Framing Urban Change:

Gentrification Discourses in the Media Coverage of the Gülbol Eviction in Berlin

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Abstract

This thesis examines gentrification discourses in Berlin by highlighting an extraordinarily large protest sparked by the eviction of the Gülbol family—long-time residents of Berlin who immigrated to Germany from Turkey. Media outlets chose to frame the event in very different ways. I analyze articles from various media sources in an attempt to discover how these sources chose to frame this event, then analyze how these frames are applied to the general gentrification discourse in Berlin. Non-traditional, or "advocacy" media outlets used technology to break away from mass media frames on the subject and frame the event as governmental oppression and excess. By presenting this alternative frame, alternative media sources help shift how "otherness" in Berlin is defined. Ethnic or religious identity gave way to outside capital investments that are slowly changing the makeup of Berlin.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Berlin, Germany's capital city and arguable cultural center, has gone through drastic changes since the turn of the 20th century. Berlin became the capital of Prussia and an industrial center in 1871, then became a progressive, "roaring" city during the inter-war period. During World War II, Adolf Hitler attempted to transform the city to the Nazi administrative headquarters. After 1945 it was physically divided by a wall based on ideological lines during the Cold War. As the Cold War came to an end and Germany reunited, Berlin was once again the capital of a reinvented nation attempting to fuse two ideologically different halves back together.

Through the lens of the (multi-) media reports about one particular event in Berlin, the eviction of a family from their rental apartment, this thesis explores shifting discourses about social transformation in urban areas. Berlin's divided history during the Cold War and fairly rapid reunification make it a particularly dynamic case of urban change, or gentrification, over the last 50 years, and the city now finds itself in a perpetual discussion about whether post-unification changes have brought renewal or exclusion. One of the agents for driving societal changes, the media, is of particular interest in this conversation, as they provide some of the loudest voices and reach large swaths of citizens. Berlin's socio-economic landscape has shifted, and today the media play a crucial role in shaping public opinion about those changes. In addition, technology has helped give citizen-journalism a stronger voice, and the web has enabled information to flow from many sources not affiliated with "traditional" news

sources. How has this technological shift and trend towards web-based information sources influenced the discourse about urban change in post-unification Berlin? This thesis focuses on the story of the Gülbol family, Turkish immigrants in Berlin who were evicted from their Kreuzberg apartment after residing there nearly 20 years. Though just one story of many relating to gentrification and social change in Berlin, the Gülbol family's story became a large media event and serves as a prime example of Berlin's social struggles during its inner-city rebirth and of how media play a primary role in shaping the discourse surrounding these struggles.

The Gülbol family's story is situated in the midst of in a hotbed of gentrification politics in Berlin—the district of Kreuzberg. The formerly West Berlin borough where the family lived housed many of the Turkish so-called *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) during the Cold War period, which made it far less attractive to middle-class Germans. During the height of the *Gastarbeiter* immigration, even left-leaning publications such as *Der Spiegel* ran articles highlighting the "emerging ghettos" coming from large amounts of unchecked immigration.[1]

The proximity to the Berlin Wall also kept property values low, making the area appealing to squatters, and other alternative lifestyles.[2] Many districts such as Kreuzberg had buildings that were falling into disrepair. Groups looking for communal lifestyles and alternative living arrangements began to take advantage of these buildings by creating squatted "communities" in abandoned buildings. By 1981, there were approximately 2000–3000 squatters in West Berlin. Cold War Berlin—particularly

[1] Stehle, Maria. "Narrating the Ghetto, Narrating Europe: From Berlin Kreuzberg to the *Banlieues* of Paris,"
[2] Large, David. *Berlin.* P. 493. New York, 2000: Basic Books.

in the West—was known for its alternative squatter culture in the 1970's and 1980's, with East German neighborhoods transforming after the fall of the Wall. But Berlin has seen the face of its "*Alternativen*" change,[3] a process that is not foreign to many Western cities, and because of its Cold War division, it offers a unique example. In this case, the once marginal areas in Berlin played a far different role in the city's layout after the city was reunited, and boroughs like Kreuzberg were once again in the city center, followed shortly afterwards by rapid investment.

At the end of the Cold War, government officials and citizens faced the difficult task of creating a united Berlin. Two populations living under different governmental systems were suddenly thrust into reunifying into a single city. In early 1960, the Soviet-backed East German government erected a wall or, more precisely, an "anti-Fascist protection wall" (*Antifaschistischer Schutzwall)* to keep Westerners out and Eastern-bloc citizens from fleeing and further perpetuating the so-called "brain drain" of academics fleeing to the West. The wall's foreboding appearance—massive concrete walls with guard towers overlooking a fortified "death strip" between the zones—made property values lower, because peripheries along the Berlin Wall were undesirable areas to live in. Shaw and Porter describe the "SO 36" zone of Kreuzberg after the Wall came up: "In the post war period, due to underinvestment, and the housing stock, to some extent, still showing war damage, skilled workers started to leave the former working-class district of Kreuzberg in order to move to large modernist suburban housing estates." As a result, the authors cite Uwe Rada's term "Kreuzberg mix," referring to a new population

[3] Large, P. 492.

of, “immigrant workers, students, radical political activists, artists, hippies, and other drop-outs” [4] replaced the traditional working-class population.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall and German reunification, the German government voted to reinstate Berlin as Germany’s capital in 1991, which meant that once-peripheral zones such as SO 36 returned to being part of the city center and the center of the German capital. City planners such as Thomas Knorr-Siedow felt the need to act quickly to not only rejoin two halves of a city that grew differently over nearly a half-century but also to replace 160,000 lost jobs in the Eastern half of the city, which led to a “downtown, megaproject focus.”[5] This focus, according to scholar Myron Levine, was to ensure that cultural diversity would remain in culturally “marginal” areas through initiatives like the *Selbsthilfe* program, started by the S.T.E.R.N. Gesellschaft für behutsamen Stadterneuerung, which aimed to provide:

> Aid to housing cooperatives, artisans, and the owners of small local stores. It also sought to assist nontraditional living arrangements, including apartment sharing by young people and former squatters critical of capitalist ideals. The self-help program also sought to abet social inclusion by providing skills training (in the building trades) for youth and by increasing the sense of identity that former squatters and other alternative groups would have with the neighborhood.[6]

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[4] Porter, Libby and Kate Shaw eds. *Whose Urban Renaissance? An international comparison of urban regeneration strategies*. New York, Rutledge. 2009.
[5] Levine, Myron. “Government Policy, the Local State, and Gentrification: The Case of Prenzlauerberg (Berlin), Germany.” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 26:1 (2004) 89-108.
[6] Levine, p. 95.

Programs such as the *Selbsthilfe* initiatives were designed to insure that marginal populations that had been living in areas such as Kreuzberg would remain part of the community no matter what economic changes took place. These programs served as the one of the few safeguards for underrepresented citizens to fight against being alienated by higher-income interests in their communities.

Kate Shaw sums up what changes this brought about for most of those living in these peripheral areas: "In the last 40 years, changing business practices and new pressures on real estate have increased the imperatives for the 'highest and best' use of land. With the working class now almost completely removed from most Western city centres (Hackworth & Smith, 2001), places used by marginal cultures ('under-utilized' by definition) are the new targets for gentrification."[7] Kreuzberg's Cold-War era population largely consisted of these so-called "marginal cultures," and such "best-use" city planning principles threatened long-time residents of traditionally lower-income neighborhoods like Kreuzberg by making them more expensive.

Almost 25 years later, much has changed in Berlin's neighborhoods, but opinions vary greatly on whether those changes have been largely positive or negative. In order to understand how traditional and non-traditional media have framed the debate about Berlin, though, one must first look at the definitions of gentrification in the Berlin context. In addition, it is important to gain a clearer understanding of what mechanisms media use to frame complex, multifaceted stories, and how emerging forms of media are utilizing those mechanisms in new and different ways.

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[7] Shaw, Kate. "The Place of Alternative Culture and the Politics of its Protection in Berlin, Amsterdam and Melbourne," *Planning Theory and Practice* 6:2. p. 149–169. 2005.

Gentrification Defined

In the discourse of gentrification in Berlin, the root of any argument comes from gentrification's definition itself. Levine argues that gentrification goes beyond physical and market forces creating a new landscape within urban space. He attempts to incorporate the pro-development push by government officials in Berlin as part of the mix of factors which make up gentrification. That said, the author fully acknowledges the difficulties in defining gentrification: "Gentrification is an imprecise term. Even in the 1980s, during the early debate over gentrification, the term was used variously to mean 'back to the city,' 'resettlement,' urban 'reinvasion,' 'invasion-succession,' central city 'revitalization'' and 'revival,' 'reinvestment,' 'renovation,' 'private-market rehabilitation,' 'private renewal,' 'neighborhood renewal,' the 'rediscovery' of city neighborhoods, and 'incumbent upgrading'—all of which have somewhat different meanings."[8]

The connotations of these terms and how they are described influence the perceptions of how people with different proximities to gentrification regard changes in a community. Levine chooses to define gentrification as "the process by which higher income households displace lower income residents of a neighborhood, changing the essential character and flavor of that neighborhood."[9] This definition frames gentrification as a term to describe socioeconomic changes and how they pertain to a certain space. Levine's definition does not, however, address how physical changes in property and investment affect a community."[10] Researchers like Margit Mayer also associate the term gentrification with a negative connotations associated with human

[8] Levine, p. 89-106.
[9] Levine, p. 89-106.
[10] Levine, p. 89-106.

impact: “Cities have transformed into gated communities and privatized public spaces, where wealthy and poor districts are increasingly separated by invisible barriers, and access of the poor to the amenities and infrastructures that cities once held for all have become more and more restricted.”[11] But scholars tend to debate whether population changes in various neighborhoods make these areas unaffordable and impractical for their original tenants or whether cultural and ethnic trends are the dominant force at work.

