and experiences at other Berlin Wall memorials.

The number of times 'graffiti' was used is an interesting case, as it is a term that is sometimes used interchangeably with street art. The difference between the two words traditionally is the connotation and the association with criminal intent: vandalism (Dovey, et al 2012). While many visitors did use the terms interchangeably on their TripAdvisor reviews to talk about the original pieces of art on the wall, explaining the large number of times it was used, many other visitors used the term 'graffiti' in the negative connotation to talk about their dissatisfaction with the people's wall, or the marks left by visitors on the original pieces of art. Many viewed the added graffiti as ruining its sense of place by hindering the ability to fully experience the pieces of artwork, the original messages behind it, and the overall starkness of the Berlin Wall. On the contrary, many visitors applauded the addition to the artwork, as it was

felt that it added a unique touch to the sense of place with the references to modern day political and social events that keeps the East Side Gallery relevant through time.

The next words that stand out are 'subjective' and 'opinion', which describes the tourists' view and experiences of the East Side Gallery, as the East Side Gallery does not follow the style of the traditional memorial site or art gallery, and leaves a lot to the imagination with the lack of plaques and visible information about the artwork/artists in order for the visitors to think about the feelings of post 1989 portrayed on the wall in order to reflect on their own terms. Because of its non-traditional manner, the experiences and interactions with the East Side Gallery is subjective, thus creating conflicting opinions among visitors alike. Many times, visitors described how they preferred other Berlin Wall related memorials because it gave them a historical background, descriptions/captions of what was going on, or a rebuilding of what the Berlin Wall looked like during its active erection. These features are often integral parts of the visitor demand of tourist economies. However, many also applauded this alternative style of memorial that confines with the urban habitus and culture of Berlin (Dovey, et al 2012).

Lastly, the stem words 'unites', 'experiences' and 'memory' having each around 10,000-10,500 occurrences indicate that most visitors to the East Side Gallery have some kind of interaction with the East Side Gallery that makes them reflect on the on the sensation of reunification, as well as both the good and bad memories portrayed through the artwork, or reacting to the sheer size of the Berlin Wall in front of them, thus interacting with and contributing to the sense of place created by the East Side Gallery,

The following reviews provide context to the preceding enumerative analysis:

The artworks are worth seeing, but it is a pity that the climate they created in the area is being used to attract commercial development that is completely changing the area and the essence of what made this area so worth visiting. Perhaps any future artworks will reflect this part of the history of the wall.

-October 2017

The East Side Gallery in itself is a great stretch of the wall, appropriated for art, that came into being in the wild unregulated and undeveloped times after the Wall came down. In itself it is still impressive, but with the Hamburg/Düsseldorf style development around it feels as if someone made a bronze sculpture of Sid Vicious and put it into the National Gallery, in other words anachronistic and almost like a joke from the past.

-October 2017

Every time I'm here new development seems to take away from the history here. I guess its prime real estate now.

-November 2016

Instead of reflecting about the pieces of art, the graffiti, or the sheer size of the wall itself, these three reviewers focused on the new sense of place that is being constructed around the East Side Gallery with the influx of gentrification and urban redevelopment, and further solidifies the direct relationship with memorialization and urban redevelopment/gentrification, specifically noting how the urban redevelopment is *taking away* the sense of place from the East Side Gallery. During the time of these specific reviews, which was after my fieldwork in May of June of 2017, a new, and bigger, luxury condominium project was proposed and passed by the Berlin city government, which received push-back by the advocates of the East Side Gallery, including David Hasselhoff, once more. The comparison to the style of Düsseldorf and Frankfurt am Main, which are two major German cities that are following the “global urban strategy” (Blomey 2004, 47) of urban redevelopment to sustain a

position in the world economic order (Canziani and Francioni 2013). The use of the word 'anachronistic' really drives these three tourists' perspectives, as they both describe how the East Side Gallery looks and feels obviously out of place with the gentrification and urban redevelopment, as the last reviewer simply compared the East Side Gallery as prime real estate. Furthermore, the small mention of the wishing of future artworks portraying these events of gentrification and urban redevelopment indicate that the East Side Gallery is a part of the communist oppression landscape that "disrupts attempts to use the built environment to support the transmission of the new images of [Berlin]" (Light and Young 2013, 518).

