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BULLETIN

International Network for Urban Research and Action

CAEN-PARIS 2002

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Summary

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SOLIDARITéS

(Petite introduction)

En organisant ces journées nous voulions donner un sens à l'idée de solidarité dans l'espace urbain. Il nous paraissait important de montrer des initiatives tout en contribuant à faire connaître INURA en France. Notre point de vue était d'inverser les perspectives localistes, en faisant éclater les échelles au fil des rencontres, un peu à l'image de la « véritable histoire du bus 402 » le film d'André Van In projeté à Caen.

Au bout de ce cheminement, on gagne une certaine cohérence comme en témoigne ce bulletin.

Beaucoup ont été surpris de la forte dynamique du mouvement social et des associations au-delà des sphères traditionnelles (DAL, La Chapelle, etc), alors que la pauvreté et de l'immigration tendent à être criminalisées, que certaines idées de l'extrême droite tendent à se banaliser.

On peut parler d'« effets de lieu », comme en témoigne les différences d'initiatives entre Caen et la ville périphérique d'Hérouville Saint-Clair (la Voix des femmes, Trait d'union, etc). Certains lieux ont pris valeur de symbole à l'échelle nationale. C'est ainsi que fin décembre 2002 le mouvement des sans-papiers a investi l'association de la salle saint Bruno en face de Saint-Bernard, lieu occupé en 1996.

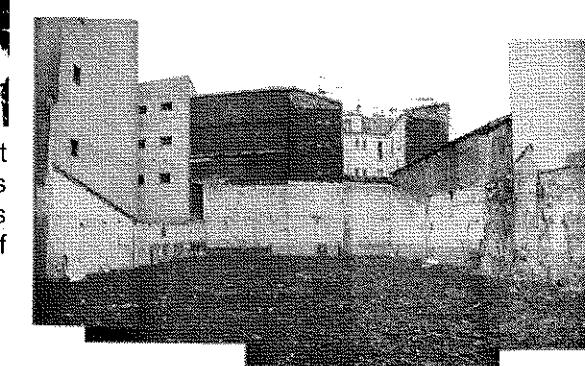
Bien des thématiques pourraient être davantage discutées : au-delà du terme de *community* on pourrait s'interroger sur le « local » qui n'a pas la même signification entre les pays (puisque il ne s'agit pas d'un rapport de proximité physique mais d'une construction politique), sur les liens entre associations et groupes sociaux (et les conflits de pouvoir), sur la reproduction sociale dans la ville (via la patrimonialisation, les inégalités scolaires, la prise de parole inégale, etc). See you soon in Berlin...



LA CHAPELLE : CONTEXTE URBAIN, ÉCONOMIQUE, SOCIAL ET CULTUREL



urbaines et industrielles (parfois en cet état) d'où une dégradation du quartier et des Même si, à long terme, il y a un potentiel dans actuellement cette réalité à un impact négatif



Le quartier est marqué aussi par la présence très visible des friches depuis plus de 10 zones concernées. cette situation, dans le quartier.

Ne pouvant offrir aucun pôle d'attraction, le quartier La Chapelle est mal connu par les Parisiens et les rares présences dans les médias montrent toujours une même image négative, avec un message constant: la présence des toxicomanes.



Cette image négative est partagée en grande partie par les habitants mêmes, provoquant un manque d'investissement civique

Le « réseau d'éco-urbanité » -Paris

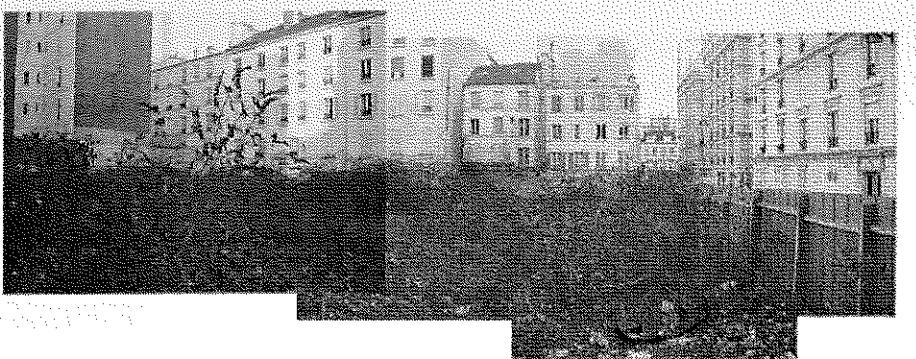
L'Atelier d'Architecture Autogérée (A.A.A.)



Agir dans les quartiers en difficulté est une priorité et c'est pourquoi depuis l'année 2001 l'association AAA a orienté son attention vers le quartier La Chapelle, un des quartiers difficiles classé Politique de la Ville, situé dans le 18e arrondissement de Paris.

Notre stratégie d'étude et d'intervention est marquée par un dialogue interdisciplinaire (architecture, urbanisme, sociologie, paysage, art, philosophie, etc.) et par l'implication concrète des habitants en tant qu'acteurs actifs des projets.

et social dans le quartier, sentiment renforcé par le sentiment d'abandon et l'absence de changement positif récent ou visible dans le futur immédiat.



PROJET POUR UN RÉSEAU D'ÉCO-URBANITÉ

En proposant l'investissement temporaire et participatif des espaces en friche ou mal aménagés notre projet a trois visées principales:

- l'élimination des "poches de dégradation" constituées par les terrains délaissés, pour des durées de 5-6 ans en moyenne, et leur transformation en espaces urbains verts, espaces manquant cruellement dans ce quartier ayant une densité d'habitants au dessus de la moyenne parisienne
- l'implication des acteurs locaux existants et la création des conditions pour l'apparition de nouveaux acteurs autour d'un micro-équipement (ECO-box) et de ses activités régulières favorisant l'appropriation de l'espace de vie et de proximité sociale (en incluant des actions et des interventions artistiques d'échelle internationale dans les friches industrielles et urbaines et en associant les populations locales).
- la création d'un réseau d'information et de communication locale (modules LOCAL-com) favorisant une meilleure connaissance des différents acteurs locaux, leur mise en dialogue et l'émergence d'un état de confiance et de sociabilité manifesté aux différentes échelles de quartier.

La stratégie d'éco-urbanité développée autour de l'ECO-box, sa mobilité et son fonctionnement qui implique la réinsertion urbaine des parcelles temporairement inexploitées, propose un exemple de ce qui pourrait être un usage flexible et réversible de l'espace urbain dans les conditions d'un quartier dense et insuffisamment développé.

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« Un toit, c'est un droit » ! Rencontre avec l'association Droit au Logement Paris 18ème

Paris, 18^e arrondissement, au pied d'un immeuble en sale état, nous rencontrons Olivier, Frédérique et Julie, trois militants du comité local de l'association Droit au logement (DAL). Ils nous présentent leur association, leur quartier, leur combat.

En mai 1990, des « squatters », expulsés par la police du logement qu'ils occupaient depuis plus de quatre ans, décident de camper dans l'espace public pour revendiquer un logement décent. Aidés par le Comité des mal-logés, ils mobilisent les médias et obtiennent de nombreux soutiens d'autres associations, de syndicats et de personnalités. Ils s'appuient notamment sur la loi de 1945 autorisant les réquisitions de logements, mais qui n'a jamais été appliquée. Et obtiennent la victoire. En octobre de la même année naissait Droit au logement. Ce moment n'est pas un hasard, le tournant des années 1990, en France, étant synonyme de crise aiguë du logement. Mais si d'autres associations, caritatives, optent pour un traitement individuel, DAL est avant tout un collectif de lutte. L'association s'appuie sur le droit et fait pression sur les pouvoirs publics pour dénoncer le mal-logement, l'insalubrité, la spéculation immobilière, les règles d'attribution des logements sociaux, etc. Elle travaille à regrouper et organiser les familles. Pour la plupart immigrées, celles-ci sont solidaires, ont l'habitude de lutter ensemble contre les discriminations et n'ont généralement rien à perdre.

Avec elles, Droit au logement organise régulièrement des actions collectives de plusieurs types :

- des actions d'interpellation / occupation de divers organismes impliqués dans la gestion du logement.
- des actions symboliques pour dénoncer publiquement des situations inacceptables, à l'image de la « Grande lessive des mal-logés » menée en 2001 dans la fontaine devant l'Hôtel de Ville, pour rappeler que beaucoup n'ont pas l'eau courante.
- des manifestations plus importantes, tous les ans à Paris, le 15 mars, contre les expulsions qui peuvent légalement avoir lieu à partir de cette date jusqu'au 15 octobre.
- et, surtout, une fois par an des réquisitions de logement. Ce sont des actions à la limite de la légalité car il s'agit de squatter des propriétés privées. Mais en 1993, un juge a reconnu la légitimité du « squat par nécessité », tant que l'occupation reste temporaire en attendant un relogement. Ces actions permettent elles aussi de dénoncer publiquement ces situations inacceptables, tout en favorisant des négociations sur les dossiers. 5000 familles ont pu ainsi être relogées à Paris depuis sa création.

Des associations locales Droit au logement existent maintenant sur le territoire français. Le comité du 18^e arrondissement est né en 1997. C'est un comité important qui regroupe 600 adhérents répartis dans 25 immeubles, et qui intervient aussi sur le 17^e arrondissement et le département de la Seine-Saint-Denis, tous deux limitrophes. Son histoire a commencé par des réunions de familles très militantes dans le local d'une autre association, puis dans une cour d'immeuble, quand le local a fermé. Des réunions une fois par semaine, quelle que soit la météo... L'immeuble étant insalubre, le lieu de réunion est devenu un lieu de discussion avec les résidents, et finalement un lieu de lutte. Lutte qui s'est soldée par une victoire : toutes les familles ont été relogées après 3 mois de campement. Il ne restait plus aux militants qu'à chercher un autre lieu de réunion ! Au rez-de-chaussée d'un immeuble squatté par des familles adhérentes du DAL, ils ont trouvé un ancien bar, abandonné depuis un an. Le propriétaire veut évidemment les expulser mais la mairie (de gauche) leur a donné son accord tacite.

Ainsi, depuis décembre 1999, DAL 18^e a son local. Un lieu ouvert, et pas seulement un local pour militants. Un lieu où, à la demande des familles et grâce à quelques subventions, des personnes d'origine étrangère peuvent suivre des cours d'alphabétisation, même s'il est difficile de trouver des bénévoles acceptant de travailler dans ces conditions. C'est aussi un lieu de permanence juridique, motivée au départ par le passage de plus en plus fréquent de sans-papier (la multiplication des squats de sans-papier a favorisé la constitution d'un collectif sur le 18^e). De plus, comme l'arrondissement manque d'infrastructures pour les associations, c'est à Droit au logement d'en accueillir à son tour un certain nombre : Ras-l'front, Solidarité Palestine, un collectif pour le droit de vote pour les étrangers, etc. C'est ainsi que ce bar abandonné, au rez-de-chaussée d'un immeuble en sale état, est devenu un lieu important de l'arrondissement. Un lieu de parole, de resocialisation et de lutte.

Cet immeuble est le plus ancien à avoir été réquisitionné sans obtenir de relogement (1996). Il a été occupé pendant une manifestation qui a pu empêcher la police d'entrer. Ce fut d'ailleurs la dernière fois que ce type d'action a réussi. Plusieurs familles ont été choisies parce qu'elles vivaient dans des conditions impossibles. Il a fallu lutter pour avoir l'électricité, l'eau, etc. et même pour pouvoir mettre les enfants à l'école. C'est la mairie qui est propriétaire. Et rien ne bouge. D'un côté, elle n'a pas encore décidé de faire des travaux, et de l'autre elle préfère cette situation à un squat sauvage, à la prostitution, etc. En attendant, ses habitants restent « sans droit ni titre ». Même situation un peu plus loin, où un autre immeuble, appartenant à la mairie depuis 2 mois, est occupé par des familles depuis 1993. Les familles ont vécu sans eau pendant 8 mois et aujourd'hui il l'a payé via le comité DAL qu'elles ont créé. Mais les logements sont trop petits (deux pièces maximum), il y a des infiltrations d'eau depuis la tempête de 1999, et, plus grave encore, la santé des habitants est en danger, les peintures pouvant entraîner des intoxications au plomb (saturnisme).

Autre rue, même scandale. Ici, des bouts de plafonds sont tombés et ont été étayés plusieurs fois. Chaque fois, les autorités n'ont pas relogé les familles et leur ont permis de réintégrer leur logement sans faire de travaux, considérant qu'il n'y avait plus de danger. En fait, la mairie, ne possédant pas encore tout l'immeuble, ne fait rien, à part murer certains logements. La cinquième fois, c'est un plafond entier qui est tombé dans une chambre. Une fois de trop : les familles ont refusé d'y retourner et ont décidé de lutter. Un relogement est en cours. Car il est

possible de sortir de ces situations déplorables et d'être relogé, pour peu qu'on soit décidé à lutter et à rester solidaire jusqu'au bout, comme ces 17 familles campant au pied de leur immeuble pendant 3 mois et menant des actions collectives toutes les semaines, jusqu'à ce que la dernière famille ait les clés de son nouveau logement. Que deviennent les anciens squats et autres immeubles délabrés ? Le plus souvent, ils restent vides. Leurs propriétaires, quels qu'ils soient, ne sont pas pressés de les remettre en état ou d'en construire de nouveaux. En attendant, ils vont rejoindre le stock déjà et toujours trop important des logements vacants de la capitale.

Fabrice

L'Association des Travailleurs Maghrébins de France

A l'origine l'AMF, Association des Marocains de France, est une association de militants réfugiés. Ses activités consistent à soutenir les militants au Maroc, à organiser des manifestations lors des visites officielles. Il s'agissait de poursuivre la lutte à partir de la France afin de renverser la monarchie au Maroc. Au cours des années 1970, les militants vont s'intéresser aux conditions de vie des travailleurs immigrés.

Le moment des grèves en France est un espace privilégié de la rencontre entre ouvriers et militants réfugiés. Au cours de cette période se structure deux tendances au sein de l'AMF : l'une traditionnelle orientée vers le Maroc, la seconde, vers les immigrés et leurs conditions de vie.

La crise saharienne de 1975 marque un tournant dans le devenir de l'association. En France, les militants se divisent entre pro et anti annexion. En 1982 que le schisme est officialisé. La loi sur les associations d'étrangers d'octobre 1981 corespond à la création d'une structure indépendante : l'ATMF.

En 1982, l'association fut particulièrement impliquée dans les conflits Citroën Aulnay et Talbot. Dans le Nord de la France, le mouvement des mineurs marocains, suite aux fermetures des mines de charbon de la région, fut un autre temps fort de l'engagement de l'ATMF. La main d'œuvre marocaine est particulièrement impliquée. Cette période d'activisme intense de l'association prend fin avec l'arrivée de la droite au pouvoir et la fin des reconversions dans les grandes entreprises.

Depuis, l'ATMF se recentre sur ses activités quotidiennes de terrain : le soutien scolaire, prévention, les cours particuliers pour adultes, les permanences sociales pour la défense des droits, les activités sportives et culturelles. L'ATMF est également présente sur le terrain de la lutte pour les sans papiers, le droit de vote pour les étrangers, l'amélioration des conditions de vie dans les foyers.

Aujourd'hui, l'association s'est éloignée des préoccupations spécifiques de la communauté marocaine pour s'attacher aux problèmes qui touchent l'ensemble des populations immigrées. Ainsi, l'ATMF est renommé « Association des Travailleurs Maghrébins de France » en 2000.

L'Immigration Démocratie Développement (IDD) a été créé en avril 1999 par des militants de l'ATMF. Cette association a pour but de soutenir des projets de migrants pour leur village d'origine. Ses actions en cours consistent au montage de huit bibliothèques, essentiellement situées dans le sud du Maroc.

