Article

EUROPEAN URBAN AND REGIONAL STUDIES

European Urban and Regional Studies
2017, Vol. 24(3) 290–303

DOI: 10.1177/0969776416637208
journals.sagepub.com/home/eur
SAGE

Staging a 'Chinatown' in Berlin: The role of city branding in the urban governance of ethnic diversity

Antonie Schmiz
Universität Osnabrück, Germany; Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Germany

Abstract

Migration is predominantly directed towards cities that have been facing a highly competitive global environment within the last 30 years of globalisation. Against the background of economic restructuring, cities are looking for new forms of city branding. In this process, ethno-cultural diversity is increasingly regarded as an asset, leading to the branding of migrant neighbourhoods, especially those characterised by migrant economies. These agglomerations of shops, cafés and restaurants provide places of leisure and consumption for cosmopolitan urbanites. This paper shows how Berlin's municipal politicians failed in staging 'Chinatowns' and 'Asiatowns' as ethnically branded commercial districts and argues that the Vietnamese migrants who are primarily addressed by these projects are not readily marketable by a city-branding approach. The assumed common identity of Asian migrants in Berlin and the city's top-down municipal approach contradict the structures of the heterogeneous group of Vietnamese residents. This paper traces Berlin's transition from a reactive to a proactive approach in the marketing of ethno-cultural diversity. My approach is to embed the Dong Xuan Centre in Berlin-Lichtenberg, a Vietnamese-run wholesale centre that was founded through Vietnamese agency, in the local discourse on Asia- and Chinatowns. The study shows that the centre's management appears to be an active agent in the branding process of the project, modelling itself after the global brand of 'Chinatown'. However, the centre's vision of a place of cultural life and trade contradicts German planning laws, a conflict that has led to ongoing negotiations between the centre's management and the district government, thereby hindering its branding.

Keywords

Berlin, city branding, Chinatown, ethnic diversity, entrepreneurship, urban governance, Vietnamese

Introduction

When looking to major North American metropoles such as New York, San Francisco and Toronto, as well as to Berlin's European neighbours London, Paris and Amsterdam, Berlin's aspirations to establish a 'Chinatown' can be understood as part of a global competition. In this competition for tourism, creative and knowledge workers, and ethno-cultural diversity, new city-branding strategies are sought and developed. As will be shown in this paper, Berlin has an interest in developing a Chinatown. I argue that the applied planning approaches and the super-diversity of the targeted group of Asian migrants in

Corresponding author:
Antonie Schmiz, Universität Osnabrück, Department of Geography and Institute of Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS), 49069 Osnabrück, Germany.
Email: antonie.schmiz@uni-osnabrueck.de

Berlin contradict a clear image of 'Chinatown'. The term 'super-diversity' goes beyond defining diversity in terms of ethnicity, but suggests considering a multiplicity of interacting variables, which include immigration status, age, gender, religion, identity, language, occupation, education, locality and degree of transnational engagement (Vertovec, 2007: 1044).

The development of migrant districts into conspicuous attractions, as attempted in Berlin, has been studied in cities around the globe (McClinchey, 2008; Novy, 2012b; Rath, 2005; Shaw, 2011; Shaw et al., 2004; Young et al., 2006; Zukin, 1996). By referring to this literature, I show that the branding of ethno-cultural diversity is a process that is only applied to certain ethnic groups. I thereby address the research gap regarding the question of why certain ethnic groups are more 'valuable' for branding than others. In this light, I argue that the differing marketability of ethno-cultural groups influences political practice in neoliberal urban development.

These entrepreneurial urban policies are inspired by neoliberal thinkers such as Richard Florida, whose 'three T' cites tolerance, talent and technology as premises for success in city competition. According to Florida, ethno-cultural diversity contributes to an open and tolerant climate in which innovation and creativity can flourish, and thus provides a basis for economic success. Critics of Florida's ideas address his reductionist interpretation of culture that provides a tool by which the contributions of culture to economy can be measured and used as a basis for neoliberal urban policies (Gibson and Kong, 2005: 545). Critics further address his neglect of social inequality and increasing social polarisation as outcomes of creative city strategies (Musterd and Murie, 2010: 4).

As shown in the German context, new proactive policies replaced the former reactive approaches that addressed problems and challenges facing migrant integration in terms of the labour market, education and housing (Puetz and Rodatz, 2013). Responsible policy-making shifted from the integration divisions of German municipal governments to the tourism and economic development divisions. This new proactive approach is embedded in international neoliberal discourse, which stresses the opportunities presented by ethno-cultural diversity to revalue the image of declining neighbourhoods and capitalise on city branding through migrants' economic and cultural activities (Aytar and Rath, 2012; Rath, 2005; Shaw, 2011). In this process, the stage of neoliberal restructuring of each city influences migrants and their locations in urban economies, culture and politics.

At the same time, migrants themselves contribute to the struggles of repositioning these cities within the national and global hierarchy. As shopkeepers, citizens or migrant organisation members, they become active agents in the cultural representation of their city and thereby facilitate neoliberal governance (Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2009: 189). Therein, their degree of community organisation and ability to mobilise community resources (such as a shared ethnic identity) determines their prospective influence on urban development processes. For example, this strategic use of ethnic identity is demonstrated by a variety of ethnic groups through Berlin's Carnival of Cultures and Toronto's annual Canadian Hispanic Day Parade. By the Hispanics' strategy of 'strategic spatial essentialism', defined as the production of locally grounded identities to gain political influence, they gain a spatial representation (Veronis, 2007: 466). These forms of identity-building and spatial representation form an important precondition for the marketing of ethnic places. Migrant shops also contribute to the revaluation of urban neighbourhoods by revitalising commercial infrastructure and by providing space for social interaction (Nuissl and Schmiz, 2015; Puetz and Rodatz, 2013: 174).

Considering this issue, this paper focuses on the economic activities of Vietnamese migrants and their spatial representation in Berlin. By analysing a Vietnamese wholesale centre, which is currently being developed into an 'Asiatown', and by contrasting it with other China- and Asiatown projects in Berlin, local urban development strategies are questioned. The naming of the mainly Vietnamese site as 'Chinatown' and later on as 'Asiatown' is just one of the conflicts that emerge from the urban development of a super-diverse migrant population. As the empirical material shows, Vietnamese culture per se is not the target of marketing initiatives; rather, Vietnamese communities are included as strategic

partners in plans for Chinatown projects. Despite the interest in the visibility of Asian culture in the city, Berlin does not consider Vietnamese economic activities marketable simply because there is no role model for a 'Vietnamtown'.