Scholars such as Paul White and Daniel Gutting concentrate on the disparity between East and West Berlin and their respective populations to explain gentrification. Education level, income, and average rent compared with property value and percent of foreign inhabitants are paramount for defining how gentrification happens in particular boroughs or *Bezirke.*[12] The presence of certain mixes of surpluses and disparities, the authors argue, make East Berlin the more “natural” place for gentrification than the West. “Using the list of essential pre-conditions given by Carpenter and Lees (1995), it is clear that East Berlin offers fertile ground for gentrification and the transformation of the social characteristics of residential neighbourhoods. This is not to say that the phenomenon is unlikely to occur in the West (it is indeed occurring in Kreuzberg, for example), but simply to indicate its greater potential in the East.”[13] Merriam-Webster’s dictionary defines gentrification as “the process of renewal and rebuilding accompanying the influx of middle-class or affluent people into deteriorating areas that

[11] Mayer, Margit. “The ‘Right to the City’ in the Context of Shifting Models of Urban Social Movements.” City 13:2-3 (2009) 362-374.
[12] White, Paul and Daniel Gutting. “Berlin: Social Convergences and Contrasts in a Reunited City.” *Geography* 83:3 (1998). p. 214-226.
[13] White and Gutting, p. 214-226.

often displaces poorer residents." Bringing Levine's definition together with this dictionary definition, gentrification can be defined as change in a residential area started by investment and a socio-economic shift that often leads to displacement of the original, poorer, residents already living in that area.

Dr. Andrej Holm has long been critical of gentrification in Berlin and how it displaces people living in an area for the sake of economic development. He and collaborator Bernt Matthias point out that the definition of gentrification depends upon who is using the term and for what political purpose:

> Gentrification, the process of upgrading urban neighbourhoods, has always been a controversial issue. Where politicians, real estate companies and middle classes see it as a means to counter urban decay, attract taxpayers and place localities on the global map of 'creative places' for the urban poor gentrification means rising costs of living, the destruction of their social networks and the risk of being evicted. Whether gentrification should be supported, or whether it should be controlled, constrained and prevented therefore is an issue around which all sorts of political struggles emerge.[14]

Holm argues that the way in which gentrification is conceptualized creates the frame for reactionary politics to respond, and he cites a 1986 article by Peter Marcuse that summarizes the various "forms" of gentrification and charts out how he sees various groups describe and frame the gentrification debate.

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[14] Matthias, Bernt and Andrej Holm. "Is it, or Is Not: The Conceptualisation of gentrification and displacement and its political implications in the case of Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg." *City* 13:2-3 (2009) p.312-324.

Marcuse separates displacement due to gentrification into five “forms.” The two most obvious, physical and economic displacement, deal directly with the root causes of gentrification, such as lack of adequate repairs in an apartment building, harassment by a landlord, rent increases, loss of affordable food in the vicinity, or dwindling public transportation. Marcuse further describes “temporal” forms of gentrification. Last-resident displacement focuses enumerating gentrification only in terms of buildings when the last resident is forced to leave, while chain displacement looks at the process of all people in a particular location who have been displaced over time. Exclusionary displacement is the idea that once a particular household voluntarily leaves where it is living, the property is gentrified and a similar household group cannot move in. Marcuse’s final definition is that of displacement pressure, which means that:

> a family sees its neighborhood changing dramatically, when all their friends are leaving, when stores are going out of business and new stores for other clientele are taking their place (or none at all are replacing them), when changes in public facilities, transportation patterns, support services, are all clearly making the area less and less livable, then the pressure of displacement is already severe, and it is actually only a matter of time. Families under such circumstances may even move as soon as they can, rather than wait for the inevitable; they are displaced nonetheless.[15]

[15] Marcuse, P. “Abandonment, gentrification, and displacement: the linkages in New York City”. In *Gentrification of the City*, Edited by: Smith, N. and Williams, P. 153–177. 1986.London: Unwin Hyman.

Displacement pressure does not drive all families out, but Marcuse shows that this kind of pressure creates an increasingly hostile environment for tenants that do not "fit" within the makeup of a renovated city section.

Many scholars saw the seeds of gentrification inevitably sewn in Berlin, whether they found it to be positive or negative. Holm takes an excerpt for Stephan Krätke's 1991 *Leviathan* article, "Berlin's Umbau zur neuen Metropole," [*Berlin's renovation to a new metropolis]* to show the bleak view of how gentrification would play out in Berlin.

> In the competition for apartments in the popular inner-city neighbourhoods "Yuppies" and "Dinks" ("Double Income No Kids") will prevail over low-income households. Islands of gentrification will emerge, most of all in those quarters which, due to the reunification of both parts of the city, have become central locations again such as Kreuzberg and Prenzlauer Berg. […] In the eastern part of the city the displacement of low-income households by better-off ones can be followed very easily, with the means of privately financed renovations.' (Krätke, 1991, p. 92, translation by MB/AH).[16]

For Matthias and Holm, though, the inevitability of gentrification does not spawn from economic changes alone. The authors tie in political discourse and media manipulation as key precursors for gentrification: "Counteracting gentrification is made particularly difficult when those who profit from it have the resources to portray this form of urban change as 'renaissance' or 'revitalization' while those who suffer from it lose

[16] Matthias and Holm, p. 31as 2-324.

support."[17] The authors see rhetoric as the major problem in what is a problematic debate among scholars in Germany. Media manipulation is also a fairly common thread in debates pertaining to gentrification. Media can definitely play a major role in how rhetoric can affect public perception of controversial events. In the next section, I define media and chronicle several theories on how media sources can help construct or alter how the public views reality.

Media framing and the construction of reality

For most individuals, the term "gentrification" likely implies both positive and negative connotations. The words "investment" and "growth" often carries positive connotations for an urban area, while "displacement" and "loss of original tenants" are phrases likely connected to negative outcomes. How media choose to use language to describe gentrification-related incidences help set and solidify public opinion about gentrification.

One must first have a clear grasp of what constitutes media. The "mass media," a term usually used to describe publications with a large distribution. Chris Livesey defines mass media as "channels of communication that involve transmitting information in some way, shape, or form to large numbers of people."[18] These traditional forms of media are no longer the only gatekeepers for large-scale communication, though. With the rise of the internet, citizens have been able to play a more prominent role in societal discussions. Activist groups have attempted to employ the internet as a new way to get alternative voices into societal discourse. Scholars Richard Kahn and Douglas Kellner

[17] Matthias and Holm, p. 312-324.
[18] Livesey, Chris. "Defining the Mass Media," *Sociology Central.* 2011. http://www.sociology.org.uk/media_defined.pdf

reference this phenomenon and how it helps perpetuate dispersing messages: "In the late 1990s, such activists began employing the internet to foster affiliations and stage events against the excesses of neo-liberalism and transnational corporate capitalism."[19] The internet helped to create a new forum for actual formidable resistance to various social phenomena. In this case the internet helped foster opposition to governmental or economic actors who are often described as oppressing or alienating certain populations.

Understanding the relationship between media and power in society is crucial in order to describe how media influence socio-economic change in a particular urban space. McQuail cites multiple facets of society that help empower the media: mass media are able to inform a large audience quickly and effectively, help set forth definitions of reality, are effective tools for influencing opinion or beliefs and grant legitimacy to a subject.[20] Citizens desiring a largely free and diverse media landscape are said to have centrifugal tendencies, while those desiring more structured, controlled media are said to have centripetal tendencies.[21] Both of these models have positive and negative results relating to how they may facilitate social integration, and no matter what environment media exist in, voices on the peripheries have traditionally been in danger of being left out of whatever conversation is happening.

One of the leading theorists on communication frames, Erving Goffman, sets forth guidelines for frame theory. According to Goffman's 1974 work, *Frame Analysis:*

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[19] Kahn, Richard and Douglas Kellner. "New Media and the Internet Activism: From the "Battle of Seattle" to blogging," *New Media and Society.* 6:1 (2004): p. 87-95.
[20] McQuail, Denis. *Mass Communication Theory, 3rd ed.* London: Sage (1994) p.69.
[21] McQuail, p. 71.

An Essay on the Organization of Experience, individual perspectives play a significant role in how a situation can be viewed, since "when participant roles in an activity are differentiated—a common circumstance—the view that one person has of what is going on is likely to be quite different from that of another. There is a sense in which what is play for the golfer is work for the Caddy."[22] Goffman goes further, noting that a person's role in a specific situation can heavily influence how they view something. He asks whether fans of two opposing sports teams are indeed watching the "same game" since their roles in the experience are so different.[23]

Indeed a person's relation to gentrification-related issues in Berlin heavily influences their interest in the subject, and those making investments in neighborhoods such as Kreuzberg, Neukölln and Prenzlauer Berg view these changes far more positively than those suddenly struggling to exist in their transforming surroundings. In his essay on framing, scholar John Pavlik references a work by Shanto Iyenger that helps place framing into a political context. He argues that "all this matters because framing affects the audience's perception of reality. As Iyengar argues, through episodic news framing the media help maintain the status quo by rarely placing news events and issues into a broader context."[24] These frames all go through the "prevailing" paradigm in society and help solidify stereotypes and certain types of political agendas.

Some scholars believe that media frames developed in response to traditional news media's shift toward more opinion-based reportage. Jürgen Habermas, in his

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[22] Goffman, Erving. "Frame Analysis," *The Goffman Reader.* Ann Branaman and Charles Lemert eds. P. 154.
[23] Goffman, P. 154.
[24] Pavlik, John. "News Framing and New Media: Digital Tools to Re-engage an Alienated Citizenry." *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World.* Stephen Reese, Oscar Gandy, Jr., and August Grant, eds. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. 2001. P. 313.

1962 work *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* offers an explanation: "As soon as the press developed from a business in pure news reporting to one involving ideologies and viewpoints, however, and the compiling of items of information encountered the competition from literary journalism, a new element—political in the broader sense—was joined to the economic one."[25] Habermas sees the advent of literary journalism as a turning point in journalism and in journalism's role in society: "The integration of once separate domains of journalism and literature, that is to say, of information and rational-critical argument on the one side and of *belles letters* on the other, brings a particular shifting of reality—even a conflation of different levels of reality."[26] No longer was journalism even an attempt to remain a neutral information source, but it offered overt social commentary that attempted to mold public opinion and collective morality. This was possible because media institutions could now present information and entertainment interchangeably, rationalizing "human-interest" as a common denominator that is more "palatable" for audience consumption, as it allows for interpersonal indulgence as opposed to public use of reason. This, for Habermas, often fails in showing the public the "true" reality.[27] Although Habermas' work does not fully detail the current media landscape, his scholarship is necessary for readers to understand how media frame theory has developed.