Katia

Trait d'union – Hérouville-Saint-Clair

Les objectifs de l'association Trait d'union sont de participer à la vie de la cité, d'œuvrer pour la citoyenneté, de renforcer les liens de solidarité, de promouvoir les cultures issues de l'immigration maghrébine et de combattre le racisme. Trait d'Union mène ses activités en direction de tous les publics et notamment du jeune public. L'association propose un appartement pédagogique assure un accompagnement pédagogique scolaire afin de lutter contre l'échec scolaire, et aider les jeunes à l'insertion dans la vie active, un atelier informatique pour les scolaires, les étudiants mais aussi les adultes et les demandeurs d'emploi. Par ailleurs, un Atelier d'apprentissage de la langue et de la civilisation arabes est offert une à deux fois par semaine pour les enfants et les adultes. L'association propose un espace rencontre afin de favoriser les échanges, les contacts entre les personnes et les communautés. La mise en place d'une documentation administrative et sociale ainsi que des notices et des fiches sur le droit des étrangers en France, la recherche d'emploi, la santé et la présentation de débats/discussions sur des thèmes précis alimentent cette dynamique d'échanges.

La programmation culturelle vise à faire connaître et promouvoir les cultures issues de l'immigration, notamment maghrébine. C'est donc, faire une place aux artistes maghrébins de France et de la région, et montrer leur apport à la création artistique. A cet effet, depuis 1993 sont organisées les « cultures du Maghreb ». Cette manifestation est dédiée à toutes les formes d'expression artistique telles que le cinéma, la danse, le théâtre, la poésie, les arts plastiques..., ponctuée par une réflexion autour du thème de chaque édition : conférences, débats, colloques, rencontres avec le public.

Par ailleurs, l'association conduit **une action militante pour la cause de la Palestine**. A cet effet, une mission de solidarité avec le peuple palestinien a été mise en œuvre du 17 au 24 Février 2002. Elle est inscrite dans le cadre de la campagne des missions civiles pour la protection du peuple palestinien, composée de membres de l'ATMF et de membres de l'UJFP :

« Citoyens juifs ou maghrébins de France, nous avons décidé de nous rendre ensemble en Israël et en Palestine. Pourquoi cette initiative ? Parce que nous estimons que la situation en Palestine, par ses conséquences politiques et humaines, nous concerne. Quarante ans après l'émancipation de la plupart des peuples colonisés, la survie d'une guerre coloniale, menée contre le droit des Palestiniens à l'autodétermination, ne peut que susciter notre réprobation, politique et morale. Il en va aussi bien d'un principe inaliénable : celui de la primauté du droit sur la force. Or, au Proche Orient, Israël impose sa force brutale et aveugle au mépris du droit international ».

En 2003 Trait d'Union organise culture du Maghreb en ciblant sur l'Algérie, alternative de la programmation officielle de l'année de l'Algérie. Des débats et des films sont programmés. Une soirée est envisagée **en avril 2003 avec INURA Caen** et l'Université de Caen sur les villes du Maghreb et la littérature de témoignage.

Soirée « S'approprier la ville et la citoyenneté en Algérie » Mardi 18 juin au Café des Images, Hérouville-Saint-Clair

L'Algérie est souvent vue au travers du prisme de représentations médiatiques qui privilégient l'événementiel. Nous avons proposé de changer la perspective en plaçant au cœur du débat les questions de la ville et de la citoyenneté à partir de deux films documentaires de Djamil Sahraoui. Quels constats peut-on établir ? Quelles initiatives permettent d'améliorer le rapport à la ville et à la citoyenneté ? Que peut-on apprendre de l'exemple algérien ? Les deux films –*Algérie, la vie quand même* (1998) et *Algérie la vie toujours* (2002) - font écho l'un à l'autre.

La vie quand même (durée : 46')

Une petite ville algérienne. Un peu à l'écart de la guerre qui déchire le pays. Au cœur de la crise qui le détruit. Deux jeunes hommes, sans travail, sans loisirs, sans espoir, sans rien... Le film les suit dans leur errance quotidienne entre l'ennui sans fin et l'attente de l'improbable. Et montre leur humour, leur vitalité, leur amitié...leur volonté de vivre quand même.

A small Algerian town. A bit aloof from the war that is tearing the country. In the heart of the crisis that's destroying it. Two young men, without work, without leisure, without hope, without nothing... the film follow them in their daily wandering between the endless boredom and the wait of the improbable. It shows their humour, their vitality, their friendship... their will to live just the same.

Algérie la vie toujours (durée : 52')

Dans une petite ville de Kabylie, une cité comme tant d'autres de l'Algérie d'aujourd'hui : livrée à elle-même et au délabrement, abandonnée de Dieu et des gouvernements. Les jeunes décident de prendre leur vie en main et de mobiliser les habitants : obtenir l'aménagement de trottoirs, le goudronnage des rues, planter des arbres, peindre les murs...bref, vivre quand même.

Dans le même temps, c'est le film lui-même qu'ils s'approprient. La réalisatrice confie la caméra à son neveu qui lui envoie régulièrement des nouvelles de la cité et du tournage. Le film est donc une chronique, vue de l'intérieur, de ces jours ordinaires. Une chronique quasi-intimiste, bouleversée par l'irruption de la violence : au printemps 2001, la cité est touchée par les émeutes qui embrassent la Kabylie et l'est de l'Algérie.

Débat

L'objectif de cette soirée était de susciter un débat sur la citoyenneté et la participation dans les villes algériennes. Deux films documentaires de Djamil Sahraoui ont ouvert la soirée. Les associations d'Hérouville impliquées dans les liens entre la France et les pays du Maghreb et les questions d'immigration et d'insertion (Trait d'union, La voie des femmes, l'ADEFA, etc.), deux enseignants-chercheurs de l'université de Annaba et Djamil Sahraoui ont été mis en présence avec la participation des membres de INURA qui constituaient un indispensable regard international extérieur.

Il est important de rappeler le contexte dans lequel s'est déroulé cette soirée. En France, il existe encore peu de débats publics, ou dans les médias, de films documentaires, de livres sur les questions actuelles de l'Algérie. Nos deux pays commencent tout juste à regarder ensemble leurs histoires intimement liées. Attraction et répulsion, fascination et rejet définissent dans une certaine mesure les liens étroits et ambivalents entre nos deux pays.

Depuis dix ans, la fermeture de l'Algérie et la guerre civile opposant les intégristes islamistes et le gouvernement, et parallèlement, la montée régulière en France du vote d'extrême droite (Front National) à chaque élection ont, de fait, réduit les échanges entre nos deux pays. En avril 2002, l'accès du leader du Front National (Jean-Marie Le Pen) au second tour des élections présidentielles en France a ravivé le débat sur la guerre d'indépendance de l'Algérie, Jean-Marie Le Pen ayant été lui-même au sein de l'armée française, un acteur de la torture... On a pu ressentir ces liens passionnels et passionnés au cours de cette soirée. Les échanges ont été vifs entre, notamment, Djamila Sahraoui (femme d'origine algérienne vivant en France dénonçant l'oppression de la jeunesse par le gouvernement algérien et les militaires) et Brahim Benlaklef (professeur d'université ayant très récemment occupé d'importantes fonctions administratives).

Le premier documentaire visait à dénoncer une situation : le massacre de la jeunesse algérienne par l'inactivité (impossibilité de travailler, de vivre en couple, d'être autonome, et cela jusqu'à très tardivement). « Nous sommes déjà morts » : c'est ce que dit l'un des jeunes. La crise du logement oblige les jeunes hommes à vivre pendant la journée dans la rue en bande. Ce sont des « héristes », littéralement ceux qui vivent adossés à un mur. L'humour et l'autodérision les sauvent. Les jeunes filles n'existent pas dans le paysage mais elles sont omniprésentes dans les discussions. Le code de la famille qui décrète le pouvoir du chef (l'homme) institue une séparation des genres et de leurs pouvoirs.

Le second documentaire (filmé par les jeunes qui étaient filmés dans le premier) montre la mobilisation des jeunes qui réagissent en réaction à l'image que l'on a donné d'eux. Les images sont presque opposées : les jeunes aident les vieux, leur parlent, les aident à traverser la rue, les saluent, etc. La rue est un lieu hautement public, un lieu de vie, de sociabilité. Dans le débat, cela a été remarqué comme une richesse à préserver. Le développement du capitalisme, l'individualisation de la société sur le modèle occidental pourraient en effet voir disparaître la rue comme support du lien social. Un projet participatif pour planter des arbres et embellir la ville a vu jour : c'est le signe de l'espoir, la preuve même qu'avec un peu de considération, ces jeunes ne sont pas désœuvrés et « morts » comme ils le disent eux-mêmes mais bien vivants, créatifs, prêts à prendre des initiatives. Le fait qu'ils se disent que l'on va les voir depuis la France les motive : ils veulent montrer le meilleur de leur ville. La caméra vidéo est un outil fort pour porter un regard, prendre conscience de ce qui ne va pas puis tenter d'y remédier pour changer le regard. La réalisation des deux documentaires a eu un impact dans le village où ils ont été tournés.

La soirée Algérie a été pour nous une action puisqu'il est encore rare aujourd'hui de rassembler de tels acteurs sur un sujet qui reste sensible. Dans nos propres familles, la question de l'Algérie est loin d'être neutre. Si ces actions peuvent paraître encore timides et anecdotiques, elles n'en restent pas moins importantes dans un pays où la recherche en sciences sociales et la recherche-action sont encore limitées par la guerre civile.

Jean-Marc

CONFERENCE 2002 –PARIS CAEN Retreat in Clinchamps-sur-Orne

Face à la mondialisation libérale, reconstruire des solidarités du local au global : rencontre avec Attac 14

Dans le cadre d'un atelier de travail, une soirée-débat a été organisée avec des membres du comité local du Calvados de l'Association pour la Taxation des Transactions financières pour l'Aide au Citoyen (ATTAC). Nicolas Bénies et Étienne Adam ont exposé l'histoire, les objectifs et les formes d'action de cette association luttant contre la mondialisation libérale.

Attac et la mondialisation : un mouvement fédératif international face au néolibéralisme

Mouvement né pour lutter contre la mondialisation financière, Attac est incompréhensible sans appréhender le contexte français des vingt dernières années, notamment le décalage entre la politique néolibérale menée par les divers gouvernements et la (non-)réponse du mouvement ouvrier. On a ainsi vu naître différentes organisations ayant en commun le refus des conséquences sociales de cette politique, notamment le chômage de masse. C'est le cas de AC ! (Agir ensemble contre le chômage), collectif créé en 1993 par des intellectuels, des syndicalistes et des militants associatifs qui préfigure ce que sera Attac quelques années plus tard. Durant l'automne 1995 éclate un très important mouvement social contre les réformes du gouvernement de droite. Derrière sa forme syndicale classique, il y a sans nul doute une aspiration profonde à un changement social plus large. Pourtant, malgré son importance, ce mouvement obtient peu de résultats. Aucune alternative au néolibéralisme ne voit le jour, même si la gauche prend les rennes du pouvoir deux ans plus tard.

La réflexion qui s'engage alors sur cette absence d'alternative va donner naissance à un courant issu d'une double convergence entre la gauche syndicale et associative, des intellectuels comme le sociologue Pierre Bourdieu et des journalistes. Ces convergences vont se concrétiser suite à un éditorial d'Ignacio Ramonet dans *Le Monde Diplomatique* de décembre 1997, appelant à la création d'une association pour réclamer la taxation des transactions financières, la taxe dite "Tobin", et "désarmer les marchés financiers". Ce sera chose faite en juin 1998, date de naissance d'Attac.

L'originalité d'Attac est multiple. Tout d'abord, c'est un mouvement de type fédératif, rassemblant des personnes issues de tous les horizons, organisations militantes, organes de presse, et même des villes. Ensuite, l'association se développe rapidement, que ce soit en nombre d'adhérents (20000 en deux ans, 28000 en décembre 2001) et de comités locaux qui se constituent spontanément (230 associations locales comme Attac 14 à la même date), mais aussi sur le plan international (une cinquantaine d'autres pays ont leur Attac). Surtout, Attac se définit comme un mouvement d'éducation populaire tourné vers l'action : il s'agit donc à la fois de produire de l'information et des analyses accessibles sur la mondialisation libérale, de participer aux grandes manifestations internationales (lors des réunions du G8, de l'OMC, du FMI, de la Banque mondiale, etc.), et de défendre des objectifs à la fois concrets et globaux, à l'image de la taxe Tobin. Il est ainsi naturel qu'Attac s'investisse fortement dans les divers contre-sommets et soit un membre actif des éditions du Forum Social Mondial de Porto Alegre, comme du futur Forum Social Européen..

Économie libérale et impérialisme : Attac et le retour du politique

Attac est parti de l'analyse des deux facettes inséparables de la mondialisation libérale capitaliste : la dictature des marchés financiers (les seuls marchés qui soient réellement internationaux) et la colonisation des esprits par l'idéologie libérale avec pour conséquences majeures la résignation et la généralisation des comportements individualistes. Aussi technique et réformiste soit elle, la mise en place de la taxe Tobin aurait des effets économiques décisifs. Et surtout, elle permet de rappeler l'importance et la légitimité de l'intervention des citoyens et des États dans l'économie, et confère simultanément à la revendication démocratique un sens anti-libéral voire anti-capitaliste. Mais elle est insuffisante. Non seulement elle a été dès le départ combinée avec d'autres revendications économiques (contre les paradis fiscaux par exemple) et démocratiques (contrôle des institutions internationales), mais la nécessité s'est vite fait sentir de s'attaquer aux aspects les plus concrets de la vie quotidienne touchés par la mondialisation, pour défendre d'autres pratiques et revenir au collectif. Attac a donc entrepris dès le début d'articuler le global et le local. Le comité local Attac 14 a ainsi été aux côtés des salariés de la région quand les effets du libéralisme se sont une nouvelle fois abattus sur l'emploi. Voisinant les îles anglo-normandes, les militants bas-normands ont mené des actions visant notamment à dénoncer les liens entretenus par la Région avec ce paradis fiscal. Par ailleurs, Attac14 contribue à faire vivre des lieux de débat et participe activement au développement de la démocratie participative.

Depuis la naissance de l'association, et après le 11 septembre, une nouvelle donne mondiale émerge, marquée par les liens entre le libéralisme et la guerre en Afghanistan imposée par le gouvernement des États-Unis. Un

véritable travail idéologique est mené qui tend à imposer une vision fantasmagorique du monde où le Mal (en gros, le monde arabo-musulman) s'opposerait au Bien (le monde occidental). Cette vision distille de l'angoisse, désigne le bouc émissaire ouvrant la porte à l'extrême droite dont la montée est déjà liée à l'absence de prise en charge par la gauche classique et syndicale des couches sociales les plus touchées par le libéralisme. Les États-Unis affirment leur suprématie à l'échelle mondiale (y compris sur le plan militaire) sans qu'il y ait de prise de position claire du gouvernement français contre cette politique. En tant qu'acteur du mouvement social, devait donc affirmer clairement son désaccord. Ce fut chose faite en organisant une manifestation contre la venue de George W. Bush en Normandie en mai dernier. Celui-ci entendait ainsi jouer sur la corde émotionnelle et ajouter à la confusion idéologique, utilisant à des fins stratégiques les tombes des soldats américains tombés lors du débarquement de 1944.

