

The Community Gardens and Kitchens, and their Contribution to the Social Development of the Marginalised Areas in Berlin: the Case Study of Beettinchen Community Garden

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1 ABSTRACT

Over history, food was an essential element in the cities' establishment, and it has had a huge effect on their location, urban context, culture, economy and social network. Urbanization facilitates and improves the physical access to food due to the efficient infrastructure, however the residents of the marginalized areas have vulnerable relationships with food, in addition to other socio-economic problems. That all increases the need for alternative food systems to reduce the distance between the producer and the consumer, and contribute to food security in those marginalized areas. These community food security projects, such as the community gardens and the community kitchens, have become a growing international movement, especially in the developed countries. They have been established, involved and managed by the community members, which followed the bottom up approach. They have been used by the state and civil society as activities to develop the marginalized areas. This paper aims to understand how community kitchens and gardens can be integrated as a vital element of urban development of the marginalized areas in Berlin, through analyzing the empirical aspects including the organization and the governance of these projects, the ownership of the used land, the motivation of the people who participate in these projects and to what extent they benefit from these projects, from the social aspects. The paper presents the case study; "Beettinchen" community garden in Märkischen Viertel in Berlin. The analysis is based on literature research, interviews, study visits and observations. This paper is a part of the author's ongoing PhD research about the community kitchens and gardens in Egypt and Germany, and how they can contribute to the urban development of the marginalized and vulnerable areas.

Keywords: marginalised areas, kitchen, garden, community, Berlin

2 INTRODUCTION

Food plays an important role in our life, not only through nutrition, but it contribute to the cities' development, including their urban context, culture, economy and social network, in addition to defining the urban layouts such as the internal land uses, roads, public spaces and buildings (Bricas and Conaré 2019; Salvador 2019). For example, the markets and slaughterhouses were located in the city centres (Bricas and Conaré 2019). However, this distance between cities and food increased over time because of globalization, and modern trade (Nuetzenadel and Trentmann 2008; Haysom 2015). Community gardens and kitchens are examples of the projects that follow the alternative food system, attempting to decrease the distance between the producers and consumers. Moreover, they are community based projects that focus more on community engagement, and participation. The paper aims to explore and understand the social contributions and effects of the community garden and kitchen projects in the marginalized areas, through analyzing the case study of Beettinchen community garden in Märkisches Viertel in Berlin, which is a neighborhood with large refugees' accommodation. As this paper is a part of the author's PhD thesis "The community gardens and kitchens , and their contribution to developing the marginalized and vulnerable areas, in Germany and Egypt", it is exploratory research, and there will be a more structured follow-up research.

3 METHODOLOGY

This research is a part of the author's ongoing PhD research about the community gardens and kitchens and their contribution to the urban development of the marginalized and vulnerable areas in Egypt and Germany, under supervision of Prof. Uwe Altrock, from Kassel University, the Urban Development Department. This paper is based on a qualitative approach, aiming to understand the community garden and kitchen projects, and explore their impact on social patterns through analyzing case studies in Berlin. To identify the development patterns that include a local social perspective, a mixed-methods approach was applied.

First, reviews of secondary literature were used to understand the concepts of community gardens and kitchens, in addition to the food system in Berlin. Furthermore, Data collected from fieldwork, observation, interviews, and photography were utilized to analyze the chosen case study. The Beettinchen community

garden is chosen as an interesting case study due to many reasons, it includes different types of community gardens on the same land, as some people rent their own plot while BENN has two plots for the community to plant them together. In addition, it is a good example of a garden with a kitchen so it could help to understand the relationship between community garden and kitchen. Moreover, it is located in Märkisches Viertel, one of the 16 neighbourhoods with large refugee accommodations that includes BENN, Berlin Entwickelt Neue Nachbarschaften (Berlin Develops New Neighborhoods) program offices. BENN is a program of the Berlin Senate Department for Urban Development, Building and Housing to strengthen integration, neighbourly cooperation, social cohesion and participation (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Bauen und Wohnen 2023).

Fieldwork included 5 site visits to the Beettinchen community garden in May and June 2023. Additionally, 12 semi-structured interviews were conducted to uncover the garden's governance system and organizations, the motivations of the users, and its impacts on their social life. The interviewees included the garden's tenants, visitors, and representatives from the involved organizations in the garden's management. The interviews focused on the garden's system, the users' motivation including the tenants and the users, their activities in the garden, and the governance system. Because the interviews consisted of open-ended questions, the duration was different from one interviewee to another but it was between 10 to 30 minutes.