Gregory Bateson, one of the early researchers dealing with "framing" discourse, understands journalism as a distinct environment where rules are changed or embellished to fit the situation at hand. He considers newspapers and other forms of

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[25] Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere.* Cambridge: MIT Press. 2001.
[26] Habermas, p. 70.
[27] Habermas, p. 70.

media as signals, not very different from other biological signals, which, while intrinsic, are also incomplete and lack authenticity. He writes in the 1972 work, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*: "Clearly this realization that signals are signals is by no means complete even among the human species. We all too often respond automatically to newspaper headlines as though these stimuli were direct-object indications of events in our environment instead of signals concocted and transmitted by creatures as complexly motivated as ourselves."[28] These signals, however incomplete they may be, serve as one of society's major tenants for getting information. Based on Habermas' model of media development, these "signals" from media companies are passed on to reporters to be molded into typical frames that help further perpetuate the collective morality. Though media is powerful enough to shape public opinion, it lacks the strength to permanently change any universalized form of morality.

Of course in a modern, technology-rich society, media rarely can be classified as purely "reportage" or "agenda-setting." No matter what form media choose to pass along information, they may be able to heavily influence how readers or viewers perceive their surroundings. Niklas Luhmann takes this idea farther in his 2000 work, *The Reality of the Mass Media,* explaining that "we can speak of the reality of the mass media in another sense, that is, in the sense of what appears to them, or through them to others, to be reality. Put in Kantian terms: the mass media generate a transcendental illusion."[29] Luhmann says that in this logic, media is not in and of itself an operation of society, but ultimately a sequence of observing operations. For Luhmann, the media is

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[28] Bateson, Gregory. "A Theory of Play and Fantasy," *The Game Design Reader: A Rules of Play Anthology.* Katie Salen and Eric Zimmerman eds. Cambridge: The MIT Press. 2006. P. 314-328.
[29] Luhmann, Niklas. *The Reality of the Mass Media.* Great Britain: Polity. 2000.

unable to produce neutrality even under the most stringent circumstances, as all perspectives have to be filtered through an author's own ideological and normative perspectives. This means, according to Luhmann, "conflicts of opinion negotiated in the mass media … operate frequently with diverse causal attributions and thereby lend themselves the appearance of a compact relationship to facts which can no longer be unpicked."[30] In this view, no matter how strongly a reader may suspect that a journalist is writing from a biased perspective, they are never able to go back and separate absolute reality from absolute commentary by the writer. Most media consumers are aware, on some subconscious level, that the news is a re-telling of an actual event after the fact. A reader has missed his or her chance to personally witness an event being described in the media, so he or she must refer to second-hand information about the subject of interest.

Luhmann writes that morality, one of the major tenants upon which modern-day journalism is based, is constructed through media portrayals, and largely uses frames which media need to set a specific agenda. These frames develop in relation to what Luhmann calls "moral intelligence." This may be "defending oneself against circumstances, to stand firm in the face of difficulties and, if need be, to break rules. But ultimately it has to be clear who are the goodies and who are the baddies."[31]

In the context of gentrification protests, media can play a particularly strong role in defining what side is perceived as "moral" and assigning blame to the other side. Luhmann finds this problematic, and refutes the media's construction of morality, stating

[30] Luhmann, p. 77.
[31] Luhmann, p. 78.

that there is no historical or empirical data backing up morality's relation to struggling against enemies, in-group and out-group distinctions, or dissent.[32] Despite this fact, the media clearly do have a significant influence over a population's perception of controversial events, and are one of the primary voices guiding any type of "public morality."

Luhmann's theory regarding the construction of reality does not assume that media's produced reality is absolute, rather that "they leave the illusion of a cognitively accessible reality untouched."[33] So what factors drive reality as seen in the mass media? Traditionally speaking, society performs operations based on *consensus,* according to Luhmann.[34] Consensus is usually based on religious or other cultural markers, also called objects, which represent what is generally acceptable in society while not prohibiting "the opposite" from happening.

However, new technologies are starting to change this dynamic. According to Luhmann, "every explicit communication poses the question of acceptance and rejection anew, puts consensus at stake, knowing full well it is still possible to communicate further even and especially where dissent exists. Under modern conditions, this risking of dissent, this testing of communication by communication, is more or less freed of any inhibitions."[35] New technologies have now opened discussions about issues like gentrification to include non- traditional media. As new technology emerges, traditional media consumers are able to both receive information and set their

[32] Luhmann, p. 79.
[33] Luhmann, p. 92.
[34] Luhmann, p. 100.
[35] Luhmann, p. 100.

own information loose in the public sphere, allowing for more voices on contentious issues than ever before.

These non-traditional media sources may potentially serve as the primary agent for challenging the established hierarchical structure Habermas uses to describe information gathering and disseminating information and how it structures public opinion. Jenkins defines today's media landscape as, "convergence culture, where old and new media collide, where grassroots and corporate media intersect, where the power of the media producer and the power of the media consumer interact in unpredictable ways."[36]

Pavlik, in his research about technologies reshaping media discourse, cites the new technologies publicly available via the internet as a major player in not only reshaping traditional frames, but also giving largely alienated subsets of society a renewed voice in public discourse. Through the prevalence of opinion and information sources on the internet, traditional media frames used by newspapers and other traditional media outlets have less dominance. In fact, Pavlik writes this shift signals a positive information increase:

> By providing the tools to create more contextualized stories, new media at least present the possibility of an expanded news frame that emphasizes broader social and political themes. News consumers increasingly value the diverse perspectives provided by online news sources. Expanded framing may prove

[36] Jenkins, Henry. *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide.* New York: NYU Press. 2006.

central to reengaging an increasingly distrusting and alienated citizenry in a 21st century democracy.[37]

Indeed, to return to our example, groups such as "Zwangsräumungen verhindern" (*stop forced evictions)* have created an organized, internet-based media structure dedicated to dispersing gentrification-related issues through blogging, social media, and collecting traditional media stories related to gentrification. These organizations were able to organize a large group of people in advance of a planned eviction event and, in turn, "re-frame" the event from that of a simple eviction to an under-represented group being manipulated and displaced by larger economic forces at work in the community. While such technological changes seem to "even the playing field," it does not completely subvert the current economic situation. Indeed, money is still a major factor to how wide media can be dispersed among populations, and grassroots organizations still struggle to compete with large distributions of mass media publications.

The following research examines how these frames develop and shift in different forms of media by focusing on one example: the events and activism surrounding the eviction of the Berlin-based Gülbol family. Although the story of this family's eviction from an apartment in Berlin is nothing particularly out of the ordinary, the reaction and subsequent news coverage created an exceptional event—one indicative of new media's increasing power to stir public sentiment.

[37] Pavlik, p. 320.

Chapter 2: Case Study

The Gülbol family's eviction, and the media event surrounding it, is an ideal example for exploring the interrelationship between media, language, and public/political sentiment. For this study, I analyze various publications in an attempt to articulate how mainstream and activist publications chose to frame this event.

The first step is assembling internet news coverage from the day of the eviction, Feb. 14, 2013, for one week, until Feb. 21, 2013, and analyze language usage. The articles' are examined for lengths, reporters decisions about whom to quote, whom or what is given a more prominent voice in the article, and how the Gülbol family is described. This critical period right after a major event offers particularly fertile insight as to what frames media use to describe a situation. Though international coverage could be included as another variable, this thesis focuses on the German-specific context of gentrification, specifically that of Berlin. In addition, user comments and social media participation relating to various stories was left out of the analysis.

I divide my analysis into three types of articles—local, national, and "activist" news coverage. I take a publication's proximity to Kreuzberg and distribution into account as the distinctions for how to separate the publications. After sorting the articles, I compare and contrast the way these articles chose to frame the event. A content-based historical analysis of case studies, histories, and experiments, according

to Yin, addresses “such questions (that) deal with *operational links*” and need “to be traced over time, rather than mere frequencies or incidence.”[38]

This specific case is over one year old, so the main focus of this study is on the immediate aftermath rather than the overall ramifications the Gülbol case had on media discourse about gentrification. How these publications maintained or changed their frame for the story may be a result of more voices being inserted into the debate, or it may show media’s evolving perspective on the Gülbol story due to public outcry over how the family was treated.

Many of the sampled articles come from select media outlets that produced continuing coverage of the event and its aftermath. On the surface, it seems the Gülbol’s family story seems might be the central theme, however media outlets can also use this story to frame other large socio-political issues such as the “right to the city,” or how capitalism is influencing a reunited Berlin.

[38] Yin, Robert. *Case Study Research, Design and Methods 3rd ed.* From: *The Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol. 5.*

Chapter 3: The Gülbol Eviction Backstory

Ali Gülbol and his family moved in 1999 into an apartment in Kreuzberg. The Turkish family was assured, despite the lack of a written contract, that their rent would not increase—it was "the way things were done in Kreuzberg."[39] However, this agreement ended in 2007, when the apartment building's original owners sold the property, and the new ownership raised the monthly rent by 100 Euros. Gülbol, who had put thousands of dollars of renovations into the apartment, was unsuccessful in retaining his previous agreement with the new landlord.

Gülbol took the matter to court, and spent many months fighting the rent increase. A court eventually ruled against him, requiring him to pay back the 40 months of rent increases he did not pay while fighting the ruling. Despite paying this sum, Gülbol claims he was not told that it must be done within two months', and due to lack of a timely repayment, the family was ultimately evicted.[40] The long legal battle gave both journalists and activist groups ample time to pick up on the story, and on the day of the eviction, February 14, 2013, several hundred people gathered to stop the eviction. The police and protesters clashed throughout the day, 15 cars were set on fire, and windows at financial institutions were broken.