Rethinking migration in urban development

Metropolitan stakeholders and urban planners increasingly recognise migrants and their ethno-cultural diversity as a resource for the promotion of cities as 'world cities' (Boudreau et al., 2009: 95; Brantz et al., 2012: 21; Hannerz, 1996: 127ff.). In the perception and handling of this form of diversity, different factors play a role at the communal level, such as immigration traditions, local history and total and relative numbers of migrants (Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2009). Against the background of neoliberal economic restructuring, certain 'marketable' traditions and images from migrants' countries of origin have become an asset for entrepreneurial cities that are now looking for new, all-encompassing methods to promote themselves as globally unique brands to enforce market-oriented economic growth (Boudreau et al., 2009; Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Colomb, 2012: 11; Hospers, 2008; Mayer, 2007: 91; Peck and Tickell, 2002). These processes, which have been labelled as 'city marketing' since the 1980s, can be traced back to the 19th century (Biskup and Schalenberg, 2008; Ward, 1998). Likewise, slumming or 'rubbernecking' in Chinatown became fashionable for middle-class New Yorkers in the 1880s (Rath, 2005: 246).

In the period between 1970 and 2000, once highly sought-after migrant workers in the cities of the Global North increasingly looked for new income-generating possibilities in the growing service-oriented urban markets as doormen or cleaning staff (Sassen, 1991; Savitch and Kantor, 2002: 20f.). In the German context, many migrants took ownership of traditional corner stores in declining neighbourhoods or opened up new stores and restaurants in sectors with low entry barriers. Today, such agglomerations of migrant-owned shops, cafés and restaurants provide marketable 'places of leisure and consumption' (Aytar and Rath, 2012). Their metropolitan flair is branded to attract investors, locals and tourists, as well as workers from the knowledge economy and creative industry.

This process of urban branding is defined as the attribution of characteristics to a city and an ongoing testing of those attributes (Donald et al., 2008: 7). By reimaging a city, constructing place-based identities and controlling consumer impressions of a certain locale, branding 'aims to create a clear, singular, and consumer-oriented version of the urban imaginary', thereby exceeding the goal of city marketing (Gotham, 2007: 828). Urban branding is a highly contested process whose strategic, concerted and rational logic may cause social insecurity and exclusion and may threaten local culture (Gotham, 2007). Examples of such branding campaigns are cultural parades, world-music festivals, sports events, food festivals and ethnicised neighbourhoods (Gotham, 2007; McClinchey, 2008; Veronis, 2006). On the one hand, branding is a process of homogenisation and standardisation. On the other hand, it reveals a process of diversification and differentiation that produces sites to attract consumers and investment to a particular locale (Gotham, 2007: 827).

Not only major gateway cities at the top of the global hierarchy are affected by the consequences of the restructuring of labour markets and resulting reorientation of many migrants in entrepreneurship and services (Marcuse and van Kempen, 2000). Global brands such as 'Chinatown' or 'Little Italy' are established in the public consciousness and thus are more readily sold. The image and appeal of 'Chinatowns' has let them become export products that are now utilised by European cities (Rath, 2005: 239), while they are criticised as homogenisation of heterogeneous migrant groups into bounded entities (Barth, 1969; Young et al., 2006: 1690). Corresponding branding processes of migrant-related assets often take place in inner-city neighbourhoods, which were once associated with migrant poverty and decline but have now been re-imaged to provide the culinary experiences of migrants' countries of origin (Shaw, 2011: 381).

Although there is some consensus in the literature that the desirability and marketability of migrant groups differs according to the use of ethno-cultural diversity for branding purposes (e.g. Kaltmeier, 2011: 14f.), it is not clear what exactly leads to the commodification of some ethnic groups in 'neo-liberal

and entrepreneurial forms of urban governance' (Young et al., 2006: 1690). This paper seeks to address the reason for the different marketability of 'cultures' and to close this gap in the literature.

As the literature has already shown, immigration traditions, local history and total and relative numbers of migrants play a role in urban migrant policies (Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2009). But how do these factors influence marketability? What role do visibility and image play? Why is it easier to adapt globally established brands to a new locale than establishing a new brand, such as a Vietnamtown? The existing branding literature has not addressed the spatial dispersion of ethnic groups within a city and their labour market integration; nor has it addressed the ability of an ethnic group to engage actively in local governance or how this ability influences its marketability.

The urban governance of migration reflects the great differences between cities set in liberal and restrictive immigration regimes. German cities such as Frankfurt and Berlin increasingly look to entrepreneurial cities like London, New York and Toronto as role models for the promotion of cultural diversity. This commodification of diversity is targeted towards the consumption of a cosmopolitan, mobile elite (Donald et al., 2008). Smaller German cities have started to recognise migration as an asset for urban development but still lack a political agenda of implementation.

Branding the diverse Berlin

Despite being considered 'a site of highly intensified ethnic, social and cultural diversity' (Reif, 2012: 33) and a strong engagement in the policies described above (Colomb, 2012; Kosnick, 2008), Berlin neither fits into the definition of a global city (Sassen, 1991) nor does its weak economic position suffice to function as a major migrant reception area within the German context. Tourism, however, has played a central role in the city's neoliberal restructuring over the last two decades.

Since the end of the 1990s, Berlin's 'urban meaning' (Castells, 1983: 301 ff.) of 'poor, but sexy' promotes the creative and subcultural city (Lanz, 2007: 188 ff.). Ethno-cultural diversity and cosmopolitanism further played a role in the 'urban meanings' of the 'metropolis of culture', the 'liveable city' and the 'creative city' (Lanz, 2007: 185). The latter integrated Berlin's demographic multiculturalism and tolerance as 'unique selling points' (Colomb, 2012: 233) and still influences its branding strategies. As part of the 'metropolis of culture', the Carnival of Cultures, a festival that emerged from the impetus of migrant self-organisations to show Berlin's cultural diversity (Colomb, 2012: 230; Lanz, 2007: 193f.), was officially marketed. Organised as a bottom-up, migrant-driven community initiative, it developed into the most-visited annual event in Berlin, with more than a million visitors. It increasingly came under criticism as Berlin began a sorting-out of 'marketable' cultures (Lanz, 2007: 192). Marketing campaigns continued with the promotion of Berlin's 'cosmopolitan' character and its mobile elite that brought in economic and cultural capital.

