"Berlin is Poor, but Sexy": Applying Paradiplomacy in the Berliner International Projection

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Abstract: Given the advance of research on paradiplomacy as public policy, this paper seeks to investigate the model of strategic image projection from Berlin after its reunification, from 1990. Berlin is chosen because the city illustrates a paradiplomacy that remains with few changes in thirty years, even in political party alternation scenario. To identify which values and strategies and which social sectors would be present in the city's internationalization action, the paradiplomacy analysis model (APD) is used, which guides data collection in five dimensions of explanatory variables: the dimension of management policy; the institutional; the market; the international; and the epistemic. The main results obtained are: I) a consensus of managers to redefine the projected image of Berlin, from a city of conflicts and social problems to a contemporary city of financial opportunities; II) create urban devices that support this new image, such as the international airport and the changes in Potsdamer Platz and Alexanderplatz; III) replicate its good practices from international networks of cities and higher education.

Keywords: Paradiplomacy; Culture; Public Policy; Berlin

Resumo: Diante do avanço dos estudos sobre paradiplomacia enquanto política pública, o presente artigo busca investigar o caso de Berlim, na Alemanha, ao adotar uma política de projeção internacional como parte de sua ressignificação local e nacional após a reunificação alemã em 1990. Berlim é escolhida por ilustrar uma paradiplomacia cultural que se mantém com poucas alterações em trinta anos, mesmo tendo alternância partidária. Com o intuito de identificar quais valores e práticas estariam presentes na ação internacional da cidade, utiliza-se o modelo de análise de paradiplomacia que orienta na coleta dos dados em cinco dimensões de variáveis explicativas: a dimensão da política de gestão; a institucional; a de mercado; a internacional; e a epistêmica. Os principais resultados obtidos apontam para: I) um consenso dos gestores em redefinir a imagem projetada berlinense, de uma cidade de conflitos e problemas sociais para uma cidade contemporânea e de oportunidades financeiras; II) criar aparelhos urbanos que sustentem

essa nova imagem, como o aeroporto internacional e as reformulações em Potsdamer Platz e Alexanderplatz; III) replicar suas boas práticas em políticas públicas a partir de redes internacionais de cidades e da internacionalização do ensino superior.

Palavras-chave: Paradiplomacia; Cultura; Política Pública; Berlim

1. **Introduction**

In 2003, Berlin's Mayor Klaus Wowereit said 'Berlin is poor, but sexy' (*The Guardian*, 2014). The phrase used to illustrate the high demand from new foreign investors in Berlin, even though the unemployment rate was high. Compared to other European cities, like Paris, Milan or even Amsterdam, Berlin should deal with its own complex image as part of World's political recent memories. Having in its past the Two Great Wars and more recently the end of Cold War, Berlin decided to invest in a new international projection strategy, more neoliberal. After the German reunification, in the 1990s, Berlin's new international strategy defined on goals of an opened image to markets, which could help its local development, by foreign investments.

The new international projection, during the three Berlin's local governments (1990-2020), based on public policies like the paradiplomacy institutionalization, urban reforms and official speeches to improve the new image around the world. In this paper the term 'paradiplomacy' (meaning parallel diplomacy in face to national diplomacies) is the same time a public policy and a foreign policy taken by local/subnational governments (Mercher e Pereira, 2018). As a city strategy to international projection, the institutionalization of paradiplomacy is a rational plan to materialize some values, interests and actions into the international role to achieve, in some way, the local development. As a term, 'paradiplomacy' could appear in different forms and synonyms, like 'subnational foreign policy', but we decided to keep 'paradiplomacy' as the usual term more known in Brazil (Junqueira, 2017).

In this moment, we could ask: Why to analyze Berlin's paradiplomacy case? Well, Berlin is one of the three Stat-Cities in Germany (Hamburg and Bremen are the others), as a State-City, Berlin has multiples levels of identification and political actions (it is a city, a State and the national capital). Even though a city is a local government, usually with no responsibilities over armed forces, Berlin has both State Policy Force and a Federative Department to deal with other German governments and European Union's dynamics. On this way, the paradiplomacy case of Berlin is somewhere between a city and a State in International Relations researches. Berlin has a greater deal of autonomy

than other cities and that is why we should understand its paradiplomacy and how it could expand the current studies in International Relations.

Another relevant point to research the Berlin's paradiplomacy case is because of its role, as a model to many other cities around the world, as we can see in many actions and references in international organizations and international networks of cities (Eurocities, UCLG etc.). In one way, we could say that Berlin could improve its good practices (public policies) worldwide by its international projection through these international institutions, sharing values and its own ways to do public policies. It is also important to remember when Bonn left the position of national capital (1948-1990), sending departments and national public services to Berlin. At that moment, Berliners needed to resignify the City identity and they choose, among other practices, to assume the seduction to the international/neoliberal financial markets by the current neoliberal paradiplomacy (Sánchez, 2001; Sassen and Roost, 2001).

There are many researches of Berlin as na stage of international dynamics, like Berlin Wall by Zavaleta Hernández and Sandra Kanety (2020). Otherwise, researches on Berlin's paradiplomacy are usually about specific actions, like sister cities by Nurwulan Rizkiya Anjani (2021). If we try to find some data on European paradiplomacy, we will end up at University of Antwerp, reading researches by Professor David Criekemans (2006), who started paradiplomacy analysis in the 1990s. Besides all the situations and points we presented on this paper about Berlin case, there is a huge challenge to find out references about Berlin's public policies in the international level.