Les mots d'ordre d'Attac sont donc de plus en plus actuels : "le monde n'est pas une marchandise", "un autre monde est possible". Il n'a jamais été plus urgent de faire de la politique, terme qui en français ne veut pas dire uniquement action gouvernementale mais aussi action des citoyens, projet de société. Certes, le débat est ouvert pour savoir comment transformer le monde. Il n'y a pas de programme clé en main. Mais l'on sait aujourd'hui qu'un libéralisme modéré ou social n'est pas possible : il n'a tout simplement pas d'espace politique. Conséquence : si la démocratie représentative a encore une valeur, le système politique est en crise, tant au niveau du système électoral qu'au niveau des partis politiques. Dans la plupart des pays capitalistes développés, on ne croit plus à la politique, on ne croit plus qu'elle puisse changer les choses. En revanche, des associations s'attaquent à des questions sociales qui auraient dû être traitées par le gouvernement et les mouvements sociaux se développent ainsi avec l'idée de leur autonomie possible, sans concrétisation sur le terrain politique. On assiste donc à une décomposition des organisations traditionnelles du mouvement ouvrier (en France : le PS, le PCF et les organisations syndicales classiques), mais sans réelle recomposition syndicale et politique. C'est pour cela qu'Attac tente de redonner du sens à l'action politique et affirme qu'il n'y a pas qu'une seule politique possible.

Attac, la ville et la solidarité : le travail des comités locaux

Pour tout le monde, y compris les membres fondateurs d'Attac, la naissance spontanée de dizaines de groupes locaux, dont la plupart se sont constitués en association (loi 1901) a été une surprise. Aujourd'hui, ce sont près de 250 « comités locaux » et collectifs universitaires qui participent à la vie de l'association nationale, sans que l'on puisse imaginer pouvoir s'en passer. Bien entendu, ces collectifs de militants ne réduisent pas leur activité à fournir des troupes pour les grandes mobilisations collectives, nationales et internationales, ou à servir de relais de l'information et des analyses en direction des adhérents. Ils se sont appropriés l'objet très ambitieux de l'association nationale « de promouvoir et mener des actions de tous ordres en vue de la reconquête, par les citoyens, du pouvoir que la sphère financière exerce sur tous les aspects de la vie politique, économique, sociale et culturelle dans l'ensemble du monde ». Beaucoup sont entrés dans Attac parce qu'elle se présente comme un « mouvement d'éducation populaire tournée vers l'action », ayant vocation à faire du lien, à la fois théorique et pratique, c'est-à-dire à construire des convergences et à travailler en réseau. Les militants locaux ont effectivement une grande responsabilité pour traduire ces projets en réalité sur le terrain.

L'objectif minimal est souvent de reconstruire une forme d'espace public local. Cela passe beaucoup par l'organisation de nombreuses réunions et soirées publiques (conférences, débats, cafés citoyens, projections, formations, etc.) sur les thèmes les plus variés pouvant être reliés à la mondialisation libérale. Moins spectaculaires que des actions manifestantes, elles n'en sont pas moins fondamentales au quotidien pour construire l'avenir sur du moyen ou long terme. Au fur et à mesure des initiatives, l'inscription dans le tissu local se fait réalité. Quand ces soirées ont lieu aussi bien au cœur de la cité que dans les périphéries urbaines ou qu'à la campagne. Quand l'organisation devient co-organisation et que les invitations se font à double sens. Quand le débat commun devient action commune, mise en réseau et mutualisation. Ainsi, le comité local du Calvados (Attac 14) essaye depuis plusieurs années de faire ce travail de longue haleine dans un contexte local particulièrement difficile. Celui d'une ville comme d'un département traditionnellement conservateurs (ancrés à droite), où rien n'est fait pour faciliter et encore moins encourager le développement d'associations citoyennes... Sur le territoire de la ville de Caen, il est très difficile de trouver un local à bas prix comme des salles gratuites pour les réunions publiques. L'association a eu la chance d'être accueillie dans un local déjà occupé et géré par le CITIM (Centre d'Information sur le Tiers-monde), près de la gare SNCF, sur la rive droite de l'Orne. Depuis, avec plusieurs autres associations présentes, ils y ont fondé la MSI - Maison de la Solidarité Internationale. Mais l'ouverture sur le centre de la ville comme sur son environnement a du mal à se faire. Les salles de l'Université devenant payantes (pour salarier des agents de sécurité), il ne reste plus que la Maison des syndicats, un théâtre associatif, ou encore le café des Images d'Hérouville pour aller à la rencontre des caennais. Et pour l'heure, les tentatives de « décentralisation », comme dans la commune ouvrière de Colombelles, n'ont pas eu le résultat escompté.

Enfin, en terme d'actions, le comité participe à plusieurs collectifs avec d'autres associations, des syndicats et parfois des partis politiques (sur la question des OGM - Organismes Génétiquement Modifiés, sur celle de la « double peine » subie par les immigrés) comme à toutes les actions unitaires ponctuelles. Mais il reste que le réseau militant local est tenu. Surtout, il a du mal à s'élargir et à s'adresser directement aux personnes les plus touchées par le libéralisme. Ce constat est d'ailleurs général et national, et les militants de l'association commencent à peine à échanger et à plancher sur ce problème redoutable mais fondamental.

Fabrice

CONFERENCE 2002 –PARIS CAEN Workshop reports

CONFERENCE 2002 –PARIS CAEN workshop reports

DISCUSSION “THE RISE OF THE RIGHT IN EUROPE”

The Right and Populistic Politic in Europe

The following series of articles were inspired by the workshop, “The Rise of the Right”, which was held during the retreat at the last INURA Conference in Caen. At the workshop, we discussed varying political situations and about the perspectives of the right wing and populistic parties in different countries. The discussion showed that there are similar phenomenons.

If there should be a sequel workshop on this topic, with perhaps even more input from further countries, three further steps might be worth while. Firstly, while working on this article and reflecting the discussions from the workshop, it became clear that there were different understandings of words “liberal,” “conservative,” “right,” and “populistic.” Future workshops might involve working on arriving at a common understanding of these terms in order that a theoretical base can be built. Secondly, the experiences in the different countries might be further analysed, especially with respect to different opposition movements and strategies. Thirdly, new forms and ideas of resistance might be developed and planned.

In these articles you will find some of the results of the discussion at the workshop, and in addition more details of current developments. The different parts describe the political situation in France, in the Netherlands, and in Germany.

Right in the middle – Hamburg's new government

By Dirk Lohaus and Maik LindemannTranslated by Constance Carr, Maik Lindemann and Dirk Lohaus

The City of Hamburg

Hamburg is with its 1.7 million inhabitants the second biggest city in Germany. Inside the region of Hamburg (Metropolregion) there live 3 million people. Hamburg is a City-State, which means that it is a own State (*Land/Länder*), surrounded by the Länder Schleswig-Holstein in the north and Niedersachsen (Lower Saxony) in the south. Besides Hamburg, there exist only two other cities in Germany having the status of a City-State: Bremen and Berlin. This status gives the government of Hamburg, in relation to other German city governments, more political authority. Hamburg is in charge of local functions as well as for tasks under the jurisdiction of the Land. Germany is a federal republic, therefore the Länder have an important political positions. Corresponding to the German federal system, the Senate of Hamburg is responsible, for example, for the legislation concerning education policy, culture policy, and the police.

Hamburg is a traditional and important harbour and commercial town which is also affected by present economic restructuring. In spite of current development of a new container-port next to the older port, the image of the port is more important than its function. New neighbourhoods are developed in former port-areas. The most important one is the *HafenCity* (Harbour City), which is the biggest urban development project in Germany. It is

not certain yet what kind of face the *HafenCity* will get, but it looks like the former aims of a mixed and lively neighbourhood will not be realised, and the *HafenCity* will turn into an expansive district mainly for service industry and some luxury apartments.

Local Politic - Political Situation

Hamburg was led, almost exclusively since the war, by a Social Democratic (SPD) mayor sometimes together with a coalition government. During the last legislative period, the government of Hamburg (the Senate) was led by a coalition of the SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany) and the GAL (Green Alternative List) which is the name of the Green Party in Hamburg. After the last election in 2001, there was a change of government. The SPD received 36.5% of the votes (or 46 seats in the parliament) which is one of the worst results in its history. In addition, the GAL reached only a weak 8.6% (or 11 seats). This meant that the Red-Green-Coalition could not continue. This was the chance of the CDU (Christian German Union) to realize a long wished dream: Hamburg led by a CDU mayor. To achieve this goal, the CDU, that won 26.2 % of the votes (or 33 seats), needed the help of the FDP (Free Democratic Party, the neoliberal party) who reached 5.1 % (or 6 seats), as well as the help of the newly founded populistic party, PRO (Constitutional Offensive Party), or better known as the Schill-Party. The Schill-Party won at their first election, only some months after its foundation, 19.4 % (or 25 seats).

Ronald Schill - Judge Merciless

The Schill-Party was founded in 2001, in Hamburg, by Ronald Barnabas Schill, who is the leader of the Schill-Party and, since the last election, Senator of the Interior and the Vice-Mayor of Hamburg. He shows himself as a liberal, open-minded person with strict principles. During the election campaign, he had demanded, on one hand, the disbandment of the (open) drug-scene with repressive forces. One the other hand, he mentioned the importance of legalized and safe spaces of heroin consumption (*Fixerstuben*). Schill is a personable, magnetic and charismatic leader who acted as a judge before his election campaign. His reputation echoed in the media because of his extreme hard verdicts and judgements, mainly targeted against socially disadvantaged individuals and local (radical left) activists. His judgements gave him the nickname “Judge Merciless”. A legal proceeding against him, because of misuse of justice, was dropped in the appeal.

The Schill-Party is a typical Law and Order Movement, whose main platform for the election campaign was inner security. Schill demanded, for example, to reduce the age limit of young offenders while at the same time called for harsher punishments under the Young Offenders Penal Code (*Jugendstrafrecht*) as well as the Foreigners Penal Code (*Ausländerstrafrecht*). Concrete changes that were proposed were: extensions of prisons, locked shelters for young criminals, more restrictions in the Code of Asylum, uncompromising deportation of foreign criminals, the increase in the number of police (2,000 employments in the first year), more cut-backs in cultural and social sectors, harsher punishments for small offenders such as graffiti-sprayers and public transportation abusers. Schill promised to halve the crime in Hamburg within 100 days. The most ludicrous demands were to put parents in prison who don't look enough after their children, and to castrate relapsed sex-criminals.

The Schill-Party succeeded in making inner security the main topic during the election campaign of 2001 in Hamburg. Other parties also took over this issue. However, it must be mentioned that, in 1997, the SPD had also made an election campaign with Law and Order slogans. The social democratic mayor, then Henning Voscherau, explained that too many “foreign offenders” would overfill German prisons. Therefore, they should be deported back to the countries where they came from. During the following legislative period, after 1997, this politic was realized by the Red-Green-Coalition. Hamburg became a Land with one of the highest deportation rates. During the election campaign of 2001 the gear was shifted even higher: CDU and Schill-Party used the aggravation of a media stir-up discourse for their political profile. So called “Black-African drug-dealers” were accused of being the murders of German children, and confused drug-policy with the need to pursue and punish small-scale drug-dealers. In consequence the Red-Green-Coalition passed the “Emetic-Law” to demonstrate that they too were ready to institute hard-line security policies. As a result, the police were able to apply emetics on suspected drug dealers, if the police had the impression that the suspect had swallowed packages with drugs to hide them. If the suspected person refuses to drink the emetic-drink, a doctor can apply the emetic by force; a very painful and dangerous act.¹

1. The originally with the prove in suspicious accounted emetic-interventions seem questionable. Low success-quotes of 50% – every second person takes the emetic without any reason – and alternative procedures – before their introduction the evidence of a police(wo)man was a sufficient prove of suspicion, other Länder are giving laxatives in the drinking water and

After the elections the coalition government of the CDU, FDP and Schill-Party began the last legislative session with a solid and large majority – setting the stage in Hamburg for a government ready to activate political change by shifting policies created by its predecessors further to the right.

Inner Security

Policies concerning internal security have consistently retained central significance in the PRO Schill Party's politic. Today, Schill is Senator of the Interior and is working in close contact with his concurrent in the election campaign the Senator of Justice, Roger Kusch (CDU). Even if the goals that were advertised during Schill's election campaign are not entirely carried out throughout the next term, internal security policy remains an arena of distinction for the new coalition. These goals were not simply promoted through symbolic actions. Instead, the government has increased municipal funding and already successfully created what might be called a cut-throat Law and Order judicial system.

Shortly after the elections, the new senate began instituting its new policies with some symbolic actions. Some of them were motivated by the need to keep campaign promises. In consequence of the war on drugs, needle exchange programs in prisons were discontinued. The police force was strengthened temporarily by 20 police(wo)men from Bavaria and the proposal of citizen police forces. Others were aimed at signifying social and political change in Hamburg. Police forces will also be decked in new police-uniforms emphasizing their new strength and force. The PUK (*Polizeiliche Untersuchungskommission*) -- a commission created by the preceding senate as an independent control-structure in response to several violations by police(wo)men, was also abolished.

These manoeuvres hinted at a fundamental change in the political program of inner security. Crime would be fought by the new strategy of consistently and persistently pursuing disorder phenomena and the threat of punishment as deterrence. The new coalition argued, for example, that jail sentences should not be seen as holiday camps.² This, therefore, warranted the removal of televisions and green spaces from prisons. Youth-delinquency would be addressed with locked shelters and DNA-testing for the more extreme perpetrators such as graffiti-sprayers.

The increasing repression and the proximity between Law & Order-policy and torture is clearly seen in the attempts to implement greater control in the drug scene. Compared to the former SPD-Grüne coalition both users and dealers of narcotics became even more the object of pursuit. In December 2001, a 19 year-old suspect (described as "Achidi J." by Amnesty International) died as a consequence of emetic-intervention while under the observation of policemen and physicians. An incident no member of the new senate regrets.³ Since the elections, many hurdles in the bureaucracy of emetic-intervention have been removed, and the number of interventions has doubled. As of August 2002, there were 162 cases of emetic-interventions in Hamburg (or 12 per month) (Senate, 2002). Innovative concepts and resolutions for more moderate and sensible drug control were ignored.

The lynching of the drug-scene was one expression of repression that was augmented by successive proposals (or threats) to remove homeless individuals from public view, to privatize public spaces, or to institute stringent surveillance measures.

Social-policy

Social-policy and education were also the target of rigorous budget cuts. In the social sector, alone, cutbacks of about 34.4 Million € are planned for 2002, and in 2003/04 another 225 Million € are scheduled to follow. This is expected to result in the termination of entire sectors, cancelling countless projects.

The cutbacks are expected to affect addiction centres, children- and youth-projects, street-work initiatives, and more. Spaces created for women, young women, and girls, are preparing for the command to reduce their

keeping the person in jail for a longer time – indicates that the actual reason of the emetic-interventions is different: 'The development [of emetic-interventions] is regressing, it has been talked around between the dealers, that we intervene consequentially', says the police-spokesperson Reinhard Fallack. A drug squad officer: 'The dealer are acting more and more carefully.' (Hamburger Abendblatt 26.09.02)

2. The Hambuger Senator of Justice visits the sentencing practices of the so-called *most brutal American Sheriff*, who boasted financial savings by the motto *prison-food is cheaper than dog-food*.

3. Schill: "Obviously there are people who regret the dead of a dealer more than the dead of a policeman."; Kusch: "If one supports these proceedings, these effects have to be accepted. And we knew that this will happen one day."

services and cut their employment by 50%. To this, the Senator of Welfare and Family (a woman) responds that she cannot fathom why such special services would be useful to women. To "integrate" immigrants, it is proposed that language tests be mandatory upon enrolment into elementary school, but the subventions for the courses is drastically cut back.⁴ Equally the senate treats intercultural community centres as the coalition argues, immigrants have been living in Hamburg long enough that should be able to finance themselves.

It is not only that many social services will, in the future, be cut, but that the threat, itself, of budget reduction, has been explicitly used to exert political change and social control. Projects that use their space for antiracist or anti-globalization action can expect to have their budgets proofed by governmental administrations. The cutbacks of the new senate are, therefore, not necessary adjustments to the budget. Instead, the fiscal restraints reflect an intentional plan to redistribute wealth from the bottom upward towards the societal elite, and this is coincided with a social and political milieu that subscribes to a socio-political redistribution from left to right.