At the turn of the millennium, the marketing logic changed under the social-democratic-socialist coalition (2002–2011), with its open attitude towards issues of migration, ethnicity and integration (Colomb, 2012: 248). This change is reflected in the 'be Berlin' campaign with the slogan 'the place to be', which declares Berlin a diverse, colourful and tolerant city since 2009 (Berlin Partner GmbH, 2015a). The campaign shows the adoption of Florida's ideas and terminology into Berlin's official development plans (Florida, 2002; Senatsverwaltung fuer Wirtschaft, Technologie und Forschung, 2012: 2).

From 2000 onwards, the newly applied creative city strategy re-labelled areas previously thought of as urban voids and wastelands as innovative playgrounds for cultural production and touristic consumption. This process led to a portrayal of Berlin's socially and ethnically mixed neighbourhoods and their 'authentic' and counter-cultural life as tourist attractions (Colomb, 2012: 230, 239). The sub-campaign 'Cities of Opportunities' ('Stadt der Chancen') in 2013 and 2014 highlighted Berlin's subculture, its hipness and its cosmopolitanism (Berlin Partner GmbH, 2015b). Once again using Florida's terminology, the campaign 'Cosmopolitan City' ('Weltoffene Stadt') stresses the high potential of the colourful mix of talents and cultures that live together in harmony

(Berlin Partner für Wirtschaft und Technologie GmbH, 2015).

As tourism did not play a role in the top tourist destinations in the city centre any longer, unplanned, less central areas, which provide subcultural attractions, a vibrant cultural scene and ethnic diversity, have been rebranded (Novy, 2012a: 68) and highlighted in the 2004 tourism plan (Colomb, 2012: 247; Novy, 2012a: 76). The public–private partnership (PPP) Berlin Tourismus & Kongress GmbH, with its brand 'Visit Berlin', is responsible for the development and branding of tourist attractions. Although shedding some light on the hip subculture, the company concentrates its promotional activities in Berlin's central areas, where most of its shareholders are located (Novy, 2012a: 77). The shareholders' economic interests thus limit ambitions of bringing tourists to peripheral neighbourhoods (Novy and Huning, 2009) that are poor but not yet 'sexy'. Further, the partial privatisation of the tourism promotion company and the connected switch to an entrepreneurial approach support this development. This spatial dimension of touristic commodification is thwarted in Lichtenberg, which has recently been titled as the new booming hipster destination (Heier and Metzger, 2015) after decades of not being 'sexy'.

Berlin's new approach boosters the bounding of 'useful' cultures, as perpetuated by more recent urban initiatives in Berlin. For example, the 2012 'City of Diversity' exhibition (Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen, n.d. 2015) promoted diversity as a resource and, similar to the 'Cosmopolitan City' campaign, stages Berlin as a multicultural city. This is in contrast to the actual situation, since Berlin never reached the status of a gateway city, although it can look back historically on a high percentage of foreign-born people, with a 50 per cent peak in 1864 (Lanz, 2007: 29f.; Dülmen et al, 2012). Although ranking highest in absolute numbers of migrants (861,000), Berlin ranks only 12th in its relative share of migrants (25%) after cities like Frankfurt am Main (43%), Stuttgart (38%), Nuremberg (37%) and Munich (36%) (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2012). For the purpose of branding, many migrant groups in Berlin either lack image-related requirements or spatial concentration. Nevertheless, projects like the 'City of Diversity' exhibition or the 'Carnival of Cultures' clearly show Berlin's changing perspective on diversity as an asset. Although Berlin does not command an official policy on the development of a Chinatown, repeated ideas for the development of projects – be they top-down or bottom-up – show the city's interest.

Methods

This paper is methodologically based on a qualitative, multi-method triangulation. This approach can best cover the multi-faceted and highly dynamic cases that have not yet been addressed by academic publications and are hardly quantifiable. It draws on the author's broad knowledge of Vietnamese communities in Berlin, gained through an in-depth qualitative study on Vietnamese entrepreneurship, with data collected between 2007 and 2010. This study, consisting of 91 semi-structured interviews, was conducted with field visits that were continued until 2014 on a regular basis. Structured, partially participatory observations on the development of the site were documented through field notes. Insights of these field visits are integrated in the paper.

The reconstruction of three Chinatown projects in the early 2000s was examined through a media analysis of local[1] and national[2] newspapers. I selected newspaper articles through a web search using the keywords 'Chinatown Berlin', 'Asiatown Berlin' and 'Dong Xuan Center'. Further, I studied websites of the project initiators and the Dong Xuan Center (DXC), and conducted a qualitative content analysis of newspaper articles and websites. Several quotations from media articles were translated by the author and inserted in the text.

Six semi-structured, qualitative interviews were conducted between 2011 and 2014. The interviews also helped to contextualise material from the media analysis and the observations. I interviewed a variety of players (including two politicians of Berlin's district of Lichtenberg, a journalist, and managers of the DXC), to compare and contrast experiences, understandings and backgrounds of the described cases. The translated interview quotations are indicated in the text with '#' and the attribution of the interviewee. The interviews focused on the formal and informal processes of decision-making, the collaboration of

the different stakeholders and development plans and strategies for the analysed area. A semi-structured interview guideline was used to learn about intentions, motivations and constraints of the different parties. This approach allowed the interviewees to elaborate on certain points, while it enabled me to clarify processes through different perspectives. All interviews were recorded, transcribed and systematically analysed based on the principles of qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2007).

Branding Asian entrepreneurship in Berlin

As a response to the increasing recognition of migrant economies as an asset for city branding, Berlin's local politicians repeatedly tried to establish both Asia- and Chinatowns as a blueprint of globally spread Chinatowns.

One project idea, which was pushed by Green Party member Claudia Hämmerling in 2002, was for an Asiatown in the district of Prenzlauer Berg. According to her idea, the area could serve as a representational place for the Asian communities in Berlin and strengthen their identity in spatial proximity to their residential hubs. It could further be a vehicle to win investors for the redevelopment of an abandoned slaughterhouse into a place for Berlin's young, creative and 'cosmopolitan' knowledge workers and tourists. The initiative was supported by Karin Hopfmann, deputy of the socialist party (Die Linke), who was known for her interest in integrating Vietnamese entrepreneurs:

> For economic and political integration reasons, policymakers have the responsibility to take a lead in discussing a locality for Asian business. (Karin Hopfmann, cited in Mai, 2002)

This example highlights the transition of Berlin's political approach towards migration from a reactive approach to the more proactive political direction of the socialist-social democratic coalition.

