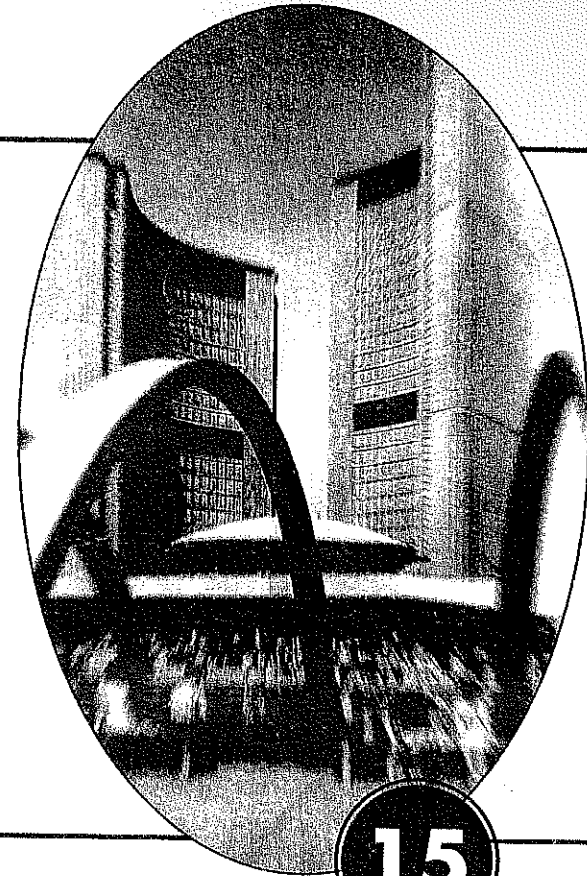December 1998

DiverseCity

Reports from
INURA's 8th Annual Meeting
Toronto, Canada

15

Bulletin

CONTRIBUTE TO THE HEALTH OF THE NETWORK

PLEASE PAY YOUR MEMBERSHIP FEE
(If you are not a member yet, please order a form from INURA Zürich)

Membership Fees (all prices in Swiss francs):		
Individuals, informal groups	30.–	
Institutions		200.–
Reduced fee*	20.–	
Donations		welcome

Fees include a subscription to the INURA Bulletin (published at least twice yearly).
Equivalents in foreign currency are accepted. Please check current rate of exchange.
* Students, people with low-income or with non-convertible currency.
Free membership upon request.

Please choose one of the following modes of payment:

Bank to bank payment: To the order of: INURA, Wolff, 3516-8.082824.1.
Zürcher Kantonalbank, CH 8037 Zürich
Eurocheck in Swiss Francs: To the order of: INURA, Wolff, Nordstr. 151, CH 8037 Zürich
Post to post payment: Postcheck account: 80-207996-8, INURA, 8037 Zürich, Switzerland.

NOTE: Please do not send personal checks! They are charged a sFr. 10.– commission!

INURA

CONTENTS

SUSTAINING AND GOVERNING THE MULTICULTURAL CITY

The 8th Annual International Network for Urban Research and ActionConference was held in Toronto, Canada, September 14-16, 1998, followed by a retreat at the Ox-Bow Lodge in Huntsville, September 17-20. An outline of the morning sessions at the Conference and a special evening forum on the Olympics are reproduced below. In the afternoon, conference participants toured local sites relevant to the conference theme of DiverseCity. Several participants submitted reflections on the sessions and tours or summaries of their papers. These submissions form the bulk of this edition of the INURA Bulletin.

September 14, 1998

DiverseCity in a Global World: The Praxis of Dissent

Gerda Wekerle, Chair

Ignacio Gomez-Palacio "Awakening and Surprises of the Mexican Citizen"

Anne F. Staehelin "Innercity Actions in Switzerland and Germany"

Louanne Tranchell "Linking Research and Action in London"

Helen Kennedy "Community/Labour Solidarity:
Building a Broad Movement of Resistance in Toronto"

The City Region: European and North American Perspectives

Gene Desfor, Chair

John Graham "North American Urban Regions: Selected Views from Toronto"

Christian Schmid "The Urban Region and the Politics of Scale: a European Perspective"

Programme INURA 1998

DIVERSECITY

2

Homeless or Housed: Crossing the Threshold of Poverty, Discrimination and Exclusion

Richard Milgrom, Moderator

John Clarke "Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) Toronto"

Maria Cecilia Loschiavo dos Santos "The Spontaneous Aesthetics of Homeless Material Culture in Two Views"

Darlene Minor "Mental Health and Homelessness"

Sylvia Novac "Women and Homelessness"

Bud Osborn "Downtown Eastside Vancouver and the Pressure of Gentrification"

Benoit Raoulx "The Social Geography of Urban Poverty in France and Canada"

Dominik Veith and Jens Sambale "Shifting Space"

Immigrant and First Nations Experiences

Barbara Rahder, Moderator

Rodney Bobiwash "Aboriginal History in Toronto"

Liette Gilbert "From Ethnic to Global Consciousness? (Ethno)nationalism meets Social Diversity"

Winston Husbands "Immigrants are Not the Problem: Hunger in Toronto"

Mwarigha "The Impact of Downloading on the Immigrant Service Delivery Infrastructure in Toronto"

Carsten Quell "Invisible Diversity in a Communitarian Democracy: Ontario's Afro-Francophones"

Ceta Ramkhalawansingh "Equity and Access: Public Policy Response"

Heike Schiewer "Intercultural Coexistence in Ethnically Diverse Neighbourhoods"

Olympic Dreams -- Urban Nightmares? A Forum on Urban Megaprojects and Resistance

    Fred Robinson, Chair

    David Hulchanski, U. of Toronto

    Helen Lenskyj, U. of Toronto; Bread Not Circuses; Sydney, Australia

    Richard Wolff, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology; INURA Zurich

    Ute Lehrer, UCLA; INURA Los Angeles; Berlin

    Gamal Abdel-Shehid, York University; CUPE local 3903; Toronto, Canada

    Michael Shapcott, Bread Not Circuses Coalition, Toronto, Canada

September 16, 1998

DiverseCity and Urban Ecology

    Roger Keil, Moderator

    Paul Csagoly   Budapest Today – Transition Update

    Eduardo Garay "The Latin American Environmental Group"

    Paola Jiron   Incorporating a Gender Dimension to the Analysis of Urban Indicators for Quality of Life

    Alice Nabalamba   Environmental Justice: Explaining Disproportionate Exposure to Environmental Burdens

    Raffaele Paloscia & Anna Lisa Pecoriello

    Gord Perks "Toronto Environmental Alliance"

    Geoff Ray   Multiracial Environmental and Social Justice Movements: the Struggle Against Market Forces

The Politics of Work and Employment at the Dawn of the Millennium

    Gregory Albo, Moderator

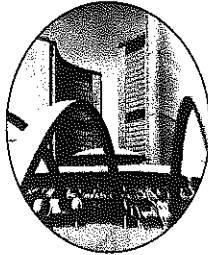   Alex Dagg "UNITE Toronto"

    Anders Hayden   Working Towards a New Movement for Shorter Work Time

    Philipp Klaus   The Role of the Cities for Work

    Marvi Maggio   Spaces and Times of Reproduction

    Stacey Papernick "Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union in Toronto"

IMPRESSIONS OF TORONTO

Here are some impressions recorded by an Italian originally from the south, but living and teaching in Florence, who has seen a fair bit of the world, but very little of North America, and who has just visited Toronto for the first time.

Horizontal/vertical

The average Italian imagines the North American metropolis in terms of verticality par excellence, the apotheosis of the elevator as a vehicle towards the heavens. Toronto indeed does nothing to contradict this vision, offering in fact, through the compactness of its sky-scrapers, moments of intense emotion, culminating in a breath-taking climb up the CN Tower, the "World's tallest free-standing structure!"

Yet even from the heights of this tower, where the vertical density no longer hinders a complete vision of the whole, one begins to get an inkling of just how dominant that other dimension, the horizontal, actually is. The horizontalness is accentuated by the abnormal vertical growth distributed in apparently haphazard fashion in a light and sparse grey-green blanket. The only exception is downtown Toronto.

Experienced from below, from inside, this sensation grows and hand in hand grows a sense of discomfort for those hitherto unused to it. Leaving the centre and taking a highway to reach any other metropolitan destination leads us into the midst of motorway lanes that rapidly reproduce themselves in multiples of four. We can count eight, then twelve, then sixteen, then twenty. The only thing you can reach by highway seems to be yet another highway, in a kind of endless placeless flight.