While we need to describe the case of Berlin's paradiplomacy, we also should point the main goal in this research: to apply Pradiplomacy Analysis Model (Mercher and Pereira, 2018) to be able to identify which dimension explains better the formulations and results of the strategy chosen by the three Mayors to project Berlin's image to the international stage. We apply the Paradiplomacy Analysis Model (APD) by Mercher e Pereira (2018) to get data, but also, we apply the theoretical perceptions of international markets and the cities roles in international relations by Fernanda Sánchez (2001). Understanding paradiplomacy as a public policy, we collect data of five analysis dimensions (political management, institutional, market, epistemic and international) by local visits in Berlin, interviews, and analysis of documents, news and academic papers. To present the development of our research, we divided this paper in two more sections:

methodology and the result analysis. At the end, there are our last considerations about Berlin case and how APD model helped us to understand its current paradiplomacy.

2. Paradiplomacy and APD methodology

When we study public policy at the local level, we face actions aimed at improving the quality of life of citizens, as well as maintaining a certain financial health of the responsible institutions. Urbanism and transport, social security, market and finance, education and culture are some of the main themes of public policy that gain their own departments linked to management (departments) and legislative production (commissions). In recent years, the international theme has also gained its own departments in several cities around the world, as can be seen by the strengthening of international networks of cities, such as the Network of Local Governments for Sustainability (ICLEI, 1990) and United Cities and Local Governments (UCGL, 2021).

However, why would cities have a department of international relations if it would normally be up to national States to have international personality? In the middle of the 20th century, with the advance of globalization (Sassen, 1991), cities became richer and ceased to be just stages of international political decisions to become decision-making agents of international relations. The creation or resignification of international networks of cities stopped dealing only with local issues and began to pressure national.

governments and their international organizations to listen to what cities had to contribute. Regional integration and facing international challenges presented at the local level, such as global warming and transnational pandemics, also demanded action plans from cities and other subnational governments in the domestic and international levels. This recent historical process resulted in the institutionalization of international relations by creating new local departments and improving strategic actions plans by many cities around the world.

When a city starts to have a strategic plan of international action, with a technical body and a formalized institutional structure (department), we can observe paradiplomacy – the parallel diplomacy in faces to the national/central government. Paradiplomacy, therefore, is not any international action carried out by a city, managers or their institutions, but needs an institutionalized strategic plan (Salomón, 2011). This means that not all local-international actions are paradiplomacy. Maybe the presence of international relations departments in a city could be a good sign that paradiplomacy is present in the city. However, it is necessary to investigate if the department is more than a ceremonial

staff. A paradiplomacy department must has political objectives in international relations, as much as a specialized technical staff and all of them ruled by a political strategy in dialogue with the City goals, represented by its Mayors and society needs.

Moreover, what would paradiplomacy be in the context of international projection? Paradiplomacy, as a projection tool, would be the strategic choice of a city to gain international visibility from artistic, sports, tourist, urbanistic actions, managers' speeches and other actions to achieve previously goals, which defined by its society/Mayors (Mercher, 2020). Usually, paradiplomacy and international projection strategy are ways to get local development or political empowerment in multiple levels (local/national and international). Cities, such as Barcelona, Coimbra, Milwaukee, Paris, Rio de Janeiro and Salamanca, strategically invest in their international visibility (Ibid.) from new urban landmarks, large events of cultural experience or higher education structure to show up in the international stage and get the right attention defined previously by its local level.

As Kavaratzis argues (2004), many cities create visual identities and international popular recognition brands to strengthen segments, like tourism. Saskia Sassen also researched cities, which reinvent themselves (urban structure) to project themselves and

meet the consumption demand from the international entertainment market (Sassen and Roost, 2001). Studies by Fernanda Sánchez (2001) also observed some roles of cities surrendered by international markets in their internationalization/paradiplomacy strategies, such as in tourism and real estate markets. From these literatures, we could agree that international projection, as part of paradiplomacy is a subarea of Public Policy and International Relations studies. Otherwise, we could say this kind of paradiplomacy (projecting a strategic image to international markets) is especially presents in cities that hold some capital resource (financial, cultural, political, etc.) to deal with others in international relations.

In order to identify and understand the paradiplomatic strategy adopted by Berlin, we will use the paradiplomacy analysis model (APD). Present in Brazilian International Relations literature, and applied in other cases, such as the City of Rio de Janeiro (Mercher and Pereira, 2018), the use of the APD model (Chart 1) is the way we chosen to investigate the execution of the public policy of internationalization/paradiplomacy in Berlin. Based on governmental, social and market dimensions we believe the APD model can explain or, at least, contribute to the description of the strategic type adopted in the

last thirty years. While we investigate the case of Berlin, we also replicate and test the efficiency of APD method to identify decisive variables in the case of international projection as part of paradiplomacy studies. We emphasize that this research focuses on the execution stage data, eventually reaching some data on the elaboration and results of public policy by Mayors and society.

Chart 01: Simplified Model of Paradiplomacy Analysis (APD)

Dimensions:	Political Management	Institutional	Market	International	Epistemic
Recurrent explanatory variables:	Mayors/managers' profiles; Party-political spectrum	Specialized departments or staff; Institutional autonomy (financial); Profile of technical managers/staff	Market share and commercial dynamics; Role in the international city markets	Roles and demands of international agents; Presence in international networks and institutions	Presence of think tanks in the values and strategies of local paradiplomacy; Local Epistemic Role and reviews

Source: Authors, based on Mercher and Pereira, 2018.