Transportation planning and urban development

The policy of the new coalition government is also transparent in urban development and transportation planning. After the elections, the extensions of ecological transport thoroughfares were abolished in favour of a car-orientated transport system. Several prestigious projects initiated by the previous government were also cancelled. A section of a main-road, for example, which was reduced to two lanes after the death of several children, is scheduled to be re-opened despite resistance of the residents. Other actions included the removal of traffic calming controls and other pedestrian protections.

The synchronicity of symbolic actions and a fundamental reorientation can be also be seen in the urban-development-policy. One of the best examples of populist symbolic thought and action is the experience of residents from local caravan sites (sites of mobile housing, also known as wagon parks). Community caravan sites have a long tradition in Hamburg, and the relationship between the various governmental regimes and the caravan movement has varied from tolerance and acceptance by the Green (Grüne) party, ambivalence by social democrats (SPD), and refusal and abhorrence among various conservative groups. During the Grüne-SPD coalition's term in office, the law on mobile housing was changed and mobile housing sites were legalized through the creation of temporary leases. In contrast, conservative groups have campaigned against and tried to criminalize caravan living. In some cases, this lobbying was organized in co-operation with (nazi)parties of the far right as the German Peoples Union (DVU) or the German National Democratic Party (NPD).

The new government has adopted this typical conservative ideological position and plans to evict all the sites during its term in office. As of October 2002, two sites were already deconstructed. More are expected to follow in 2003. These procedures are neither motivated by location competition, nor by conflicts between the inhabitants and their neighbours. It is also not the intention to improve the living-situation of the inhabitants, as negotiations on alternative housing projects have also been halted or cancelled. The evictions were carried out in the name of "re-establishing order and security". On the premise of hygienic controls, contracts were annulled and an early evictions feasible. However, many feel that the real background of these activities is the targeting of dissenters and counter cultures, and the enforcing of social norms that emphasize integration and assimilation into a particular pattern of German society.

It should also be noted that changes are happening within a wider context of Hamburg's city planning – the new urban model "Metropolis Hamburg – Growing City." Bigger projects, initiated and planned by the former government, include the further deepening of the Elbe, the enlargement of the airbus-factory that will cement over an EU fauna-flora-habitat (nature protection area), and the bid for the Olympic games 2012. What they have in common, is that the cost-benefit relationships are risky, their usefulness is uncertain, and the importance of ecosystem is dramatically undervalued throughout decision-making processes. It is within this context that the new and right conservative government responds to global market competition on one hand, and municipal development on the other. The government caters to the notion that a vitalized Hamburg should enter the international stage alongside other second tier world cities such as Copenhagen, Barcelona, Vienna, Seattle and Toronto – a concept that supposedly increases population, employment- and economic growth, international allure, and the enlargement of faster and smarter transport infrastructure.

Interpretation

4 School policy educates children of leaders to the leaders of tomorrow – bilingual schools are scheduled for economically influential languages and not for "less important" languages such as Turkish

Labelling the coalition's policies as simply "right-wing populist" may, however, be inadequate and misleading, because the categorization suggests a break or a distinct differentiation from the former SPD-Grüne coalition and ignores some commonalities and continuities between the two. Only some policies, for example, are different, as many of the existing policies were, in fact, created in the previous government. It might, therefore, instead be more effective to conceptualize the new governmental strategies as a worsening of or an aggravation of already existing policies, the loss of a social conscious. Secondly, "right wing populism" reaches short because the collective name hides the existence of social and urban paradigms. Under the new CDU/FDP/PRO government, urban development policy leans towards the promotion of Hamburg in the regional and global markets, by which development strategies aim at improving its international notoriety and reputation. The advantages of more innovative economic models are not recognized or considered.

The coalition government's proclaimed goal to promote Hamburg as a maritime, open, and tolerant metropolis, might be seen as a direct contradiction to the closed, authoritarian social model, that inform and establish social, education, security, and urban policies of the right, in Germany. The new policies prey on the weaker or the meeker (e.g. homeless). Spaces and/or social groups are stigmatized and subsequently ruled unfit (e.g. caravan residents). The economic system itself or absence of imaginative solutions are not the target of reform, rather the dealer, the junkie, the person who is living in a caravan, the immigrant, or the Islamist. The civil-authoritarian and neoliberal policies of the senate de-thematize the interrelations and divergences of discourses among various social groups, while enemies of the state are identified and fought as single objects or targets. The overlapping and contradicting neoliberal urban and social policies on one hand and the authoritarian security policies on the other hand, is further supplemented by the heterogeneity of the electorate, that is of the (neo)liberal and far right camps.

Resistance

On the day of inauguration the left movement raised its voice through demonstration, only to fall silent immediately afterwards. Initially, there were some days of anticipation while waiting for the senate's first movements. This silence quickly, however, turned into action after the death of Achidi J. in December 2001, and after the initial announcements of the budget cuts to the social sector, which were met with massive organized resistance. Five hundred gathered to protest the emetic-intervention, 7.500 demonstrated against the new social-policy, and 30.000 gathered against the education-policy unveiled in May 2002.

Also active was the artist scene, and regular blockades of the enlarged main-street began. Other initial actions protested primarily the criminalization of social practices and the privatization of public spaces. The regular blockades mobilized a wide spectrum of individuals and neighbourhoodgroups. Several thousand signatures were collected on petitions. However, with time, support declined. If this pattern stays the same, the caravan sites can also expect to experience initial support followed by complacency at the crucial moment of eviction – paving the way for the coalition government to successfully execute their agenda.

It has been seen, however, that, at least the resistance movement has been punctual and timely. Since the beginning of 2002 the politics of the senate has become a hot topic for many groups and networks, and these discussions have led to the creation of several smaller events and conferences, "Lichter der Großstadt" (lights of a metropolis) and the "Land in Sight Camp." The first conference drew mainly leftist civil groups and social organizations. The "Land in Sight Camp," in contrast however, ran in the tradition of "No-Border-Camps" and, as a result, the left(radical) scene dominated discussions on inner borders, authoritarian regimes, racism and exclusion in Germany and Europe. This event also included several smaller actions and a demonstration of about 500 persons. The activities of these camps, however, resonated only minimally in the media.

In the federal elections that took place in September of 2002, in conjunction with surveys and polls show that support for this right-conservative coalition has lowered, and further that if this trend continues, then this government can expect to lose its current majority. The reasons for this are numerous, but might be seen as a consequence of Schill's poor public presence during the electoral campaign, as he disrespected the President of the Parliament. It is thought, however, that this conflict resulted from procedural disagreements, and not from his open racism that remained often uncontested. Another senator that is losing popularity is the Senator of Education (liberal party), who countered strong resistance by teachers, parents and the schools administration who were outraged about the drastic cutbacks.

In conclusion, it seems that the left and especially extra-parliamentary opposition manages neither to influence (local) discourses nor to build counter responses or arguments, even when the problems seem relatively clear

(e.g. caravan-sites, social cut or security). This opens two questions: Why is it like this? Is it a question of medial presence? How can this situation be changed and which alliances might be useful?

Soest -- Enter Stage Right by Constance Carr

Somewhat too serious a matter to simply call it an uncanny coincidence, but the discussion of „The Rise of the Right“ at the INURA 2002 conference in Caen, was an all too timely and pertinent event. After the conference, with my head swimming with new and great ideas, my family and I took a little holiday and then headed home to Soest, a pristine „medieval town“ nestled quietly and pretty just outside the Ruhr Gebiet. As we arrived, however, and before we had a chance to make ourselves at home again, our roommates announced, „In two weeks the neo-nazi Christian Worch from Hamburg and 1000 nazi followers are planning to hold a demonstration and concert in the Market Place, downtown.“

It had been my intention to arrive home, get back into my daily routine, and in my quieter moments put my reflections from the conference into writing. It had even been my hopes to receive a fellow Jewish colleague from Canada, (who had once sworn that she would never visit Germany because of her unbearable family history), and spend some time catching up and bouncing our ideas off each other. However, because of the current turn of events, my attention was curtailed and re-focused on more immediate concerns – and given the subject matter at hand, my Jewish friend changed her mind and opted not to visit after all.

"Soest? Where is that?"

Soest is not the most well known location in the world. It is a small town of 50,000 inhabitants, connected to other towns of similar size and to the Ruhr Gebiet by an east-west thoroughfare (Autobahn 44). Unlike its industrial neighbours⁵, however, Soest's economy is centred on research, civil services and tourism. It is the district bureaucratic headquarters (*Kreissitz*) and is, therefore, host to a number of regional governing authorities. It is also home to the Departments of Mechanical Engineering, Agriculture, and Electrical Energy and Technology – divisions of (neighbouring town) Paderborn's University of Technology and Economics. Approximately 60 % of Soest was bombed and destroyed during the Second World War.)⁶ However, after the war ended, the town was rebuilt just as it was before – reconstructing Soest's traditional medieval architecture, representing its solid 1000 year old history, and making it an attractive destination for about 200,000 tourists each year.

Soest is, however, not always so rosy. After one spends some time in Soest, one can begin to notice the small ways in which "non-German" culture is only marginally accepted. It is a place where many people agree that immigrants must learn and speak German – a signs of this necessity are, of course, the poor grades that immigrant pupils earn in their German classes at elementary school. (The school system is naturally not the problem). In Soest also, despite its cinemas, it is virtually impossible to view a film in its original language. Except for very rare occasions, all films are dubbed in German (an apparently universal preference to subtitles). Original versions, "don't sell."⁷ This is also the Soest, where one can visit a CD shop and see all music ranging from Blues and Jazz, to Reggae, Dub and Hiphop, all classified under one heading, "Black Music", as if to suggest that rhythm and soul were connected to a colour of skin.

This is also the town where one can visit old German restaurants (to order, for example, a schnitzel or an asparagus soup) and read a proudly placed plaque that informs its customers (in case they should have any doubts) that the owners do not support nazi thought. One can also speak with owners of Turkish restaurants who have been on the receiving end of xenophobia motivated vandalism, and are now fearful of declaring their anti-nazi sentiments too loudly. On a summer's evening stroll, one can also tear away White Power propaganda from lamp posts (30 or more on a depressing night). And finally, at the level of the official and bureaucratic, one must also look at the Soest that: has an "Outlanders"⁸ Office (*Ausländeramt*) famous for its harsh and prejudicial

5. Or perhaps is „deindustrialized neighbours“ a better name, as this region has suffered massive deindustrialization in recent years.

6. This statistic was received in an email from the City Hall's Office of Tourism

7. On the occasions that I asked cinema organizers why films were not shown in their original version, I was often given this response.

8. Ausländer is often translated into english as „foreigner“. This, in my opinion is not an accurate interpretation because the german word for foreign“ is „fremd.“ I prefer to use the direct translation. In my opinion, alien“ would also suffice.

treatment of immigrant residents; has a police force that openly stops, interrogates and humiliates Turkish teenagers in public; and that is patrolled by the border control police (*Bundesgrenzschutz*) who regularly perform passport checks on people who „do not look German.”⁹

One can address these everyday attitudes and policies in the attempt to resolve the intercultural conflicts, however, the central question that underlies both arenas of discussion is what the requirements are to identify as German. It is simply not clear what the term even means. It is never clear whether the term „German” refers to language and culture or citizenship. For the sake of consistency and argument in this paper, I use it to mean both. That is, to be „German” one must speak German and retain German citizenship (i.e. hold a German passport). „Non-German,” then, refers to individuals who do not possess one or both of these characteristics.

The NPD were coming

The right wing extremists that were to be gathered in Soest on July 20th, were lead by Christian Worch -- founder of several white power organizations of the 1970s and 80s, author of hate literature, partner to the neo-nazi scene in Denmark, organizer of an Anti-Antifa¹⁰ campaign, and member of the Nationalist Democratic Party (NPD). The expected march in Soest was one of a number of marches that the NPD regularly perform around the country with the general objective of generating further awareness and support. Their political doctrine is¹¹: to secure social welfare for „German families”; to protect German cultural and sovereignty; to preserve the natural habitat of their homeland („Heimat”); to resist globalization; and to stop „foreign infiltration” (“Überfremdung”) and immigration. To name a few, these principles translate into some immediate mandates and platforms for political action: protection of (German) animal and plant life by the refusal of gen-technology and nuclear power; the refusal of “German blood shed”¹² on behalf of foreign interest (i.e. anti U.N.O. or anti N.A.T.O.); calling a halt to the defamation of the German army¹³; no voting or welfare rights for “foreigners”; and, the reclamation of so called German soil (i.e. Poland).

On the 20th of July (the anniversary of the failed assassination attempt on Hitler in 1944) their theme was, “Freedom of Expression for Nationalists.” Their aim was to voice objection to the laws that prohibit them from publishing and distributing their hate material. They had reported to the police that am expected 1000 participants would gather at the train station at between 10 and 11 am, and if granted permission, they would march down the main street in Soest and hold a concert in the main square. The entire event was expected to last six hours.

The protest

The Nazis could not be allowed to march through this town without objection, and they, according to many Soesters, certainly could not be allowed to march down the main street – an act too painfully and frightfully reminiscent of the rise of the Third Reich in the 1930s. Something -- and something big -- had to be organized. This meant that speeches had to be prepared, artists and musicians had to be enlisted, business owners had to be convinced, buttons had to be assembled and distributed, T-Shirts had to be designed and pressed, stickers had to be stuck-up, banners and placards had to be painted and hung, press releases had to be written and faxed, 1000s of flyers had to be written, printed, proofed, photocopied and circulated, and whatever it was that would be the result of these actions had to be completed before the arrival of 700 federal police expected two days before the event, and above all before the arrival of Worch and his supporters.

After the first week of initial public discussions, three distinct resistance movements with distinct philosophies and objectives had formed. One group (“punks”), primarily teenagers and early twenty-somethings, planned to block Christian Worch and his marchers at the train station. Since Worch had the right to march, this action would be considered illegal. As a result, their plans were spread only by word of mouth and were kept mysterious and away from the public until the day of the march. It is said that the Antifa worked as a part of this group, but this information was also heresy. The two other groups worked closer together. Both had targeted the middle class of Soest – a task that meant developing a strategy that would create a protest space that could appeal to and mobilize persons not accustom to breaking the norms, not accustom to taking a stand, and above

9. I (as a „foreigner”, with my white skin, am never stopped. However, my husband makes a regular practice of standing near within hearing distance of the *Bundesgrenzschutz* as they interrogate visible minorities.

10. Antifa” is short for anti-fascists. They are a nation-wide network of anti-nazi activists.

11 Taken from the party’s official website.

12. Kein deutsches Blut für fremde Interessen”

13. In addition to their previous protests against exhibitions that show hideous acts of Hitler’s government, „Fame and Glory to the SS” are often shouted during their marches.

all, not accustom to demonstrating. It meant devising a strategy of protest that would appeal to the citizens of Soest who to reflect the sentiments of Soest’s Second Mayor (*VizebürgermeisterIn*), “like Soest just as it is.”

Both groups had initially worked together until pivotal decisions had to be made that both parties could not agree upon. One group, called the Soester Round Table, was headed by a prominent Soester SPD politician and composed of heads of schools, priests, and elderly. They decided to throw an outdoor intercultural church service. They invited members of the Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Muslim and Hindu congregations to preach, as well as prominent Soester politicians to speak. The second group Soesters Against Nazis (*Soester Gegen Nazis*), organized a corresponding non-denominational event with music, art and infomaterials.¹⁴ This group also organized a peaceful demonstration that would begin just as the church service was ending, pass by the service, and allow the opportunity for more to join in. The demonstration was headed by a team of about 30 persons disguised as street workers and carrying brooms, whose mission was to sweep the streets clean after Worch and his right wing extremists had left.

Since both the police and City Hall refused to disclose the official location of Worch and his event until July 19th, no one could know if their application to hold an event in the main square would be approved, thus no one could advertise the time and location of an anti-nazi event that would take place there. Since advertising was an essential component to the success of the campaign, the church service and the demonstration were planned in other locations around the city. Both events were heavily publicized in Soest and in neighbouring towns.