Eyes wishing to escape the feverish density of the city find no reward without pushing north to the wonderful red maple woodlands. Here single, anonymous, low houses gathered together in long, shapeless rows or, alternatively, accumulate into "villages" of the "new urbanism." Already built or under construction, there is a pungent and repellent air of falseness to be breathed here.

A great and uncontrollable longing for the city suddenly wells up -- a desire for a centre, a place, an opportunity to enjoy all that Toronto offers. And Toronto offers sociability, lively disorder, interwoven cultures, good architecture dating back to the beginning of the twentieth century, and squirrels who also seem to prefer close contact.

Up with the city, down with the metropolis!

INURA

Cosmopolis

The arrival of an Italian research student from Florence with relations scattered throughout Toronto provides an excuse for a great family get-together. Around the table gather scores of cousins, all anxious to show off a good, but by no means perfect, Italian. Their Italian has never been put to the test in the homeland, but has been carefully preserved along with good cooking, cultural traditions, and a sense of belonging in a far-off country, which is enriched by its blending with their being Canadian. Something similar is certainly repeated in different ways, through different rites and behaviour for the many other nationalities present in huge numbers in this city.

The university appears to provide one of the opportunities for different nationalities to come together. It is the ultimate salad pot of various ethnic groups, each represented in the scores of associations which follow one after the other, room by room, the country of origin advertised in large letters on the doors, in the beautiful student centre at York University. A stroll through it confirms that pleasant sensation already experienced in the journey to the campus. Indeed, the bus itself condenses the image of an ethnographical handbook, in which the fact that the pages are all mixed up causes no apparent trauma, each living together side by side, in a by now established and enriched life-style. Is this an illusion or has a virtuous cosmopolitan city really and truly been accomplished in Toronto?

Native Peoples

There is, however, one note that is out of harmony -- someone that is near and far at the same time. For the Native peoples whose homeland is this very place, distance is provided by time, by the burden and devastation of layers of successive civilisations which prevent the deep roots of their rich culture coming to light, entrusted as these are to the vulnerability of a fundamentally oral tradition. Journeying through the symbolic places of the First Nations, of the Aboriginal peoples of this corner of land near the Great Lakes, accompanied by a passionate and cultured guide, himself an Native person, a profoundly sad pilgrimage is revealed, one that has no physical or visible reference points.

Yet another long trip along the metropolitan highway towards a place which isn't: a mound in the centre of a green grassy area, with a marker on top reminding us how, many centuries prior to the arrival of the Europeans, this was a Holy Burial Ground. This is a place that has even been denied the right to bear a Native name, preference having been given to that of the last, recently deceased, owner of European decent. Why is it that Toronto, a city so open to the different peoples of the world, somehow can't manage to express something better for its Native peoples?

Raffaele Paloscia

DIVERSITY -- DIVERSECITY

The theme of this year's INURA conference, 'DiverseCity', was intended to focus on issues of diversity that characterize current cities. As indicated by the Benetton example, diversity is becoming a hegemonic term in global cities and postmodern discourse. In Toronto, for example, diversity is a buzzword used to frame municipal policy, to market department store wares, and to sell Toronto's bid to host the Olympic Summer Games in 2008. As a policy term and a business proposition, diversity expresses little more than a liberal and individualist attitude of tolerance. This attitude relates primarily to culinary tastes and does not challenge forces of racialization and oppression that fragment contemporary metropolitan life.

In discussions among the Toronto group organizing the conference, 'DiverseCity' was intended to have a different meaning. By using 'DiverseCity', we wanted to name the multiplicity of interconnected sites of restructuring, power and politics in contemporary cities. Rather than expressing a supermarket of ideas and consumer identities that are available in current cities, 'DiverseCity' was used to refer to the ways in which exploitation and domination are unevenly experienced and resisted within particular urban regions. The theme was based on the recognition that progressive politics must acknowledge, as well as connect, different sources of transformational politics that exist in contemporary urban space.

With 'DiverseCity' we wanted to establish connections at a number of levels that are not only consistent with INURA's mandate but also introduced new themes that emerged, in part, from our Canadian and North American situation. First, we attempted to facilitate exchanges among academics, community organizers, activists, students, community researchers and university teachers. Second, we brought together participants from different cities to establish new links among European INURA members and new participants from Toronto and other cities in the Americas. Third, we organized roundtable discussions and urban tours that focused on linkages between strategic sites of restructuring and conflict: housing and homelessness, immigration, racism and First Nations experiences, work and employment, urban ecology, and hunger and food security. By focusing on linkages among substantive issues, we intended to counteract the tendency of contemporary forms of resistance to fragment opposition groups and crystallize 'multiple solitudes'. In this way, 'DiverseCity' was intended to continue the search for "possible urban worlds" begun at last year's INURA conference in Zurich by probing connections between what Henri Lefebvre

would have called particularizing from the "right to difference" and universalizing from the "right to the city."

During the panel and roundtable discussions at the conference many of these connections were made. In Monday's opening panel discussion, contributors emphasized the importance of connecting not only different forms of progressive politics in a particular city, but also different scales of political engagement. All presenters made connections between forms of activism in their cities and the transnationalizing forces of capital and neoliberal politics. Ignacio Gomez-Palacio shed light on citizen activism in Mexico City as a major force in the creation of an independent city government and in the destabilization of Mexico's ruling party, the PRI, with its clientalist modes of political control. Louanne Tranchell told the story of a successful campaign in London, England to make the police accountable for acts of brutality and discrimination against a black Londoner. Helen Kennedy discussed labour-community alliances and a recent political strike in Toronto. Anne Staehelin commented on connections between radical "inner-city actions," anarchist squatter politics and the global campaigns of "People's Global Action" against the World Trade Organization in Zurich and Geneva. All the participants emphasized the importance of developing mobilization strategies that integrate local activist networks with global political campaigns.

The second day started with a roundtable on housing and homelessness. It brought together people from Toronto, Latin America, and Western Europe. In contrast to the discussions on the previous day which had hopefully noted the promises and potentialities of social movement politics, the discussions on housing and homelessness stressed the persistent and growing numbers of homeless, underhoused and poorly housed people in cities. Though a large part of the discussion was devoted to defining homelessness, there was agreement that homelessness is a problem that goes far beyond the question of how many people have roofs over their heads. At the same time, exchanges on the meaning of squatting between Maria Cecilia dos Santos from Sao Paolo, Bud Osborn from Vancouver, Darlene Minor, Sylvia Novac and John Clarke from Toronto, Benoit Raoulx from Caen and Jens Sambale from Berlin revealed the existence of major structural differences in housing markets and political conflicts not only between the North and the South but also between North America and Western Europe.

Thematically, the panel on immigration, racism and First Nations experiences may have been the newest for INURA. For the first time at an INURA conference, the urban experiences of First Nations peoples were problematized. Rodney Bobiwash criticized the way in which aboriginal history has become invisible in contemporary Toronto. Other participants shed light on the diverse experiences of immigrants and ethnicized groups in different cities. Ceta Ramakhalawansingh and Mwarigha from Toronto spoke of the partial, and uncertain, successes of multicultural, equity, access and anti-racist policies. All participants including Liette Gilbert from Montreal, Heike Schiewer from Dortmund, and Carsten Quell from Toronto

underscored the difficulties of confronting the forces of discrimination and racialization new immigrants face in many cities. This is particularly the case when new immigrant status and racism overlap with poverty and hunger, as Winston Husbands reminded us in his presentation on food banks in Toronto.

On Wednesday morning, the roundtable on urban ecology demonstrated the breadth of ecological politics that currently exist in contemporary cities. Participants from Latin America (Eduardo Garay, Paola Jiron), Eastern Europe (Paul Csagoly), Western Europe (Raffaele Paloscia and Anna Lisa Peccoriello), and North America (Geoff Ray, Alice Nabalamba, Gord Perks) gave us an indication of how many different voices articulate urban ecologies. Paloscia and Peccoriello described difficulties designing local places ecologically, equitably and democratically. Ray and Nabalamba presented the INURA audience with a somewhat new dimension of ecological politics. Their presentations on environmental justice movements, which try to integrate ecological concerns with a left politics of class, gender and antifracism, gave a strong social tone to the discussion about green politics. Their presentations, rooted in American cities' experiences, contrasted, in part, with those activists, including Gord Perks from Toronto, who have worked in situations where green politics is primarily civic and middle-class in orientation.