The APD model helps us to collect data and test variables – previously dispersed in the literature. As a method to get and organize data, APD can indicate which dimension has a greater or lesser explanatory degree on the specific case of paradiplomacy in focus. More than that, APD is also a tool to notice the main values embedded in execution of this multilevel public policy. APD researches can be both quantitative and qualitative; employing different methods for each type of variable, we decide to investigate. There are several methods indicated by APD model, each one to support a specific variable investigation. From prosopography and network studies, to compare profiles of managers to interviews and document analysis, to identify the presence of epistemic and market groups are some examples of methods that we can use to collect data in the five dimensions presented by the investigative APD model. In a more explanatory way, summarizing the five dimensions of APD we have:

- Political Management dimension (I) we collected data from the mayors' profiles and party relations throughout the period, such as political/ideological ruptures and continuities. We can find the main personal information on personal websites, institutional websites (town halls and others) and social dictionaries;
- Institutional dimension (II) we identified whether there is a specific department to take care of the city's international relations/paradiplomacy, its financial autonomy (if it is linked to the mayor's office or if it has its own resources), as

well as the profile of its institutional managers/staff (how specialized they are in the subject);

- Market dimension (III) we investigated whether there is formal participation in the management of paradiplomacy by companies and private representations (such as local commercial and industrial associations) and whether the city is part of 'international city markets', such as real estate, tourism, good practices, etc.;

- International dimension (IV) we analyzed the presence, funding or demand of agents and international organizations in the city's local/international politics, as well as the city's participation in international organizations, such as in networks of cities and their areas of interest recorded in minutes and other documents;

- Epistemic dimension (V) we investigated whether there are relationships between the city hall and its department/managers with groups of knowledge (think tanks), sources of values on good practices of paradiplomacy (whom managers follow/advise to) and criticism from society (professors and specialists) to the paradiplomacy/public policies adopted by the City.

There is not a fixed order of analysis for each dimension, but paradiplomacy studies usually begin by observing political management and international relations departments (institutional dimension). Identifying the profile of managers (mayors), their speeches and the political party spectrum, for example, help us to see in which level the political dimension could explain if there is a greater or lesser presence of personalism or economic ideologies in the adopted paradiplomacy. As well as analyzing the epistemic dimension, we can identify whether universities and knowledge groups (think tanks) act directly or indirectly on the strategic values present in the city's paradiplomacy, such as the cases of Jordi Borja's neoliberalism orientation in Barcelona and Rio de Janeiro cases (Vainer, 2001).

For the present research using the APD model, we collected the following data: biographical and party spectral profile of the mayors of Berlin; the main actions of the mayors with the internationalization of the city; identification of the structure and technical staff of government institutions involved in the execution of paradiplomacy; the presence of agreements and links between these specialized institutions and private agents and epistemic communities (universities and think tanks); type of values and interests between local and international levels of role; participation of the City in international agendas; and responses from local society, such as public support and opposition about

the international projection of Berlin and its local prices and consequences. We got data mainly from official websites and from on-site visits, as well as interviews with academics residing in Berlin. Now that we presented APD model and our main research goals, we go on applying it in the case of Berlin.

3. APD application in the case of Berlim (1990-2020)

Institutionally, Berlin divides its foreign relations into two areas of activity (Berlin Chancellery, 2021): European and continental/regional integration; and non-European dynamics and interactions. In its paradiplomacy, Berlin needs to deal with its local development (maintaining its autonomy) by external gains. Berlin also deals with the national image (as national capital), as the same time the City deals with regional integration processes (participating in the EU), with processes external to Europe of its interest and with international and transnational challenges that permeate its territory (migrations, gentrification, terrorism, etc.). All this in the midst of its own quest to redefine its image after the reunification in 1990. In this context, paradiplomacy ends up assuming multilevel agendas of responsibilities and actions.

Even though there is this complexity of levels of actions and interests, Berlin's general paradiplomacy has remained constant over the last thirty years, with few changes – except for changes in preference from bilateral relations (1990s) to multilateral ones (2000s) in international relations. In order to simplify the comprehension of the main events that we identified throughout the present data collection, such as interviews and on-site visits, we built a brief chronological line (KINZER, 1991; DW, 2008; Introducing Berlin, 2020; Reuters, 2019):

- 1989, beginning of the fall of the Berlin Wall, extending to the following year and reconnecting the western and eastern sides until its reunification (1990);
- 1991, the decision is made on a further transfer of the national public administration, previously present in the City of Bonn;
- 1993, Transparency International is created and headquartered in Berlin to combat corruption and global political crimes, in the same year the City's Heritage recovered Berlin Cathedral, culminating, in 1999, with the restructuring of Potsdamer Platz (central region) and the new image of contemporary Berlin;
- 1999, amid the construction of new embassies, Israeli Embassy is attacked and the US pressures Berlin for greater security to build its embassy in the City, demanding public policies to address international terrorism;

- 2000, the international financial system begins to make its presence felt in the City with the inauguration of new mirrored buildings, such as the Bahntower, and initiating the gentrification processes through rising rents and basic consumption;

- 2001, since the reunification, the Christian Democratic Union Party leaves government and power and takes over the Social-Democratic Party, remaining until today in Berlin;

- 2006, the final of the FIFA World Cup (soccer) takes place in Berlin, an example of the use of major events as part of the international visibility strategy;

- 2011, on October 15, a popular demonstration against the deregulation of the financial market and other social injustices takes place in the City, in line with other demonstrations around the world (New York, Frankfurt, etc.);

- 2014, Berlin adheres to the movement against the death penalty (Cities for Life) and promotes exchanges and various events to strengthen relations with China, Los Angeles and Latin America;

- 2016, protests against gentrification follow at the streets of Berlin;

- 2019, protests against financial speculation, real estate financial monopoly and general stoppage against injustices to public and private transport professionals lead to the Legislative debate of mediation measures between the local and the international;

- 2020, Berlin approves ceiling for rent values and fight against real estate monopoly by financial agencies. Inauguration of the Berlin-Brandenburg international airport, a key part of the city's internationalization strategy, designed in the 1990s.