The 20th of July, 2002

The day itself turned into a memorable day for most citizens of Soest. That morning, it was business as usual until 11:00 when Worch’s event began, when the Soesters Against the Right “Information Market” began, and when many shops decided to close early for the day. (Although many closed out of fear, the action also served an art defacto strike in addition to the various events taking place in the town). By noon, the town was noticeably quieter. At 2 p.m., the church service began, at 3 p.m., the demonstration began, and by 5 p.m. the events of the day had come to an end and Worch and his followers had disappeared.

Worch’s planned event was, apparently, a failure. Only one hundred (and not one thousand) came to support the cause. Those that had arrived by auto had driven under giant banners that told them to leave, those that had arrived by train had also entered Soest with an onslaught of anti-nazi messages posted around the train station, and the police on the 19th of July announced that Worch’s march would be restricted to the northern edge of the town. They were not granted (for reasons unknown) permission to march down the main street into the centre of Soest, nor were they granted permission to throw a concert in the main square. All their activities were hemmed, and the thick ring of police that accompanied and protected them from the “punks” and the Antifa, also prevented them from contacting outsiders and spreading their word.

In comparison, the anti-nazi campaign was substantially larger, with approximately 2000 demonstrators at its height. Furthermore, because the demonstration was timed to coincide with the exit of Worch, the NPD and the neo-nazis, the streets were satisfactorily swept clean. Many participants, at the end of the day, felt a sense of accomplishment and relief. Weeks of hard work had come to an end. Worch was gone -- at least for the time being.

Who is in the Right?

In the following days, the local newspapers were ablaze with extensive full colour coverage of the extraordinary day, acknowledgements were properly distributed and photos taken of the day’s highlights and important people. Among the organizing crew, despite a few small squabbles over who had claimed credit for which action, there was a sense of achievement and completion. Sleep or a bit of downtime was needed, maybe even a glass of champagne. The fight that had costed so much time, energy and sleep was over.

On Monday it was, again, business as usual. There was something unsettling, however, about this quick return to normalcy and complacency. Soesters had gone home and felt good about fighting off the right, but almost completely absent from critical discussion was the existence of systemic racism and prevalence of casual dispositions and formal procedures that create a class system based on colour of skin, spoken accent, and other

14. The actions of this group were supported by more than 25 organizations.

material symbols of culture. Worch, the NPD, the neo-nazis, and all the other men, women and children that subscribe to their vision are without a doubt a threat to the vision of Germany as a multicultural, inclusive and immigrant-friendly country. However, so are many of the prejudicial and discriminatory immigration policies that are already in place. Furthermore, the NPD are not an isolated group with only a handful of supporters. In the week preceding the march, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), Republikaner and the NPD founded a "Forum for the Right" in Soest's neighbouring town¹⁵ with the mandate of bringing the "philosophy of the right to a new level."¹⁶

The result of July 20th was a positive step in Soest towards raising awareness and bringing many (who would otherwise remain silent and asleep) face to face with a very ugly and frightening movement in Germany. Unfortunately, however, the central source of the conflict was avoided. The question of what it means to be German was evaded and dismissed. After the demonstration was over, Worch was forgotten, regular everyday lives, and "German culture" resumed, and "non-Germans" resumed second class status. Back on the public discussion table were the usual "assimilation" politics, such as the institution of mandatory language classes for immigrants, and the refusal to allow immigrants to hold more than one passport – policies that deny immigrants their right to a self-acclaimed and self-determined identity. Also resuming regular scheduling were the harsher institutional realities of Soest, that include the imprisonment of asylum seekers without access to a lawyer for months on end before final deportation, and the open harassment of visible minorities by the police. The everyday realities that reflect the deeper problem fell back into its complacent, uncritical and unquestioned routine.

Fighting off the right wing extremists is a horrifying, sickening and even dangerous task. The accomplishments of July 20th should not be understated. However, the central and underlying issue, that is absent in Soest's politic of multiculturalism and was not discussed on July 20th, remains to be taken by the reins and addressed head on, so that equality between "Germans" and "non-Germans" can be realized, and the distinction between the two lost and forgotten.

The rise and fall of a Dutch rightwing popular party

Written by Arie van Wijngaarden and Daniela Wullers

In the year 2002 the Dutch political scene has been set in stir and commotion by a new phenomenon: the rise of a populist right wing party LPF (Lijst Pim Fortuyn). This was accompanied by broad discussion about 'foreigners', i.e. immigrants and asylum seekers, their integration in the Dutch society, about criminality and 'norms and values' in society.

How did this phenomenon arise and why is it so special? The Netherlands has no tradition of populist parties. The right wing was always represented by protestant parties or by the conservative 'liberals'. The latter had good ties with both the small entrepreneurs and the captains of industry.

At the local level, there have always been small political parties without ties with a party at the national level. During the last years these local interest parties became more influential and started to use the same name 'leefbaar' (livable), i.e. Leefbaar Utrecht. They were all against the existing parties. They promoted safer streets, tried to stop local mega projects, wanted to fight criminality and put less money in social welfare.

Some local representatives started a party at the national level, Leefbaar Nederland. For in the first half of 2002 there were not only elections for the local councils, but also for Parliament. Pim Fortuyn was elected as the leader of Leefbaar Nederland. A controversial figure. A business consultant, former professor in economics and a hedonist who was openly homosexual. He had published some books in which he advocated sending back the immigrants who are not willing to adapt to the Dutch culture, considered Islam a menace to Western culture and even more weird ideas.

Pim's ideas were too radical for the Leefbaar Nederland party and after he declared Islam an inferior religion he was dismissed. A few weeks later he founded his own party, called Lijst Pim Fortuyn (LPF).

In March 2002, before the schism, The Leefbaar parties had a great success at the local elections. Especially in Rotterdam, where they got 30% of the votes and became the largest party in the local council. Here since the Second World War the labour Party had been the largest party. Especially in the poorer areas of the city the labour Party lost many votes to Leefbaar Rotterdam.

In May 2002 elections for the Parliament were to be held. The weeks before the elections there were lively debates in the printed press and on the television. The LPF wanted to end the compromise policy of the last eight years of government, in which the contrasts between the coalition partners labour Party, the conservative VVD and the left Liberals and between labour unions and employers had been massaged away in the so-called 'polder model'. There where debates in the media but al parties did not really know who to deal with the LPF and its leader Pim Fortuyn.

The LPF went for a harsher form of capitalism than any party had promoted before. No more subsidized jobs, less money for public transport, more money for roads, cheaper petrol, immigrants should integrate or return to their country of origin, hospitals should be more efficient and more run like enterprises, etc. This position found some response at the general public. The Dutch were more prosperous than ever, but many felt threatened by the upcoming economic crisis. In these times many people felt drawn by his appearance in the public and the media and his way of talking. The words he used seemed to express "their" feelings and present in a very simple way the reasons and solutions for al problems. With this he reached older people who where especially afraid of criminality, young people for whom he was the only politician they know because of the media and also others who normally do not vote because they where disappointed about the politic of al the other parties. But also some "settled" and integrated former foreigners followed his ideas.

Then a few days before the election Pim Fortuyn was shot when he left a radio studio. A shock went through the Netherlands. The first political murder in three hundred years! He was shot by an animal rights' activist, who up to that day had only used legal ways to fight the bio-industry and environmental pollution.

After the elections LPF became the second party in Parliament with seventeen percent of the votes. One and a half million votes were cast for the dead party leader. His funeral provoked a sort of mass hysteria, comparable to the sentiments in the UK after Diana's death. Criticism of Pim Fortuyn's ideas was virtually impossible. His followers believed that the 'demonisation' of Fortuyn (presenting him as a devil) had provoked the murder.

Being the winner of the election, the LPF could participate in the right wing coalition that was forged after the elections, under the premiership of the Christian Democrats. Already in the election campaign the Christian Democrats had similar subjects as the LPF but they used other words which where less radical. And in these times the discussion about "norms and values" in society where a reason why also they where winner of the election. Participation in the government was not so easy for the LPF. It was very much a one-man party and both the members of Parliament and the candidate cabinet ministers had no previous experience in the political arena. They came from business land and thought that politics should be run like a business. In practice they were more right wing than populist.

What has brought us the first 100 days of the new government? Well, the number of asylum seekers has dropped dramatically. Up to recently the Netherlands was a safe heaven for people fleeing Somalia, Iran, Afghanistan or the Caucasus. Now those people are considered as economic refugees and are refused entry. The state subsidy for extra jobs for long-term (and badly skilled) unemployed people was abolished. Investments in public transport were diverted to road building.

Curiously, there has been no massive resistance to the new cabinet measures. No strike of social workers, only a few demonstrations of immigrant organisations. Is it indifference, is it fear? Immigrants keep a low political profile nowadays. The taboo on the forced integration policy does not exist any more. Recently there have been many internal struggles within the LPF. There is no political leader. Some MP's left the party and accusations of nepotism and fraud are the order of the day. Most people expect that the life cycle of the LPF will be over within a few months. Which saves the energy of fighting it.

Postscript.

On October 16 2002 the coalition government fell because of personal contrasts between LPF ministers. After three months the LPF showed that they were not able to govern. The other right wing parties intend to continue without LPF. Polls show, that the electoral supporters of the LPF will vote for the traditional right wing parties. Which is politically even more dangerous, because in the mean time these parties have adopted many

15. In Canadian terms, that would be the equivalent of the Progressive Conservatives, the Alliance and the Heritage Front joining together.

16. Quote taken and translated from a Lippstadt daily newspaper during the week of the 14th of July, 2002.

LPF themes on immigration and social policy. A piece of Pim Fortyun will unfortunately remain in the Dutch politic but also in society.

L'extrême droite en France

Jean-Marc

En France, le parti d'extrême droite est le Front National dont Jean-Marie Le Pen est le leader. Il a obtenu 0,7 % des voix aux élections présidentielles de 1974 pour atteindre 18 % en avril 2002, lui donnant accès –pour la première fois– accès au second tour des élections où son score est resté stable. La progression est régulière dans le temps. Surtout, l'accès au second tour des élections a rendu ce parti plus « normal », plus crédible et plus légitime. Avril 2002 a été un tremblement de terre politique en France. Les réactions ont été vives mais on assiste à une « lepénisation des esprits » insidieuse, silencieuse qui fait que ce qui n'était pas pensable avant est devenu aujourd'hui pensable.

Jean-Marie Le Pen est un personnage ouvertement raciste, xénophobe, antisémite, homophobe, etc. Certains analystes expliquent que ces dérapages verbaux lui permettent de ne pas être assimilé aux autres personnalités politiques et de se présenter comme une victime car il est soumis aux critiques les plus vives. Les victimes de la société (ou qui se considèrent comme tels) peuvent se retrouver dans cet homme politique lui aussi victime. Il a été condamné plusieurs fois et il lui a été interdit de se présenter à des élections plusieurs fois. Le Front National est géré très autoritairement, plusieurs fidèles qui auraient pu lui succéder ont été écartés (dont Bruno Mégret) et aujourd'hui, sa fille, Marine Le Pen est mise en avant.

Les thèmes favoris sont l'insécurité, l'ordre des valeurs traditionnelles, les impôts, les immigrés, les critiques contre « l'Etablissement » (la classe politique traditionnelle dominante et corrompue), l'Europe. Le discours a été adouci ces derniers temps passant d'un langage ouvertement xénophobe et raciste à un langage politiquement plus correct : on parle par exemple désormais au Front National de « préférence nationale » plutôt que « d'expulsion des étrangers » alors que l'idée est en réalité la même.

On indique souvent le fait que les immigrés maghrébins ou turcs sont pris comme des boucs émissaires par une partie des couches populaires.

Le portrait-robot de l'électeur est facile à dessiner : c'est un ouvrier au chômage, alarmé par l'immigration et l'insécurité, et habitant une zone périurbaine de la France industrielle du Nord-Est. Cependant, on constate un élargissement géographique et sociologique des électeurs. C'est devenu un électoral interclassiste.

Il reste des traits caractéristiques générales : les hommes par exemple votent plus pour ce parti que les femmes. La progression concerne surtout les ouvriers, les agriculteurs, artisans et commerçants. Géographiquement, la France du Nord-Est, de l'Est et du Sud méditerranéen prédomine très largement. Ces zones ne correspondent pas vraiment aux zones des forts taux de criminalité. La carte du vote Le Pen ne ressemble que très partiellement à celle de l'insécurité. La corrélation est plus importante avec la carte de l'immigration extra-européenne mais cela n'est pas toujours le cas comme le montre l'exemple des villages alsaciens. Et on observe une nationalisation du vote : toutes les communes de France (36 000) sont aujourd'hui concernées par ce vote extrémiste. Certaines communes rurales où il n'y a aucun problème d'insécurité et aucun immigré ont commencé à voter pour l'extrême-droite.

Les campagnes (présidentielle en avril 2002 puis législatives en juin 2002) ont été dominées par le thème favori du Front National : l'insécurité. Dès le soir du premier tour des élections présidentielles, les partis ont réagi en demandant de voter pour Jacques Chirac (seul autre candidat au second tour).

Le nouveau gouvernement de Jacques Chirac a embauché de nombreux policiers, gardiens de prison, juges, etc. De nouvelles prisons sont en projet, une « filière positive » pour expulser les immigrés est à l'étude. Plusieurs projets de loi sont en cours pour rétablir « l'ordre » dans les écoles, contre la mendicité, donnant plus de liberté à la police (perquisitions plus faciles, délais raccourcis pour intervenir, etc.). Dans les villes où le Front National a gagné des élections municipales, les étrangers n'ont plus de fait les mêmes droits en termes d'aide sociale, la culture est sous contrôle (exclusivité d'une « pseudo culture nationale »).

On ne peut nier les échecs pour intégrer les immigrés du Maghreb, et notamment la génération nées en France qui a aujourd'hui une vingtaine d'années et qui n'est pas intégrée au monde du travail, ou alors avec discrimination. Quelques jeunes ont effectivement une attitude de défi et suscitent la violence que les médias amplifient, ce qui a pour effet de stigmatiser toute la communauté. L'intégrisme religieux instaure la peur, la

méfiance et finalement le rejet. La création progressive de « banlieues chaudes », des quartiers de logements sociaux périphériques où il n'y a plus de services, ni de commerces et où l'état de droit est en perte de vitesse a terminé de stigmatiser ces immigrés devenus français et leurs enfants.

Les inégalités sociales ont progressé au cours des années 90, la réussite économique se montre, les objets de richesse sont montrés, le niveau de vie a progressé pour certaines classes sociales. De nombreuses entreprises sont prospères, les salaires des dirigeants sont multipliés, la productivité augmente... et on licencie. Autrefois les entreprises en difficulté licenciaient, aujourd'hui, ce sont les entreprises les plus prospères qui licencent... Certains secteurs manquent de personnels qualifiés tandis que d'autres personnes restent au chômage, sans espoir de trouver un emploi pour les plus âgés qui sont peu qualifiés. On parle aussi des angoisses que provoquent l'Europe et la mondialisation.

Le vote Front National serait un vote de protestation face à l'insécurité économique (réelle) et à l'insécurité tout court (souvent plus redoutée que réelle). Il concerne les ouvriers qui sont aujourd'hui disqualifiés économiquement et symboliquement (chute du Parti communiste, perte de vitesse des syndicats) et qui ont l'impression d'avoir été les victimes de l'histoire récente (depuis 20 ans). Le discours sur l'ordre et la loi trouve écho pour des populations qui ont perdu leurs repères (progression du libéralisme et de l'individualisme, perte du sentiment de classe et de solidarité).

Les manifestations entre les deux tours des élections présidentielles ont rassemblé beaucoup de monde, culminant à 1,4 million de manifestants le jeudi 1^{er} mai, jour de la fête du travail, jour traditionnel de revendications.