The final roundtable of the conference on work and employment articulated the problematic of DiverseCity from still another angle. Philipp Klaus presented his research on deindustrialization and the casualization of labour markets in Zurich. Marvi Maggio made a passionate plea to include considerations of gender, household structure, and ideologies of domesticity into analyses of work. While Klaus' and Maggio's stories are rooted in political histories largely disconnected from the labour movement, Anders Hayden and Stacey Papernick engaged in a debate over work and employment more centred on the formal labour market. Papernick's presentation focused on workers in Toronto's hotels and restaurants -- highly gendered and racialized workplaces. Hayden defended a left-green perspective on work-time reduction. Exchanges between Klaus, Maggio, Papernick and Hayden reminded the audience of the difficulty of promoting and organizing progressive -- left, green, anti-racist and feminist -- perspectives on work and production in the globalized and fragmented context of contemporary cities.

This year's conference advanced INURA debates by introducing new themes and establishing new substantive and geographical connections, particularly in the areas of immigration/First Nations, work and ecology. However, much work remains to enhance both discussions about, and connections between, particular dimensions of restructuring and resistance and the search for strategies to create a different urban world. This is particularly the case for the problematic of urban regions, as Christian Schmid and John Graham reminded us. How can assertions of difference be articulated within global (universal) projects of social transformation? In turn, how can claims to the 'right to the city' be articulated with diverse practices that not only depart from, but also aim at the realization of difference in an urban world? Finally, how can a progressive project for urban regions contribute to the search for the 'right to the city'?

Stefan Kipfer

What are the dangers and opportunities of becoming an Olympic City? This question was asked of participants (Gamal Abdel-Shehid, David Hulchanski, Helen Lenskyj, Ute Lehrer, Michael Shapcott, and Richard Wolff) on the panel Olympic Dreams - Urban Nightmares, staged in Toronto on September 16, 1998. The panel was organized by INURA and the Bread Not Circuses coalition of Toronto as a special event at INURA's 8th annual conference. Panel speakers talked about Olympic experiences in Berlin, Atlanta, Sydney and Sion/Switzerland. I tried to focus on the various ways Olympics are used and abused for political ends, how Olympics are a special form of mega-projects, and how many members of INURA have been involved in controversies over such mega-projects. Finally, I have added some reflections on the ways large urban projects should be decided upon.

Sion 2006: Switzerland's most recent bid for the winter Olympics

Almost every four years, some Swiss skiing resort bids to host the Olympics. This time it is Sion, in the canton of Valais, which hopes to attract international attention, tourists and investments. Only one Swiss location has ever been a successful candidate, St. Moritz, in 1928 and 1948. Ever since, Swiss bids have been turned down either by the Olympic committee or by the Swiss people. In the late 60's even Zurich had Olympic ambitions, but these were suffocated in an early stage by public referendum. On November 2, 1969, 145,347 people in Zurich voted against financial support of 69 million Swiss francs for the Olympics of 1976, only 40,912 people voted in favour.

Focussing on the Urban Nightmare of Olympic Dreams

Though there are examples of Olympic Games which have been not only sporting and financial successes but even fun (think of Lillehammer), most of these mega-sports events have left scars on the urban territory. Natalia Sakkatou from Athens told me of the distress, anger and deep shock she feels about the changes happening to her beloved home town. Rows of houses are being torn down, entire neighbourhoods are being destroyed, the whole city is being turned upside down, regardless of protests coming from both archaeologists and concerned citizens. What is the cause of this upheaval? Well, Athens will stage the Olympics of 2004. Unfortunately, the people of almost every Olympic city can tell of similarly traumatic experiences. Because of the sheer size of the projects, the almost unlimited financial means involved and the scale of the new urban infrastructure, Olympic Games offer the once-in-a-lifetime chance for restructuring not only the built but also the social environment. Very often there is also a hidden agenda of image construction which is pursued by the elites of cities and countries. We don't have to go back as far as Berlin in 1936 to illustrate this point. For example, Barcelona very cleverly took the Olympic opportunity to remodel its physical appearance and to present itself as a modern, clean, rich and efficient city, ready for the European market, international investors and global competition. The fact that entire neighbourhoods of affordable housing were sacrificed and that hundreds of inhabitants were evicted for this project was hardly ever mentioned. The glory of the games often overshadows the misery caused by them.

▶▶
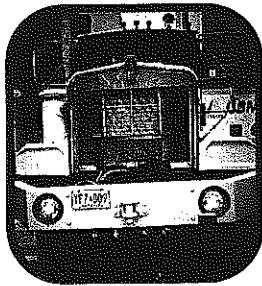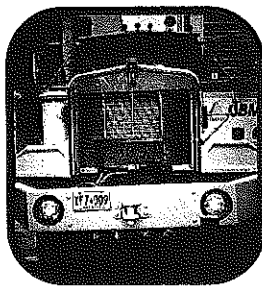
Destruction, evictions, financial scandals, even outright repression are often the side shows of the Olympics. October 2, 1968, is probably the darkest mark in Olympic history. Ten thousand students assembled in Tlatelolco Square in Mexico City. They were protesting for freedom of opinion, academic reforms and particularly against the high costs of the Olympic games. Mexico's authoritarian regime did not tolerate this expression of public disapproval. In a terrible massacre more than 300 protesters were killed by armed forces. Nevertheless, only ten days later, Mexico presented itself as a peaceful, safe and happy Olympic host.

How can we deal with Olympics and other Mega-Projects?

The interests and the stakes financial, political as well as ideological – involved in organizing Olympic Games are certainly tremendous. Where there is so much money and prestige to be won (and lost) there is bound to be conflict. If we don't want this conflict to become life-threatening, we have to allow open discussions and the free expression of opinions. If public opinion and the interests of the under-privileged are ignored there is bound to be trouble. In response to exclusionary decision-making processes the Nolympics movements of Amsterdam and Berlin have shown how even relatively small groups are able to derail the Olympic train.

Olympics do not really differ from other urban mega-projects, where there are similar issues of conflict and diverging interests involved. Whereas Olympics have never been a major topic inside INURA, many of the network s members have looked at other large-scale urban projects. In the past years, we have had the opportunity to learn a lot about mega-projects such as waterfront developments in Amsterdam and Toronto, the London Docklands, or station (re-) developments throughout Europe. Many INURA members have studied and/or have been involved with movements opposing these developments. Some of us have even been successful in doing this. Two examples are the railway lands developments at King's Cross in London and Eurogate in Zurich. Both of these huge mainly-office developments have not been built, partly because of community resistance, actions groups, and political movements.

There are a few lesson we have learned from these experiences, which I believe are just as true for Olympic projects. Before any decisions are taken, there has to be a broad democratic discussion about the pro and cons of such major urban interventions. All opinions should have equal opportunity to be heard. There should be a clear and easily understandable impact assessment of the social, ecological, economic, cultural, political etc. consequences of the project. Only if, and after, all these facts have been openly presented and discussed is it possible for the public to decide on the desirability of the project. Based on the facts and without any pressure it would then be possible to have negotiations and to look for deals or compromises. As a last resort it should always be possible for any party to demand a referendum on the contested issue. If we are looking for a socially just, ecologically sustainable and economically viable future, we have to think about, demand and realize more democratic decision-making processes in urban development.

Richard Wolff

INURA MEETS 'BREAD NOT CIRCUSES'

Despite the title, INURA is not an action group. INURA does not, at this point, have the capacity to stage campaigns and mobilize people. Yet INURA does have a mandate to be rooted politically in the places it is 'housed'. Also, INURA has a tradition of attempting to make political interventions in the cities where it holds its meetings and conferences.

In Toronto, the challenge of organizing an INURA conference and making it a local as well as an international event was productive in several ways. First, the process of organizing "DiverseCity" allowed us to make new local connections to critical activists and intellectuals in anti-racist, anarchist and local community media. Second, the presence of INURA made a modest contribution to progressive causes in Toronto. This was true for "Olympic Dreams – Urban Nightmares," our public event on Toronto's bid for the 2008 Summer Olympics. This event was co-sponsored by the Metro Network for Social Justice and Bread not Circuses.