In this brief line history, it is possible to identify that, since the reunification, there have been overlaps of identities (local, national and EU bloc), interests of local and international markets and contrasted between the internationalization of a Berlin. The city is one of the main political centers of the European Union, while the "population resists gentrification" (Reuters, 2019) linked to "international city markets" (Sánchez 2001). About gentrification, a current term in the case of Berlin, we can summarize the definitions of Eugênia Dória Viana Cerqueira in the case of Paris (2014, p. 433-434) as a social and urban mutations in a short period that result in urban, political and social tensions, as in the case of commercial gentrification, when companies and the market become more expensive and change habits and access of the local population to the goods,

memory and identities of the affected place. In other words, when the market's interest in a particular region, it makes life more expensive and expels original people from their neighborhoods and everyday life.

We can say that gentrification in Berlin is due to the rapid opening that occurs after the German unification and absorption of the neoliberal management model by the City. The managers' consensus in maintaining a projected image redefinition as a contemporary city and of financial opportunities was also observed. In addition, the creation of urban devices, such as the Berlin-Brandenburg International Airport and the reformulations of Potsdamer Platz and Alexanderplatz with the participation of local governments, materialize the strategy of this new international visibility. That said, let us go to the data collected in use of APD model in Berlin, from 1990 to 2020.

We decided to start with the **political management dimension**. Let us take the reunification as a landmark of the New Berlin, and since 1991, we will have only three mayors in charge: Eberhard Diepgen (1991-2001, Christian Democratic Union); Klaus Wowereit (2001-2014, Social Democratic Party); and Michael Müller (2014-2021, Social Democratic Party). Within the German political ideological spectrum, the Christian Democratic Union (UDC), the same party as Chancellor Angela Merkel (2005-2021), is considered center-right (Hornsteiner, 2014; Detterbeck, 2014), while the Social Democratic Party (SPD) is considered center-left (Ditto) and affiliated with the Socialist International, both being the two largest parties on the German national stage.

Regarding the political orientation in the City of Berlin, Diepgen (UDC) was responsible for restructuring the new image of the reunified City, removing symbols taken as belonging to the former socialist regime or the division of the city (Berlin Wall, statues of Lenin, etc.) and encourage the creation of new symbols of unification across the city, such as the recovery of the Brandenburg Gate, the planning of the new international airport in Berlin (demanded in 1991, with works starting in 2006 and inaugurated in 2020) and the Potsdamer Platz that marks the new Berlin's image with its bold office buildings. However, even though he assumed neoliberal strategic plans for the City, even in the UDC government, we can understand them as moderate in the face of other great experiences, such as Barcelona and Rio de Janeiro (Sánchez, 2001; Vainer, 2001; Mercher and Pereira, 2018).

It is necessary to understand that during the Cold War little changed in the architecture of the city, since a good part of the investments from West Germany went to

Bonn and from the USSR to maintain the occupation. Berlin also comes out of the Cold War losing the position of financial capital of Germany to Frankfurt, but its actions to regain economic importance came in a neoliberal agenda that brought with it internationalization strategies along with the global financial market. However, this openness to international financial capital, which would enable the aforementioned urban transformations in the City, wore down the Berlin population, which began to elect the SPD in the majority since 2001, with some of the former politicians and residents of the socialist side gaining greater prominence.

Wowereit and Müller did not completely break with their predecessor's neoliberal internationalization strategic plans. They were still looking for a modern city and to reinforce it as an important stage for German and European policies, the last two mayors began to manage increasingly growing social demands, resistant to the consequences of internationalization. We emphasize here that the legislative and executive branches of

Berlin did not directly relate resistance to the City's paradiplomacy, but the consequences that the population associates with the lack of regulation. Strikes and protests against the financialization of services, mainly housing and transport sectors, have been constant in the German Capital since the 2010s. The two last mayors tended to separate the dialogue fronts: foreign agents remain with the usual paradiplomatic strategy; and the demand from local society is up to the legislature to create regulations and mediate the process of growth and gentrification.

Regarding the analysis of the profile of the three mayors, seeking to identify personal involvement with international issues that explain their strategies, we collected the following data from the pages of the mayors at the Berlin Chancellery (Berlin.de):

- Eberhard Diepgen was born in Berlin (11/13/1941), studied law at the Free University of Berlin, was mayor of West Berlin (1984-89), and while mayor of present-day Berlin was in opposition to the change of administrative institutions in Bonn to Berlin (Kinzer, 1991) and dealt with US mistrust and security demands in building US Embassy in the City (Cohen, 1999). It was also during his government, in 1991, that Berlin joined the Metropolis Network, then the largest international network of cities and today linked to United Cities and Local Governments-UCGL. However, it is worth noting that most partner city treaties with Berlin took place during his government, while participation in networks increased after the end of his term, from the 2000s onwards. After City Hall, he

took up a position as a lawyer at the firm Thümmel, Schütze & Partner and member of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (Berlin.de, 2023a);

- Klaus Wowereit was born in West Berlin (10/01/1953), he also studied law at the Free University of Berlin, and before taking over as mayor he was a civilian member of the interior cabinet of the Senate and municipal councilor. As mayor (2001-14) he worked to balance Berlin's international projection as a global city while also dealing with the advance of international markets for the city, declaring in 2003 that 'Berlin is poor but sexy' (The Guardian, 2014), given the high demand from investors and residents even with high unemployment. He was also nicknamed the 'symbol of freedom' by The New York Times (Lander, 2006) for being openly homoaffective and defending guidelines for social integration (Islamic immigration) and conscious and sustainable development. After the mayoralty, he devoted himself to consultancy and to gender activism and non-discrimination in politics (Berlin.de, 2023b);

- Michael Müller was born in West Berlin (09/12/1964), studied Administration and Business, opening his own business. He began his political career as a member of the PDS in 1981, being elected councilor of Berlin in 1996. He is the current mayor of Berlin (2014-21), assuming a commitment to improving the quality of life in the capital, especially in expanding the real estate offer, in expansion of working class rights and resistance to the unregulated expansion of international city markets. His government was marked by popular pressure against the rising cost of living in the city and other challenges of its internationalization (Berlin.de, 2023c).