National News Coverage

One of the most prominent national voices during and after the eviction was the *Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)*. The cutline from the SZ's coverage the day of the eviction

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[39] "Gülbol Family Eviction Sparks Protests in Kreuzberg," *Spiegel International.* Feb. 15, 2013. Retrieved October 11, 2013 from http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/guelbol-family-eviction-sparks-protests-in-kreuzberg-a-883616.html

[40] "Gülbol" *Spiegel International.*

stated “Polizei wirft Familie Gülbol auf der Strasse.“[41] (*Police throw the family Gülbol on the street).* The *SZ's* report focused on protesters’ opinions and on underlying issues surrounding gentrification. As opposed to many other articles, the *SZ* set to define gentrification while also highlighting groups that are attempting to stop forced evictions:

> Gentrifizierung. Das aus dem Englischen eingedeutschte Wort steht für steigende Mieten und Menschengruppen, die deshalb aus einem bestimmten Stadtteil wegzieht. Für besser Verdienende, die ärmere Einwohner aus einer Wohngegend verdrängen. Die Gruppe ‘Bündnis gegen Zwangsräumungen’ kämpft dagegen, auf ihrer Internetseite nennen die Mitglieder Zwangsräumungen die 'gewalttätigste Form der Gentrifizierung.’
>
> (*Gentrification, that is a Germanified-word from English that stands for rising rents and groups of people who move out of an urban area as a result. Higher-paid people supplant the poor original tenants. The group “Alliance against forced evictions,” fights against such changes; on their website, the members of the group call forced evictions ‘the most violent manifestation of gentrification’*

The article then recounts the details of Gülbol’s legal battles. *Süddeutsche* had to choose what information and whose perspective would lead the story, and decided to explain the fine details of the story much later. A journalist has power to order information pertaining to a particular article in any way he or she would like. For Artur

[41] Lebedew, Artur. “In Kreuzberg haben wir das immer so gemacht,“ *Süddeutsche Zeitung.* Feb. 14, 2013. Retrieved Oct. 15, 2013 from http://www.sueddeutsche.de/geld/zwangsraeumung-und-gentrifizierung-in-kreuzberg-haben-wir-das-immer-so-gemacht-1.1598840

Lebedew, this was a conscious decision to place the details of the legal battle behind the protests occurring in front of the Gülbol family's apartment. He also quoted the activist group, Bündnis gegen Zwangsräumung, before quoting Walter Gietmann, who represented the Bund Deutscher Gerichtsvollzieher (*Associate of German Bailiffs).* Gietmann was given only a moment, saying that 95 percent of all evictions were due to lack of regular, timely rent payments. Interestingly, Ali Gülbol was quoted farther down in the article, and though his comments are just as brief as Gietmann's, the quote choice had far more impact on framing Gülbol as an innocent man who was let down by the German legal system. He says, "Nicht ich habe den Rechtsrahmen verlassen, sondern das Recht hat mich verlassen."[42] (*I did not go outside of the (German) legal framework, rather the law left me.).* This is Gülbol's only direct contribution on the first page of the article. In the second page Gülbol and his family are also conspicuously out of the story. After describing the legal battle, Lebedew describes the two main reasons—one judicial and one economic—why people are suddenly finding themselves fighting rising rents and potential evictions. Lebedew notes that from the judicial side, German renters are typically in a stronger position than landlords. The problem, he notes, is that many people are poorly informed of their rights, so if landlords request people to move out or pay more money, they often feel obliged to do so. Landlords are prone to attempt this, according to Lebedew, because they are in a much stronger position to raise rents. Properties must stay within 20 percent of local rent averages, allowing landlords to raise rents based on price increases in other nearby buildings. In addition, the cost of any modernizations done can be passed along to renters.

[42] Lebedew. "In Kreuzberg."

Early in the article, Lebedew chronicles the judicial fight surrounding the Gülbol family, and how grassroots campaigns have come to support the family's fight to remain in their home. The article noted that the family and activists working on their behalf were able to stop an eviction in October 2012, but the demonstrators "können … diesen *Erfolg* nicht wiederholen."[43] (*the demonstrations could not repeat this success).* Using the term success and placing this information so early in the story, would make it seem as if the author leaned towards siding with the opposition to the forced eviction.

However, an author's choice in story structure and language is only a part of framing a story. Headlines, subheads, cutlines, images, particularly leading images for a story, and order of information all play a significant role in the message a reader receives. A journalist can make comparisons to other similar historical events, which allows the reader to form close connections between two events, grafting any potential emotional reaction from the last instance onto the new story.

The day after the eviction, the *SZ* ran a commentary piece discussing the similarities between the Gülbol family's eviction struggle and West Berlin's battles with rising rents. The sub-heading of the article speaks to the phenomenon of the protest culture, as author Lothar Müller writes, "kaum einer der Demonstranten versteht den Fall wirklich—doch es zeigt den allgemeinen Unmut über Wohnungsknappheit und steigende Mieten."[44] (*Almost none of the demonstrators really understand this case—rather it shows a general discontent over apartment shortages and rising rents).* Müller evokes squatter's fight against Berlin's decay in the 1980s to the current fight that

[43] Lebedew. "In Kreuzberg."
[44] Müller, Lothar. "Ein neuer Häuserkampf," *Süddeutsche Zeitung.* Feb. 15, 2013. Retrieved Oct. 29 from: http://www.sueddeutsche.de/geld/mietpreise-in-berlin-ein-neuer-haeuserkampf-1.1600946

results from the sudden, rapid investment boom in a reunited Berlin. He says that this type of investment "threatens" Berlin's identity: "Das bedroht den Sondernstatus Berlins als einer Metropole, die ihre international ausstrahlende Kulturszene und ihren Tourismus-Boom nicht zuletzt ihrem in Vergleich mit London, Paris, Madrid geringen Miet- und Lebenshaltungniveau verdankte."[45] *(This threatens the special status of Berlin as a metropolis which owes its international, vibrant culture scene and tourist boom to the rent and standard of living comparisons between it and London, Paris, and Madrid).*

Several of the national publications did not immediately cover the event, but had some sort of coverage by the end of the week. *Die Welt,* for instance, ran its first article on Feb. 18, 2014 entitled, "Berliner Polizeichef rechtfertigt Groβaufbot bei Zwangsräumung."[46] (*Berlin Police Chief justifies large police presence at forced eviction).* The leading quote in the article comes from Chief Klaus Kandt, who explained that the large operation was necessary because, "die eingebettet ist in eine extremistische Szene." *(the [eviction] is imbedded in an extremist scene).* The article is approximately 200 words, and the only mention of the situation comes in the last paragraph: „Der Eigentümer des Hauses hatte einer fünfköpfigen türkischstämmigen Familie gekündigt, weil sie eine Mietnachzahlung nicht innerhalb einer vorgegebenen Frist geleistet hatte. Ein Gericht gab dem Vermieter recht." *(The owner of the property evicted a 5-person Turkish family, because they did not pay rent back payments withing a given time frame. A court agreed with the landlord).* Despite the complexity and timeliness of other large, national publications, *die Welt* did not cover this story until

[45] Müller, "Ein neuer Häuserkampf."
[46] DAPD-BLN. "Berliner Polizeichef rechtfertigt Groβaufbot bei Zwangsräumung," *Die Welt.* Feb. 18, 2013. Retrieved Dec. 2, 2013 from: http://www.welt.de/newsticker/news3/article113713485/Berliner-Polizeichef-rechtfertigt-Grossaufgebot-bei-Zwangsraeumung.html

days afterwards, and described the happenings in a simple case of failed rent payments. The publication did not include any information from the family's legal battle, nor did it cite protest groups who came to stop the eviction. *Die Welt* is commonly seen as a more politically conservative publication in Germany, so their interest in covering this story may be limited due to protests being focused around socialist-leaning struggles such as rent increases.

In contrast, the left-leaning *Neues Deutschland (ND),* which has a name retained since its time as the East German Socialist-Unity Party's paper and propaganda organ, took a very different tone to describe the events surrounding the Gülbol eviction. *ND* first ran a story on Feb. 16, titled, "Zwangsräumung hat Nachspiel im Parlament"[47] *(forced eviction has an aftermath in parliament).* The article begins by describing the to-be parliamentary hearing on the legality of forced evictions, and quickly follows with speculation on how much tax-payers spent on the police operation in front of the Gülbol apartment. The lead paragraph ends with writer Martin Kröger stating that:

> "Durch die Anfragen will die Partei übers Abgeordnetenhaus unter anderem in Erfahrung bringen, was der Einsatz der 400 Polizisten am vergangenen Donnerstag gekostet hat. Von ähnlichen Großeinsätzen in der Vergangenheit ist bekannt, dass sie den Steuerzahler sechsstellige Summen kosteten."
>
> *(The party in charge of the House of Representatives wants to use inquiries to find out what the 400-policemen operation this past Thursday cost. Similar large operations in the past have reportedly cost tax payers into six digits).*

[47] Kröger, Martin. "Zwangsräumung hat Nachspiel im Parlament," *Neues Deutschland.* Feb. 16, 2013. Retrieved Nov. 14, 2013 from: http://www.neues-deutschland.de/artikel/813077.zwangsraeumung-hat-nachspiel-im-parlament.html

Though the *ND* article does go into the complexities of the legal framework of forced evictions and police involvement, it does not contextualize the story for readers who are unfamiliar with the topic of forced evictions or the Gülbol family's story. This could be justified in two ways: either the publication makes the assumption that most of its readership is already so familiar with the story that no context is needed, or that the actual details of the Gülbol family's troubles are secondary to what their situation represents for equal housing opportunities and affordable rents in Berlin. To date, *ND* is a self proclaimed "Socialist daily", and its content focuses more on news analysis than news gathering.

On Feb. 19, the day after Berlin's Police Chief defended his offices resource expenditure, *ND* ran an article titled "Zwangsräumung spaltet Rot-Schwarz"[48] *(Forced eviction splits [the SPD political party] and [the CDU political party].* This storyalso analyses the political aftermath surrounding the eviction. Writer Martin Kröger again uses the story anecdotally, and focuses on the infighting between two parties running the local coalition government. The more liberal of the two parties, the SPD, felt that the protests from "leftist extremists" should not be ignored, while CDU politicians defended the Police Chief's view that the general readiness of protests to use force left the police with no other options. Kröger;s story did not provide any further background about the family or the actual event, but focused on its implications and conflicts on societal and governmental levels.