One of this research's limitations is the time, as most of the community gardens and kitchens in Berlin are active only in summer starting in May due to the weather, and most of them only organize one event per month, which made it difficult to analyze a community kitchen example. Moreover, one of the case studies mentioned before in the submitted abstract has been excluded from this paper because through the analysis, the author discovered that the case study of the project "Make the neighborhood greener" in Beussel- and Huttenkiez in Moabit, Berlin, is about urban agriculture activities more than about systematic community gardens and kitchens which is the focus of this paper. Even with those limitations, the modified project framework produced relevant findings which are presented below.

4 LITERATURE REVIEW

4.1 Alternative Food Systems

Food System is a concept that illustrated all procedures involved in providing food for a population, including 5 stages : production - processing - distribution - consumption / food culture - disposal, beside the input/output procedures and resource flows (Giseke et al. 2015; Kasper et al. 2017; Jennings et al. 2015). The alternative food system aims to improve the traditional food system through reducing the distance between the producers and the consumers (Campbell 2004). The alternative food systems include different aspects such as sustainable urban agriculture, local and regional food, and farmers' markets.

4.2 Community gardens

Community gardens are a type of urban agriculture's practices or activities. Urban agriculture is defined as "the growing of plants and the raising of animals for food and other uses within and around cities and towns, and related activities such as the production and delivery of inputs, processing and marketing of products." (Mougeot, 2005). Furthermore, the community garden is a plot of land in an urban area that is either communally or privately farmed by a group of residents from the nearby neighbourhood (Veen 2015), so food and plants will be grown on a shared setting. This concept of community garden first appeared in the United States of America in the 1890s due to an economic crisis. (McKelvey 2015; Grace 2022; Kurtz 2007), and it represents an important resource for food security during World War I and II (Grace 2022). Moreover, Europe has a long history of allotment gardens, which people rent as small plots for the purposes of food growing and recreation (Brown 2008), and they are considered a type of community gardens (Veen 2015). They started in the United Kingdom in the 18th century and in Germany in the 19th century (Keshavarz and Bell 2016; Drilling et al. 2016). In addition to allotment gardens, the modern community garden (CG) movement began to gain momentum in Europe in the mid- to late 1980s. In the 1990s, it also became widespread in Germany (Meyer-Rebentisch 2013).

Community gardens have a lot of social benefits as they are mainly built on engagement, and participation. (McKelvey (2015) and Firth, Maye, and Pearson (2011) stated that community gardens enhance the feeling of identity, ownership, and stewardship, since they provide a venue for people of all backgrounds to interact

and share cultural traditions. Moreover, they increase the sense of belonging, especially for newcomers and immigrants (Agustina and Beilin 2012).

4.3 Community Kitchens

Community kitchens are defined as “community-based cooking activities in which small groups of people meet regularly to prepare one or more meals together” (Tarasuk and Reynolds 1999). The community kitchens could be commercial or non-profit initiatives (Conservation Law Foundation, Dewey, and Fink 2018), and food there is usually produced in huge quantities by combining labour and resources (Tarasuk and Reynolds 1999). The community kitchens are different from food aid programmes because of their participatory structure and capacity to enhance mutual support (V. Tarasuk 2001). The concept of community kitchen was first initiated in Latin America (Kalina, Sheryl, and FoodShare 1993; Andreas 1989; Ripat 1998).

5 BERLIN’S COMMUNITY GARDENS AND KITCHENS

Berlin is a city with a lot of food activities, including community gardens and kitchens. Berlin has a long history of community gardens that spans more than 30 years, with a major grassroots movement that had its roots in the early 2000s (Beck 2021). There are 99 community gardens, mapped in Berlin in 2013 (Berliner GartenKarte 2023), as shown in figure 1, and they increased over the years as according to Beck (2021), the number of community gardens in Berlin reached more than 200 gardens in 2021.