Bread not Circuses is a coalition of individuals and organizations concerned about Toronto's ongoing bid for the 2008 Summer Olympics. In the late 1980s, Bread not Circuses grew out of an effort of housing, homeless and anti-poverty activists to combat Toronto's bid for the 1996 Olympics. Ultimately, Bread not Circuses played a small but not insignificant role in undermining Toronto's bid. Years later, in early 1998, Bread not Circuses regrouped when movers and shakers of the Toronto elite went public with their campaign for the 2008 Olympics.

In cities like Amsterdam and Berlin, anti-Olympic organizers drew on the mobilizing capacity of existing urban movements to make the respective Olympic bids an explosive issue. In contrast, the capacities of Bread Not Circuses have been more limited. While Bread not Circuses has been partly effective 'working the system' – lobbying city councillors, networking among activists – it has remained rather isolated. It has not been effective at making the Olympics a focal point of mobilization. Even the support of the Metro Network for Social Justice, an umbrella group of about 200 movement and community organizations in Toronto, has not made a huge difference in this regard.

"Olympic Dreams – Urban Nightmares," the INURA public forum organized with Bread not Circuses, was quite successful. The media work preceding the forum yielded quite remarkable coverage on Olympic issues. The name "International Network for Urban Research and Action" lent credibility to the cause. Voices critical of the Olympics were heard and seen on national radio and television, even making the pages of the mainstream press. In addition, the presence of INURA allowed a broad discussion of Olympic urbanization issues that included voices and experiences of activists from other cities. It is now up to Bread not Circuses and other critical urban activists in Toronto to continue the hard work of problematizing Olympic Games as a focal point of urbanization in current metropolises.

Stefan Kipfer

TORONTO TOURS

⬤ A NORTH AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

Two tours -- "The Great Indian Bus Tour of Toronto" and the walking tour on "Food (In)Security in the City" --- were no doubt the most 'North American' of those offered at the INURA conference. While all seven tours looked at conference issues and themes from a distinctly Canadian perspective, these two tours, in particular, showed European visitors aspects of life in North American cities not typically found in Europe: Aboriginal history hidden within the fabric of the postmodern city and low-income people's growing reliance on food banks.

As historian Rodney Bobiwash pointed out on "The Great Indian Bus Tour of Toronto" the history of the area's First Nations has been virtually wiped out by the concrete streets and highrises of the immigrants who have settled in Toronto over the past two hundred years. While most school children in Toronto learn that the name Toronto means the Meeting Place, few learn that this area on the north shore of Lake Ontario is a place of significant political and cultural activity in Aboriginal history, from well prior to European occupation until the present. This tour visited sacred burial sites, ancient forests, and contemporary cultural landmarks in the Aboriginal community. Many of these sites are virtually invisible to the uninitiated: obscured by residential developments, built or paved over and re-named after Europeans, or hidden within local parks. It was the invisibility of this history, and the 'insurgent' historical perspective provided by Rodney Bobiwash, that was most striking. The tour made the almost complete obliteration of Canada's First Nations palpable.

In a similar vein, Winston Husband's tour, "Food (In)Security in the City," explored another often hidden dimension of life in North American cities -- hunger. The tour began at the Daily Bread Food Bank, a type of agency apparently unknown in Europe. Here, participants were introduced to the growing problem of hunger in Toronto, and the evolution of the food bank response, including the development of alternative food security strategies, such as community gardens and food co-operatives. The tour visited a community garden, where participants talked with members of a local community about their struggles for food security. The tour ended at the Field to Table warehouse, where representatives of FoodShare, Field to Table, and the Afri-Can Food Basket described their work within an ethno-culturally diverse context. Participants seemed surprised at how widespread the problem of hunger is in the apparently prosperous City of Toronto, and intrigued by the creative responses being developed by grassroots community groups to address these problems in culturally specific and appropriate ways.

▶▶

Other tours provided opportunities for participants to examine Toronto's patterns of urban form and development -- including vast expressways typical of North American cities, "new urbanist" suburbs, inner-city neighbourhoods, areas of industrial decline and new growth, as well as the city's somewhat unique system of wooded ravines. Some of the highlights, for example, included a regional bus tour that stopped in Markham, just east of Toronto, to visit the new urbanist development of Cornell. When participants got off the bus to look around, a sales representative invited them into a model home and gave them an unanticipated sales pitch, singing the praises of the development. This was, of course, in stark contrast to the critical commentary provided by the INURA tour guide.

Other highlights included Jon Caulfield's walking tour of "Toronto's Western Inner City Neighbourhoods," which visited Kensington Market, among other places. Here participants enjoyed Chinese fruit and vegetable stands, Jamaican patty shops, Jewish butchers, Italian bakeries, European cheese boutiques, vintage clothing stores, and a host of other small specialty shops. On the walking tour of "Housing Struggles in Downtown East," Richard Milgrom described the controvery involving squeegee kids who clean car windshields at stop lights. To properly explain the issue, Richard walked out into the street and pretended to clean a windshield much to the horror of the driver, and the amusement of conference participants. Stefan Kipfer and friends on the "Industrial Restructuring and the Politics of Environmental Justice" tour visited both deindustrialized zones and brownfields as well as new burgeoning installations of the film industry in what is called "Hollywood North." This tour also met with activists who described how deindustrialization and soil pollution on former industrial lands have become articulated as issues of environmental justice. And last, but not least, Roger Keil lead a bicycle tour of "Ravine Toronto," cycling through the Don Valley and Toronto's eastern ravines, examining ecological features at such sites as the Chester Springs Marsh and Taylor Creek Park, and ended up sipping coffee in the sun at a local outdoor cafe.

Barbara Rahder

INURA

14
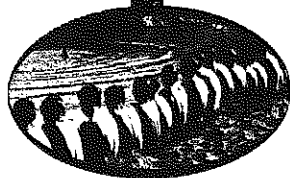
Ya know, keeping notes is not such a bad idea at all. After you reach fifty, the memory chips need replacing, or at least a thorough upgrade. My memory of the retreat has trouble getting past the incredible colours of the leaves, the unusually warm September weather, the walk in Algonquin Park, canoeing, swimming, great conversations by the fire at night, watching the stars from a warped dock, and a strange song a young woman sang late one evening. The presentations, debates, discussions and exchange of ideas have more or less passed into the great grey unknown. If only I had those notes that Louanne was conscienti ously taking, then everything would be all right. But I do not, and I can only write what I remember. So, here goes.

As Antonio Gomez-Palacio and I pulled into the dirt parking lot at Ox-Bow Lodge at dinnertime, I was both exhausted and filled with anticipation. Exhausted from the first week of university classes and helping organize the INURA meeting, but filled with anticipation for the three-day retreat at a northern Ontario lodge. The anticipation grew as we passed the Severn River on the drive from Toronto to Huntsville and the leaves began changing colours. As we got closer to the lodge the sun was low on the horizon and it cast a magnificent light on the reds, yellows and oranges of the annual fall display. We were in luck; the fall colours were just reaching their peak. Nature was putting on a show for our European and North American visitors that could not be beaten.

We conference organizers had a plan to suggest for the retreat: to maintain the dimensions of diversity by which the round-table discussions and tours had been structured. In this way social activists and researchers could continue discussions around issues that arose during the meetings in Toronto. By dinnertime of the first day, it was clear this plan needed to be scrapped. People, quite reasonably, wanted to talk about work in which they had been engaged during the previous year. And so it was.

During the morning and early afternoons we sat by the lake to hear presentations and debate concerning possibilities for an INURA institute, the Daily Bread Food Bank in Toronto, and the complexity of social activism when working within the system.

Later in the afternoons, the warm weather and beautiful fall colours made possible a series of informal activities. That most Canadian experience, canoeing on a lake, became a venue not only for international discussions on a variety of topics concerning the roles of activists and researchers, but also quiet contemplation about the wonder of water and trees. A walk in Algonquin Park featured a rest by the banks of a stream where tired feet could be cooled for a few minutes and the reality of our social struggles seemed far away.

For those three days, we could be away from the city and everyday world in which we live. The three days at the retreat were great for me -- a time for rejuvenation, contemplation, discussion, debate and making plans for our next meeting.