The analysis of the three Mayors' profiles does not demonstrate a relevant personal relationship with international agendas, only being seen in the formal agendas of international strategies of the chancellors (IR departments in Berlin). However, data from this dimension show us that the current neoliberal strategy began with Diepgen and the other mayors maintained paradiplomacy without major interference. This leads us to seek in other dimensions the explanations of this type of paradiplomacy adopted by Berlin in the last thirty years.

In the **institutional dimension**, it is possible to see the materialization of the functioning of the City's paradiplomacy and its main concerns/work fronts. For institutionalist readings, this dimension would already be enough to describe the City's

paradiplomacy. However, the aim here is to identify institutional consolidation, autonomy and technical capacity to manage paradiplomacy. Therefore, the existence of an international department, it is possible to see that international relations is a relevant theme for the management of Berlin, occupying its own space in the institutional structure of the city hall (Figure 1) in spaces segmented by technical content. The City has the Berlin Chancellery of International Relations (Chancellery, 2021) which presents its five official guidelines: i) political representation and national diplomatic activities; ii) cooperation and participation in international networks of cities; iii) support for tourism and business, especially industrial tourism; iv) cultural agenda activities; and v) climate protection and sustainable technological development.

Figure 01: Institutional organization chart of international management in Berlin
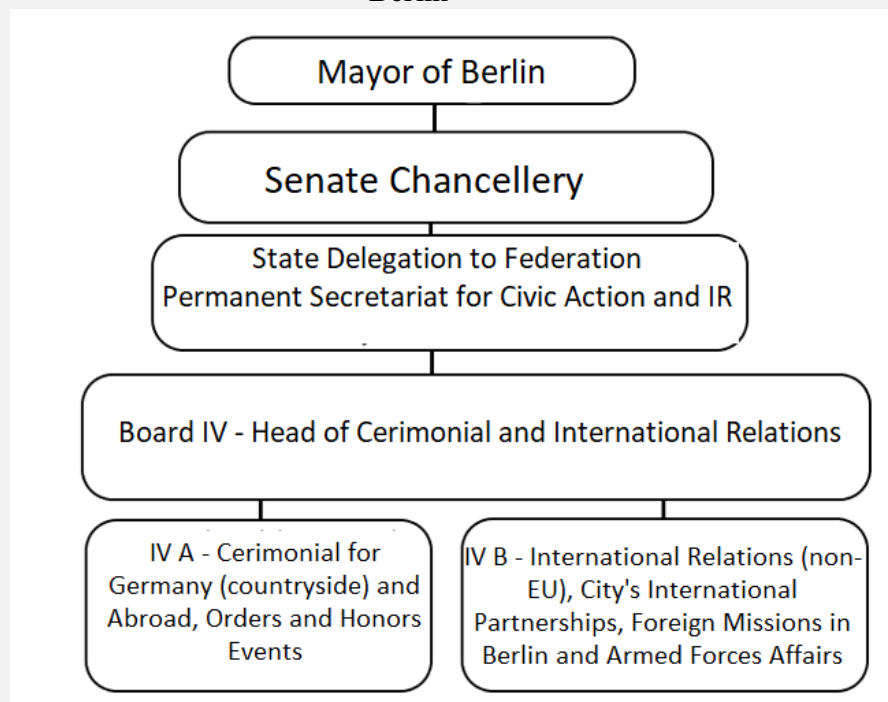
Source: Authors, based on Berlin's Chancellery, 2021.

Structurally, we call here the Berlin Chancellery of International Relations the sum of the City's international relations management instances, having its base in Department IV B, as it is the most specialized body for relations outside Germany and the European Union. It is worth mentioning that Berlin uses terms such as Senate, State and others that may confuse the reader who is not familiar with the Berliner political structure, but, in short, all Chancellery institutions presented here are subordinate to the Mayor of Berlin. Regarding the thematic activities of the Chancellery, we have a strong

presence in issues of regional integration of the European Union (EU), commercial/industrial for export, environmental and scientific/higher education.

Berlin's international relations dealt with a specialized manner by the third, fourth and fifth echelons of the local public administration. In these thirty years, we have seen a good degree of training and professional performance linked to international relations and economic and social development of the Chancellery's managers and professionals. As an example, in recent years Barbara Berninger (Department IV B) was responsible for the City's paradiplomacy from 2007 until the end of this research. Barbara Berninger is also the Regional Secretary for Europe in the Metropolis organization (world organization of cities subordinated to United Cities and Local Governments - UCLG), reinforcing strategies for transferring public policies and sustainable development in the international participation of the City in international networks (Andrews, 2015). Her perception is that smart cities are, first, internationally united cities, while making their citizens more included and aware of the city itself (IPR Praha, 2015).