Figure 1: the community gardens in Berlin in 2013 (source: Gartenkarte, 2023)

They have various scales, purposes, and organization systems. Regarding the scale, they vary from the large agricultural plots in the outskirts of Berlin such as the Bauerngarten in Pankow (Bauerngarten 2023), to the normal scale of neighbourhood community gardens such as the BrunnenGärten community garden (gruppe F 2023), and even to smaller scale community gardens that focus on the building or the block as GIDAK which is located in the courtyard of a former brewery site “GIDAK-Hof” in the middle of the cooperative at Saarbrückerstrasse as shown in figure 2 (Cityplot 2023). Moreover, the community gardens in Berlin have various purposes and aims. Some gardens focus on the environmental aspect and the ecological diversity,

while others focus on the educational aspect and how to share and transform knowledge and experience about agriculture, such as Maxim Climate-Garden for youth education in Pankow (Urban Abroad 2022). In addition, other community gardens are created because of social purposes, in order to create meeting points for the residents and to provide open space for newcomers and refugees such as Garden of Hope (Bustan El Amal) which is even named in the Arabic language (Grünanteil 2017).

Furthermore, in Berlin, there are a lot of initiatives related to community kitchens, which could be divided into collectives and projects (AWC SYLLABUS 2021). An example of the collectives is LebensMittelpunkte, which is a network that gathers 27 initiatives all over Berlin. These initiatives are locations with three categories of self-organized neighbourhoods' activities (LebensMittelPunkte 2023a):

- the “Depot” which focuses on storing and distributing food,
- the “Küfa” kitchen, which focuses on cooking together, and
- the “Kiez” neighbourhood, which focuses on empowering the people in every neighbourhood.

Four initiatives are regular “ready-to-use” food centre points in Mitte (LebensMittelPunkte 2023b). They are: “Baumhouse” in Wedding, “Offenes Wohnzimmer” in Moabit, Haus der Statistik”, which is an old historical building complex, and “Culture Laboratory Trial & Error”, and all of them offer community kitchen regularly once a month (LebensMittelPunkte 2023b). Moreover, Open Kitchen is shown as a great example of the community kitchen projects, as the Open Kitchen has been offering social cooking sessions on a regular, weekly basis in the form of a meet-up at Refugio in Neukölln since the summer of 2017 (Open Kitchen 2023). The Open Kitchen project focuses on cooking with refugees (Open Kitchen 2023), similar to other community kitchen projects in Berlin such as the “Refugees’ Kitchen” which is a mobile kitchen, created through a partnership between artists and refugees (Refugees’ Kitchen 2023). Furthermore, over the last few years, the connection between the community gardens and kitchens has increased, and there are many old projects of community gardens which have added the concept of the community kitchen to their structure. For example, the Prinzessinnengarten Café & Restaurant depends on the harvest of the community garden in addition to small local organic farms in Berlin. It is an example of the commercial community kitchen which stipulates that all its sales of food and drinks will go to the non-profit community garden project (‘Garden Cafe | Princess Garden Collective Berlin’ 2023)



Figure 2 : the plots of the garden and a path between them (source: author)

6 THE CASE STUDY: BEETTINCHEN COMMUNITY GARDEN

The Beettinchen community garden is an intercultural neighbourhood garden in the Märkisches Viertel in Berlin-Reinickendorf. It was founded in 2013 in the old location at Bettina von Arnim School. It relocated in 2021 to its current location at Treuenbrietzener Straße 32, next to the allotment gardens (Monzer 2023). The

garden is easily accessible to the public because there is a bus stop just in front of it. The garden has two entrances, one from the parking spaces in the main street and another from the allotment gardens in the back. The garden has a total area of around 300 m² (Skowronek 2023) and is divided into 35 plots, each of which is 39 m² (Spremborg 2023), as shown in figure 2 and figure 3. The plots are rented out to tenants and there is a path between the plots. Based on the author's observations, there is a small kitchen facility which is usually opened for the tenants to use. Moreover it is used by the whole community in the grilling event organized by Albatros or in the summer harvest event in September by BENN. Furthermore, there are other facilities such as toilets, a small children's playground, and a seating area with 5 to 6 benches and tables next to the garden plots, as shown in figure 3 and figure 4.