What used to be a symbol for oppression and keeping people apart is now a monument of love, due to art. What used to be the Berlin Wall has now been painted over by hundreds of artists and has become so stunning. This serves as a poetic reminder that we need to preserve our past, especially what was wrong, to learn from it and draw a more beautiful future for us and our world. Even if you aren't interested in art, do visit this place for the spirit it represents.

-July 2017

The wall has eventually transmuted to become wall for call for freedoms against any oppression in any part of the planet. One can see, "Free Palestine" painted on it.

-January 2016

The mention of the sense of place the East Side Gallery carries as a poetic reminder, or its spirit, is significant. During the coding of all of these reviews from TripAdvisor, by far the most popular phrase and reaction was "thought-provoking", or other phrases were used to describe how the East Side Gallery was essentially thought provoking. While these visitors understand the original role and intention in the East Side Gallery, and are inspired by it, the viewpoint of its role as a

“wall for call for freedoms against any oppression” with the reference to the on-going Palestinian/Israeli conflict, where walls are still actively used, gives the East Side Gallery modern relevance and a voice in geopolitics to show and reflect on the lessons that were learned from the divided-era of Berlin, and what modern society can do in order to prevent making the same mistakes, which is its role as a *Mahnmal*.

Not wishing to be a spoil sport but this section of the Wall known as the East Gallery does nothing to represent the Wall as it was and the horrors it held for many people. I lived in Berlin for nearly 3 years in the late 60s and know the Wall (Center of Berlin) and the Wire (outer border with East Germany - DDR), which was the barbed wire fencing, subsequently replaced by concrete wall blocks over time. So, don't expect to get a feel for the real thing. This is just an art exhibition with some stupid and rude graffiti which conveys no message about the Cold War and the difficulties it held for millions of people both East and West of the border.

-December 2014

Yes, it used to be part of "the Wall", but it gives visitors a totally twisted sense of what it was like because it's neither authentic spontaneous graffiti (which was not tolerated in East Berlin) nor an authentic remnant of the wall as it appeared to East Berliners. It's crowded with people who make the bike lanes unusable. Mostly it's a place to pretend they are part of history.

-July 2014

A long stretch of intact wall with hundreds of (now historic) street art tableaux, free to view as you stroll along: in theory this should be great, and it almost is, but most of it now has temporary metal fencing between the viewer and the wall, so the effect of the art is greatly diminished. You just can't look at art through a metal grille, no matter how historic or atmospheric it is.

-October 2016

These three reviews from TripAdvisor represent the general criticism of the ways of the East Side Gallery memorializes the Berlin Wall and the Cold War period, and the way some visitors

struggle to understand its role as a memorial and the sense of place it creates, as it doesn't portray what the Berlin Wall looked like during its active erection, even though the East Side Gallery itself is made from the authentic inner wall (*Hintermauer*). These comments accurately reflect a current divide and debate between history and memory, which is often used and thought of inter-changeably. As the notion of history, or something deemed historical, "stands for a certain notion of truth and a certain notion of referentiality" (Hodgkin and Radstone 2003, 2). Visitors sometimes expect places of memory to then accurately reenact or recreate what these spaces looked like, which in their minds gives the memorial space authenticity or truth, as they can reference what they see in front of them with references pictures and movies. With this expectation planted in the heads of visitors, it is difficult to understand the memory work of memorials, especially when they don't visually or conceptually meet the "truth" that is expected from them in the historical perspective. These two reviews that talk about the lack of authentic attributes represent the subjectivity of not only the East Side Gallery, but in memory work.