[48] Kröger, Martin. " Zwangsräumung spaltet Rot-Schwarz," *Neues Deutschland.* Feb. 19, 2013. Retrieved Jan 30, 2014 from: http://www.neues-deutschland.de/artikel/813326.zwangsraeumung-spaltet-rot-schwarz.html

The national publication *der Freitag* also covered the protests as they happened. The newspaper ran the story "Eine Berliner Linie"[49] *(A Berlin Line)* and author Sebastien Nekyia begins the story with a comparison to Spanish protests over forced evictions, though the story's sub-head uses very choice language to describe the situation: "Heute wurde mit einem polizeilichen Großaufgebot die fünfköpfige Familie Gölbul unter dem Protest von 1000 AnwohnerInnen und DemonstrantInnen auf die Straße gesetzt." *(Today, surrounded by 1000 neighbors and demonstrators, the family Gülbol was sat out on the street with the help of a large police operation).* Yet again, the author makes a choice to reference the Gülbol's suffering even though they are barely mentioned in the article (and the family's name is misspelled). Nekyia's article gives readers spectacular imagery of the scene surrounding the family's home the day of the eviction, but does not go into detail about the family's story. Nekyia goes through the course of the morning, while also summarizing the organizing group, Zwangsräumung verhindern's, role in the protests. *Der Freitag* focused on giving voice to the protesters—both the activists on the streets and politicians opposed to the action—but did not quote any member of the Gülbol family. The article's final sentence seems to summarize the argument Nekyia is making, but is communicated using a quote from Berlin politician Philip Magalski (Piratenpartei) stating that, "Allein dieser unsinnige Hubschraubereinsatz überstiegt die Kosten einer Jahrsmiete." *(This senseless helicopter operation alone exceeds a year's rent).*

Two regional publications also wrote about the eviction, though coverage was limited. The German state of Sachsen's largest daily newspaper, *Freie Presse*,

[49] Nekyia, Sebastien. "Eine Berliner Linie," *der Freitag.* Feb. 14, 2013. Retrieved Jan 29, 2014 from: http://www.freitag.de/autoren/nekyia/eine-berliner-linie

mentioned the event in an approximately 500-word story titled “Polizei setzt Wohnungsräumung gegen Demonstranten durch” *(Police enforce forced eviction despite demonstrators).*[50] The story byline was the large German wire service Deutsche Presse Agentur (DPA). The article never mentions the Gülbol family by name, nor does it quote any protesters or representatives of the police. Similarly, the *Schwäbische Zeitung,* a southwestern regional paper, published an DPA article with the same headline and with only slightly reworded story text.[51] Both articles used the same image, a photograph of a police officer’s back facing a large group of protestors. The angle of the picture shows that the DPA photographer was standing from behind the police lines rather than in the midst of the protests themselves.

The left image was the leading picture for both DPA articles in Freie Presse *and* Schwäbische Zeitung. *The image on the right was the lead picture for* der Freitag’s *coverage of the Gülbol eviction. Image credit: Left-Florian Schuh; Right: der Freitag.*

[50] DPA. “Polizei setzt Zwangsräumung gegen Demonstranten durch,” *Freie Presse.* Feb. 14. 2013. Retrieved Jan. 8, 2014 from: http://www.freiepresse.de/NACHRICHTEN/DEUTSCHLAND/Berliner-Polizei-setzt-Wohnungsraeumung-gegen-Demonstranten-durch-artikel8265974.php

[51] DPA. ““Polizei setzt Zwangsräumung gegen Demonstranten durch,” *Schwäbische Zeitung.* Feb. 14, 2013. Retrieved Jan. 8, 2014 from: http://www.schwaebische.de/politik/politik-aktuell_artikel,-Berliner-Polizei-setzt-Wohnungsraeumung-gegen-Demonstranten-durch-_arid,5393410.html.

Many of Germany's largest national publications, such as *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Bild Zeitung, die Zeit,* or *Frankfurter Rundschau* did not cover the story at all. The specific locality of the story may have been a factor behind the lack of coverage. While national publications also must deal with creating and maintaining a sense of "identity" for readers, and editors must grapple with whether coverage of a large-scale protest over the eviction of a family of Turkish origin may give readers the impression of advocacy journalism. In a traditional model of journalism based on the media's construction of reality set forth by Habermas, many German citizens would not have heard anything of the Gülbol family's story. However, new media forms were able to organize nearly 1,000 people in protest and generate timely coverage, informing more and more people as word of the event spread. As such, new media acted to keep the conversation alive in the public sphere far longer national publications might have afforded it

Berlin-based media coverage

Naturally, coverage of the eviction was heavier in Berlin-based media outlets. In fact, many Berlin newspapers published more than one story about the event on February 14th. In addition, many of the newspapers' coverage continued throughout the week, particularly on February 18th, the day Berlin's police commissioner clarified the large-scale police operation.

Berlin-based *der Tagesspiegel* structured its coverage of the event in a fairly straightforward manner. The paper ran one story on the day of the eviction, titled, "Aktivisten protestieren bei Polizeieinsatz in Lausitzer Straße" *(Activists protest police*

operation in Lausitzer Street,) a straight-forward, news-style headline. The beginning paragraphs of the article make very little mention of the background story, choosing instead to focus on numbers of the protesters, police on site, and the times of events.[52] Writing this story in the classic "inverted pyramid" style distances the reader from the actual family involved, dehumanizing the event. The article does quote Gülbol, but then proceeds to discuss the U1 line in Berlin being stopped by the protests.

Perhaps *der Tagesspiegel* had no interest in getting focusing on the family's eviction. But the publication continued to cover the story closely, and began to exhibit signs of politicizing the story as the week continued. For example, the very next day, the paper published an article titled, "Sie wohnen hier nicht mehr," *(they don't live here anymore)*.[53] The story, close to 1,000 words, goes into much greater detail about the Gülbol family's personal struggle to keep their apartment and their current situation. The headline comes directly from the article's last sentence, which cites a police officer who reportedly taunted Ali Gülbol by telling him that he did not live in his apartment anymore. Despite the story's focus on Gülbol, writers Tanja Buntrock and Tiemo Rink seemed to locate the event as a symbol of Berlin's general frustrations over rising rents and lower income renters being forced out of the center of the city. The article also carefully articulates protest violence, writing: "Während die Proteste an der Lausitzer Straße größtenteils friedlich bleiben, kommt es bei der darauf folgenden Demonstration mehrerer hundert Menschen vereinzelt zu Sachbeschädigungen, die Polizei nimmt zehn

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[52] Waleczek, Torben, Tiemo Rink and Tanja Buntrock. "Aktivisten protestieren bei Polizeieinsatz in LausitzerStraβe,"*der Tagesspiegel.* Feb. 14, 2013. Retrieved Nov. 2, 2013 from http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/polizei-justiz/zwangsraeumung-in-kreuzberg-aktivisten-protestieren-bei-polizeieinsatz-in-lausitzer-strasse/7781976.html

[53] Buntrock, Tanja and Tiemo Rink. "Sie wohnen hier nicht mehr," *der Tagesspiegel.* Feb. 15, 2013. Retrieved Nov. 28, 2013 from: http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/sie-wohnen-hier-nicht-mehr/7786246.html

Demonstranten fest.“ *(Although the protests in Lausitzer Street largely remained peaceful, following demonstrations of several hundred people left some property damage, and the police arrested 10 demonstrators.)* Though the article details the violence that followed the evictions—cars being set on fire, windows to banks being smashed, and police needing to subdue protesters with pepper spray—the article framed this as symptoms or results of the forced eviction rather than mere violence.

The *Tagesspiegel* took this issue a step further, publishing another article on February 15th titled, “Verlief die Zwangsräumung unrechtmäβig?”[54] *(Was this forced eviction illegal?).* This article mentions the prior day’s eviction, but focuses on the impending legal battle between the family and the city. The first sentence of the article states that not only does a parliamentary fight seem likely but some Berlin politicians were already on the side of the family. “Abgeordnete von Linkspartei und Piraten stellen infrage, ob bei dem Einsatz alles rechtmäßig gelaufen ist.“ *(Officials from the Left Party and the Pirate Party are questioning whether the [eviction] operation was conducted in a legal manner).* The article then details which issues parliament would likely take up when debating the issue—the legality of the eviction and the cost to taxpayers for the large police operation. Only then does the article give a short recap of the eviction story.

Throughout the rest of the week, *der Tagesspiegel* framed the incident to reflect poorly on police officials. The next article about the eviction appeared on February 17th, and the 500–700 word article detailed leftist politicians’ worries and complaints about how the procedure was handled and whether taxpayers were being stuck with an

[54] Buntrock, Tanja. “Verlief die Zwangsräumung unrechtmäβig?,“ *der Tagesspiegel.* Feb. 15, 2013. Retrieved Jan. 8, 2014 from: http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/polizeieinsatz-wird-thema-im-parlament-verlief-die-zwangsraeumung-unrechtmaessig-/7792830.html

unnaturally high bill for the operation. The article, "Lederer ruft zu massive Widerstand gegen Zwangsräumungen auf,[55]" *(Lederer calls for massive opposition to forced evictions)*, has a sub-heading that not only describes politicians calls for protests against forced eviction, but also notes that one Green Party politician, Dirk Behrendt, actually looked into filing a criminal complaint against the female bailiff charged with repossessing the apartment, as she was impersonating a police officer by wearing a police vest when being escorted into the building. Though more mainstream politicians that stood by the police were quoted in the article, they were not given a voice until the 5th paragraph, where Berlin's Social-Democratic Party (SPD) construction policy leader, Iris Spranger, is quoted briefly by saying, "wenn ein Mieter bewusst gegen alles verstößt und nicht zahlt, muss eine Räumung möglich sein." *(If a renter knowingly infringes against all [rules] and does not pay, an eviction has to be possible).* After this paragraph, neither of the two parties who defended the police action, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) nor the Social Democrats, are quoted again. Hasselmann and Kneist made editorial decisions to only print a singular voice from the conservative parties' representatives, and also chose a quote that framed the party as callous towards the plight of those being evicted and out of touch with the situation at hand.

The last article *der Tagesspiegel* ran in the week following the eviction followed up with parliamentary proceedings about the eviction and the police commissioner's defense of his department's actions. Though the subhead presented both perspectives during the proceedings, the headline primes readers' emotional reactions to the story by

[55] Hasselmann, Jörn and Sigrid Kneist. "Lederer ruft zu massive Widerstand gegen Zwangsräumungen auf," *der Tagesspiegel.* Feb. 17, 2013. Retrieved Jan. 8, 2014 from: http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/politischer-ungehorsam-lederer-ruft-zu-massivem-widerstand-gegen-zwangsraeumungen-auf/7797912.html

taking a quote from Police Commissioner Kandt later in the article as he describes the department's decision to camouflage the bailiff as "taktische(r) List" *(tactical deceit).* Throughout the article, the writers give voice to all parties involved in the meeting—police officials and politicians on both sides of the debate. Notably absent, though, are Ali Gülbol and his family. In the first paragraph, a sentence is linked to a previous story about the Gülbol, but that is the only time the family is mentioned.