Gene Desfor
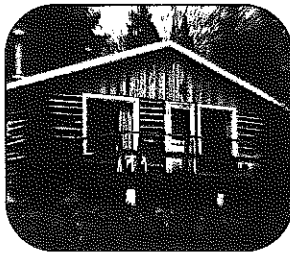
"NO FIXED ABODE" FROM A GEOGRAPHICAL POINT OF VIEW

A SNAPSHOT CONCERNING HOMELESSNESS IN FRANCE

Homelessness refers to marginality and to relationships to space. Robert Castel [1] notes that marginality is located inside the social space of production and social recognition "far from the core of dominant values, but however linked to it because the marginal have the inverted sign of the norm he doesn't realise." [2]

In France, the issue of homelessness is linked to the 'discovery' of new forms of poverty in the late 1970s following debates on social exclusion. Homeless people are commonly called "SDF" or *Sans Domicile Fixe* (no fixed abode). This term is not new. However, in the 1950s the word commonly used was *sans-abri* (shelterless), referring directly to the lack of housing before the construction of large social housing projects.

Stereotypes are also changing and diversifying. For example, the *routard*, a young transient person begging in the street, is now a common picture. The expression "SDF" has become a noun. Using an acronym is a common trend in France -- creating a noun derived from a predicate. It contributes to a new category and gives a dualistic picture of society. It is noticeable that the expression "*Avec domicile fixe*" (with fixed abode) doesn't exist!

Having "no fixed abode" is not enough to be considered "SDF". Geographical mobility has a positive connotation for rich people. The ability to fit into several different places gives certain individuals a higher social status, contributing to their increasing "social capital" (as with academics, for example). "Cosmopolite" means being a citizen of several places in the world; in the social spectrum it is the opposite of being homeless.

The social condition of homelessness is shaped through experience. Think about daily life: where to sleep, where to stay and have a meal, how to use and reuse marginal resources in public spaces (like collecting cardboard in France). Some skills are constructed through this experience of space, but are not recognised by society. Status as a citizen tends to be denied in these cases. In the core of the definition of having 'no fixed abode', is the fact of not having an address. An address is a way to reach a person, both to control and to acknowledge him/her as a member of society. In fact, in France, one of the first things done in social agencies dealing with homeless persons is to provide them with a mail box.

Thus, the spatial dimension reinforces social position, and mobility can have negative or positive values depending on your position in society.

▶▶

INURA

How Many Homeless People?

Homelessness is defined differently according to who is dealing with the issue. It is impossible to give a single definition because homelessness can't be defined intrinsically. The French institutional definition is similar to the Toronto Mayor's Homelessness Action Task Force, which defines homeless people as a population at risk of being on the street in the immediate future. This definition, however, is difficult to apply. Statistics boards in France, for example, are unable to provide accurate information. Since 1993, an official council has tried to develop some tools to analyse the situation better, but it is a very complex and sensitive issue. [3]

It is almost impossible to estimate the total number of SDF in France -- 200,000-300,000 people are living on the street or in shelters according to a survey done ten years ago. In the Paris area (a metropolis of ten million inhabitants), there are about 50,000 homeless people. But if you consider people living in substandard or overcrowded housing as homeless, these figures increase to include several million people. The number of priority applicants to social housing is estimated at 350,000 people in the Paris area. In a middle size city, like Caen, in Normandy (with a population of 200,000) a social agency targeting childless single individuals regularly serves 400 to 500 people. [4]

Homelessness exists throughout the country despite the common perception that it is typical only of big cities. Most of the research on homelessness has been done in cities and homelessness appears more visible in cities, but the experience and profile of homeless people can be different according to the local context. In Paris, for example, redevelopment projects lead to the destruction of cheap, substandard, private market housing in some areas. The shortage of private market housing for the poor is partly due to the destruction of the so-called "law from 1948" housing stock,[5] the decrease of Single Room Occupancy hotels, the lack of social rental housing, and the destruction of squats.

Some decaying private buildings are squatted by poor people from different backgrounds, particularly immigrant families. When the building is considered insalubrious, the people are evicted. Re-accommodating them is a problem because of the lack of adequate social rental housing for low-income people in Paris. The Prefect has the responsibility to find them another place to live. The City of Paris owns some social rental housing on the outskirts of Paris and tends to relocate people to the periphery, contributing to social segregation. Despite fluctuations, the number of vacant spaces in Paris is high. Some activist organisations like *Droit au Logement* (Right to Housing) have lobbied for the Prefects to requisition these vacant spaces. The new "law against exclusion" passed by Parliament has been a small step in this direction.

HOMELESSNESS AS A CONDITION OF UNCERTAINTY

People are rarely homeless all their lives. They experience stages of homelessness. Therefore, it is important to take into account a continuum of situations. For example, in Caen, an agency dealing with homeless clients serves young people living with their parents in social housing but experiencing severe problems of sociability. In a survey done on individuals receiving "Revenu Minimum d'Insertion", [6] some are close to being homeless. [7] Homelessness can be considered a process of social exclusion. This doesn't mean that there is no "social life". In a seminal book called Clochards ("bumps"), Patrick Gaboriau describes "the sidewalk civilisation." [8] In his eyes, describing a "culture of poverty" is not contradictory to an analysis in terms of social relationships. Homelessness is not only a question of housing, but also a question of wealth and citizenship.

DIFFERENCES IN ACTIVISM

Comparing poverty and homeless in different countries is difficult. However, it is interesting to compare welfare systems, social housing policies, tenants' rights, job markets, forms of poverty and the experiences of homeless people in different countries from a sociographical point of view.

The realities in various places are different expressions of the same phenomenon: part of the population is undergoing a process of exclusion. In Vancouver last year, I was volunteering in a non-profit organisation dealing with scavengers. One of the most frequently asked questions was "Is it better to live in France or in Vancouver?" In my eyes, the notion of poverty is relative because it refers to inequalities in a society, *in situ* and now. The political traditions are different. In France, non-profit organisations are often lobbying on a national level to change laws and catch media attention. In Canada, political action appears to have more legitimacy at the local or community level. The vocabulary reflects these differences. In French, insertion is the opposite process of exclusion and refers to a societal level. In North America, this term is not known and it is difficult to find a translation in English. Perhaps the most common expressions in Canada are social inclusion or empowerment.

Benoit Raoulx

[1] Castel, R. 1996, "Les marginaux dans l'histoire", in *L'exclusion, l'état des savoirs* La Découverte, Paris. P.32–42
[2] The french quote is: "caracter la marginalité, c'est la situer au sein de cet espace social, éloignée du foyer des valeurs dominantes, amis cependent reliée à elles puisque le marginal porte le signe inversé de la norme.
[3] Clanché, F. 1997, "Le classement des situations de logement: les sans-domicile dans des nomenclatures générales, note méthodologique", *Sociétés Contemporaines*, L'Harmattan, Paris, p. 181–196.
[4] Dumont, I., 1996, S*colaire au milieu du monde*, mémoire de maîtrise en géographie CRESO, Université de Caen.
[5] The law froze rents after the Second World War
[6] This is the main social benefit after employment insurance has been exhausted.
[7] Raoulx, B. 1996. "Mobilite spatiale et insertion: l'exemple des beneficiaires du revenu minimum d'insertion dans le Calvados," Cahiers de las Maison de la Recherche en Sciences Humaines, no.5, Caen, PUC.
[8] Gaoriau, P. 1993, Clochards Gallimard, Paris.

SHIFTING SPACES

In our current research we are mainly concerned with a re-definition of the public/private dichotomy. We argue that it does not make much sense to categorize urban space as either public or priva e when it comes to homeless (sub) groups. We refer to a concept of urban spaces defined by the social value that is attached to them by different and unequal agents. The functional value arranges urban space on a continuum ranging from prime to marginal spaces. The access to (and passage through) prime spaces demands proper behavior as defined by the local growth coalition and bourgeoisie standards. Marginal spaces serve often as a last resort for the poor and excluded and tend to reproduce their social status. Skid Rows in the inner-cities of North America or shelter settlements for the homeless at the urban fringes in Germany are cases in point. A given space's position on this continuum is not static but dynamic. Due to capital flows, deinvestment, and rhetorical downgrading of certain spaces, users and built environment urban spaces slide up and down the continuum. This ref and devaluation has little to do with spaces being public/private or with their geographic location in the urban region. The crisis of inner-cities and the emergence of exopoles on both sides of the Atlantic prove that centrality is a function of money and power, not of geography. Attempts in Berlin to remove marginalized groups and subcultures from the urban core and settle them at the periphery clash constantly with sub/exurbanites who defend their spaces and property and social values they enclose. However, the social value of urban space is not only determined by the structural and historical contradiction between center and periphery. On every single day prime downtown spaces are abruptly transformed at night. To secure the utilization of invested capital and maintain the prime status around the clock local policies favor mixed used projects (Cineplexes, offices, shops, housing, sports facilities) and develop an array of flexible means and a mean flexibility in order to keep homeless and poor people out (Zero Tolerance Policies). This is a bleak perspective and only valid if the analysis maintains the dominant scientific perspective of homeless persons as apathetic victims of socio-spatial change. Different homeless groups are affected unequally by these changes and employ different means of coping with their situations. With support from service providers some of the homeless manage to negotiate territorial compromises that allow access to, and services in, prime spaces. In these negotiations, territorial conflicts are re-defined as political conflicts. The results are always precarious and limited in time and space, but they represent a claim for presence in the global city. These claims should not be disregarded by urban social movements which, at best, tend to fight for -- not with -- marginalized groups.