The mention of the metal fence placed in front of many of the art works was a phenomenon that I noticed during my fieldwork in May and June of 2017 and was mentioned often by other reviewers over a time period of three years. Many visitors found the fencing in front of the gallery ironic, as "a wall to protect the wall" that hinders one-on-one interaction with the East Side Gallery really struck a chord with visitors that understood the memory work behind the East Side Gallery, as it symbolizes "the beginning of a new era of open geographical spaces and mobility" and freedom of expression (Leuenberger 62, 2011). The use of a fence,

understandably to preserve the original pieces of artwork, hinders the ability to interact with the sense of place that is defined by freedom and openness for mobility and thinking.

Note of the use of the word graffiti, and its connotation in these two reviews. While these reviews don't explicitly say that it is a criminal act of vandalism (while many other reviews did), it is inferred that the graffiti is not welcomed, and is seen as a nuisance in the overall sense of place, at least from the historical, rather than memory perspective, as it takes away from some historical "truth" or "a certain notion of referentiality" (Hodgkin and Radstone 2003, 2), even though graffiti plays a strong role in Berlin's urban habitus (Dovey, et al 36, 2012).

SECTION 5: CONCLUSION

There was one review left by a visitor of the East Side Gallery that was particularly striking. While it wasn't the actual review itself that was striking, it was the title of the review: "Important Mirror of Time".

The East Side Gallery today plays a prominent role as an "important mirror of time", as it not only capsulizes the thoughts, emotions, and feelings of the fall of the Berlin and hopes for the future from 1990, but serves as a palimpsest that *reflects* the voices and opinions of the people of modern political and social issues on the single dividing point of the world that ultimately fell and stands today for the purpose of memorialization, at least for now. The role of the East Side Gallery today is to not only memorialize, but to create a sense of place that reflect the voices of people, freedom of expression, and represent "the new era of open geographical spaces and mobility" (Leuenberger 62, 2011).

The positionality of the East Side Gallery itself is a mirror; it stands right across the street from the acts of gentrification and place-marketing created by urban redevelopment projects. It also reflects the current relationship between the gallery and urban redevelopment that is seen and noted by the visitors: the gentrification is taking away the sense of place and impact of memorialization that the East Side Gallery has to offer. The gentrification created by urban redevelopment projects is dwindling its presence through place-marketing strategies that "are closely associated with attempts to change meanings associated with place" (Light and Young 2015, 437) through the construction of luxury condominiums, hotels, a shopping center, and office space, all for urban competitiveness in the greater global economy. Additionally, the gentrification created by the urban redevelopment projects is an example of "capitalist

accumulation by dispossession,” both materially, in the removal of the sections of the East Side Gallery itself, and symbolically, through the removal of the East Side Gallery as a memorial of the communist oppression period to create access to the luxury condominiums (Berg 2011, 13).

In future studies of TripAdvisor data from visitors to the East Side Gallery, an enumerative content analysis of certain time frames should be conducted to show specific trends in word frequency. In conjunction with the past and future events surrounding the East Side Gallery, the trends in word frequency can help understand the dimensions between urban development and the East Side Gallery to further understand the relationship(s) in urban redevelopment memorialization, and how those relationships could change or remain static over time. Additionally, these word frequency patterns over various times can document the East Side Gallery’s evolving role over time. Last, the word frequency patterns over various times can help understand and document Berlin’s struggle as a city to remember its negative past, while moving forward as a modern European capital through the perspectives of the tourists.

Furthermore, there are limitations to TripAdvisor data. One of the limitations is hidden bias from the visitors who left comments on TripAdvisor. While the East Side Gallery had a large number of reviews, in the future, studies about the East Side Gallery from tourist online reviews should analyze reviews from other review websites, as well as social media platforms. Additionally, the analyzed reviews in this study were written in English. Future studies should include reviews written in other languages, which bring viewpoints of the East Side Gallery from different cultures and perspectives outside of the English-speaking world forward.