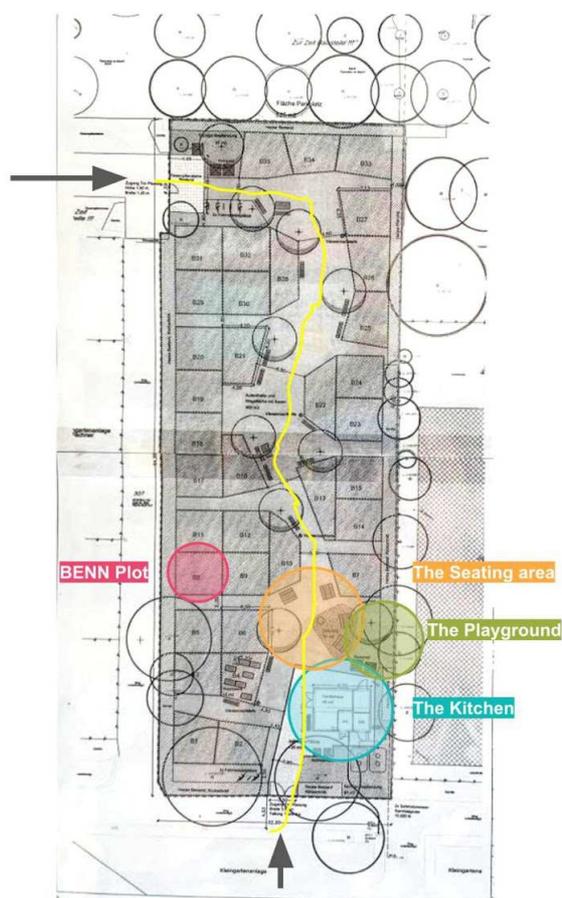


Figure 3: the plan of the garden, illustrated the entrances, the path, the kitchen, the seating area and the playground (source: GESOBAU, 2018, edited by the author)



Figure 4: the seating area and the playground (source: author)

6.1 The Stakeholders Analysis

To understand the governance system of this community garden, the involved stakeholders are mapped and analyzed. The garden land is owned by GESOBAU AG, while MV. Albatros gGmbH is the operator of this

project (Monzer 2023; Sharaf 2023), which rents the whole land from GESOBAU.AG with a subsidized cheap rent, with an agreement until 2027/ After that, the garden could be forced to relocate to another place, according to GESOBAU's future plan for this land (Skowronek 2023). MV. Albatros gGmbH leases the 35 plots to tenants from the neighbourhood (Skowronek 2023). MV. Albatros gGmbH is a company that is interested in social work, especially in the districts of Reinickendorf and Pankow, within the context of district and neighbourhood work (Albatros gGmbH 2023). Since 2009, they have operated a multi-generational home in Reinickendorf and a community floor "Nachbarschaftsetage" in the Märkisches Viertel (Albatros gGmbH 2023). Their team has a weekly meeting in the community floor "Nachbarschaftsetage" to follow up and organize their projects including the garden, and the social manager from GESOBAU joins them once per month to check on how they work (Skowronek 2023).

Moreover, BENN, Berlin Entwickelt Neue Nachbarschaften, - which means Berlin Develops New Neighbourhoods - in Märkisches Viertel supports this garden; financially or through buying the needed materials, besides managing one plot in the garden (Sharaf 2023). BENN is a programme of the Berlin Senate Department for Urban Development, Building and Housing, which started in 2017, aiming to strengthen integration, neighbourly cooperation, social cohesion and participation in neighbourhoods with large refugee accommodations in 16 districts (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Bauen und Wohnen 2023). The BENN team consists of 3 members, and they have their on-site office in Märkisches Viertel centre (Sharaf 2023). Moreover, BENN rents two plots from Albatros and they run it as a small community garden where all the neighbors can come and join the gardening process (Sharaf 2023). One of the BENN team is responsible for this project, Mr. Khalil Sharaf, who has a Syrian background (BENN im MV 2023a). In addition two on-site workers are present in the garden, one Syrian, the other Kurdis who are responsible for the gardening, People from the neighborhood are allowed to participate in the gardening, and there are specific spots that are left for these people to grow their own plants, while other spots are specified for childrens to learn how to plant (Sharaf 2023). In the summer, starting from May, BENN organizes a garden cafe every Tuesday from 3 to 6 pm in the garden for all the neighbourhood. In addition to general gardening activities include sowing, planting, watering and harvesting (BENN im MV 2023b). Around 15 to 20 persons usually participate and attend this garden cafe (Sharaf 2023) shown in figure 5.