The area's rebranding was also motivated by a reassessment of the image of Vietnamese migrants. Fed by prejudices in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) society, Vietnamese contract workers were socially excluded before the German reunification (Bui, 2003: 210). In the 1990s, the community had been unfavourably portrayed in a series of media reports on illegal cigarette traffic (Mai, 2002). Human trafficking, administrative offences and criminalised acts supported the negative headlines about the Vietnamese. Although mostly crimes were committed by former contract workers and asylum seekers, these criminal acts smeared the image of all Vietnamese migrants in Germany.

Hence, the Asiatown project provided a chance for the Vietnamese community to become visible after a long period of 'partial masking', a term that refers to the disguising of Vietnamese identity, mainly in the restaurant business, as Chinese, Thai, Japanese or just 'Asian' (Bui, 2003: 204). In the early 2000s, the 'unmasked', traditional Vietnamese cuisine became highly popular, which resulted in a spreading of the restaurant business to Berlin's main touristic spots such as Mitte and Kreuzberg. The strong economic performance led to high visibility and increased awareness of Vietnamese culture in Berlin, and enabled new cultural events, such as the 'Dong Xuan Festival' that took place in 2010.

The number of Vietnamese people living in Berlin at the end of 2014 was 14,825 (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2015), plus 7,000 naturalised compatriots. Due to political, educational and historical immigration reasons, Vietnamese migrants in Berlin can be categorised into four main subgroups: (1) refugees (so-called 'Boat-People') who fled Vietnam in the 1970s and 1980s; (2) former contract workers and their unified families; (3) students; and (4) others, which are composed of more recently arrived asylum seekers and undocumented persons.

This paper focuses on the predominantly self-employed group that evolved from the 69,000 Vietnamese contract workers who came to work in the GDR between 1980 and 1990. They and their unified families still form the largest share of Vietnamese migrants in Berlin. Their migration originated with a bilateral contract between the GDR and Vietnam, which included professional training that decreased tremendously after 1987 due to a sharp increase in recruitment numbers. Late cohorts were deployed for simple tasks on assembly lines or

punching machines, neither of which required educational achievements or special working skills.

German reunification affected the contract workers severely, as they lost both their jobs and their legal status (Gruner-Domic, 2008: 1078). Many of them got an exceptional leave to remain in the reunified country and dabbled as self-employed street vendors. Only in 1997 did the Vietnamese become eligible to apply for permanent residence. Holding an insecure residence status for most of the 1990s is one of the main reasons the former contract workers did not manage to enter the primary labour market but were mainly self-employed in small textile, flower and variety stores as well as restaurants and fast food outlets.

In the mid-1990s, the first Vietnamese wholesale centres opened in Berlin through Vietnamese entrepreneur initiatives (#DXGmbH). Tenant–landlord relations were established via social networks on the basis of reciprocity (Schmiz, 2011b). More than two decades of self-employment among Vietnamese migrants in Berlin led to a diversification in the branches and dimensions of businesses. Today, mobile, retail and wholesale trade in solo-self-employed and family business reflect the socio-economic spectrum of Vietnamese entrepreneurship in Berlin. Wholesale centres remain in Vietnamese management but have become increasingly diversified in their ethno-cultural composition.

Several efforts to create a Chinatown in the area of Halensee in the district of Wilmersdorf, which is traditionally home to a small Chinese business community, were made in 2002 by locally engaged German entrepreneurs in the area, with the goal of creating a positive image for the surrounding neighbourhood and to decrease shop vacancies (Dobberke, 2002; Fuchs, 2002). Although the given structure was too weak to be developed as a Chinatown, this plan was built on an existing Chinese business community. The nearby Kantstrasse, a Western Berlin street traditionally used for entertainment businesses, can look back on a century-long history of Chinese restaurants and institutions. Although it is the densest agglomeration of Chinese, Japanese, Thai and Vietnamese businesses in Berlin, it lacks the density and vibrancy found in other Chinatowns and thus provides obstacles for branding.

I argue that the failure of the envisioned China- and Asiatowns originated in the marketability-led approach, which lacks sensitivity for ethno-cultural particularities and knowledge of the super-diverse communities. Further, cooperation with business associations and other key persons in the different Asian communities did not exist. Municipal politicians and other stakeholders in the planning process of the commercial areas critically reflected that future users were not involved in the top-down planning process. Respecting those stakeholders, as well as residents and local communities, is seen as a key component of success in the branding literature, as this approach is both ethical and develops the brand from the grassroots (Ooi, 2011: 58). Berlin's first integration minister noted this lack of consideration for the target group:

> One had to clarify if there is an existing interest within the ethnic target groups and if they would invest capital. (Barbara John, cited in Mai, 2002)

Even some of the initialising stakeholders later critically reflected that the projects failed to recognise the requirements of the target groups:

> It would be the wrong way to include Asian art, culture, restaurants, shops, trade or technology centres into an urban development concept that is influenced by Asian stylistic elements. (Hämmerling, 2011, author's translation)

The critique of ethnic essentialism is reflected in the work of Anderson (1991), who argues that Chinatowns are a Western construction and represent Western cultural domination – not least because they often arose from discriminatory laws imposing ethnic segregation (Sales et al., 2008: 47). These policies of spatial segregation were not applied in Germany, nor did historical colonial relations lead to intense Chinese immigration.

However, the synthetic building of a Chinatown is missing a spatial, socio-cultural and temporal component. Concerning spatiality, traditional Chinatowns started in rundown downtown neighbourhoods and successively grew in complex relation to the real estate market, large urban development projects and ethnic networks, while keeping a disordered charm.

As such, New York's Little Italy was partly taken over by Chinatown while Chinatown Spadina in Toronto took over a former Jewish neighbourhood after its displacement by the new City Hall. In a socio-cultural dimension, Chinatowns are places of complex social relations, where new immigrants are often stranded while established residents move to more affluent neighbourhoods. Traditionally, Chinatowns have been places of refuge, business and residence for newcomers from several Asian countries (Tan, 2010: 133) and thus were never exclusively Chinese. The temporal is given relevance as Chinatowns, representing places of culture and trade, developed over the course of history, often originating with late-19th-century Chinese immigration. This lack of history in Berlin was one of the major doubts articulated by experts in the planning phase (Seith, n.d.).