The *Berliner Morgenpost* covered the Gülbol story significantly different than *Der Tagesspiegel.* The day of the eviction, the *Berliner Morgenpost* ran three separate articles detailing some aspect of the eviction. The two main news pieces of the day handled the story from largely separate perspectives. In the first, "Polizei nimmt nach Sitzblockade 10 Protestierer fest"[56] *(Police arrest 10 protesters after sit in).* Gülbol is never mentioned by name, and the article does not go into detail about the background story, choosing to maintain focused on the events of the day. Police had to help the bailiff "blaze a trail" *(bahnten den Weg).* The article begins by setting the scene of eviction-based protests in Berlin, and refers to the Gülbol eviction as a symbol of discontent:

> In Berlin wird seit Jahren über steigende Mieten und die Verdrängung von Mietern in Innenstadtbezirken diskutiert. Eine Zwangsräumung in Kreuzberg wurde nun zum Symbol für den Streit. Hunderte Polizisten bahnten einer Gerichtsvollzieherin den Weg.

[56] DPA/EPD/sei, "Polzei nimmt nach Sitzblockade 10 Protestierer fest," *Berliner Morgenpost.* Feb. 14, 2013. Retrieved Jan 8, 2014 from: http://www.morgenpost.de/berlin-aktuell/article113629323/Polizei-nimmt-nach-Sitzblockade-10-Protestierer-fest.html

Doch trotz der Proteste und Blockadeversuche ist am Donnerstagmorgen die Mietwohnung einer fünfköpfigen Familie an der Lausitzer Straße 8 mit Unterstützung der Polizei geräumt worden. Die Beamten brachten die Gerichtsvollzieherin über ein anderes Haus und Hinterhöfe an den Demonstranten vorbei zu der Wohnung, wie der Berliner Grünen-Abgeordnete Turgut Altug berichtete.

(The debate over rising rents and displacement has been discussed in Berlin for years. A forced eviction in Kreuzberg has now become a symbol for the fight. Hundreds of police blazed a trail for the bailiff.

But despite the protests and the blockade attempt, the apartment of a five-person family at Lausitzer Street 8 was vacated with the help of police. Officers brought the bailiff through another house and back courtyard past the demonstrators, reported Green Party official Turgut Altug).

Throughout the first 150–200 words, readers have little to base the event on other than general discontent with gentrification in Berlin. In this telling of the story, the *Berliner Morgenpost* quickly grafts gentrification as the most important issue at hand, leaving out the fate of the Gülbol family completely.

The accompanying article of the day was, according to the headline, about the protests surrounding the eviction. However, the story, "Sitzblockade sollte Räumung in Berlin-Kreuzberg verhindern,"[57] *(Sit in was to stop eviction in Berlin-Kreuzberg),* does

[57] DPA/PLET/sei. "Sitzblockade sollte Räumung in Berlin-Kreuzberg verhindern," *Berliner Morgenpost*. Feb. 14, 2014. Retrieved Jan. 8, 2014 from: http://www.morgenpost.de/berlin-aktuell/article113621294/Sitzblockade-sollte-Raeumung-in-Berlin-Kreuzberg-verhindern.html

not quote any protestors, explain any of the organized groups organizing the protests, and repeats similar police-based information from the neighboring story. The *Berliner Morgenpost's* editorial position remained very distant from the protesters and their complaints through the day's coverage, and was very careful not to go into greater detail with the personal story of the Gülbol family. Maintaining an impersonal level of detail with the family in addition to highlighting property damage by protesters in both articles keeps readers detached from personal side of the story, framing the event more as a radical event than a struggle for neighborhood diversity.

The only follow-up by the *Berliner Morgenpost* came the day that police commissioner Kandt gave his defense of the police action. The article is only about 300 words, leads off with commissioner Kandt stating that the large police operation was needed due to the threat of left-wing extremists, and that police were legally obliged to help the bailiff secure the property.[58] The *Berliner Morgenpost's* coverage of the event was clearly never focused on neither the personal story of the Gülbol family nor the voices of the protesters coming to blockade the eviction. Any quoted material came from police officials, and the account of the operation was largely told from the police perspective. Green Party politicians are briefly quoted in the articles, but not quoted in any detail; they merely confirm that the family was already moved out by the time the eviction was set to occur.

[58] *Berliner Morgenpost.* "Polizeipräsident verteidgt Groβeinsatz bei Zwangsräumung," *Berliner Morgenpost.* Feb. 18, 2013. Retrieved Jan. 8, 2014 from: http://www.morgenpost.de/berlin-aktuell/article113714218/Polizeipraesident-verteidigt-Grosseinsatz-bei-Zwangsraeumung.html

Other local publications had little interest in telling the Gülbol family's story. In their account of the eviction, "Protest gegen Räumung in der Lausitzer Straβe"[59] *(Protest against eviction on Lausitzer Street),* Berlin-based *BZ* also did not touch on the long-standing legal battle between Gülbol and the apartment owners. The beginning of the story recounts very basic details:

> "Eine Gerichtsvollzieherin hat in der Lausitzer Straße 8 in Kreuzberg mit massiver Polizeiunterstützung die Wohnung einer türkischen Familie geräumt. Die Familie hatte die Wohnung schon vor Tagen verlassen und war bei Verwandten untergekommen.
>
> Der ehemalige Mieter Ali Gülbol war am Donnerstagmorgen vor Ort, gab Interviews. Ihm und seiner vierköpfigen Familie war gekündigt worden, weil er eine Mietnachzahlung nicht innerhalb der vorgegebenen Frist beglichen hatte."
>
> ("*A Bailiff, with massive police assistance, repossessed the apartment of a Turkish family. The family had already left the apartment days ago, moving in with relatives.*
>
> *The former renter, Ali Gülbol, was on location Thursday morning and gave interviews. He and his family of four were evicted because he did not pay back payments on rent within a given deadline).*

Once again, readers are given very little context of neither of the Gülbol's legal battles nor of the fact that Gülbol did completely pay the back-payments of rent in their

[59] "Protest gegen Räumung in der Lausitzer Straβe," *BZ.* Feb. 14, 2013. Retrieved Jan. 8, 2014 from: http://www.bz-berlin.de/bezirk/kreuzberg/raeumung-blockade-in-lausitzer-strasse-article1639105.html

entirety, just not quickly enough. Interestingly, though, *BZ* ran two short videos showing police driving into the protest areas, marching in large numbers, and moving to secure the area during the eviction. Nothing in the videos paints the police in a particularly negative light, but does briefly highlight the general temperate climate during the protests. Readers do not see furious protesters setting cars on fire, rather just a somewhat large group standing nearby as the police march through the area. Though the article itself is only 400–500 words, the videos of police action extend the article and gives readers as close to an eye witness account as possible. The seemingly peaceful exchange between the police and protesters in the video was framed to show a particular version of the eviction—*BZ* did not film Gülbol speaking in front of his home, any protesters that were on site, or any clashes between police and protesters. The videos closely align with the detailed telling of what actions police took to conduct the operation, describing the situation as largely orderly and commonplace.

Several days later as commissioner Kandt defended the police's actions, *BZ* took a slightly different tone. The article's headline is eye-catching in comparison to many others referencing Kandt's hearing—"815 Polizisten waren bei Zwangsräumung"[60] (*815 Police part of forced eviction).* In their previous article about the eviction, *BZ* reported that police said 400 officers took part in the operation[61]. The article also leads like many others by summarizing Kandt's claims about leftist radicals and the need for the large operation, and then summarizes various violent acts around Berlin that were potentially connected to the protests or protest groups.

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[60] "815 Polizisten waren bei Zwangsräumung," *BZ.* Feb. 18, 2013. Retrieved Jan. 8, 2014 from: http://www.bz-berlin.de/bezirk/kreuzberg/815-polizisten-waren-bei-zwangsraeumung-article1641221.html

[61] "Protest gegen Räumung in der Lausitzer Straβe," *BZ.* Feb. 14, 2013. Retrieved Jan. 8, 2014 from: http://www.bz-berlin.de/bezirk/kreuzberg/protest-gegen-raeumung-in-der-lausitzer-strasse-article1639105.html

The *Berliner Zeitung* also ran detailed coverage of the event, with three articles appearing within 24 hours of the event, and two more in the following week. Unlike the *Berliner Morgenpost* and *BZ,* the *Berliner Zeitung* had two articles written by a non-DPA reporter the day of the event, though one of the stories was syndicated. Even by printing a DPA story that never mentioned the Gülbol family by name, the paper gave slight favor in coverage to the Gülbol family's background story and the reasons for the protest action. The DPA piece gave a very straight-forward account of the morning's events, with the first paragraph giving a rough estimate of police, stating that those who would not get up were arrested, and at touching on Berlin's long-standing fight over rent prices.[62] In the latter half of the story, Ali Gülbol's account of the morning, and how police threatened to beat down his door 12 minutes before his 9:00 a.m. eviction was scheduled, and the article closes by mentioning how several cars were caught on fire and the possible connections between protesters and the arsons.