Figure 5: the garden cafe organized by BENN (source: author)

Regarding the tenants of the other plots, half of them are German and the other half are of different nationalities such as Arabic, Cambodian, Vietnamese, Turkish, Portuguese, according to the interview conducted with Volkmar (Spremborg 2023), who is one of the three on-site responsible workers for the garden on behalf of Albatros. One plot is rented by two women who share it and pay the rent together (Spremborg 2023). The tenants have a legal contract with Albatros and GESOUBAU with a cheap price of 240 Euro per year and they can pay by year or by month (Spremborg 2023; Skowronek 2023). This contract is automatically renewed every year and the termination of the contract is subject to a three months notice (Skowronek 2023). Moreover, Skowronek (2023) mentioned that there is a long waiting list of people who want to have their own plot in the garden, who are usually choose in a way that protect the garden's diversity and intercultural spirit, thus involving different nationalities and age groups. There is a house rule that states all the regulations and restrictions of using the gardens (Skowronek 2023) such as saving water and resources. For example, the tenants are not allowed to grill at any time for safety reasons and to avoid the noise and crowds in the garden. In addition, playing football is not allowed in the garden (Dubler, 2023).

Beside the regular tenants and BENN, there are other activities and projects that rent and use plots from the garden. For example, one plot is rented for free by Albatros by “Mobile Stadtteilarbeit” to establish raised beds for plants to be used by the wheelchair users, as shown in figure 6. They are getting plants for the raised beds for free, and they only pay insurance to get the keys of the garden and once they return it, they are getting the insurance back. In addition, they got funds from GESOBAU social organization to buy materials and build the structure of the raised beds for plants (Skowronek 2023). Another activity, which happened in one plot of the garden, is about ecological education. It is run by a person hired by Albatros, financed by BENN and it targets the youth and students (Fred 2023; Skowronek 2023; Spremberg 2023). Moreover, Skowronek (2023) mentioned that there is a plot of the garden rented to the Salam.ev. Initiative.



Figure 6: the raised beds for growing plants by the wheelchair users (source: author)

Figure 7 illustrates the mapping of the stakeholders and the actors involved in the garden and its activities, and their relations.