The competing or complementing relationship between the newly developed China- and Asiatown projects and already established Vietnamese and Chinese wholesale centres has never been publicly discussed. The self-evident but unconsidered lack of a common Asian identity contradicted the structures of the multi-layered Vietnamese and Chinese communities. The 6,000 socially and economically well-integrated Chinese citizens belong to a diverse group of ethnic Chinese from different nation-states (Bregel, 2003). Like the Vietnamese, they form a heterogeneous group of Asian immigrants that shows neither an interest to live in nor to conduct trade within the proposed structures (Mai, 2007). The absent interest can also be explained by a lack of trust due to missing networks between municipal stakeholders and the super-diverse Asian community. An expert expresses her doubts about the planned Vietnamese-Chinese mosaic:

> In the Vietnamese trade centre, Chinese and Pakistani people do their business as well, everybody on their own, on a small scale – and I think it has to develop endogenously. It won't work if somebody comes from outside to enforce a multicultural diversity. Instead, they have to initiate this among themselves. Chinese business behaviour is totally different from the Vietnamese one. (#DXGmbH)

A lack of networks and trust between these communities stalled the planning processes. A quote from a stakeholder of the Asia-Pacific Forum supports the findings of this analysis:

> I would be surprised if something like this would work in Berlin. The groups of Chinese and Vietnamese are socially and ethnically extremely inhomogeneous, different from Paris or so. (Rainer Seider, cited from Mai, 2002)

This quote refers to the constellation in which Vietnamese migrants from the 'Boat People' group live in many Western cities. Being ethnically Chinese, they opened their businesses or took over businesses in Chinese neighbourhoods. Top-down branding initiatives fail to address the heterogeneous ethnic and social structures of the different Asian communities in Berlin, and the spatial separation of Vietnamese communities in residence and trade.

Branding through migrant agency

In contrast to the cases described above, the DXC in Berlin provides an example of an Asian commercial site developed from the bottom up. The DXC is Berlin's largest and best-known Asian trade centre and is located on a former industrial wasteland in Berlin's district of Lichtenberg. The manager of the DXC is a member of the Vietnamese contract-worker community who used his stable social networks to unite business people from his community at a common site. The existing element of mutual trust among management and entrepreneurs provides a solid base for high-risk wholesale trade. Tenants, who are organised in business associations and other interest groups, articulate their ideas to the management and thereby actively participate in the continuing development of the centre (#DXGmbH). Through this engagement, the entrepreneurs become active agents in the cultural representation of their city (see also Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2009: 189). This action supports identity-building and the development of a spatial representation, which forms an important precondition for the marketing of ethnic places (Puetz and Rodatz, 2013: 174). This identity-building is especially important in the case of the Vietnamese, as they cannot profit from an established 'Vietnamtown' brand. Inspired by the 'Dong Xuan' market in the ancient part of Hanoi, the DXC management highlighted the representative function of the centre to the community.

Today, 65–70 per cent of the approximately 420 tenants are of Vietnamese origin. Two thirds of them are engaged in wholesale trade (#DXGmbH), complemented by service companies such as consultants, travel agencies and money-transfer operators. Also known as 'Little Hanoi', the centre obviously appears as a Vietnamese site. Customers of the DXC visit not only to purchase wholesale goods but also for haircuts, nail designs, celebrations, karaoke and dining. Like many large Chinese malls that serve as sites of recreational and cultural activities (Lo, 2006: 89f.), the centre functions as a social microcosm, combining a social with a representative function for the Vietnamese community. I argue that the space of the DXC is significant for the construction of a common identity for this super-diverse community (see also Isin and Siemiatycki, 1999: 10f.), and thereby lays the groundwork for future branding. Through their strategy of 'strategic spatial essentialism' (Veronis, 2007: 466) they gain not only spatial representation, but also political recognition.

In the last few years, the DXC has received growing attention from the media, local authorities, customers, tourists and artists, and thereby contributes to a revalorisation of multicultural city spaces (Rath, 2005; Shaw et al., 2004). The DX GmbH aims to complement the area with a pagoda, a Traditional Chinese Medicine Centre, a hotel and a guesthouse. Through the combination of cultural, leisure, health and educational facilities, the manager wants to develop the centre into a place of social life and trade, with more than 1000 additional jobs. For this marketing as Asiatown, the management itself takes its idea from the global brand 'Chinatown', as declared on the centre's former website:

> They belong to the worlds' capitals – the economically flourishing Chinatowns. Hence, they function as a role model for the further extension of the DXC, the Asian centre for trade, culture and tourism in Berlin. (Dong Xuan GmbH, 2013, author's translation)

With the new 'Asiatown' wording, which represents the diverse tenant structure of the centre, a culturally sensitive term replaced the catchy 'Chinatown' brand. This contradicts a major requirement of branding – a clear and single image that often causes homogenisation (Gotham, 2007). While the quote directly addresses tourism, it is in conflict with the district's zoning regulations, which stipulate that retail and catering services are only allowed to a maximum of five per cent of all business in areas zoned for economic activity. These regulations exist for the protection of retail trade in stated urban centres ('Zentrenschutz'), a German planning instrument connected to the urban concept of the 'European City' ('Zentrenschutz', Kasten et al., 2011). Because of the centre's legal status, retail trade and services such as gastronomy and hair salons are officially operated as services for wholesalers. One of the district's former political stakeholders describes the situation as follows:

> Berlin is stuck in a dilemma. It can't advertise illegal uses in official documents and then state that touristic visits of the centre are illegal. Thus, the centre does not appear in official tourist guides or websites of the city. (Former politician of Berlin-Lichtenberg)

Preussenpark, also known as 'Thaipark', is another Asian space in Berlin that has been reined in by district zoning regulations. Situated in Western Berlin's Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf district, the site's touristic potential has been hindered by the municipality, which restricts the informal practice of barbecuing and selling food due to conflicts over use with neighbouring residents (Ha, 2015: 230ff.; Haid, 2013).

In the case of the DXC, stakeholders at the district and municipal levels generally share the objective on the further development of the centre. Both administrative levels are aware of the DXC's economic potential for creating approximately 1,000 jobs (#DXGmbH) and tolerate the current situation out of respect for the general challenges of migrant labour market integration. At the same time, they do not accept the development plans of the centre's management, because broadening the regulations connected to areas dedicated to commercial and industrial use causes new problems. As Isin and Siemiatycki (1999: 10 and 12) show, land-use conflicts have become issues of tension for diverse migrant groups in global cities.