The investigation of previous managers always maintains some degree of professional involvement or previous training in international relations, maintaining the specialized character of the technical staff ahead of the institutional paradiplomacy of the City. In addition to Berninger, we have Regine Kayser (Department IV A, Ceremonial and Protocol), both reporting to Andreas Zimmer (Head of Directorate IV), in turn reporting to Sawsan Chebli and Marc Quedenbaum (Federal, Civic and IR Relations) who respond directly to Christian Gaebler (Senate Chancellery/Permanent Secretary of Media) and the Mayor (currently Michael Müller). In all, 15 professionals report to Sawsan Chebli to take care of the City's Interactional Relations (Chancellery, 2021). Unlike other cities in the world, such as Brazil, the change of mayors has little effect on the positions of some of these professionals, remaining long periods in the Chancellery management, as Berninger herself.

The Chancellery highlights international networks as a fundamental strategy for internationalization. As already mentioned, the city's main topics of interest are international business, transfer of public policies, urbanism, and sustainable development and strengthening of democracy. Its participation in 14 networks reflects these interests: Baltic Metropoles (BaltMet, which strengthens the economic competitive capacity of the Balkan region); C40 (worldwide network dealing with climate change); Climate Alliance (global climate protection); ECCAR (European network against racism); Eurocities

(management of European urban challenges and opportunities); Fast-Track Cities (combating AIDS); Global Compact (sustainable development); ICORN (treatment of refugees); Mayors for Peace (decreasing nuclear weapons); Metropolis/UCGL (largest network of cities in the world); OWHC (heritage preservation); Rainbow Cities Network (fighting gender discrimination); Solidarity Cities (treatment of refugees); UCUE (European Capitals Network).

Direct partnerships with cities, on the other hand, create a more complex situation because, as a City-State, Berlin has both partnerships with cities and its neighborhoods/districts also have autonomy to develop partnerships with other cities. Formally, Berlin has links with 17 cities. Following chronological order, the signed treaties begin in 1967, with Los Angeles, and continue in the 1980s with Paris, Madrid, Istanbul, in the 1990s with Warsaw, Moscow, Budapest, Brussels, Jakarta, Tashquente, Mexico, Beijing, Tokyo, Buenos Aires, Prague and the 2000s with Vinduque and London. The Chancellery itself recognizes that the large number of partner cities prevents the same intensities of actions from being given in all, reinforcing that, since the 2000s, the City gives preference to actions and exchanges of experiences (policy transfer) through institutional means of the international networks. This information is important because it shows a change in the city's international strategy: from greater bilateral weight in the 1990s to multilateral in the 2000s.

To finalize the institutional data, it is worth mentioning the partnerships with other local institutions that are presented by Berlin Chancellery in the international strategic field: departments of the Senate of Berlin; the Berlin Partner, a kind of program for corporate and business internationalization in the city; German Foreign Offices and, consequently, other consulates and embassies; Goethe Institute, with cultural diplomacy; and DAAD which deals with educational and scientific exchange in the internationalization of German universities and teaching and research institutes. In addition, the Chancellery has a virtual news page that may be of interest on world events and in relation to the City. Market and Education stand out in these partnerships and reflect the strategic vision of local development in paradiplomacy: developing local industry and gaining international scientific and cultural relevance through higher education.

Going then to investigate the **market dimension**, we started collecting general information, where approximately three and a half million people live in the City, behind

areas such as Paris, Madrid, Barcelona and Milan within the European Union (Eurocities, 2021). Its economy has a large service base of approximately 86%, followed to a lesser extent by industry and other activities (Berlin.de, 2021). This scenario occurs due to the growing presence of representations, administrative branches and headquarters of German and foreign companies in the city, in addition to tourism, higher education and national and local public services. Economic growth, according to the official website of the City (Berlin.de, 2021), is around 2% to 3% per year, as well as the decrease in unemployment in recent years. It is worth remembering that high unemployment rates, compared to other German cities, has always been one of the biggest challenges for the City after unification, as mentioned by Mayor Wowereit, in 2003.

When we analyze the market dimension, we seek to observe at least two segments according to the APD model: market participation in the strategic management of the city's internationalization; and the relationship with international city markets (Sánchez, 2001). The first is possible to observe in the Berlin Partner, a business internationalization program that has the support of the Chancellery of International Relations of the City. The second is necessary to identify which of the city markets are present and how these interfere in the paradiplomacy and internationalization of the city.

Within the services sector, the large international companies headquartered in Berlin that we can highlight as relevant to paradiplomacy are: Bombardier Transportation, Deutsch Bahn and Berliner Verkehrsbetriebe (traffic and logistics), Charité, Pfizer and Vivantes (health), Siemens and Deutsch Telekom (technology and communication) and Coca-Cola (food). Many other companies are present, such as food franchises and financial services, as well as hotel chains and app services, such as Uber and Booking.com. However, only the first ones cited were identified (Berlin Partner, 2021) in joint actions with the Chancellery or the government of Berlin.

There is a caveat that referring to services by virtual applications, such as Airbnb, generated several social movements against or in search of regulation by demand of local population with the legislature. As already mentioned, one of the most sensitive points of the City's internationalization is the increase in the cost of living, especially housing. Berlin demonstrates awareness of the consequences of internationalization, present in texts and speeches by public managers and social movements.

From the international markets of cities, pointed out by Fernand Sánchez (2001) – market for companies with local interests; real estate market; consumer market; tourism

market; market for good public policy practices; and the consulting market – we observe growth in real estate and financial speculation and impacts from the growth of tourism and entertainment, which generates the resistance and protests already mentioned in Berlin by organized civil society. Neighborhoods such as Mitte (downtown) and Prenzlauer Berg increase their gentrification due to the presence of large companies and their well-paid employees or the demand from tourism and the international real estate market.