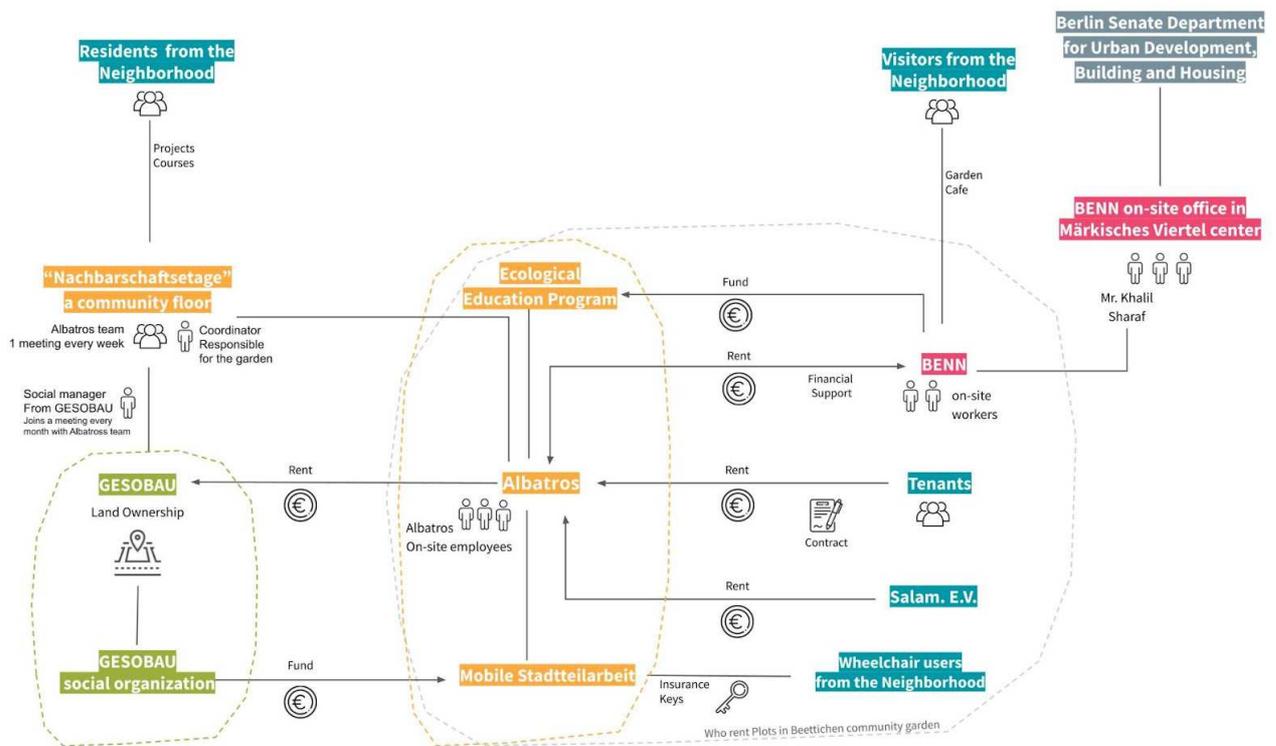


Figure 7: the stakeholders mapping (source: author)

6.2 The Garden's Activities

Regarding the garden's activities, the tenants are allowed to use the garden every day from 6am to 10 pm with their keys. While people from the neighbourhood can also come and many are sitting in the garden during this time (Skowronek 2023). BENN organizes a garden cafe every Tuesday in summer from 3 to 6 pm, and they offer drinks and snacks, in addition to helping in the gardening process (Sharaf 2023). The garden café's activities start with an event at the beginning of summer in May, when the neighbours participate in the decision making process. In addition, another event occurs in September at the end of the summer, and it is mainly about harvesting, then they cook together with fresh fruits and vegetables from the garden by using the kitchen in the garden (Sharaf 2023; Skowronek 2023). Beside the garden cafe, there are other activities organized by Albatros gGmbH, such as the grilling events, in which only the tenants can participate and grill their own food; and the clothes exchange event, a 'market' where people come to buy and sell old clothes (Spremborg 2023). Skowronek (2023) stated that they tried to organize a regular meeting for the tenants but it was not possible because it is difficult to find a day and time that is suitable for all of them. However, when there are events such as clothes exchanges, or fireplaces in winter, Albatros invites all the tenants and most of them usually join (Skowronek 2023). Moreover, there is an attempt from Albatros to move the activities that are used to be in the community floor "Nachbarschaftsetage" to the garden, especially in summer, such as the Turkish women cafe, (women gather every Wednesday at 2pm), Oma gegen Rechts (a programme about anti-racism), Energieschuldenberatung (a consultation on energy consumption and complaints), and a handcrafts course (Skowronek 2023).

6.3 The Interviews and The Social Relations

According to some open-questions interviews undertaken with anonymous tenants to discover the social life in the garden, a German retired man, stated that he knows a lot of people due to the garden, but he considers them as "bekannt" which means familiar not friends. In addition, he mentioned that sometimes they exchange products and food, and sometimes when he was sick, they used to water his plants for him. He comes twice per day to the garden to water the plants and enjoy the fresh air. Moreover, another German retired tenant woman stated that all the tenants mainly know each other as most of them come daily to the garden so they meet, say hi. This woman has one plot and her daughter has another plot and she mentioned that she comes everyday to water the plants of both plots. However her daughter, who lives in Friedrichshain (another district far away), comes on the weekend and during vacation with the grandchildren, and they play with the children of the Cambodian tenants who rent the adjacent plot. On the other hand, the woman mentioned that she cannot communicate with the visitors of the BENN garden cafe, as most of them cannot speak good German language. Furthermore, according to the interview done with Kristina Dubler, the manager of the community floor and the garden, there are problems and conflicts, sometimes happening between the tenants because of their different purposes and motives of using the garden, in addition to their different cultural background. For example, some of them have big families that cause some noise, while the others prefer the calm and rent their plot searching for relaxation. According to observation, it is noticeable that a lot of tenants come to sit in their plots to relax, read books and enjoy the sun. Despite the existence of a House Rule document, it is always difficult to deal with 35 tenants and their families in one piece of land, even though every tenant has a its separate plot, as there are no fences between them (Dubler, 2023).

The visitors of the BENN garden cafe are from various nationalities, such as German, Syrian, Egyptian, Kurdish. According to some open-question interviews done with the visitors of BENN garden cafe and the observations during the fieldwork, most of them know each other as they have a whatsapp group and they invite each other to this garden cafe. One German man who usually joins the garden cafe, mentioned that his motive is to help the immigrants who join the garden cafe through practicing German with him or asking him about any German procedures, for example, health insurance and searching for a job or apartment. Arab women mainly come to socialise and enjoy the sun and the good weather in the fresh air of the garden. Moreover, two women, one Lebanese the other Kurdish, mentioned that they used to celebrate their birthday and their kids' birthday in this garden by organising a party and inviting the people. The Arab women usually bring cooked food or snacks with them and enjoy chatting in the garden, and they use the planted mint and herbs in their teas. However, not all the people who come to the garden cafe participate the gardening, in particular, only a few men and kids participate in the gardening in the BENN plot, as shown in

figure 8. In addition, the garden cafe allows the kids from different nationalities; Syrian, Kurdish and German, to play together in the garden as shown in figure 9 and figure 10.