The staff-written news article by *Berliner Zeitung* reporter Andreas Kopietz framed the Gülbol family's struggle as a more central theme. The first two paragraphs of the story detail the eviction day's events; there is a section break, then Kopietz details Gülbol's legal battle over several paragraphs in the next section.[63] Even the article's title, "Auf der Straβe" *(on the street)* frames the story as a personal struggle of a family who has been kicked out of their home. This frame is also misappropriated, as many articles pointed out that the family had already moved out of the apartment and were

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[62] DPA/bb. "Blockade wirkungslos: Polizei setzt Wohnungsräumung durch," *Berliner Zeitung.* Feb. 14, 2013. Retrieved Jan. 8, 2014 from: http://www.berliner-zeitung.de/berlin/hunderte-demonstranten-gegen-zwangsraeumung-in-kreuzberg,10809148,21801284,view,asTicker.html

[63] Kopietz, Andreas. "Auf der Straβe," *Berliner Zeitung.* Feb. 14, 2013. Retrieved Jan. 8, 2014 from: http://www.berliner-zeitung.de/berlin/zwangsraeumung-lausitzer-strasse-auf-der-strasse,10809148,21801110.html

living with relatives. Kopietz makes sure to mention Gülbol's profession, master painter, within the story's lead, and highlights that the police threatened to break in the door 12 minutes early. What Kopietz does do, though, is make sure to scrupulously detail the legal battle between the building owner and Gülbol, and highlights the technicality that ultimately cost Gülbol his home:

> Das Landgericht fand im Juni 2011 deutliche Worte, weil Gülbol nach mehrjährigem Streit die aus der Mieterhöhung resultierenden Rückstände nicht ausglich. Die Zahlungspflicht ergebe sich unmittelbar nach dem Urteil des Amtsgerichts, urteilte das Landgericht als höhere Instanz in der Berufungsverhandlung. Nach drei Monaten, als Gülbol immer noch nicht gezahlt hatte, habe der Kläger die Wohnung gekündigt, obwohl er dies bereits nach zwei Monaten hätte können. Deshalb bescheinigte das Landgericht Gülbol „eine nicht unerhebliche Pflichtverletzung". Erst als schließlich die Räumungsklage einging, zahlte der Mieter die Rückstände.
>
> *(The regional court gave definitive ruling in 2011, because Gülbol had not paid the extra rent in question during the multi-year court battle. After three months in which Gülbol had not yet paid the back payments, the plaintiff evicted him, although he could have given the family two more months. Therefore, the regional court certified Gülbol had been negligently delinquent in his payments. As soon as the eviction notice went through, the renter paid the back payments).*

After describing the fight in such detail, Kopietz has another section break, titled "chaotische Szenen" *(chaotic scenes).* The section begins by using imagery to paint a

picture of the protests in dramatic fashion. The first paragraph talks about a helicopter crossing through the air and a "joust" beginning, where police brought out pepper spray and protesters using loudspeakers to shout that "ganz Berlin hasst die Polizei" *(all of Berlin hates the police).* Kopietz describes the violence that ensued in great detail, but never uses any language placing judgment on the event. The reporter's story was well-researched and detailed—500–750 words in length.

Like other publications, the *Berliner Zeitung's* next major day for coverage about the Gülbol eviction came on February 18th, when commissioner Kandt defended his department's operation. The *Berliner Zeitung* ran a news piece on the hearing as well as an article giving a more personal look at the Gülbol family titled, "Zwangsräumung: Ali Gülbols Kampf"[64] *(forced evictions: Ali Gülbol's struggle)*. The news piece, "Polizeipräsident rechtfertigt Groβeinsatz"[65] *(Police chief justifies large operation),* was a syndicated news piece very similar to most DPA articles published about the hearing on the same day. The story is only 250–300 words, gives a brief summary of Kandt's talking points, then closes with a paragraph giving a brief overview of the rent fights in Berlin. The other article from the 18th, however, furthered the *Berliner Zeitung's* earlier editorial decisions to make the Gülbol family the central theme. Annette Heide clearly was in Ali Gülbol's parents' residence with him, as her story very personal and intimate details of a conversation. Gülbol is framed as a family man and highly-qualified worker who was bullied by a new landlord. Heide furthers emphasizes this tone by using a

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[64] Heide, Annette. "Ali Gülbols Kampf," *Berliner Zeitung.* Feb. 18, 2013. Retrieved Jan. 8, 2014 from: http://www.berliner-zeitung.de/berlin/zwangsraeumung-ali-guelbols-kampf,10809148,21862880.html

[65] DPA. "Polizeipräsident rechtfertigt Groβeinsatz," *Berliner Zeitung.* Feb. 18, 2013. Retrieved Jan. 8, 2014 from: http://www.berliner-zeitung.de/berlin/zwangsraeumung-lausitzer-strasse-8-polizeipraesident-rechtfertigt-grosseinsatz--,10809148,21867734.html

section break titled, “Gentrifizierung ist in vollem Gang” *(Gentrification is in full swing),* and ends the article describing how a market selling coffee, bagels, and organic products is right next to the apartment building. She also mentions an exclusive massage parlor and a Swabian restaurant within a short walk of the building. All of these images have traditionally evoked anti-capitalist, and in some cases xenophobic, reactions by long-time Berliners who feel their neighborhoods are being invaded by outside wealth. Though unlike the xenophobic attitudes of Cold-War Berlin, citizens seem to direct their anger and frustration not at ethnic “others,” but rather hyper-capitalistic influences coming into the community and altering the physical landscape. Heide follows Gülbol to a meeting for the initiative “Kotti & Ko” as part of a Turkish-language broadcast about problems with rising rents in Germany, and how immigrants are often some of the worst affected. The *Berliner Zeitung* clearly tried to offer its readers balanced coverage of the Gülbol event by providing traditional inverted-pyramid style stories in addition to commentary by its own reporters.

The Berlin-based publications covered the Gülbol eviction with more detail than its national counterparts, but many of the same over-simplifications appear in much of the local reporting as well. In fact, local publications seemed more prone to define the Gülbol’s eviction as a symbol for general discontent over rent prices than a personal struggle. The main two frames used by local publications painted the case as a simple eviction being used by extreme leftist cells as a symbol to fight with authorities or as a case of economic pressures related to urban change ultimately forcing a family out on the street. Just as Goffman explains, there can be two very different telling of the same story. In both cases, Gülbol and his family’s role in the story is minimized.

Activist Media News Coverage

Many activist groups used the Gülbol eviction as a rallying cry for protests against rent increases and a perceived increasingly hostile housing market in Berlin for the lower and middle-class residents. The largest protest group represented the day of the protests, Zwangsräumungen verhindern *(stop forced evictions),* was one of the principle organizations using social media to help organize the protests. The group posted a message on their blog the following day titled, *"*Danke!" *(thanks)*[66] that was written for those coming to aid in the sit-in. Despite being unable to prevent the eviction, the organization wrote a very upbeat entry about the high turnout. The group also thanks Ali Gülbol, albeit later in the article, and quotes him to close the entry. They thank the Gülbol's fearlessness in coming into the public eye on such an emotional day, and uses Gülbol's quote, "Der Kampf hat gerade erst begonnen" *(the fight is only just beginning)* to show the resolve of this community against forced evictions. This statement was taken in out of the context of Gülbol's general dialogue, and adds an element of "radicalization" in his speech, as "Kampf" *(fight)* is often used by resistance groups and left-wing radicals when describing their struggle against capitalistic structures. The article states that although the protests were ultimately unable to stop the eviction, when 400-800 police officers and a helicopter must be used for one eviction, the government will not be able to keep supporting these actions. One of the other groups represented during the protest actions, Steigende Mieten stoppen (*stop rising rents)* wrote a commentary piece on their website the day after the evictions. The group used a question in the title, asking readers, "Hunderte auf der Straβe gegen

[66] "Danke," *Zwangsräumungen verhindern—wir kommen!* Feb. 15, 2013. Retieved Feb. 2, 2014 from: http://zwangsraeumungverhindern.blogsport.de/2013/02/15/danke/

Zwangsräumung—was ist Erfolg?" *(hundreds on the street against forced evictions—what is success?).*[67] The post also has a positive tone about the protest turn out, but cautions that the events of February 14th could only be viewed as successful after one can observe the outcomes on a political level. Interestingly, what may be one of the saddest and hardest days the family ever went through together—being evicted from the apartment they called home for many years—is being talked about amongst protesters as a success. The Gülbol family is heralded for their bravery, but there is very little direct sympathy conveyed about the family's loss. The group Steigende Mieten stoppen called February 14th both "ein bitterer Tag" (*a bitter day)* and "ein besonderer Tag" *(a special day),* and for the Gülbol family, bitterness is likely to be a far stronger emotion that anything "special" about the large-scale protest on their behalf.

One of the other major organizing groups to spread word of the eviction day protests had no intention of necessarily protesting themselves. The Arbeitskreis kritischer Juristinnen und Juristen an der Humboldt Universität zu Berlin (AKJ) *(The organization of critical lawyers at the Humboldt University of Berlin)* organized and advertised the protest as part of their "Demobeobachtung" campaign. This law student group encourages citizens to come and observe the police at work during demonstrations to assure that both protestors and, in this case, the evicted party's rights are upheld. On the AKJ's website, the group gives its mission statement in both German and English, stating:

[67] Trudelfisch. "Hunderte auf der Straβe gegen Zwangsräumung—was ist Erfolg?" *Steigende Mieten stoppen!* Feb. 15, 2013. Retrieved Jan. 8, 2014 from: http://mietenstopp.blogsport.de/2013/02/15/hunderte-auf-der-strasse-gegen-zwangsraeumung/

> The akj at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin came into existence in February 1996 and is neither a formal association nor a corporation nor any other kind of hierarchically structured organization. More than anything, the akj is an open forum for legal and political discussion. In our capacity as law students we engage primarily in the analysis of the existing legal system and its development. As people with a critical attitude we take the additional liberty to criticize the law and its development, to question it and to point out alternatives.

The organization keeps a blog detailing protests[68], and stated they had 15 observers on the scene near the Gülbol residence between 6:00 a.m. and 11:30 a.m. The report offers very little commentary, though does use strong language in describing police actions the group found to be inappropriate. The blog post used the term "brutale Festnahmen" *(brutal arrests)* to describe how police conducted the operation, and added that, "Die Demonstration wurde von der Polizei zu keinem Zeitpunkt als Versammlung repektiert." *(The police at no point ever respected the demonstrations as a [legal] assembly).* Despite using strong negative language about the police operation, the post is framed as a news report simply chronicling the events that happened. The story is spelled out in chronological order, but with certain word choices and accusations of police excess through the use of bodily harm and pepper spray on the protesters, AKJ is clearly framing the story as peaceful protests being violently interrupted by police brutality. Interestingly, the Gülbol family is only mentioned in the introductory paragraph and there is no specific context for who they are, why they are in this position, or why almost 1,000 protesters came in their support.