Summing up, although the city of Berlin recognises the touristic potential of the centre, it does not consider the DXC as a branding target largely

because of legal issues, which hinder the marketing of the centre on municipal tourist portals, guides and websites. Consequently, the centre markets itself through its own website and is marketed informally, but prominently, through various Berlin lifestyle blogs, Instagram and websites such as Yelp and TripAdvisor. In its current condition, the DXC does not address a broad group of tourists, but rather a specific group that is interested in Vietnamese culture or is in search of an 'authentic' Asian marketplace. Although the aforementioned practices in the centre limit possibilities for official branding, the city of Berlin wants to promote its ethno-cultural diversity through spatial representation of its Asian communities. With a 'Chinatown', Berlin hopes to develop an image that lifts itself into the league of 'world cities'.

Further, I argue that the DXC does not brand itself with Vietnamese per se, because the Vietnamese culture is not connected to a certain brand yet. There are no hip and fancy Vietnamese products that are valued as marketable for a broader public, nor does a role model for a successful Vietnamese economic quarter in a Western metropolis exist. The hesitating interest by the city of Berlin can also be interpreted in connection to Vietnam's economic development, which operates on a lower scale in terms of capital investments in Berlin than China. Moreover, even though there is a huge initiative within the DX GmbH concerning the development and branding of the centre that stretches given zoning laws, the lack of a network of Vietnamese business people with a spokesperson connected to the Berlin senate limits the group's agency. This limited agency also determinates the weak influence on the current municipal discussion about a loosening of 'Zentrenschutz' as the zoning law.

Conclusion

The paper at hand shows that the rethinking of ethno-cultural diversity as an asset for city branding is influenced by neoliberal city politics. In particular, it addresses the gap in the literature on the question of why certain ethnic groups are more 'valuable' for branding than others. I argue that the marketability of various ethno-cultural groups differs, and thereby differently influences political practise. In doing so, this paper shows that Berlin is transitioning from a reactive to a proactive approach to ethno-cultural diversity.

Firstly, a reactive approach that is aimed at the hurdles and challenges in the integration process could be extracted from the examples. Political goals within this perspective include economic, social and cultural integration for all of the discussed cases. This support is regarded as highly relevant as shown by the DXC, which may function as a representative place for the Vietnamese. As such, the Vietnamese microcosm might initiate processes of spatial identification and thereby serve as a promoter for integration.

Secondly, a proactive rethinking of municipal stakeholders towards a stronger consideration for local, cultural and social specificities of the targeted cultural groups can be identified after the failure of the addressed Asiatown project. Although the projects were developed at almost the same time (between 2000 and 2007), the quotes and reflections on the projects show a learning process of the stakeholders involved in city branding concerning questions of knowledge, representation and identification.

Concerning the knowledge of the cultural group, I showed that some stakeholders already perceive Vietnamese migrants in Berlin as a super-diverse group. Lacking in trust and ethnic networks, Vietnamese citizens in Berlin could not be culturally mainstreamed as Asian or Chinese. A deeper understanding of the heterogeneity and cultural diversity of Vietnamese migrants in Berlin is a necessary precondition for future planning.

Migrant agency results in greater consideration for the community in the branding process. As such, the success of the Vietnamese-run DXC might indicate that Asian trade centres profit from the network-based trust within the community, and that this trust is a precondition for a sustainable economic structure (Schmiz, 2011a: 157). Within this centre, tenant–landlord relationships can be traced back to a common ethnic background and are maintained by the participative structure of the centre's internal governance. The DXC is dependent on an embedded local community, adequate accessibility and opening hours. It has developed into the largest, most frequented and economically powerful Vietnamese

place in Berlin. Through its important social and economic function, it has become a highly representative and symbolic place for many Vietnamese citizens in Berlin. Being a place of intensified network activity, it provides a base of agency in the negotiations within the municipality.

In its current condition, the DXC contradicts the vision held by Berlin's urban stakeholders, whose PPP structure concentrates its branding initiatives on its geographic centre and is influenced by the marketability of cultures. According to municipal stakeholders, further legalisation is needed to provide a basis for the centre's marketing. The empirical material shows further evidence that the missing marketability of the Vietnamese is another major reason for the city's adherence to Asia- and Chinatown projects.

The higher marketability of Chinese relative to Vietnamese places originates not only from the absence of a Vietnamese role model for urban branding, but also from the Vietnamese image, its low visibility and its immigration history. Although the Vietnamese culture will not be marketable as hip and trendy overnight, several indicators for a transition of the image of Vietnamese migrants in Berlin were rendered. These changes might trigger a further image upgrading for the group, providing a basis for their marketability. I further argue that the centre fits into Berlin's latest branding strategy, in which areas previously thought of as urban voids and wastelands are commodified for consumption. Within this proactive approach, the DXC has the potential to be commodified as an 'authentic' Vietnamese place 'off the beaten track'. However, my findings show that to date, neither the municipality, with its constituent districts, nor the PPPs in charge have a programme for the handling of ethno-cultural diversity in urban development.

Migrant resources have become increasingly important in the local restructuring process of a growing number of cities worldwide. Thereby, the ethno-cultural diversity that they bring is one of the key location factors for urban development. This proactive, resource-oriented perspective aims to use migrants' potential and their visibility for urban marketing purposes. The approach targets migrant economies and especially the catering sector as service providers and creators of a cosmopolitan urban image for the young urban elites of the knowledge economy and the creative industry. Since this proactive approach also runs the risk of silencing problems related to migration, the question of profit arises from the marketing of migrant diversity. Cui bono? While migrants need economic and integration support, such as consulting for and promotion of their economic activities, they could also profit from city branding efforts – if they are implemented in a group-sensitive manner.

In the paper at hand, I reason that both the reactive and the proactive perspectives with the emanating programmes mentioned above are of political relevance. As such, the transition from a reactive to a proactive approach could also be a chance to combine the lessons learned for a more comprehensive approach. These two approaches are not mutually exclusive, but can complement each other if they are developed in dialogue with the involved parties. Such a participatory approach in local migration and diversity policies increases political enforceability. Therein, migrant networks provide an important resource for a closer municipal cooperation with migrant communities.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Notes

1. Die Tageszeitung, Der Tagesspiegel, Berliner Zeitung, Berliner Morgenpost.
2. Die Zeit, Frankfurter Rundschau, Der Spiegel, Die Welt, Spiegel Online.

References

Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg (2015) *Melderechtlich registrierte Vietnamesen am Ort der Hauptwohnung in Berlin vom 31.12.1995 bis 31.12.2015 nach Bezirken*. Potsdam: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg.

Anderson KJ (1991) *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980*. Montreal, QC, Canada: McGill-Queen's Press (MQUP).

Aytar V and Rath J (2012) Introduction: Ethnic neighbourhoods as places of leisure and consumption. In: dies (ed.) *Selling Ethnic Neighborhoods: The Rise of Neighborhoods as Places of Leisure and Consumption* (Routledge Advances in Geography). London; New York: Routledge, 1–15.