Aujourd'hui, plus personne ne parle de l'extrême droite, le mouvement est complètement retombé. Le militantisme est pas à la mode. Il n'y a pas de résistance de fond.

Il faut dire que les élections législatives de juin 2002 ont été un échec pour le Front National qui n'a aucun député élu. Mais on assiste à une « lepénisation des esprits ». Cette expression a été d'abord utilisée par des journalistes pour alerter l'opinion sur l'impact silencieux des idées du parti. Puis Jean-Marie Le Pen a lui-même repris cette expression. Ce qui a changé, c'est que ce qui était impensable avant l'est devenu. Il n'est plus honteux de dire à la télévision que l'on vote pour le Front National, ni dans l'entourage. Il est possible de dire que l'on est pour le retour des immigrés dans leur pays d'origine. Il est donc possible de parler des idées du Front National ; cela devient normal.

Beaucoup de personnes ont bien conscience que le Front National est un danger pour la démocratie. Mais en même temps, ils estiment que son rôle (notamment pour protester, rôle de vote contestataire) est important. Ce parti permettrait en fait de donner des « avertissements » aux autres personnages politiques.

Jean-Marc

CREATIVITY & CHALLENGE

by Barbara Rahder

The two presentations in this workshop examined the creative energies that might be harnessed for collective social change and an improved quality of life at the local level, and the challenges they face from the forces of global corporate capitalism.

“Crazy Micro-Enterprises” was the theme of the first presentation, given by Philipp Klaus. Philipp looked at the increasing number of micro-enterprises (one to nine persons) in Zurich, and the contradictory economic position that these creative entrepreneurs find themselves in. On the one hand, their innovative production techniques and original designs are adding much to the vitality and culture of the city, producing everything from colourful textiles, music, and films to unique—what Philipp calls “crazy”—skirts for men. On the other hand, pay within this sector of the economy is very poor. This low-income, artistic subculture which contributes so much to the regeneration of the city is now being compromised by gentrification. As the low rents, on which this subculture depends, are undermined, so too is the stability of this community. Philipp called for urban housing policies to address this situation.

“The Active Archive” was the theme of the second presentation, given by Axel Claes and Mark Saunders. Axel emphasized the difference between cultural enterprises that are aimed primarily at making money—usually for and by individual producers—and those that are aimed at making the city a better place to live—for and by a collective. He noted that the number of unemployed youth has doubled in the past ten years in Brussels, where he and Mark are working on video projects that attempt to collectively empower this community. Mark added that

their videos attempt to educate people about collective issues, as well, and that the growing archive of unedited video material that they have collected can and should be used by local action groups for their own purposes.

Most of the discussion that followed focussed on issues related to activist video making. Mark stressed the importance of concentrating on problems of everyday life, such as housing displacement, rather than on filming demonstrations or local actions where there is a risk of exposing protestors to harassment and prosecution. There was also a call to produce more documentary material for the archives, such as videos on local economic issues. Marsh Farm in Luton, UK, for example, is attempting to develop non-profit "community enterprise" services including garbage collection and a supermarket. The group noted that the rhetoric of "cultural/community enterprise" can be used for collective aims, and that strategies are needed to resist the co-optation of the business-as-usual agenda. The group concluded that the INURA web-site would be an excellent place to have a catalogue of videos available for use by local action groups.

Workshop "participation"

Nicole Stolz, nstolz@caritas.ch, Daniel Blumer, daniel.blumer@bau.unibe.ch, Reitschule Bern (CH):

/limites et potentiels de la participation

Participation is either implemented by the state authorities or demand by (political) (social) groups, who have power to do so. The theory of participation defines three fields of participation : information, co-operation and co-ordination :

The information is the ordinary behaviour of a democratic state and does not mean two-way communication. Co-operation is the usual between economical powerful agent and the state (e.g. private public partnerships) and means the common decision-making. Co-ordination is the division of tasks mostly lead by the state administration.

We will present four examples of participation procedures, which took place in Switzerland (in Basel and Bern). The four examples encompass different degrees of participation and illustrate different strategies how authorities handle political or social conflicts.

In the case of Basel we will focus on the participatory process "wekstadt", an example for a wide involvement of local residents asked to formulate projects for neighbourhood improvement. In Bern we look at: the involvement of an expert women group that had to ensure women's specific planning of the main station; at the participatory rehabilitation of a low income housing project; and the squatted cultural and political centre Reitschule, which got involved with local authorities during the renovation of the centre.

Louanne Tranchell louannet@lineone.net : Projects in London (refugee forum)/Actions à Londres (Forum des réfugiés)

Richard Milgrom (Architect,Buffalo) rmilgrom@design.ap.buffalo.edu Inner-city redevelopment in Buffalo, New York/ Renouvellement urbain du centre-ville de Buffalo, état de New-York

Brahim Benlakhlef benlakhlef@yahoo.com La cité de Sidi-Amar : une mosaïque d'espaces conflictuels, produit d'un urbanisme d'improvisation (DZ)/ Sidi-Amar : a mosaic of spaces, produced through « improvised urbanism »(DZ)

Crée au début des années 1970 autour d'une cité ouvrière très controversée, Sidi-Amar, près d'Annaba (Algérie), est depuis 1985 le chef-lieu d'une commune qui a atteint 62 000 habitants en 1998. Elle est aussi le siège d'une université de 35 000 étudiants.

Sans identité spatiale et encore moins urbanistique, Sidi-Amar se présente comme une mosaïque d'espaces aussi diversifiés que contradictoires où se juxtaposent des zones industrielles, des quartiers populaires, une université, un siège d'une kyrielle d'entreprises publiques et privées des plus importantes de la wilaya d'Annaba et des bidonvilles.

La juxtaposition d'espaces antagonistes crée sans conteste des conflits d'utilisation du sol et des pratiques spatiales opposées à l'exemple de l'université qui évoluant dans un environnement « hostile », constitue une enclave scientifique à l'intérieur de la cité.

Nourdine Kouadria, Université D'annaba (DZ) « marché foncier et pouvoirs locaux en Algérie »/estate market and local powers in Algeria

kouadriadz@yahoo.fr

Le statut du marché foncier urbain en Algérie est resté du ressort exclusif de l'Etat par l'ordonnance 26/74 accordant à la commune toutes les prérogatives en matière d'acquisitions et de rétrocession foncières, quelque en soit l'origine de propriété des terrains en question. Cette situation de monopole de l'Etat sur tout ce qui est en rapport avec les transactions foncières a généré des comportements pervers d'acteurs publics à l'échelle locale, surtout communale, et a marqué profondément la structure du marché réel du foncier, générant ainsi une spéculation financière intense jusqu'à en constituer un enjeu de pouvoir dont les prolongements forment des réseaux d'alliance tribales, sectaires, et atteignent même les institutions politiques et administratives, sensées veiller à la bonne marche du système mis en place. Avec l'ouverture de ce marché à la concurrence, suite aux dernières réformes introduites par la loi 90/26 portant orientation foncière, loi qui visait donc à mettre en place les mécanismes susceptibles d'aider à la formation d'un marché foncier réel où plusieurs acteurs devraient intervenir au niveau de l'offre et pouvoir ainsi absorber progressivement une demande jugée importante et là aussi où l'Etat devait intervenir pour réguler et stabiliser ce marché. La réalité d'une décennie d'existence de cette loi montre à quel point les résistances aux différents changements sont fortes. En dehors de quelques rares tentatives d'expériences à travers le territoire national, correspondantes à des opérations de promotion foncières privées, la situation dans l'ensemble n'a guère changé)

Workshop Images and politics

Ute Lehrer, ulehrer@ap.buffalo.edu

Karen Wirsig, karenw@nrupublishing.com, Stefan Kipfer, kipfer@yorku.ca (York University)

Kate Shaw, University of Melbourne, kates@unimelb.edu.au

Cultural heritage and the politics of preservation in Australia

"Cultural heritage" in Australia has evolved from mansions and high art to include places important to marginalised communities and subcultures. Revisions in 1999 to the Burra Charter for conservation of sites of cultural significance give a clear role to *meaning, association and use* in identification of significance, expanding greatly the repertoire of places of cultural heritage.

But the democratisation of heritage creates a paradox. Heritage classification puts a premium on the place and once again marginalises the marginalised. Preservation measures often stifle on-going contemporary uses. The language of the heritage profession recognises that cultural heritage can be inclusive and living, but heritage practices have not kept pace.

This paper explores alternatives strategies for conservation of culturally significant places in a Australian inner-city, documenting community-led battles to protect places valued for their opposition to contemporary mainstream culture.

The research explores conservation practices that support a diversity of meanings and uses in the city. Through examination of case studies in Australia and Europe that push local regulatory and legislative boundaries, the

project develops an argument for a heritage practice that enhances the meaning of place for marginalised cultures.

Vincent Veschambre, Angers vincent.veschambre@univ-angers.fr :

« Mémoire de pauvreté dans un centre-ville gentryfié : le cas d'Angers »

Mouvement de solidarité avec les plus démunis, ATD¹⁷ Quart-monde, est à la recherche d'un lieu à Angers pour commémorer le 17 octobre, déclaré "journée mondiale du refus de la misère" par l'ONU depuis 1992. Cette démarche, à laquelle j'ai été invité à participer en tant que chercheur, est révélatrice de la difficulté de retrouver trace des plus pauvres dans des espaces centraux aujourd'hui très valorisés.

Ville moyenne à l'échelle européenne, Angers dispose d'un patrimoine médiéval et renaissance des plus prestigieux, bien mis en valeur. Inversement, les héritages les plus modestes (patrimoine industriel, habitat populaire...) sont très largement ignorés et ont été dans une large mesure démolis dans la partie centrale de la ville. Patrimonialisation et démolition constituent les deux versants d'un urbanisme socialement très sélectif¹⁸.

La démarche d'ATD : en quête d'un lieu de commémoration

Fondé en 1957 par le père J. Wresinski¹⁹, le mouvement ATD quart-monde a pour objectif de "changer le regard sur les plus pauvres". Ce mouvement a obtenu que soit posée une plaque en leur honneur, dans un lieu hautement symbolique, la dalle du Trocadéro à Paris : c'est là que fut signée la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'Homme. Depuis l'inauguration de cette plaque en 1987, un rassemblement a lieu chaque 17 octobre, afin de réaffirmer le refus de la misère.

La section angevine d'ATD s'est emparée de cette journée mais a longtemps hésité quant au lieu à investir. Le premier espace choisi, en 1996, a été la Place du Ralliement, en plein cœur de la ville commerçante et bourgeoise. Comme l'ont reconnu les militants d'ATD, c'était la première fois qu'ils se rendaient visibles. Mais après trois éditions, le mouvement a jugé que le décalage était trop important entre le sens donné à cette manifestation, et la réalité sociale de cette place centrale.

Le lieu choisi en 1999, l'un des collèges les plus défavorisés de la ville, marquait cette nouvelle orientation vers un espace pratiqué par les plus démunis eux-mêmes, et soulignait l'importance accordée par le mouvement aux questions d'éducation et de culture. Mais ce qu'ils gagnaient en contenu, ils le perdaient en visibilité.

Le choix du quai de Ligny en 2001 visait à concilier les deux exigences. Situé le long de la Maine, en contrebas de la cathédrale et du château, cet espace de promenade est couramment utilisé pour des manifestations festives et constitue un emplacement stratégique. Et dans le même temps, il correspond à l'emplacement d'un quartier qui figurait parmi les plus insalubres jusque dans les années 1970.

L'effacement des plus pauvres du centre-ville

Dès les années 1930²⁰, deux quartiers de centre-ville sont identifiés comme insalubres et promis à la démolition : le Quai de Ligny et le quartier St Nicolas de l'autre côté de la Maine, dans la Doutre (cf. carte). C'est là que se concentrent les habitants les plus pauvres, ouvriers sous-payés de l'industrie textile, ferrailleurs, prostituées... Après avoir laissé le bâti se dégrader encore quelques années, on finit par effacer les problèmes sociaux du centre-ville par des opérations de rénovation, au cours des années 1960-70 : les habitants sont alors relogés dans les grands ensembles tout juste construits dans la périphérie. La rénovation a été particulièrement radicale au Quai de Ligny, sous prétexte de dégager le château et de faire passer une voie rapide en plein cœur de la ville.

D'anciens habitants du Quai de Ligny ont témoigné à l'occasion du 17 octobre du besoin de faire mémoire, dans un sentiment forcément ambivalent : ils rejettent la misère qu'ils ont vécue mais ils veulent retrouver des traces, des signes, de leur histoire : " Vous le diriez aujourd'hui que des gens ont habité là ? Aujourd'hui, c'est beau, mais il y a eu tant de misères, tant de souffrances. Il ne faut pas oublier"²¹. Or le Quai de Ligny ne parle plus : les militants d'ATD ont alors pris conscience que le travail de mémoire avait besoin de supports physiques, de traces

¹⁷ Aide à toutes détresses.

¹⁸ Cf. V. Veschambre, 2002, Entre patrimonialisation et démolition, une mémoire urbaine socialement sélective : réflexions autour de l'exemple d'Angers, *Les Annales de la recherche urbaine*, n° 92.

¹⁹ Qui est d'ailleurs né à Angers où il a vécu lui-même dans la misère durant ses premières années. Mais on n'a pas gardé trace de sa maison natale...

²⁰ Angers fait alors partie des villes les plus vétustes de France cf. JEANNEAU J., (1993), *Les villes de l'Anjou au milieu du XXème siècle*, Nantes, Ouest édition, 122 p.

²¹ Témoignage de L. Sauneuf, La misère du quai de Ligny resurgit, *Ouest-France*, 18 octobre 2001.

matérielles. Alors que les élites ont une "mémoire morte", constituée d'écrits, de biens matériels, et d'espaces, les pauvres n'ont pour eux qu'une "mémoire vivante", orale, inscrite dans les corps, qui ne laisse pas de traces²².

Du lieu à l'itinéraire : " informer le regard sur la ville "

A la recherche d'un lieu à la fois central et chargé symboliquement, le mouvement ATD d'Angers s'est orienté dernièrement vers le quartier de la Doutre. Ce quartier qui fait face à la Cité épiscopale et à la ville bourgeoise, a été marqué dès sa naissance au Moyen-âge par la présence d'institutions religieuses caritatives, telles que l'hôpital St Jean ou la chapelle des lépreux St Lazare (XIIe). Abandonné à partir du XVIIe par l'aristocratie, il a fonctionné depuis comme espace de relégation et d'enfermement des pauvres. Presque entièrement promis à la démolition au début des années 1960, le quartier a été en grande partie sauvagardé par l'intervention du ministère de la Culture, dirigé à l'époque par A. Malraux : seul le quartier St Nicolas, le plus populaire de la Doutre, a été finalement démolri. Les immeubles de la rénovation et les maisons réhabilitées ont attiré une population nouvelle, beaucoup plus aisée, qui a fait de ce quartier un lieu à la mode, avec ses restaurants et ses galeries : il fait désormais partie intégrante du centre-ville.

Un tel choix a dans un premier temps embarrassé la mairie qui s'inquiétait de voir ressurgir une "mémoire honteuse" dans un quartier gentryfié. Des contre-propositions ont même été formulées, renvoyant à des lieux moins prestigieux et plus périphériques²³. Le mouvement ATD a du bâtir un argumentaire, avec l'aide d'universitaires, afin d'obtenir l'accord de la mairie pour l'édition 2002 de sa manifestation. Celle-ci prendra la forme plus ambitieuse d'un itinéraire : au delà du lieu symbolique qui reste à déterminer, il s'agit "d'informer le regard sur la ville" dans son ensemble. En redonnant leur signification à des édifices médiévaux et renaissance aujourd'hui prestigieux, mais autrefois associés à la présence des plus pauvres²⁴. En s'appuyant sur les dernières traces qui évoquent les conditions de vie et de travail des habitants chassés par la rénovation : cheminée d'usine ou maison de tanneur.