Jens Sambale and Dominik Veith

INURA

19
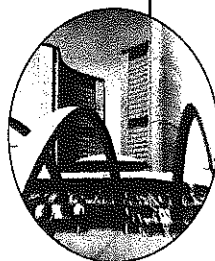
HOUSING AND INTEGRATION IN ETHNICALLY DIVERSE NEIGHBORHOODS IN GERMANY

This is a work in progress and part of an integrated research cofoperation of the Land NorthrhinefWestphalia on "Futures Perspectives of Urban Regions." The project focuses on German–Turkish co-existence in Duisburg-Marxloh, one of the most disadvantaged neighborhoods in the Ruhr-Area in Germany. The research analyses the role of the housing situation and the neighborhood, as units of physical and social space, in establishing a functioning community of diverse ethnic groups. Using qualitative research methods such as biographical interviews and observation methods, the project is looking at local lifestyles, spatial behavior, understandings of integration, and mental symbolic (re)constructions of concepts such as "us" and "them" among both ethnic groups.

 The project points out controversies of 'inside' and 'outside' effects of segregation. Relevant 'inside' effects include improved ethnic self-organization and community capacity building. 'Outside' effects of segregation which can be observed include stigmatization based on territory and ethnic origin. In this context, four different functional categories of space developed by Ina-Maria Greverus (Greverus 1982) proved to be relevant for Turkish-German co-existence and mutual acceptance.

 The first category of space, the functional dimension, refers to the `frame conditions' of the neighborhood, its level of equipment and its spatial structure and demographic aspects. The level of material satisfaction with the neighborhood (access to the housing market, infrastructure etc.), affects the intercultural co-existence of the inhabitants. The structure and equipment of the block and street level offer an important resource especially for less mobile groups such as Turkish inhabitants and especially females. Ethnic segregation facilitates the process of claiming space on the block and street level. But apparently, the stigmatization of the lived and therefore visible Turkish culture has led to an increasingly negative assessment by the Turks of this life in niches. The socio-cultural dimension, the second category, deals with the central cultural and social processes within an urban society. The neighborhood and the housing environment offer or prevent the opportunity to enter local discourses of a civil society. Ipsen also points to the importance of interaction of communication and space. Communication is not just within a space but produces space in its cultural dimension (Ipsen 1997).

The symbolic functional category is the third category and refers to the neighborhoods function as a 'scenery' for its inhabitants. Its symbolic shape, which is determined by the inhabitants' individual perception, contributes to their feeling of security as well as their stimulation. The neighborhood provides identity-affirmative spaces which contain individual histories and (re)produce individual or group identities. Endogenous potentials, which often lie in the identification with the neighborhood, can not be transferred to all social groups in the neighborhood. For example, the spatial and mental demarcation of the group of the 'old-established Germans' is having a rather contrary effect: a standstill in the process of communication and opening.

The fourth functional category which is analyzed is the participatory dimension. The neighborhood has an important function in providing space for formal and informal participation to allow the neighborhood population to shape and to make use of their living surroundings. Equal opportunities to participate in the planning process are a necessary precondition for (culturally specific) interests to become visible and coordinated. Up to now, most neighborhood-based planning approaches have not realized the importance of including ethnic networks and organizations as a resource and as multipliers to reach the local Turkish population.

INURA

Heike Schiewer

It may seem difficult to talk about growing environmental inequalities within the multicultural context of Toronto, particularly when *Fortune* and other Wall Street magazines describe Toronto as one of the best cities to live in around the world. Even our newly elected mega-mayor, Mel Lastman, proclaims in his populist discourse that Toronto is the best place to live, work and do business in Canada. Underneath these affirmations, however, is a blanket of social, economic and ecological problems that demonstrate the difficulty of living in one of the most liveable cities of the world. It is important to recognize, nonetheless, that Toronto is much more accommodating of citizens' needs than other first, second and third world cities. The point here is that this accommodating attitude is being paid for by Toronto's visible minorities (45% of the city's population) and the price is high.

To contextualize the work of the Latin American Environmental Group (LAENG), I should note that the decades of the 80s and 90s have given way to new social movements and new expressions of environmental justice. These movements are responding to neo-liberal economic approaches and global corporatism. The question is how effective are these new movements, given that the work of local community and environmental organizations is consistently limited by restrictive social and environmental policies.

LAENG was established in 1995 by a group of Latin Americans and Canadians concerned with local ethnic and environmental issues. Today, LAENG is struggling to make our socio-ecological dream a reality. Although we have obtained the attention of local community groups and progressive environmental organizations, we are still far from being a self-sustaining organization, and even less able to carry through the principles represented in the philosophy of social-ecology. Such principles relate to egalitarianism and the creation of mutually supportive social-nature relationships, a school of thought pioneered by Murray Bookchin in the 80s and now co-opted by market-based environmental schools.

As an organization, LAENG has gained local presence by asserting its right to establish ethnically and culturally sensitive environmental projects, such as a community garden, a greenhouse, and an ecological site on the Lower Don river, and by networking within the local environmental movement. However, these achievements have been insufficient to overcome the barriers associated with our being Latin Americans, such as the fact that we are an ethnically diverse minority group; we do not closely follow the environmental agenda of Toronto's middle class; and we do enjoy established institutional links with funders or government, ie. those who might grant you money, resources, and a 'good name'.

▶▶
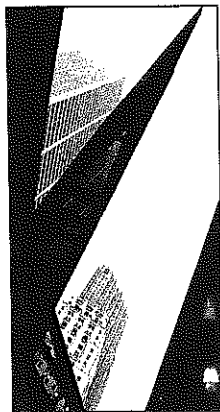
The every day challenges that LAENG faces relate to the development of our identity. We are trying to engage individuals and groups from a community that shows apathy to environmental justice issues, a community sometimes more concerned with improving individual and social mobility. We have to deal with the culturally-biased (or racialized) approaches of mainstream environmentalists and local governments. And we have to adapt to the relatively new tendency among mainstream agencies, engaged in 'rediscovering' the existence of potential visible minority groups, to use us for their own purposes in community naturalization processes.

To some it may seem that we, visible minority groups, are beginning to be recognized on our own terms as important components of community environmental planning and citizen participation efforts. The issue is whether the agenda of small grassroots organizations. like LAENG, will be co-opted by predominately white mainstream environmental organizations. Mainstream organizations are better prepared to absorb dwindling institutional and corporate resources, thus denying opportunities for advancement and growth among visible minority organizations.

In practical terms, the struggle for progressive environmental organizations, such as LAENG, is also the struggle to control organizational and funding resources, to maintain one's own cultural identity, and to contribute to mainstream sectors with values intrinsic to the idiosyncrasy of ethnic minority groups. The question is to what extent can organizations like LAENG survive now and thrive in the future.

Eduardo Garay

INURA

(22)
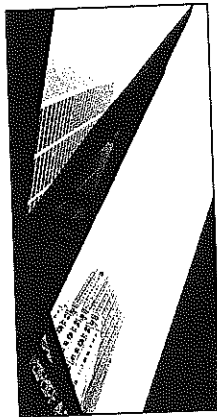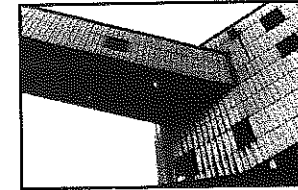
RESEARCH:

Switzerland's current recession began around 1991. Since then, ten percent of all jobs have disappeared from Zurich, more than twenty percent of which belonged to the industrial sector alone. Twenty-five percent of part--time jobs (less than 20 hours/week) have disappeared over the past few years, whereas the number of jobs offering between 20 and 36 hours/week has remained stable. This means that beyond the decrease in full-time work, a great number of part-time jobs, which would provide supplementary income for small budget households, are no longer available.