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[68] STR. "Polizei räumt wie Diebe hinterrücks übern Hof," *Sondervotum.* Feb. 14 , 2013. Retrieved Feb. 2, 2014 from: http://www.akj-berlin.blogspot.de/2013/02/polizei-raumt-wohnung-wie-diebe.html

Many of these organizations only briefly mention the Gülbol family themselves, and choose to focus instead on some aspect of the protests or the potential outcomes in the political arena. The *Mieterecho,* an news aggregator focused on issues pertaining to renter's rights and run by the organization "Berliner Mieter Gemeinschaft" *(Berlin Renter's Community)* framed the eviction as a potential turning point for local politics. The title of their story on the event, "Durchgesetzte Zwangsräumung ist Offenbarungseid für rot-schwarzen Senat"[69] *(enforced eviction is an admission of failure for the red-black senate),* uses the story to highlight the "farce" of fair housing policies promoted by the CDU-SPD senate in Berlin. Though the article highlights the Gülbol family's struggles in the last paragraph, the majority of the article discusses the political ramifications of allowing this eviction to take place.

The group, "Enough is Enough" wrote a long, scathing piece about the eviction, framing the police actions as violent and illegal. Despite this, the organization's article from the eviction day, "#Lausitzer8 #Berlin: Massiver Widerstand gegen Zwangsräumung—#StopDesahucios,"[70] *(Massive opposition to forced eviction),* focuses on the political backlash after the eviction, framing it as inevitable: "Die Politik hat durch diese Aktion erheblich an Legitimation verloren. Die Mieter*innen erkennen, dass sie ihre Interessen immer gegen und nicht mit dem Staat durchsetzen können. Der soziale Frieden in Berlin ist zumindet vorerst empfindlich gestört." *(Politicians lost significant legitimacy through this action. Renters know that officials are against their own interests*

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[69] "Durchgesetzte Zwangsräumung ist Offenbarungseid für rot-schwarzen Senat," *Mieterecho.* Feb. 14, 2013. Retrieved Jan. 8, 2014 from: http://www.bmgev.de/mieterecho/mieterecho-online/durchgesetzte-zwangsraeumung-ist-offenbarungseid-fuer-rot-schwarzen-senat.html

[70] "#Lausitzer8 #Berlin: Massiver Widerstand gegen Zwangsräumung—#StopDesahucios," *Enough is Enough!* Feb. 14, 2013. Retrieved Feb. 2, 2014 from: http://enough14.org/2013/02/14/lausitzer8-berlin-massiver-widerstand-gegen-zwangsraumung-stopdesahucios/

and they are unable to be [represented] through the state. The social peace in Berlin is at the least considerably troubled). Like most all of the activist-group-based articles, *Enough is Enough* used YouTube videos to show both the protests themselves and the large police contingent arriving at the scene. In addition, the article used other forms of social media to get people involved further. The headline had several Twitter hashtags pertaining to forced evictions, and links to other organizations against the eviction at the bottom of the article.

In addition to videos of the evictions, the group Mieten Wahnsin stoppen *(Stop Rent ridiculousness),* ran a live ticker of events on their website. The story, "Berlin: Polizei setzt Zwangsräumungen durch"[71] *(Berlin: Police enforce eviction),* is only 2 paragraphs describing the situation and how the early morning crowds of protesters and police were beginning to gather. The rest of the article was devoted to small updates, easily accessible for RSS feeds, allowing those interested in the subject to get rapid updates as they happen.

Activist organizations directly involved in protest actions were able to spread information about their goals beyond their own supporters and site viewers. More general groups, such as die Grundrechtkomittee *(the fundamental rights committee)* are not directly involved with eviction-related protests, but put up an announcement shortly before the eviction that highlighted the protests and why they need to be observed. The committee's concern was whether police would violate protesters' rights on the day of the eviction, and, like AKJ, encouraged observers to come and document the event.

[71] "Berlin: Polizei setzt Zwangsräumung durch," *Mieten Wahnsinn stoppen!* Feb. 14, 2013. Retrieved Feb. 2, 2014 from: http://mietenwahnsinn.rechtaufstadt.net/aktuell/berlin-polizei-setzt-zwangsr%C3%A4umung-durch

These grassroots organizations used social media forms and networking amongst themselves as a way to organize and mobilize a large group of protesters to the Gülbol eviction. In addition, through use of video and photography, many of the groups were able to combat "standardized" frames justifying the police action and insert their own frame into the public discourse, one that frames the police as overly aggressive officials that broke laws in order to enforce the law, and used excessive force against a peaceful protest. Like many forms of more traditional media, though, these organizations' coverage of the eviction did not give much voice to the Gülbol family themselves. Despite limited resources, activist publications were seemingly able to deliver detailed and timely accounts of the eviction by using social media to their advantage. In the week surrounding the eviction, a cross search of Twitter hashtags returned 100 different tweets referencing "#Lausitzer8."[72] Various people and groups posted YouTube showing the protests as they were happening. All of these timely updates, as well as various organizations linking to one another, helped give small publications a large voice in the discourse surrounding the Gülbol eviction. In light of how activist publications successfully introduced their own frame into the Gülbol debate, one can see how Luhmann's theory of how every explicit communication questions acceptance and rejection comes into play.[73] Indeed, by using social media and networking between themselves, activist publications created alternative frames from those being primarily used by mass media outlets which chose to focus on the perceived injustice of the eviction and the unacceptable police methods that led to the eviction going through. Telling this story this way framed the police presence not as

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[72] *Topsy.com.* Search results for, "#Lausitzer8" Retrieved Mar. 15, 2014 from: http://topsy.com/s?q=%23lausitzer8&window=a&offset=90

[73] Luhmann, p. 100.

perpetuating protection or stability, but rather as oppression and excess coming from the state. Technology, in this case, helped serve as a “great equalizer,” giving voice to groups who may otherwise not be heard.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

Simmering tensions about urban change in Berlin and disagreements about "selling out the city" seem to be driving the protests far more than the specific individuals involved. The Gülbol family had no transparent connection to any of the neighborhood groups such as "Zwangsräumungen verhindern" which played an instrumental role in mobilizing protesters to the Gülbol's apartment building the day of the eviction. Further, the Gülbol family is often only briefly mentioned in coverage of the event. Certain publications such as *Süddeutsche Zeitung* chose to expand their coverage of the event, and included a profile piece about the Gülbol family, but most DPA articles, and even several local publications, did not even mention the family by name.

Framing the issue of gentrification as the main point may seem to marginalize the family, choosing to focus instead on the larger socio-political issues at work around their eviction. In some publications, the family was framed as tacit supporters of the protests, with Ali Gülbol speaking in front of his old home after being evicted. Gülbol was only briefly quoted about his feelings about the process, only mentioning that he felt the state did not protect his rights and that they would not give up fighting. Other than these brief quotes in several articles—which were often placed in the middle of the article or below—Gülbol is framed as one of the most apolitical figures throughout all coverage relating to his family's eviction.

Though the Gülbol family may not have been the center part of the story, none of the publications discussed how and when the family got to Kreuzberg or overtly

questioned whether the family had the right to be in the neighborhood, and their "otherness" as a Turkish immigrant family was rarely even mentioned. Considering how Kreuzberg was framed as a "Turkish ghetto" even into the 1980s and early 1990s, the frames surrounding the Gülbol protest show a shift in the perception of otherness in Berlin. In the context of housing rights and whether a Turkish family "belongs" in the Kreuzberg neighborhood, there seems to be a shift pertaining to xenophobic attitudes—the issue of ethnicity rarely came up, with the focus instead honing in on economic status and capitalistic notions. This by no means implies that ethnicity and otherness would not be an issue within other societal contexts such as religious practices or values different from traditional, conservative, "German" values. These protests highlight how questions surrounding Turkish "otherness" in Berlin have changed over time. Excluded from fair and equal treatment in the past, Turkish immigrants and Turkish identity in Kreuzberg is something for Germans to protest for rather than against. This Turkishness is now part of the "all inclusive" revitalization efforts in many of Berlin's neighborhoods. Possibly in response to non-traditional media coverage, even conventional mass media outlets were quick to give voice to protest groups—in many cases giving them a more prominent voice in the coverage than police and government officials. By giving these protest groups a prominent voice rather than focusing on government officials, mass media sources framed the reasons behind the protests as the center part of the story rather than the eviction itself. The Gülbol's specific situation was not what needed to be highlighted in most publications; instead, they served as a representation for protesters battling larger-scale socio-economic changes in Berlin. The outrage surrounding the protests seems to stem from the "right to the city"

argument. Protesters defended the “traditional” other as having a right to live as any other German citizen does, while attacking the forces driving gentrification in Berlin. Perhaps Ali Gülbol was “assimilated” enough to be defended as part of the neighborhood fabric. Gülbol spoke proper German, was a highly qualified painter, and was a long-time resident of Kreuzberg.

No matter what motivations were behind the protests to protect Gülbol and his family, the fact they occurred in such grand fashion exemplifies the interplay between media and social movements. Many long-time Berliners see gentrification as a a process of dividing the city and selling its parts off to outside investment, and fundamentally changing the social landscape that existed during the Cold War and immediately after unification. Though this does describe the process of gentrification in Berlin, gentrification may have also had a potentially unintended consequence—it has torn down old definitions of “otherness” based on religious and ethnic lines, and united groups of people to protect the neighborhood fabrics they themselves have sewn. Media has served as a catalyst for this unification, as interactions between national, local, and advocacy publications have highlighted the complexities and external factors driving gentrification in Berlin. As technology has made information more timely and accessible to more people, citizens start to question old models of “belonging” and “otherness.” Change, for many in Berlin, can only take place if the popular catchphrase among protesters, “wir bleiben alle!” *(we are all staying!)* is respected and upheld.

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- http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yr8d0csjcj8
- http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F-ZPJBkeTsw
- http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g0xLEsntfeo
- http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=INFWGnhyepc
- http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2dhfR00Eg0g
- http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Nl8PFV8i4s

Vita

Eric Gedenk was born in Chicago, Illinois to the parents of Daniel and Catherine Gedenk. He is the first of three children. Eric moved to Seymour, Tennessee in his elementary school days, and attended Seymour Primary, Middle, and High School. Eric enrolled in the University of Tennessee in 2007, majoring in Journalism and Electronic Media. His interest in German culture was piqued during his introductory German courses, and he decided to pursue a double major in German. He obtained his Bachelor of Science degree in May, 2012, and enrolled in the University of Tennessee's graduate German program. The first year of his graduate education was spent in Stuttgart, Germany where he studied at the University of Stuttgart. He graduated with a Masters of Arts degree in German language and literatures in Spring/Summer, 2014.