Une telle démarche dérange : faire mémoire de la pauvreté, c'est évoquer les inégalités sociales d'hier et interroger celles d'aujourd'hui. C'est donc induire un autre regard sur la ville et la société. Il y a un enjeu politique fort à patrimonialiser non seulement les traces des dominants, mais aussi celles des dominés et d'une certaine manière, de la domination elle-même.

Constance Carr, Rainer Telaar, Britta Grell, Miriam Fritzsche, Jens Sambale, Volker Eick (Berlin) eick@zedat.fu-berlin.de «Comparing Welfare in Berlin and Los Angeles/comparaison des politiques sociales à Berlin et Los Angeles

Silvia Macchi, Giovanni Attili, email : silvia.macchi@uniroma1.it. Presentation on Roma

Arie Van Wijngaarden, Amsterdam arievw@xs4all.nl : Integration of care in IJburg (NL)/Insertion des soins à IJburg

Presentation on the integration of care (for elderly and physically or mentally handicapped people) and housing in IJburg, a new suburb of Amsterdam. We try to integrate facilities like health centres, cheap restaurants, social centres into the urban design, so that people can live in their own house in a normal living area instead of in a closed institution. The programme is called 'IJburg without frontiers'.

Workshop « water »

Roger Keil, York University (Can), rkeil@yorku.ca, Urban political ecology and spatial solidarity : regulation of water in Toronto / Ecologie politique urbaine et solidarité spatiale : la re-régulation de l'eau à Toronto

²² VERRET M., (1995), *Chevilles ouvrières*, Les Éditions de l'Atelier / Éditions ouvrières, coll. Mouvement social, Paris, 254 p.

²³ Ce type de réaction rejette celle que C. Chivallon a pu observer à Bristol, à propos de la mémoire de l'esclavage CHIVALON C., (2000), Informer le regard sur la ville : Bristol et la mémoire de l'esclavage, *Les annales de la recherche urbaine*, n° 85, 2000.

²⁴ C'est le cas de l'hôtel des Pénitentes, ancien lieu d'enfermement des prostituées, devenu aujourd'hui lieu de réception de la mairie.

This paper examines the current re-regulation of urban water in Toronto, Canada. Under pressures from neoliberalization and globalization, the Toronto water regime is taking on a new shape: Privatization of local water services, marketization of water (and its spaces, and institutional re-regulation are important areas in which relationships of water and the city are being redefined. I will argue that the regime of urban water regulates more than just water as a flowing thing: it constitutes an important part of the overall re-making of the urban region as globalization and neo-liberalization provide the framework for the rearrangement of space, nature and the city in Toronto. Using urban regime analysis and regulation theory, I will analyze the interrelationships of water regimes to the overall governing regimes and local modes of regulation in Toronto. Specifically, as water issues now have occupied centre stage in the development discourse, the inter-relationship of suburbanization and the future management of the region's water resources are of great importance. The re-regulation of water in Toronto changes the way urban spatial relationships are regulated. I will demonstrate how the growth of the city affects the societal relationships with water/ nature and how the regime of the urban region intersects with the water regime. The establishment of a new urban water regime is a contentious process. As traditional technical, planning, and political modes of regulating the suburban hydrological cycle are in crisis, citizens are beginning to question the urbanization-modernization nexus which under-girded suburbanization in earlier decades. I will show that the reclamation of regional spatial solidarities in the distribution of environmental benefits and damages must be central to this process

Jean Marc Fournier, fournier@mrsh.unicaen.fr, Résistances locales aux " privatisations " des services de l'eau. Les cas de Tucuman (Argentine) et Cochabamba (Bolivie)/local resistance to the privatization of Water in Tucuman (Argentina) and Cochamba (Bolivia)

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Depuis le début des années quatre-vingt-dix, les délégations de services urbains à des compagnies privées ont été multipliées en Amérique latine. Elles concernent chaque jour davantage d'habitants et des services de plus en plus variés. Cette tendance, encouragée par les organismes internationaux et impulsée par les gouvernements nationaux tout d'abord dans les capitales et les grandes villes, a été progressivement étendue à des villes intermédiaires. Elle suscite parfois des formes de résistance de la part des acteurs de la société locale. Ainsi, un certain nombre de projets de délégation de service ont été ralenti, freinés, voire ajournés. Plus rarement, la réaction de la société locale a conduit à l'annulation de contrats de délégation. Tel est le cas des services d'eau et d'assainissement des villes de Tucuman en Argentine et de Cochabamba en Bolivie où, à la suite de processus conflictuels, des acteurs locaux ont contraint de puissantes compagnies transnationales à se retirer après la signature d'un contrat de délégation.

Connie Carr et Rainer Telaar

"Fordism and Water: towards an environmentally friendly means of crossing the Atlantic."

This was a story of one person's attempt to cross the Atlantic Ocean by a means that would be environmentally friendlier than flying. The chosen method of travel was with a cargo ship. Although the question remains unresolved whether it is, indeed, a cleaner method of travel, this slide shows provided a glimpse into an otherwise unknown world of life at sea -- a world powered by fordist technology, and where international relations are flexible because it exists between the rigid boundaries of national borders.

AGM 2002-06-20, Caen, France

Besides the "official" AGM several plenary sessions were held in which reports were given, discussions held and decisions taken.

Annual Report from INURA Common Office (ICO)

ICO activities from Florence conference in september 2001 until Caen conference june 2002 (PHK, information):

— ADMINISTRATION

- Handled 15 applications for membership through internet.
- Handled 4 applications for membership personally
- Administrative steps concerning INURA listserve (5)
- Requests concerning the INURA listserve 4
- 2 recommendation letters for other organisations
- HomePage updates: 12
- Requests and questions by members (several contacts): 31
- Requests and questions by non-members (several contacts): 9
 - "How can we get your book?"
 - "How can I become a member?"
 - "Do you have information on ... (several topics)*?"
 - "Can you send us bulletins?"
 - "Can you add a link to our HomePage?"

"We have added a link to your HomePage" (check and correct by ICO)

- Member Administration, including: address updates, address selection for the bulletin, check for the memberlist, print and send labels to conference organisers / INURA regional offices
- Membership fee payment through Credit Cards: information, meeting with representative, listserve consultation

Production of the new brochure, dozens of contacts with the graphic designer

* Elaboration of guidelines for an INURA information-policy

CONSULTING

INURA Caen for budgeting and the Bulletin

INURA Florence Book consulting, Meeting with publisher in Zurich

FUNDRAISING

Consulting by Fred Robinson, INURA Durham

Consulting by a professional for non-profit organisations in Zurich

VIDEO (RW, information)

Test screening of draft edit in Zurich

HOURS of Work Common Office

PHK : 120 hours in 24 weeks (= ca. 1 hour per working day)

WWW.INURA.ORG (PHK, information)

is still visited quite lively (about 400 visits a month). Please use it to put your own news, reports and so on on it.

Contact PHK.

BROCHURE (PHK, information)

We printed 2000 leaflets to be distributed to all persons, institutions, organisations interested in INURA at conferences, meetings and so on. It gives information about activites, contacts, principles, conferences and more. It can be ordered from INURA Common Office.

POSSIBLE URBAN WORLDS (RW, information)

The book Possible Urban Worlds is sold out in Europe. Some 200 are left in stock in North America. First run: 1000 books, second run 800. We think this is quite a success.

Regional Offices: Reports, proposals, ideas from regional offices

There are people that would like to come but do not have enough money. We need funds.

In spring of 2002, Ute Lehrer (INURA Buffalo) gave an interview to Baltimore Sun about INURA as an urban think tank.

At the conference of the American Association of Geographers AAG, in March 2001 in New York, INURA sponsored a panel on Henri Lefebvre (with Neil Brenner, Christian Schmid, Richard Milgrom, Eleonore Kofman, Kanishka Goonewardena, Rob Shields, Stefan Kipfer) and at the AAG conference in March 2002 in Los Angeles a panel on Representations (with Ute Lehrer, Sue Bunce, Mustafa Dikec, Kanishka Goonewardena, Doug Young, Jon Mitchell, Stefan Kipfer). The contributions to the New York conference formed the base for a special issue of Capitalism, Nature, Socialism on Lefebvre, published in June 2002, with contributions from Richard Milgrom, Stefan Kipfer and others. Chrisitan Schmid's contribution will be published in one of the next issues of CNS.

Report from INURA Zurich Institute, IZI (PHK, RW information)

PHK and RW handed out a leaflet as report about ongoing projects. Interested persons can order a report from IZI.

INURA Florence Book project, update (INURA Florence, information, discussion)

Next INURA Conference 2003, proposals and discussion (all, decision)

New INURA Offices (all, decision)

On the 21st it was decided to have further INURA offices in: Durham (Fred Robinson), Berlin (Britta Grell and Jens Sambale), Dortmund (Sebastian Müller) and an "outpost" in Melbourne (Kate Shaw). There was some interest to present INURA at public forums such as the World Forum in Porto Alegre or the Earth Summit 2002.

A small group of people worked on it. Very soon it was decided that we needed some form of preamble to the declaration. Roger was in charge of writing this. The others (The SWISS: Richi, Philip, Nicole and myself -- and Christian very briefly) came up with a declaration that was clearly influenced by dada and the situationists.

We presented both, the preamble (written by Roger) and our 5 points of declaration to the whole group. We then had a longer discussion about both the preamble (which had become a fullfledged text) and the declaration (which had become a list of 5 demands). At the open plenum we had a very fruitful discussion about both parts. Some of the people complained that for different reasons both the preamble and the declaration was not easily to understand for everybody. At the end of the meeting, Louanne volunteered to write a third part to the text that would translate the declaration into clear and simple language.

When we parted the idea was that we would work on the three parts in a small group and then present it to the whole INURA list.

Here are the five points from the declaration we presented at INURA:

We demand:

- 1) Depowerment of global players
- 2) Deregulation of sustained profits
- 3) No borders for people
- 4) Liberation of urban imagination
- 5) Autonomy and social justice in everyday life

A short explanation for those of you who were not able to be present at the INURA discussion: Obviously we used words that are common in neo-liberal talk and put them on their head (particularly in point 1 and 2). And we wanted to be as short and as thought-provocative as possible. When I left Caen it was agreed that Louanne, Mark, Nicole and myself would work on these demands a bit more, either to expand the list or to change a couple of word here and there (and "depowerment" is not a wrong word, by the way, inspite that it is not English and it didn't exist until Caen...)

I understand if not everybody shares a dadaistic-situationistic perspective on life and the role of INURA within the global stage, but I would hope that these demands will find their way one way or another into the INURA declaration.

CONFERENCE 2002 –PARIS CAEN

List of participants

Anna Lisa Pecoriello, Firenze
Arie van Wijngaarden, Amsterdam
Axel Claes, Brussel
Barbara Rahder, Toronto
Beatriz Garcia Peralta Nieto, DF Mexico
Benoît Raoulx, Caen
Brahim Benlakhlef, Annaba
Britta Grell, Berlin
Christine Goyens, Brussel
Constantin Petcou, Paris
Connie Carr, Berlin
Christian Schmid, Zürich
Daniel Blumer, Bern
Daniela Wullers, Dortmund
David Frantz, Caen
Dirk Lohaus, Hamburg
Denise Notter, Hamburg
Fabrice Ripoll, Caen
Fred Robinson, Durham, UK
Frédéric De Bresson, Paris, France
Gaël Louesdon, Caen
Germen Van den Abbeele, Brussel
Giancarlo Paba, Firenze
Giovanni Allegretti, Firenze
Giovanni Attili, Roma
Jean-Marc Fournier, Caen
Jens Sambale, Berlin
Karen Wirsig, Toronto
Karl Otto Richter, Rostock
Kate Shaw, Melbourne, Australia

Katia Nigaud, Caen
Katrien Dosogne, Brussel
Laura Signornils, Firenze
Lorenzo Tripodi, Firenze
Louanne Tranchell, Hammersmith/London
Maik Lindemann, Hamburg
Mark Saunders, London
Marie Eve Cosemans, Brussel
Markus Voelker, Dusseldorf
Miriam Fritsche
Mirjam Amar, Brussel
Nicole Stoltz, Bern
Nouredine Khoudria, Annaba

Philipp Klaus, Zurich
Raffaele Paloscia, Firenze
Rainer Telaar, Berlin
Richard Milgrom, Buffalo
Richard Wolff, Zurich
Roger Keil, Toronto
Silvia Machi, Roma
Stefan de Corte, Brussel
Stefan Kipfer, Toronto
Ute Lehrer, Toronto
Valentina Mazzucato, Amsterdam
Vincent Veschambre, Angers
Volker Eick, Berlin
William Legoff, Caen

GUIDELINES FOR THE ORGANISATION OF THE ANNUAL INURA CONFERENCE

1. General Principle

Local organisers are responsible for making the arrangements for the Annual INURA Conference. They will have their ideas about what is relevant and feasible and need the freedom and autonomy to make key decisions about what is to be done and how proceedings are to be organised. Experience has shown, however, that there are ways of organising the conference which are effective and other ways which appear less effective, or which may create difficulties.

These guidelines set out some of the key considerations which local organisers should take into account when organising the Annual Conference. These guidelines are not prescriptive but are intended to be helpful to organisers and to support them in their efforts to plan successfully.

2. Overall Structure

INURA conferences combine study visits to places and projects, presentations (in the form of lectures, seminars, videos, etc.) and debates, discussions and workshops. It is generally agreed by INURA members that this combination is valuable; indeed, it is a major strength of the conferences and it enables connections to be made with the specific locality and also to make links between action and research.

Organisers may wish to have the group visit several cities or localities during the conference. It is for the organisers to decide what is likely to be productive and practical. But whatever is decided, the main requirement is that participants should be able to develop a clear sense of place. In addition, INURA is committed to making links with local projects and offering them recognition and support.

The retreat is a central feature of the annual meeting. The retreat needs to provide opportunities for informal discussion – but also has to be organised so there is a structure which facilitates and does not frustrate interaction. Organisers should remember to ensure that there is time set aside for the INURA AGM (Annual General Meeting), etc. The retreat is an opportunity for relaxed interaction, 'away from it all'; it is not the familiar – and formal – academic conference. Its organisation needs to be carefully balanced: not too organised and not too disorganised.

3. Some Practical Considerations

- (i) *Conference theme.* Organisers will need to chose a theme for the conference. Ideally, this should connect with the location(s) of the conference. It needs also to be a theme which enables participants to fit their presentations into the theme. The theme chosen should be reasonably general – but not too general so that there is little coherence to the conference.
- (ii) *Invitations to attend.* Organisers will invite attendance at the conference by means of the INURA Bulletin, website and email and through networks, including organisers' local networks. The invitation needs to set out, clearly, what the conference is about and what participants may expect to see, hear and learn. It should be stated that those wishing to attend should register by a specified date – this will help organisers to plan events and, especially, accommodation. Participants should also specify the presentations they wish to make at the conference – and how they fit with the theme.
- (iii) *Setting the scene, establishing the context.* To get the most out of the conference, participants need to be able to be briefed about the places they will visit and projects they will see. Organisers should circulate relevant briefing papers before the conference; this can include material in the preceding INURA Bulletin, material on the website and, possibly, papers sent out to those who have registered.

At the start of the conference, it is essential that the organisers should present a full briefing and orientation session. This should include clear, basic information about the country and the cities/regions to be visited. This is also an opportunity to set in context the projects/organisations which are to be visited. Organisers should not assume that participants have great knowledge of either the country or the places to be visited; for many – perhaps most – their knowledge may be very limited.

(iv) *Introductions.* At the start of the conference, organisers should remember to give everyone an opportunity briefly to introduce themselves to the whole group (and there may be a need to do this again, after others have arrived). This is essential to bond the group and make everyone feel welcome. Organisers should be mindful of the difficulties newcomers may face as they join a long-established network of people.