Newspaper headlines about this housing crisis and cost of living gained strength from the mid-2000s, in statements such as "Berlin continues to attract more investment and its international reputation attracts more and more wealthy people to new luxurious apartments, cheaper than in New York, London or Paris" (DW, 2008). As for the market for good practices in public policies, Berlin would be part of the cities that seek to export models and not so much to receive them. The Chancellery itself and Barbara Berninger advocate the use of the Berlin policy transfer database multilaterally, while seeking to encourage innovations, startups and other local experiences from the City for future sharing in city networks.

Thus, in the market dimension, we identify the joint presence between companies and markets and the Berlin IR Chancellery working together, as per Berlin Partner Program. Since the 1990s, companies and foreign investments have heated up the international markets of cities pointed out by Sánchez (2001), which materially resulted in the protests in the 2010s. The reformulation of urban areas to meet the needs of these investors, such as administrative buildings in the center and a new, larger and more modern airport, marked the local public policies of adaptation to the international market demand which, in turn, becomes the result of the intentional projection policy of the local government of an image to be consumed internationally. We could say that the strategy was successful in its primary objectives, but now it has to deal with the social impacts.

Faced with this political, institutional and market scenario, we conducted interviews, in May 2019, with academics in Berlin about the internationalization of the city's image and their perceptions of cultural paradiplomacy. We follow assumptions shared by researchers such as Fraser and Gondim (2004), in which, through qualitative interviews, we seek to record individual experiences as valid analysis data to compose the larger piece of analysis. In the **epistemic dimension**, knowing how the epistemic community sees internationalization and whether it participates in city planning is

important. In general, the universities have active participation with the Chancellery's institutional channels and have research centers on crosscutting themes. However, in general, the academic perception is critical of the consequences of internationalization and point to market regulation processes and a decrease in gentrification. At the same time, they gain from the internationalization of their student and teaching staff in this image projection with government support for the scientific sector.

Chart 02: Interviews conducted in Berlin by the authors in 2019

Interviewed:	Sergio Costa	Renata Morales Díaz	Monique Momberg	Barbara Berninger
Institution	Professor Free University of Berlin	Researcher Free University of Berlin	Researcher Humboldt University	Head of IV B Department (IR of Berlim)
Relevance	Social Research	Cultural Research	Berlin (Social and Urban) Research	Berlin Paradiplomacy Staff
Perception	Indication of new interviewees and research centers on Berlin	Favorable to the City opening / internationalization and criticism of xenophobia and market practices towards foreigners	Criticism of gentrification and inflation in Berlin as a result of the unregulated international trade liberalization	Official discourse reproduction (on-site) Favorable to Berlin opening / internationalization
Date	April, 2019	April, 2019	May, 2019	May, 2019

Source: Authors, 2022.

The interviews (Chart 2) were carried out in person in Berlin in 2019, with the audio being recorded by cell phone. The interviews began with Sérgio Costa, professor at the Department of Latin American and European Studies at the Free University of Berlin. From this first interview, indications and contacts of the research group from the local universities were obtained. Therefore, we went to these groups. At the Free University of Berlin, researcher Renata Morales Díaz was nominated, both for her regional cultural studies at the University and for being a resident foreigner, bringing an immersion perspective from the outside. At the Humboldt University, we interviewed Monique Momberg about her researches on chow foreign companies operate in Berlin and interfere in the social dynamics of the City. Finally, we interviewed the representative of paradiplomacy in Berlin, Barbara Beringer, with the aim of crossing academic and institutional assessments. All qualitative interviews were free, but always inserting three

themes in the questions: I) political and social perception of Berlin in recent years; II) international dynamics are perceived in the city; and III) assessment of the points raised by the interviewee during the interview.

In interviews with Monique Momberg, a researcher on cities, technologies and the market at Humboldt University, she informs us "the international market puts pressure on the local population, especially the most vulnerable in terms of rising living costs and gentrification". For the researcher, "banks and financial agencies buy apartments and rent them at high prices, putting students and local residents in difficult situations". At the Free University of Berlin, researcher Renata Morales Díaz informs that "openness is important [to the City], but a good part of Berlin's citizens did not like the advance of unplanned tourism, especially the young and uncommitted tourism that Berlin has been attracting in recent years". This critical perception of tourism has gained legislative support in recent years. Despite the reported growth, hosting applications such as Airbnb, which make youth tourism cheaper and easier, have been subject to fiscal restrictions in recent years by the City. Several service applications began to be regulated to reduce the offer of very cheap accommodation, leading these applications to be limited, almost always, to existing formal hotels such as SMARTments (hotel), which seeks to occupy the space for renting prohibited rooms in residential buildings to from the availability of rooms in traditional hotels at more affordable prices.

Morales also points to the works on the international airport (Brandenburg Berlin), designed in the 1990s in the first phase of the internationalization of the city's image, but which "for a long time were stopped and investigated for misuse of public money", being inaugurated only in 2020. Many professors and students participate in the manifests against gentrification and social problems arising from the growth of the market and the financialization of services in the City during the last years. In addition, the demand inflation that exists in the growing City deteriorates labor relations, leading to strikes and protests in several other sectors in recent years.

Research groups at the two universities discuss these challenges. In addition to surveys, the groups encourage the participation of their members in activism, such as against rising rents and gentrification, by advertising these events in emails. It can be said that the epistemic dimension of these two universities also integrates the social dimension in action on the internationalization policy agendas and their consequences.