Figure 8: few men participate in the gardening activities (source: author)



Figure 9: the children from different nationalities play together (source: author)



Figure 10: the children from different nationalities play with the dog of the German retired tenant (source: author)

On 13 June 2023, during the author's visit to the garden cafe in the community garden, a group of 8 women from the sewing course by Albatros, most of them Iranian, Afghan and Kurdish, visited the garden with their instructor Eva. Although 6 of them mentioned that this is their first time to visit the garden as they did not

know about it before, they were interested in knowing all the activities happening in the garden and how to be involved in the future and 3 of them asked about the procedures to rent a plot.

7 DISCUSSION

The previous sections detailed the social patterns and the different activities of the Beettinchen community gardens. Through this analysis, it is noticeable that the Beettinchen community garden has a lot of opportunities to contribute in the social development of Märkisches Viertel, besides challenges.

Based on the interviews, the Beettinchen community garden is opening an opportunity for the locals to socialise, build their network through the garden cafe or other activities. For example, because of the garden cafe, they have a whatsapp group, where they get to know each other and invite each other to the garden cafe and the other events. The garden could be considered as their public space where they can gather and celebrate their birthdays. Moreover, the Beettinchen community garden offers a public space for people from different age groups. By providing a small playground children can play with each other; the retired tenants come to their plots daily to water their plants and to relax; other men and women join the garden cafe to socialise; the ecological education project which rents a plot in the garden targets youth; and the wheelchair users are also engaged in a plot which provides raised beds. As Märkisches Viertel is one of the neighbourhoods in marginalized areas, assigned to the BENN programme as a neighbourhood with large refugee accommodations, the Beettinchen community garden offers a great opportunity for cultural exchange smf for the refugees and the immigrants to integrate. It gathers different nationalities among the tenants and the visitors of the garden cafe or even through the visitors from the sewing course from the Nachbarschaftsetage. Although there are many stakeholders involved in the garden, having daily on-site employees by Albatros in the garden helps to organise the garden system and encourage this network. Having one of the BENN team responsible for the garden cafe from a Syrian background could help to engage more people from different backgrounds. Another potential opportunity for encounters is the kitchen which, despite being small is a good facility with needed equipment. It can be used in different ways that enable people to cook together and create more cultural exchange through organising more events regularly.

On the other hand, there are many challenges that face this model of community garden. As Kristina Dubler, the manager of the community floor and the garden mentioned there are a lot of problems and conflicts between the tenants due to their different motives and their different cultural backgrounds. In addition, language is another barrier. As the German retired tenant woman mentioned it is difficult to deal with the garden cafe visitors as not all of them can speak good German. Finally, the garden is threatened to be relocated, as the GESOBAU rents the land to Albatros only until 2027, and after that, no one knows what GESOBAU's plans will be for the future of the land.

8 CONCLUSION

Berlin is a big city with a lot of food activities that target the alternative food systems, as ways to reduce the distance between the producers and the consumers. These activities include many examples and models of community gardens and kitchens. This paper attempts to understand how community kitchens and gardens can be integrated as a vital element of urban development of the marginalised areas in Berlin, through analysing the case study of Bettinchen community garden in Märkisches Viertel, a marginalised area in Berlin, assigned to the BENN programme, as a neighbourhood with large refugee accommodations and requiring more social work to help the integration of the immigrants and refugees. While at this point the findings of this paper remain exploratory and a comprehensive study in the author's PhD will be necessary for conclusive findings, it is still obvious that the case study of the Beettinchen community garden offers a good opportunity for the people to socialise, integrate and exchange, in addition to considering it a public space for all age groups. However, it faces many challenges such as conflicts and problems between the tenants due to their different cultural background and diverse motives. Nevertheless, this paper argues the importance of the community garden and kitchen in the social development of the marginalised areas in Berlin.

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