Barth F (1969) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Berlin Partner für Wirtschaft und Technologie GmbH (2015) Weltoffene Stadt. *be Berlin*. Available at: http://www.sei.berlin.de/kampagne/stadt-der-chancen/informationen/weltoffene-stadt (accessed 21 October 2015).

Berlin Partner GmbH (2015a) be Berlin. Available at: http://www.berlin-partner.de/hauptstadt-marketing/be-berlin/ (accessed 15 January 2015).

Berlin Partner GmbH (2015b) Stadt der Chancen and be Berlin. Available at: http://www.sei.berlin.de/kampagne/stadt-der-chancen (accessed 15 January 2015).

Biskup T and Schalenberg M (2008) Die Vermarktung Berlins in Gegenwart und Geschichte. In: dies (ed.) *Selling Berlin: Imagebildung und Stadtmarketing von der preussischen Residenz bis zur Bundeshauptstadt*. Steiner: Franz Steiner, 9–21.

Boudreau J-A, Keil R and Young D (2009) *Changing Toronto: Governing Urban Neoliberalism*. Toronto, ON, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Brantz D, Disko S and Wagner-Kyora G (2012) Thick space: Approaches to metropolitanism. In: dies (ed.) *Thick Space: Approaches to Metropolitanism*. Bielefeld: transcript, 9–27. Available at: http://www.transcript-verlag.de/ts2043/ts2043.php (accessed 27 June 2013).

Bregel M (2003) Wie chinesisch ist Berlin? *WELT Online*, 4 August. Available at: http://www.welt.de/print-welt/article250645/Wie_chinesisch_ist_Berlin.html

Brenner N and Theodore N (2002) Cities and the geographies of 'actually existing neoliberalism'. *Antipode* 34(3): 349–379.

Bui P (2003) *Envisioning Vietnamese Migrants in Germany: Ethnic Stigma, Immigrant Narratives and Partial Masking*. Münster: LIT.

Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (2012) Statistik: Migrantenanteil in deutschen Großstädten wächst. Available at: http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/newsletter/148820/migrantenanteil-in-deutschen-grossstaedten-waechst (accessed 22 October 2015).

Castells M (1983) *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*. Berkeley, CA; Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Colomb C (2012) *Staging the New Berlin: Place Marketing and the Politics of Urban Reinvention Post-1989*. London; New York: Routledge.

Dobberke C (2002) Der Ferne Osten ist nah. *Tagesspiegel*, 29 July. Available at: http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/der-ferne-osten-ist-nah/333318.html

Donald SH, Kofman E and Kevin C (2008) Introduction: Processes of cosmopolitanism and parochialism. In: dies (ed.) *Branding Cities: Cosmopolitanism, Parochialism, and Social Change*. 1st ed. London; New York: Routledge, 1–13.

Dong Xuan GmbH (2013) Dong-Xuan-Center Berlin Lichtenberg – Offizielle Website. Available at: http://www.dongxuan-berlin.de/ (accessed 3 July 2013).

Dülmen M, Leimbach S and Kühnelt W (2012) *Huguenots, Turks, Russians and Other Berliners. 775 Years of Diversity. Report of the exhibition 'City of Diversity', Berlin.* Berlin: Senatsverwaltung Berlin.

Florida R (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York: Basic Books.

Fuchs C (2002) Geschäftsmann will chinesisches Viertel gründen: Little Chinatown am Kudamm. Available at: http://www.berliner-zeitung.de/archiv/geschaefts-mann-will-chinesisches-viertel-gruenden-little-chinatown-am-kudamm,10810590,9968094.html (accessed 18 December 2014).

Gibson C and Kong L (2005) Cultural economy: A critical review. *Progress in Human Geography* 29(5): 541–561.

Glick Schiller N and Çağlar A (2009) Towards a comparative theory of locality in migration studies: Migrant incorporation and city scale. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35(2): 177–202.

Gotham KF (2007) (Re)branding the Big Easy Tourism rebuilding in post-Katrina New Orleans. *Urban Affairs Review* 42(6): 823–850.

Gruner-Domic S (2008) Vietnamesische, mosambikanische und kubanische Arbeitswanderer in der DDR seit den 1970er Jahren. In: Bade K, Emmer PC, Lucassen L and Oltmer J (eds) *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa. Vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*. 2nd ed. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoeningh, 1078–1080.

Ha K (2015) *Handel(n) und Wandel (n)*. Berlin: Dissertationsschrift.

Haid C (2013) Contentious Informalities. *dérive – Zeitschrift für Stadtforschung* (51): 43–48.

Hämmerling C (2011) Asiatown in Berlin. Bündnis 90/Die Grünen. Available at: http://www.gruene-fraktion-berlin.de/cms/default/dok/23/23646.asiatown_in_berlin.html (accessed 28 September 2011).

Hannerz U (1996) *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places* (Comedia). London; New York: Routledge.

Heier E and Metzger M (2015) Lichtenberg: Der neue Aufschwung Ost. *Tip Berlin*, 20 January. Available at: http://www.tip-berlin.de/kultur-und-freizeit/lichtenberg-der-neue-aufschwung-ost (accessed 21 October 2015).

Hospers G-J (2008) Governance in innovative cities and the importance of branding. *Innovation: Management, Policy & Practice* 10(2–3): 224–234.

Isin EF and Siemiatycki M (1999) *Fate and faith: Claiming urban citizenship in immigrant Toronto.* CERIS Working Paper 8, pp. 1–30. Toronto: Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement, Ryerson University.

Kaltmeier O (2011) Introduction: Selling EthiCity. In: Kaltmeier O (ed.) *Selling EthniCity*. Farnham: Ashgate, 1–19.

Kasten B, Pätzold R and Roskamm N (2011) Das Dong Xuan Center in Berlin Lichtenberg. Die räumliche Repräsentation einer ethnischen Ökonomie im Konflikt mit der administrativen Stadtplanung. *dérive – Zeitschrift für Stadtforschung* (43): 19–25.

Kosnick K (2008) Conflicting motilities: Cultural diversity and city branding in Berlin. In: Donald SH, Kofman E and Kevin C (eds) *Branding Cities: Cosmopolitanism, Parochialism, and Social Change*. London; New York: Routledge, 28–41.

Lanz S (2007) *Berlin aufgemischt: Abendländisch, multikulturell, kosmopolitisch? Die politische Konstruktion einer Einwanderungsstadt*. Bielefeld: transcript.