In addition, what about the joint actions of the Chancellery with the epistemic communities? According to Beringer: "Science and teaching are seen as tools for the internationalization of the City and that is why they have always been present in incentives and partnerships". We really can see on-site the Chancellery working in partnership with universities and local research centers (the same groups we visited and interviewed Momberg, for example). Especially in recent years, this presence has occurred to encourage startups and innovation management to feed transfer banks from international networks such as Metropolis. The smart city concept is currently pursued by Berlin, which encourages good practice projects. Examples mentioned by Beringer in the interview were Real Map and Startup Map Berlin. The Real Map project (Real Map), a type of interactive map on accessibility that is powered by users, such as Wikipedia, created by young technicians and disseminated by the Chancellery at international events (IPR Praha, 2015) and at low cost. Another initiative is the Startup Map Berlin, a map that contains startups and innovation centers in the City. The project was an initiative of Berlin Government in conjunction with other institutions and local and international programs, such as 73 universities, schools and educational institutes and, of course, with Berlin Partner Program, bringing together public-private initiatives for internationalization (Start Up.Berlin, 2021).

Thus, in the epistemic dimension, there is a mutual interest in internationalizing university research in the category of good practices, while at the same time there is a critical position by academics on the results of internationalization serving the international market. It is not seen so much epistemic contributions of "how to execute paradiplomacy", but of dealing with its innovation opportunities and social consequences.

Finally, in the **international dimension**, the international networks of cities and the European Union level are reflected, as already mentioned. The networks become the objective of internationalization and are subordinated to the institutional dimension that manages the City's practices. We did not identify loans or grants from international organizations outside the European Union in volumes that could reduce the political and institutional management autonomy of the City over its internationalization and local management. In summary, we observe that Berlin's presence in the networks revolves around environmental agendas, such as climate change and new urban technologies for sustainable development, and technology transfer and management models, as already mentioned here about technological startups.

International systemic changes, such as the end of the Cold War bipolarity and the rise of neoliberalism, had consequences in the City, from its reunification, through the economic opening and problematic absorption of residents on the socialist side. The perception that Berlin remains economically divided, with higher unemployment on the eastern side (Gramlich, 2019). Another international, or even transnational, challenge is the refugees and immigrants who arrive in the city and promote changes in international management, such as the participation in anti-racism and refugee support networks mentioned earlier in the institutional dimension.

Therefore, the international dimension would explain more the context of the strategy of its paradiplomacy than would bring international agents imposing a model. Unlike developing cities that absorb loans from the World Bank, Berlin is a city that offers good practices to be adopted by the world, taking with it the export of technologies, professionals and knowledge (know-how). The very incentive for the internationalization of universities by the German government and Berlin may also explain the dissemination of values to other places. If, on the one hand, the projected and consumed image obtains more responses in view of the market dimension that reflects the choices of political managers and the Chancellery in recent years, on the other hand, the dissemination and dissemination of good practices is consolidating along with the paradiplomacy strategy of the City since the 2000s, with the change from bilateral relations to multilateral international networks.

4. Final considerations

The APD model application answered some previous questions at the beginning of this research as Berlin's international public management strategy was projected in a specific type of international visibility in which paradiplomacy becomes an institutional support for managers' discourses to the international markets. We noticed some values presented in this case to improve the international projection and perception, like the image of a modern city demanding urban transformations; international investment as one of the main contributions to local development; and, even with social challenges, the possibility of growth for its market partners. It was also possible to identify a consensus of managers (mayors and staff) to redefine and maintain this projected image of Berlin over the last thirty years, creating urban devices that support this new image, such as the international airport and the reformulations in Potsdamer Platz and Alexanderplatz. In addition, from the 2000s, Berlin stopped seeking bilateral partnerships cities and invested

in multilateral actions, spreading its good practices (public policies) and scientific innovation through international cities networks, expanding Berlin's fronts of international projection and political influence.

But this projection of a modern Berlin and financial opportunity has not only brought benefits. Gentrification in neighborhoods such as Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg, as well as demand-driven inflation and the financialization and virtualization of services, has brought many protesters and strikes, such as academics at the streets fighting for new public policies against the international cities markets in recent years. While the Mayors and its Chancellery deal with the projection of growth and public works to readjust the city to the projected image, it is up to the Legislative (Senate of Berlin) to mediate the pressures of these conflicts of social and international interests. The international real estate and tourism markets are currently the ones that suffer most from debates and new legislative regulations. The market for good practices, on the other hand, continues its path by international cities networks. It would be possible to consider the hypothesis that: the more the projected image of Berlin is associated with the image of a smart, modern and sustainable city, the greater the chances of being consumed by other cities in banks of good practices – and having to deal with international markets challenges, like gentrification.

The APD model also made it possible to identify that market was the driving force behind the strategy adopted in the Diepgen government in the 1990s, and so it remained throughout the Wowereit and Müller governments. The interest of the political and institutional management dimensions in meeting the market dimension explains not only the reformulation of public spaces, but also the origin of the current social challenges. Programs such as Berlin Partner and the value in the Chancellery of supporting the industrial development of the City in international business are some of the channels of approximation with market agents in the last thirty years. APD model not only allowed us to make a descriptive analysis of Berlin paradiplomacy, but also to identify which dimensions most explained its nature in an international projection strategy.

Finally, regarding the APD model, it is possible to notice an ability to observe the completely multilevel dynamics in the paradiplomacy of Berlin. However, the model needs to refine the analysis of processes deeper the dimensions. This means that APD works to analyze the situation, to see the whole, but as we go deeper into each dimension, it is necessary to master different techniques. These techniques, such as interviews,

prosopography and network studies, indicated in the APD demands from researchers a good knowledge of methods. It is up to the researcher to assess the nature and accessibility of data for each dimension and how these will be collected scientifically, so that replicability can be carried out in future research. In other words, APD manages explained the City of Berlin strategy of internationalization and paves the way for future deeper analyzes in each of the five dimensions, such as market dimension which answered many of the beginning questions during this research.

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