(v) *Visits to places and projects.* One of the most valuable elements in an INURA conference is the opportunity to see and hear about practice by visiting local projects. To get the most out of this, participants need to be properly briefed and organisers may also wish to alert participants to issues which project workers themselves may find it difficult to deal with. Participants should have a reasonable idea of what to expect and might be briefed about issues they might want to take up with the projects. Again, organisers should not assume that participants will know about the project or that they will necessarily know much about the issues/subjects with which it is concerned.

Organisers should take care not to overload the timetable with too many visits. A few visits, with ample time, to a small number of good and relevant projects/places is better than a lot of visits to what may seem to be a confusing array of disconnected projects. Organisers may wish to consider parallel options, splitting participants into groups for visits. It should be remembered that many projects will struggle to deal with a large number of visitors and the quality of the visit may suffer if there are too many visitors.

Organisers should also consider what the projects themselves may gain from a visit from INURA participants – and, as far as possible, seek to maximise those benefits.

Following such visits, there needs to be space in the timetable for participants to discuss what they have seen and heard. This de-brief may need to wait until the retreat but should be done as soon as is practicable after the visits.

(vi) *Presentations.* Those wishing to make presentations at the conference should ideally inform the organisers beforehand. This should mean that there is a good draft timetable at the start of the conference (although, inevitably, there will be late additions and it may well be advisable to allow time for unplanned or spontaneous presentations, especially at the retreat).

Priority for making presentations will be given to new members so they have the opportunity to become well-known to the group.

Presentations will normally last 30 minutes, typically comprising 20 minutes for the presentation itself and 10 minutes for questions (though it is for presenters to decide how they wish to use the time and to chose an appropriate format). Presenters will be encouraged to be succinct and not overload their presentations with too much detail.

Each session should have a chairperson whose tasks are to support the presenter and facilitate discussion – making sure that everyone has the opportunity to contribute if they wish. The chairperson should also ensure that the session is effectively brought to a satisfactory conclusion, on time.

If necessary, presentations will be organised as parallel sessions. It is important to bear in mind that small groups are usually more participatory, and more effective, than large groups. Key points from such sessions will be reported back at plenaries by either the chairperson or another participant as agreed by the group.

Organisers will, of course, need to ensure that there are adequate meeting places for these sessions and that technical equipment is made available. Meeting places for sessions should be light, airy, comfortable and spacious. To help foster participation, seating could be arranged in a circle or semi-circle, rather than in rows.

Those chairing sessions should, as a matter of courtesy, seek agreement from the group if it is intended to record the proceedings on video (or audio). It should be borne in mind that such recording may inhibit debate, perhaps especially in the more informal setting of the retreat.

(vii) *The retreat.* Organisers will select an appropriate location and accommodation for the retreat, based on their knowledge of the possibilities and local circumstances. Criteria to consider in making their selection include: cost, suitability and access to services. The location chosen could well be 'away from it all' – and that is generally preferred – but not excessively inconvenient for travel, etc. Catering arrangements will

need to be considered and self-catering is a possible option. Sourcing produce locally should also be considered.

(viii) *Needs.* Organisers should ask participants about any needs they may have (access for those with impaired mobility, for example) when they register. Every effort should be made to accommodate dietary requirements, (eg vegetarian, vegan, Halal), respecting diversity of needs and customs.

(ix) *Finance.* Organisers should be aware that they may have to incur expenditure in advance, before they are re-imbursed by participants. Unfortunately, INURA does not have a central fund to help with this. (Occasionally, however, small surpluses of money are generated by INURA conferences and these have sometimes been passed on to the organisers of the next conference to support them – or been used to support other INURA projects). Organisers also need to be aware that, generally, INURA does not have funding to meet the costs of participants who are unable to fund their attendance at the conference. **All participants are very grateful to those who take on the task of organising the conferences and recognise it is not an easy task, either in terms of organisation or finance.**

4. Concluding Points

In planning the conference, organisers should make sure that the timetable is realistic, not pressurised, and that there are many opportunities for informal discussion, especially at the retreat.

There needs to be a structure to the conference – and not frustrating uncertainty about what is happening, and when. It is recognised, however, that the organisation of the conference needs to be flexible. It will be the case that additional ideas for sessions and discussions will be put forward and will need to be accommodated.

Participants will need to support organisers in many ways – one of the most important is for them to be ready to start proceedings at agreed times. Participants will also be expected to chair sessions and help translate presentations, when necessary.

These guidelines are, we should stress, only guidelines – but should help us organise our conferences effectively. Clearly, there is much scope for local organisers to be flexible and do things in their own way. INURA values local variation and diversity and it values, too, the different approach to conferences which makes these events not just different but also remarkable.

Fred Robinson Clinchamps sur Orne, 22 June 2002

(Revised, Durham, 28 June 2002 and 21 August 2002)

An Alternative Urban World is Possible

A Declaration for Urban Research and Action

International Network for Urban Research and Action (INURA)

January 2003

An urban world

Cities are home to more than half of the world's population. Urbanization rates in the global South continue to rise as rural in-migration reaches new

Demand 1: **Disempower global players**

heights due to displacement, droughts, and shifts in global markets. While urbanization in the global North (or West) has slowed or even receded in terms of population growth, the metropolitan centres of industrial countries are still sprawling across their regional hinterlands towered over by ever denser central business districts and edge cities.

A global city

The current period of urbanization is global. It occurs everywhere on earth and, as a material process, is a tangible representation of globalization. Urbanization now means linking urban worlds across a variety of scales from the sub-local to the global. Globalization occurs at all city sizes but also leads to the formation of distinct new spaces of accumulation of money, commodities and power.

Among these new spaces are global cities, international trade zones and flexible production complexes. In the uneven distribution of the effects of globalization in various parts of the world and at different scales, the colonialist and imperialist legacy continues to determine the relationships between Northern and Southern cities, and what the North does has severe impacts on the South.

Demand 2:

Make profits unsustainable

Migrant cities

In-migration from the South to the North is occurring as people search for better conditions of life and as millions escape from wars, economic and environmental crisis and social or political repression. However immigrants too often find exploitation, racism, repression, and exclusion. The urban world, both in the North and in the South, is more and more characterized by social polarization, spatial segregation and legal disintegration (*sans papiers*). Basic social needs are not met for a growing part of the population. Wealth and poverty continue to be geographically differentiated as expressed in segmented housing, public and social spaces, health services, education, access to basic resources such as land, water, and food).

Unsustainable urban-natural relations

The globalization of urbanization has created unprecedented pressures on urban natural environments, the health of humans and the sustainability of human-natural relations. Pollution levels, energy consumption, waste generation continue to rise in the North, as cities still deal with the legacies of the industrial era such as contaminated soils, degraded watersheds and bioregions. In the South, the basic metabolic processes such as urban hydrosocial cycles and regional airsheds are corrupted beyond imagination and perhaps beyond repair. Everywhere in the urban world, albeit to different degrees and in different ways, there have been grave violations of environmental justice.

Neoliberalization: The market rules

The globalization of our cities has coincided with a pervasive neoliberalization of governments, markets, and civil societies at all scales. This has meant that governance, service delivery, and planning have been marketized, privatized, and de-regulated. Cities are viewed as private corporations locked in a global competition with few rules and little protection for local and regional interests and popular demands. Simultaneously, citizens are being recast as clients, and urban politics comes under the spell of the abstract rhetoric of economics and fiscal prudence rather than the concrete goals of social justice and community well-being.

Demand 3:

No borders for people

Attacks on democracy

In the period of neo-liberalization, democratic constitutions – already in the past more often than not smokescreens for and facilitators of class rule in capitalist societies -- and political processes of self-regulation are either instrumentalized or entirely abandoned in favour of so-called efficiency, flexibility, and lean administration. In the countries of the West, a power shift has occurred from accountable forms of representative democracy and welfare state institutions to private modes of governance, shareholder democracy and open oppression. In the process, citizens, workers, and residents have lost control over the globalized mechanisms that govern their lives. In transitional and developing countries, neoliberalization has meant shifting all attempts to create viable and powerful social and political institutions to

check the unfettered powers of global markets. Local governments have often become the ones doing the dirty work of globalization and acting as the block busters in fights over contracting out and privatizing of public services, one of the main mantras of the neoliberal consensus.

Community vulnerability

Economic globalization has increased the vulnerability of local communities to the rules and whims of world markets, transnational corporations and free market trade agreements. As a consequence, life in cities both in the North and in the South has become less secure, more expensive and increasingly unhealthy. Marginalization, homelessness and unemployment has led to widespread despair. Simultaneously, the communities of the wealthy have prospered, as they have barricaded themselves in gated housing complexes protected by private police forces and serviced solely by the market place. Cities have come to be expected to subsidize global corporations in doing their business whereas social services have been defunded and local states have increasingly moved to concentrate on expanding their police forces, penitentiary systems and other forms of social control.

Demand 4:

Autonomy and social justice in everyday life

Racism on the rise

Globalizing cities have become very diverse cities. Yet, as racism ethnic violence and intolerance have become natural ingredients of the neoliberal global order, forms of social organization based on solidarity among communities of urban residents and workers have come under attack both ideologically and physically. Whereas cities have often been the laboratories of progressive social experiment, democratization, autonomy, collective organization and urban liberation, they have now come to be associated more frequently with dystopic forms of hate-filled politics and more or less organized populist or even fascist violence.

The Alternative: INURA's urban imagination:

The neo-liberal project itself cannot be unified and leaves cracks for us to sow our seeds of resistance. Not all cities experience the same degree of commodification of social reproduction and collective consumption, militarization of public space, and deterioration of general living conditions. Many cities in some nations continue to operate on the assumption of the viability of welfare state policies and more collective forms of solutions to mounting social and environmental problems. An important role has been played by the current urban mobilizations in many places from Porto Alegre to Quebec City, and from Seattle to Genoa. The meeting in Porto Alegre and the mobilizations against capitalist globalization have shown the growing presence of movements and action groups located in different parts of the world that join in the fight against neoliberalism and war. They are combining resistance with living and creative alternatives that are under construction and place themselves in the perspective of a new world freed from exploitation, discrimination, dispossession, and violence. These mass events, and other ongoing initiatives at many scales, create potentially new horizons for urban social

change beyond both the Fordist past and the neoliberal present. This change of direction goes along with redefined political communities that defy both the traditional the welfare state (where it existed) and neoliberal, asocial individualization. We may witness and advocate the emergence of a new model of urbanity that far exceeds the mere structures of state and corporate economy and remakes the way we live our life in cities and the fundamental assumptions we make about this life.

INURA's urban imagination is fundamentally opposed to and in struggle with the neo-liberal urban project the contours of which we have described above. Based on the hopeful experiences in the shadows of the globalization and neoliberalization of our cities, we are proposing enthusiastically the construction of a new global urban world based on the solidarity and cooperation of human collectives in justice, democracy, and harmony with non-human nature. We emphatically defend radical and redistributive notions of social and environmental justice, equality of opportunity and rights to diversity. We understand these substantive rights to be enmeshed with the liberation of decision making processes, particularly enhancing the participation of all relevant parties in decision making and modes of collective (self) organization that avoid hierarchies and discrimination.

INURA sees it as its mandate to support the liberation of urban everyday life from the false demands and constrictions of neoliberal globalization. This, in other words, is fulfilling the promise of the "right to the city".

This is not the place to present the myriad forms in which INURA members in cities across the globe have been active and involved in political and planning projects to this end. A glimpse of these activities can be gained from two volumes reporting on the rich experiences of research and struggle INURA has accumulated in the past decade: Inura (eds.) *Possible Urban Worlds: Urban Strategies at the End of the 20th Century* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1998) and *Possible Urban Worlds 2* (Basel: Birkhäuser, forthcoming). Please also refer to the INURA Principles that can be viewed on our website at www.inura.org.

Demand 5:

Liberate the urban imagination

INURA-Conference, Berlin: June 22 - 28, 2003:

»Border City«

The next conference is going to take place in Berlin. From 1961 to 1989, Berlin was a divided city. While the Western part of the city was an outpost and 'shop window' of the Western world, East Berlin was the capital of the GDR. However, both parts were highly subsidized Cold War 'frontier cities'.

Since the end of systemic confrontation, Berlin had to face a tremendous economic and political transformation. Politically, there has been a shift towards neoliberal ideas conceptualizing cities as entrepreneurs in a globalized world economy. Economically, the vision of a post-fordist service metropolis has never realized. Berlin's failure in the global inter-urban/inter-regional competition is to be explained by both the relative de-industrialization of West Berlin due to the cold war situation and by the de-industrialization of East Berlin's industrial core since unification. Without any significant industrial base or post-industrial service economy, unemployment and welfare rates have skyrocketed in all parts of the unevenly developed city. Moreover, the weak economic base and limited tax income, combined with large-scale political corruption and severe mismanagement (*Bankenskandal*), have left the city in a state of heavy financial crisis.

At the same time, Berlin is said to be the German city of alternative groups. In particular, the city has a long history and well established tradition of squatter-movements, and it also has a tremendous 'off-culture'. We want to show you both: some of the most important problems the city and its citizens have to face, and some of the various related paths people try to find to deal with these challenges. Thus, we will focus on economic, social, political and cultural issues in Berlin: truly a border and still a divided city.
As of November 25, we can already give you some conference details:

Provisional Program

Two registrations:

June 22-June 25 Public Conference

June 25-June 28 Retreat: Workshop in the Countryside of Brandenburg at the »Castle Trebnitz«²⁵

Sunday, June 22

Arrival in Berlin: Accommodation at »Sunflower Hostel« and »Backyard Hostel«, both in Berlin-Friedrichshain.
In the evening: Welcome by the conference staff and an introduction to Berlin's current socio-economic situation by Stefan Krätke.

Monday, June 23

In the morning: Boat-trip through the inner city of West and East Berlin with an overview on architectural debates and city development since unification by Werner Sewing.

In the afternoon: Two parallel field trips and discussions with NGOs about »Migration and Urban Development« (This workshop will deal with old and new migration to Berlin and with the structural and institutional discrimination migrants are facing today; it will take place in Kreuzberg) and »De- and Re-industrialization Processes« (This workshop will deal with several attempts to establish a service industry, which have in part been successful especially in the fields of [off]-culture and the 'new economy' - leading to a re-structuring of the social structure within these districts; it will take place in Friedrichshain).

In the evening: Slide-show and presentation on the impacts of ideology in the current urban development in Berlin »Destruction of Modernity« by Simone Hain.

Tuesday - Wednesday, June 24 -25

We are preparing more field trips on the following issues:

Housing project *Wagenburgen*: In the effort to create an investor-friendly environment in the 'Enterprise Berlin' scenario, tolerance towards sub-cultures, so prevalent in the 1980s, disappeared. Ever since, groups which are either not able to fit in (the homeless and the poor) or not willing (wagon dwellers, squatters) have been identified as public enemies and become marginalized both socially and geographically. During the INURA conference we will have the opportunity to visit one or several *Wagenburgen* and find out first hand about the lifestyle and situation on site.

²⁵ Trebnitz, about 60 kilometers south-east of Berlin, is situated close to the Polish border and even closer to the World War II battlefield of *Seelow Heights*, where more than 45.000 people died within only a few days. It was here where the decisive battle to defeat the Nazi system took place. Thus, we will meet at a very historic site.

Other field trips will focus on: Right wing movements, anti-racist activism, and the Jewish community; the fordist-style housing estates (*Großsiedlungen*) in the outskirts of both East and West Berlin, which undergo tremendous changes, in economic investment, social and ideological de-valuation, and (planned) demolition; new forms of local governance within the fields of labor market and welfare policy like neighborhood management programs. Three political and architectural trips will explain the Spandauer Vorstadt (*Karin Baumert*), Prenzlauer Berg (*Mathias Bernt*), and Potsdamer Platz (*Ute Lehrer*).

More details - including registration, payment regulations, bank account, and the Retreat - will follow soon via the mailing-list; in March a first »Berlin-Hamburg Bulletin« (BHB) will follow.

Yours, INURA team Berlin