Radical structural changes are affecting the service sector now, in the wake of industry's decline. Empty office space abounds near abandoned industrial sites. Rationalisation, outsourcing, relocation of processes to low-wage countries and suburbanisation are reasons for the loss of city jobs. Looking at enterprise, we find that the amount of large and mid-size companies have decreased (through takeovers, mergers and closures), and that only the number of small enterprises (one to nine employees) remained stable in the 1990s.[1] The reason for the survival of small business is simple: the ideology of the 1990s has been to survive by starting your own business. The city plays an important role in the creation of new enterprises, whether they be in more traditional sectors or in completely new areas. Cities are important centres for innovation (technological, social, cultural) and their capitalization. We found that high-tech enterprises are highly immobile, that they prefer to be based in the city and that more high-tech companies will settle in the core of the region.[2] But this changing entrepreneurial scene does not mean that full-time jobs are returning, that satisfying work will be offered, or that unskilled workers will find jobs in this sector. In Zurich, the system of wage-work is working poorly. Unpaid work, unemployment, and too much work for those who have it, characterise the system.[3]

There is no doubt that work must be redistributed. How can this be done? Many discussions focus on the reduction of worktime. In Holland, supporting part-time work has been helpful in job creation. Volkswagen Germany has been redistributing work successfully for the last ten years while keeping salaries high. Indeed, labor unions all over the world are calling for a work week of 30 to 32 hours.

ACTION:

In redistributing work we face two major problems. First, unskilled persons cannot make a living from part-time jobs. Second, too few people are ready to work less. For example, many well-paid, qualified men could afford to work less. When you read this, think about your own situation.... Since leaving university I have always worked at paying jobs with worktimes between 21 to 36 hours/week. In my twenties I used my free time for action (music, performances, political work and social life). In my thirties I used the time for changing nappies, cleaning the flat, going to playgrounds, shopping and so on -- all activities known as unpaid work. It is not easy for skilled people to find part-time jobs, but it is worth trying. People and enterprise must change their minds and the system. Skilled people: start your part-time job today! I must stop writing now, as I have to cook for the kids....

● *Philippe Klaus*

Notes:

1) Klaus, P. 1998. "Subculture and Production of Culture in the Logic of Global Urban Development -- In the Case of Zurich."
In INURA Zurich (eds.) Possible Urban Worlds. Urban Strategies at the End of the 20th Century. Berlin: Birkhuserfverlag Basel.
2) Bretschger, L. and Klaus, P. 1998 "Werkplatz Stadt Zrich. Struktur, Hintergrnde und Perspektiven des Industriesektors
in der Stadt Zrich." Zurich: IEW Universitt Zrich.
3) Klaus, P. 1996 " Leisure in Abandoned Industrial Areas: Between Marketing Concepts and Self-Help Projects."
In FUTURES, Vol. 28, no 2, Oxford, pp. 189f198.

INURA

SPACES AND TIME FOR REPRODUCTION

When we survey current trends in work and employment, we have to recognise fully the presence of reproduction activities. Specifically, we need to focus on the interface between reproduction and production. In discussing challenges to worker exploitation, we often talk about work-time reduction, alternative forms of production and free-time liberated from the tyranny of commodification. Yet, for a large part of society there awaits not only free-time at the close of the working day, but also reproductive work.

THE STATE OF THE FAMILY

Our cities are structured mainly in relation to the nuclear family: spatio-temporal structures and the economy still rely greatly on unpaid reproductive work. However, as society undergoes changes in gender roles, the urbanisation process is affected. These shifts express themselves in a demand for new services: as the welfare state has diminished, the market has begun to supply certain social services.

Unpaid reproductive work in our culture has usually been assigned to women as an obligatory task, often using its supposed 'naturalness' as ideological legitimation. Reproductive work includes the production of life, the care of growing children, the socialisation of children, care of the person and of the body, emotional support, the management of private space and economy, self-expression and the production of culture.

More and more, these reproductive tasks are becoming goods and services offered by the market; an intricate balance exists between market-provided services and tasks accomplished for love or family solidarity. The curtailing of welfare-state policies and reviving ideologies about preserving the family often reassert patriarchal power relations and traditional gender roles.

WHY THE ISSUE OF REPRODUCTION IS PIVOTAL

Reproduction is an important issue for several reasons. The injustice of gender-assigned unpaid work must be addressed. As well, both gender relations and the balance between productive and reproductive work are changing.

INURA

▶▶

24

The welfare state, that in the past has offered social services to aid in some reproductive tasks, if in a centralised manner, is shrinking. The referent of current social policy is the family: rights and institutional recognition are ascribed not to every individual, but to an institution still characterised by uneven power relations and gender roles. Enterprise is making increasing use of women in the work force. Women enter the labour market for survival reasons, in an effort to gain economic self-determination. This affords them a chance to overcome the restraints of gender roles and power relations, even if their workplaces are likewise structured in a patriarchal fashion. Women, in many situations, are paid less as a result of outright sexism or their relative lack of power and social prestige. Flexible work is mainly offered to women; they are expected to accept it even if its flexibility answers to production needs rather than to the accomplishment of reproductive work. Sweatshop labour often uses family hierarchy and organisation as a means of worker control.

The market increasingly offers services for the person (i.e. for reproductive work), with a consequent commodification. The list of reproductive services answering to the solvent demand of the market is long: residences and home-care for old and handicapped people; private kindergardens and daycares; health and sport clubs; psychological aid; holiday villages; entertainment parks; and controlled and exclusive public spaces. To these we might add ephemeral shows like fireworks displays, mass concerts, and open-air or street festivals -- all varieties of commodities with very short lives.

THEORY AND PRACTICE

These complex issues have to be faced both in theory and in practice. Theoretically, the close relation between productive and reproductive work, especially for women, must be remembered. The prevalence of one or the other lowers the chances of accomplishing both. By introducing the gender dimension into theory on reproductive work, we are obliged to overcome stereotypes and supposed natural tasks that are, in fact, socially produced. Looking at gender allows us to focus on social demands emerging through deep changes in household organisation and in expectations placed upon women. It is also important to analyse what kinds of demands changing gender roles put on urban spaces and spatio-temporal structures.

From the point of view of practice for social transformation, it is important to place reproductive work in the context of a society centred on the quality of life rather than on the quantity of goods produced. The need for production and maintenance of life must be core concerns, rather than the simple production and consumption of goods and services. Productive work could be recast as supporting or complementing the greater work of life-maintaining reproductive work, rather then reproductive work supporting productive work (Sandercock 1990). This altered perspective gives rise to the so-called red-green strategies.

Urban and women's movements in various countries have addressed reproductive tasks in a variety of ways. Groups have achieved socialisation of some reproductive activities (through communal living or through claims for social services which could be self-governed, managed by the state, or both). Some groups have constructed self-governed free spaces, often through squatting, which intend to socialise and produce culture outside the logic of the market. Other groups have asked for reductions in working hours, both in order to combat unemployment and to attain more free time for reproductive work and leisure. While we can identify action groups and movements dealing with labour changes, still some labour unions and progressive politicians seem unable to address these same issues. The women's movement is one central location for theory and analysis from the 1970s until today. Reproduction activities are very different from each other. It still must be fully discussed which could be supplied by the third sector or the market, which ought to be supplied by public welfare, and which would best be kept outside the logic of capital but which would be accomplished by all members of society, not only by women. Reproductive tasks undertaken for solidarity and love must be asserted as being as natural as gender exploitation.

The main questions now are about how the ways in which reproductive work's performance is changing, about reproductive relations with the market system, and about what kind of spatio-temporal structures are needed in relation to those changes. We can envision a wholly new social and public infrastructure in our urban spaces. And perhaps, we can imagine a supply and exchange of reproductive work based on equalitarian social principles.

Marvi Maggio

REFERENCES

Bondi, Liz. 1992. "Gender symbols and urban landscapes." In *Progress in Human Geography*. 16:2, pp.157-170.

Friedmann, John. 1987. *Planning in the Public Domain: from Knowledge to Action*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Massey, Doreen. 1994. *Space, Place and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minesota Press.

McDowell, Linda. 1989. "Women, gender and the organisation of space." In Gregory, D. and Walford, R. (eds.) *Horizons in Human Geography*. London: Mcmillan.

Sandercock Leonie, and Forsyth, Ann. 1990. "Gender: A New Agenda for Planning Theory." *Planning Theory*. 4: Winter.