Lo L (2006) Changing geography of Toronto's Chinese ethnic economy. In: Kaplan DH and Li W (eds) *Landscapes of the Ethnic Economy*. Lanham, MD; Boulder, CO; New York; Toronto, ON, Canada; Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 83–96.

McClinchey KA (2008) Urban ethnic festivals, neighborhoods, and the multiple realities of marketing place. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 25(3–4): 251–264.

Mai M (2002) Chinatown für vietnamesische Händler. *Die Tageszeitung*, 1 February. Available at: http://www.taz.de/1/archiv/archiv/?dig=2002/02/01/a0193 (accessed 26 August 2013).

Mai M (2007) Kaum einer will ins Asia-Ghetto. *Die Tageszeitung*, 9 October. Available at: http://www.taz.de/1/berlin/artikel/1/kaum-einer-will-ins-asia-ghetto

Marcuse P and Van Kempen R (2000) *Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order?* Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Mayer M (2007) Contesting the neoliberalization of urban governance. In: Leitner H, Peck J and Sheppard ES (eds) *Contesting Neo-Liberalism: Urban Frontiers*. New York; London: The Guilford Press, 90–115.

Mayring P (2007) *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Grundlagen und Techniken*. 9th ed. Weinheim: Deutscher Studien.

Musterd S and Murie A (2010) Making competitive cities: Debates and challenges. In: Musterd S and Murie A (eds) *Making Competitive Cities*. Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 3–16. Available at: http://eu.wiley.com/WileyCDA/WileyTitle/productCd-1405194154.html (accessed 2 November 2015).

Novy J (2012a) Kreuzberg's multi- and inter-cultural realities. In: Aytar V and Rath J (eds) *Selling Ethnic Neighborhoods: The Rise of Neighborhoods as Places of Leisure and Consumption.* London; New York: Routledge, 68–84.

Novy J (2012b) Urban ethnic tourism in New York's neighbourhoods. In: Aytar V and Rath J (eds) *Selling Ethnic Neighborhoods: The Rise of Neighborhoods as Places of Leisure and Consumption.* London; New York: Routledge, 16–33.

Novy J and Huning S (2009) New tourism (areas) in the 'New Berlin'. In: Maitland R and Newman P (eds) *World Tourism Cities. Developing Tourism off the Beaten Track*. London; New York: Routledge, 87–108.

Nuissl H and Schmiz A (2015) Migrantische Ökonomie als Potential räumlicher Entwicklung. *Geographische Rundschau* 67(4): 26–32.

Ooi C-S (2011) Paradoxes of city branding and societal changes. In: Dinnie K (ed.) *City Branding: Theory and Cases*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 54–61.

Peck J and Tickell A (2002) Neoliberalizing space. *Antipode* 34(3): 380–404.

Puetz R and Rodatz M (2013) Kommunale Integrations- und Vielfaltskonzepte im Neoliberalismus. *Geographische Zeitschrift* 101(3–4): 166–183.

Rath J (2005) Feeding the festive city: Immigrant entrepreneurs and tourist industry. In: Guild E and van Selm J (eds) *International Migration and Security: Opportunities and Challenges*. London; New York: Routledge, 238–253.

Reif H (2012) Metropolises: History, concepts, methodologies. In: Brantz D, Disko S and Wagner-Kyora G

(eds) *Thick Space: Approaches to Metropolitanism*. Bielefeld: transcript, 31–47.

Sales R, d'Angelo A, Liang X and Montagna N (2008) London's Chinatown. In: Donald SH, Kofman E and Kevin C (eds) *Branding Cities: Cosmopolitanism, Parochialism, and Social Change*. London: Routledge, 45–58.

Sassen S (1991) *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Savitch HV and Kantor P (2002) *Cities in the International Marketplace: The Political Economy of Urban Development in North America and West Europe*. Princeton, NJ; Woodstock: Princeton University Press.

Schmiz A (2011a) Marginale Ökonomie. Handlungsstrategien vietnamesischer GroßhändlerInnen in Berlin. In: Hillmann F (ed.) *Marginale Urbanität: Migrantisches Unternehmertum und Stadtentwicklung, Urban studies*. Bielefeld: transcript, 155–179.

Schmiz A (2011b) *Transnationalität als Ressource?: Netzwerke vietnamesischer Migrantinnen und Migranten zwischen Berlin und Vietnam* (Kultur und soziale Praxis). Bielefeld: transcript.

Seith A (n.d.) Kurioses Millionenprojekt: Tang-Tempel für Brandenburg. *Spiegel Online*. Available at: http://www.spiegel.de/wirtschaft/kurioses-millionenprojekt-tang-tempel-fuer-brandenburg-a-478581.html (accessed 21 October 2015).

Senatsverwaltung fuer Wirtschaft, Technologie und Forschung (2012) *Masterplan Industriestadt Berlin 2010–2020*. Berlin. Available at: https://www.berlin-partner.de/fileadmin/user_upload/01_chefredaktion/02_pdf/publikationen/MasterplanIndustrie_Broschuere_de.pdf (accessed 29 February 2016).

Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen (2015) City of diversity. Available at: https://www.berlin.de/775/en/city-of-diversity/ (accessed 21 October 2015).

Shaw SJ (2011) Marketing ethnoscapes as spaces of consumption: 'Banglatown—London's Curry Capital'. *Journal of Town & City Management* 1(4): 381–395.

Shaw SJ, Bagwell S and Karmowska J (2004) Ethnoscapes as spectacle: Reimaging multicultural districts as new destinations for leisure and tourism consumption. *Urban Studies* 41(10): 1983–2000.

Tan SK (2010) Chinatowns. In: Hutchison R (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Urban Studies*. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE, 131–134.

Veronis L (2006) The Canadian Hispanic Day Parade, or how Latin American immigrants practice (sub)urban citizenship in Toronto. *Environment and Planning A* 38(9): 1653–1671.

Veronis L (2007) Strategic spatial essentialism: Latin Americans real and imagined geographies of belonging in Toronto. *Social & Cultural Geography* 8(3): 455–473.

Vertovec S (2007) Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(6): 1024–1054.

Ward SV (1998) *Selling Places: The Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities, 1850–2000*. London; New York: Routledge.

Young C, Diep M and Drabble S (2006) Living with difference? The 'cosmopolitan city' and urban reimaging in Manchester, UK. *Urban Studies* 43(10): 1687–1714.

Zukin S (1996) *The Cultures of Cities*. 1st ed. Cambridge, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.