The relationship between memorialization and urban redevelopment between the East Side Gallery and the urban redevelopment can be described as a *give-take* relationship, where

the East Side Gallery *gives* opportunity to urban redevelopment to benefit from capital created in this memorial space through tourist consumption of one part of Berlin's past, and in return, urban redevelopment accumulates capital by dispossession, or *takes* some control over the landscape previously designated memorial space for the Berlin Wall, in order to consume the capital created by the East Side Gallery as one part of Berlin's past.

We now see that projects of Berlin's modern identity creation and previously designated Berlin Wall memorial spaces are beginning to overlap through the East Side Gallery and the surrounding urban redevelopment. Because these two spaces now overlap, a balanced *give-take-give-take* relationship should be established. As memorials and monuments, or heritage preservation in general, are now being preserved more and more through urban development, rather than legal protection (Janssen, et al, 2014); the future of these memorial spaces are being put into the hands of the various actors, such as political and economic actors, that are involved with urban redevelopment projects. In turn, the various actors involved in the urban redevelopment projects in Berlin should consider the consequences of completely taking over these memorial spaces for the expansion of Berlin's modern identity, and engage in dialogue with the actors, such as historical, political, and artistic actors, that are behind the East Side Gallery to understand the effects of tearing down sections/taking over memorial spaces. These effects, include, but are not limited to, the infringement of on the right of visitors to participate in the production of space, as well as the right to participate in acts of remembering and memorializing in spaces of memory. Because the participation in acts of remembering and memorializing at the East Side Gallery is a large reason for the presence of capital in this area, the *giving* of the ability by the various actors behind the urban redevelopment projects to the

East Side Gallery to remain a space of memory for others to participate in acts of memory and memorialization, as well as general space production, then allows further capital to be consumed at this now shared space. The urban redevelopment projects can *take* the benefits, such as profit, from the further capital that is consumed from the ability for others to participate in acts of memory and memorialization, as well as space production.

While spaces of memory and spaces of new identity formation have been separated in Berlin in the past, they are now merging as Berlin continues to grow. This will continue to raise questions on how to effectively remember Berlin's turbulent past, especially the communist oppression period, while moving forward. While there is no "right" answer, establishing a balanced relationship between memorialization in where both urban redevelopment and memorialization give and receive allows for a harmonious functionality in urban spaces such as Berlin.

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VITA

Mimi Thomas grew up in the upstate of South Carolina and attended D.W. Daniel High School, where she discovered her love and passion for the German language and culture, thanks to her incredible German teacher, Ms. Kathy Dickel. Upon her graduation in 2012, Mimi attended the University of Alabama, and obtained a Bachelor of Arts in 2016 with two majors in International Studies and German Language and Literature, as well as a minor in Geography. It was at the University of Alabama where she decided to study Geography at the graduate level, after taking a Human Geography class, in which she read, and was inspired, by the work of one of her academic heroes and future committee member, Dr. Derek Alderman.

Thomas began the Master of Science program at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in 2016, studying under Dr. Micheline van Riemdisjk, and later Dr. Ron Kalafsky. Her coursework focused on memory/memorialization, qualitative methods, German culture/history, and Socio-Economic Geographic Information Systems. Following her first year of studies, Thomas was awarded the W.K. McClure Scholarship for the Study of World Affairs from the Center of international Education to conduct her thesis research on the East Gallery in Berlin during May and June of 2017.

Thomas was a Graduate Teaching Assistant in World Regional Geography, Geography of Europe, and People in the Environment during her four semesters her Master of Science program. She gave numerous guest lectures to other World Regional Geography and Human Geography related classes about Western Europe, Economic Geography, and the Cold War. Her future goals are to research and to make a career in international businesses and organizations. Eventually, Thomas wishes to return to get her PhD in Geography, to ultimately become a professor, specializing in Human Geography.