Simonsen, Kirsten, and Vaiou, Dina. 1996. "Women's lives and the making of the city: experience from north and south of Europe." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*.

INURA 99 : GLASGOW & DURHAM

INURA

INURA 99 will be in cool Britannia! After lots of discussion at this year's meeting and consideration of various options, it was decided to hold our next event in the UK. The aim is to meet together and have an opportunity to share ideas and reflect on our research and practice. So, INURA 99 won't be as structured as the last two meetings...there will be fewer formal presentations and much more time to talk and exchange views.

At the moment, the intention is to have two days in Glasgow, followed by five days in Durham. Those of you who have been to Durham before will know that it is a beautiful medieval city with an ancient cathedral and castle, and also some good pubs. It is a good place for us to meet and talk. I am looking at where we might stay. A university college would be an obvious possibility, but I will see what else is available. The date is still to be decided; so far, July seems a popular suggestion -- at the height of our glorious Northern summer! I would value views and suggestions...about the date, type of venue [should we cook for ourselves, for instance?], and ideas for places and projects to visit. You can write to me, phone, fax or e-mail. Thanks to all of you who have already done so.
I look forward to welcoming you all here.

Love + Peace

Fred

Fred Robinson • Department of Sociology and Social Policy • Durham University • Durham • DH1 4AU • UK
tel: 44 191 3742308 • fax: 44 191 3744743 • e-mail : J.F.Robinson@durham.ac.uk

VIRTUAL WORKING GROUP ON ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

At our last retreat in Huntsville, Ontario, in September 1998, participants felt a certain need to discuss some organizational issues affecting the network. It seems that after eight years and constant growth, we need to reconsider how we manage the organization between meetings and how we conduct housekeeping matters during them.

Our next annual event in Durham/Glasgow will focus on internal INURA matters. In Huntsville, we decided that before opening our annual event up again to larger participation and thematic debates, we should use the 1999 meeting as an opportunity to deal with INURA organizational issues first and foremost. One of the reasons for this reduction in format was the fact that there were only about six months between the Toronto conference and the 1999 meeting. The intention of opening INURA up again for new participants and themes will clearly be on the agenda for the 2000 meeting, which may take place in Brussels, Belgium.... While details of the Durham 1999 conference will have to be decided by the local committee, I would like to make the following suggestion to make this meeting as productive as possible.

A Virtual Committee:

I propose we strike a committee of six members to prepare a working paper on organizational matters. This committee should be a 'virtual' committee; that is, it would 'meet' on email. The committee would be in charge of producing a working paper to cover both organizational and procedural areas that we feel need more discussion or were decided at our last meeting. Among these issues are:

- the sequence of annual events

- the siting of events

- the role of regional offices

- internal governance and democracy

- publications & bulletins

- the structure of the organization between meetings finances

- the relation of INURA to the proposed INURA Institute

INURA
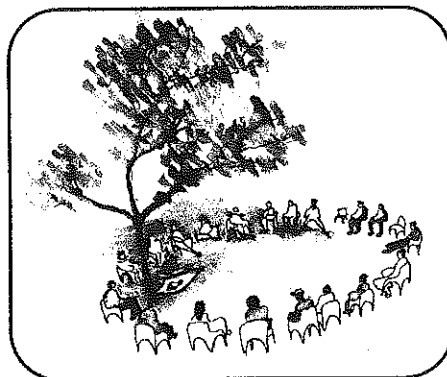
Membership of the Committee:

I propose that there be two North American members and four European members on this committee. More precisely, I suggest the following cities send delegates to this committee: Zurich, Durham, Florence (or Turin), Amsterdam, Toronto, Mexico City. Los Angeles is a possible American substitute for either Toronto or Mexico City as Ute Lehrer, Roger Kell, and Jens Sambale will be in Los Angeles during winter and spring 1999. The selection of these proposed cities is merely a reflection of institutional memory existing there. An additional/alternative proposal could include cities such as Brussels, Sao Paulo or a German city from which new members have been recently added.

Relation to other activities:

The Zurich group has been contemplating a proposal to the substantive structure of INURA in the direction of establishing thematic working groups which would be active between meetings. The proposal for a virtual working group on organizational matters is complementary to the emerging Zurich proposal.

How would this committee work?

I am looking forward to comments on the proposal by email <rkell@yorku.ca>. Should it become clear through these comments that the proposed committee is desirable to INURA members, I will volunteer to strike the committee and contact people in the respective cities to sign them up. Volunteers welcome! One person would need to come up with an initial proposal for a working paper to which other members would then add collectively, putting together a working paper which participants at the Durham meeting (and other interested members) will receive before or at the conference.

Roger Kell

INURA

29

INURA Toronto Conference Participants

Gamel Abdel-Shehid, Toronto
✓ Luis Aguiar, Toronto
✓ Greg Albo, Toronto
Karl-Olov Arnstberg, Stockholm
○ Rob Atkinson, Portsmouth
✓ Katrin Binzel, Mainz
✓ Rodney Bobiwash, Toronto
Cheryl Bradbee, Toronto
✓ Susannah Bunce, Toronto
Constance Carr, Toronto
Jon Caulfield, Toronto
✓ John Clarke, Toronto
✓ Paul Clifford, Toronto
Paul Csagoly, Budapest
✓ Alex Dagg, Toronto
✗ Julie Dale, Toronto
○ Elizabeth Dandy, Ottawa
Sheelagh Davis, Toronto
Ana-Francisca de la Mora, Toronto
○ Gene Desfor, Toronto
Wendy Devine, Toronto
Jon Caulfield, Toronto
Rosemary Duff, Toronto
✗ Tom Dumez, Brussels
✓ Eduardo Garay, Toronto
○ Beatrix Garcia Peralto, Mexico City
David Gaunt, Stockholm
○ Liette Gilbert, Los Angeles
Mike Giulioni, Toronto
✗ Antonio Gomez-Palacio, Toronto

Ignacio Gomez-Palacio, Mexico City
Jocelyn Gomez-Palacio, Mexico City
Christine Goyens, Brussels
✓ John Graham, Toronto
Franz Hartmann, Toronto
Anders Hayden, Toronto
○ Hansruedi Hitz, Zurich
David Hulchanski, Toronto
✓ Winston Husbands, Toronto
✓ Engin Isin, Toronto
○ Paola Jiron, Santiago
Jennifer Keesmaat, Toronto
○ Roger Keil, Toronto
✓ Helen Kennedy, Toronto
Michael Kerr, Toronto
✓ Stefan Kipfer, Toronto
○ Philipp Klaus (& Helen Michel & Billie) Zurich ✗
○ Ute Lehrer, Toronto
Catherine Leitch, Toronto
Helen Jefferson Lenskyj, Toronto
? Maria Cecilia Loschivo dos Santos, Sao Paulo
Andrew Macdonald, Toronto
○ Marvi Maggio, Torino
✓ Richard Milgrom, Toronto
✓ Darlene Miner, Toronto
✗ Tobias Mohr, Mainz
Mwarigha, Toronto
Alice Nabalamba, Waterloo
✓ Winnie Ng, Toronto
Sylvia, Novac, Toronto
Liz Ngyuen, Toronto
✗ Bud Osborn, Vancouver

? Johann Gottfried Paasche, Toronto
○ Giancarlo Paba, Florence
○ Raffaele Paloscia, Florence
✓ Stacey Papernick, Toronto
○ Anna Lisa Pecoriella, Florence
✓ Gord Perks, Toronto
Carsten Quell, Toronto
○ Barbara Rahder, Toronto
Ceta Ramkhalawansingh, Toronto
○ Benont Raoulx, Caen
✓ Geoff Ray, Los Angeles
○ Fred Robinson (& Jim), Durham
Scott Rodgers, Toronto
Evelyn Ruppert, Toronto
○ Jens Sambale, Berlin
○ Mark Saunders, London
Heike Schiewer, Dortmund
○ Christian Schmid, Zurich
Michael Shapcott, Toronto
Christine Swartz, Toronto
? Anne Staehelin, Zurich
Graham Todd, Toronto
○ Louanne Tranchell, London
✗ Gerben Vandenabbeele, Brussels
○ Arie Van Wijngaarden, Amsterdam
Gerda Wekerle, Toronto
Sunny Widerman, Toronto
✓ Hamish Wilson, Toronto
Karen Wirsig, Toronto
○ Richard Wolff, Zurich

INURA

(30)